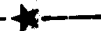


SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA



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.

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Back numbers of the 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.

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SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 4

July 1954

No. 1

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The SARVODAYA magazine has completed its third year and enters the fourth year with this number. We express our grateful thanks to the readers and contributors in India and abroad who have greatly helped in the steady growth of this magazine.

This has been trying to carry the message of Sarvodaya through the Bhoodan Yagna to friends and Sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj in many foreign countries also.

Owing to limitations of size many of the valuable articles received from contributors and reports of various sectors of constructive programme could not be published.

From the Index of articles for the third year this Digest may more justifiably claim to be a symposium on Sarvodaya.

A magazine of this kind can sustain itself only with the support of its readers as it cannot have any advertisement income. It would be possible to increase the pages with a substantial increase in subscription as Vinobaji has suggested to us. But we would invite the views of the readers before increasing them.

The Sarvodaya considers it a great privilege to serve as a medium in this period of non-violent revolution that the country is passing through, for the realisation of the Sarvodaya order of State-free society. We pray that this may prove worthy of the great task and strive for the fulfilment of the mission that lies ahead in the coming year. With trust in God we re-dedicate ourselves to the cause.

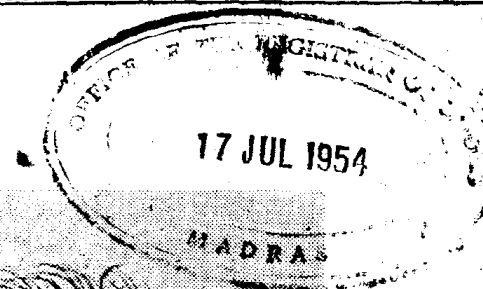
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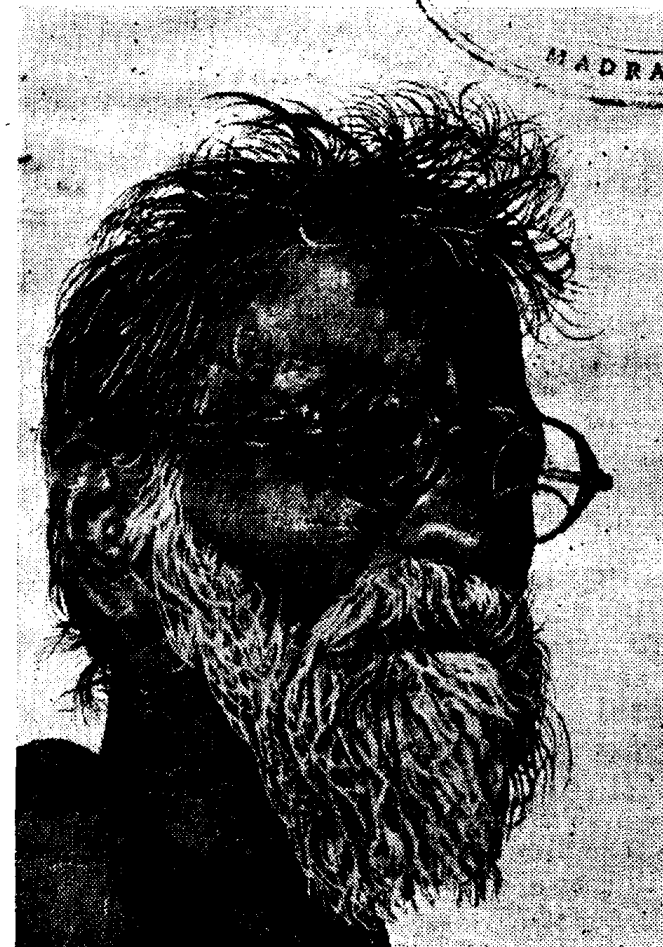
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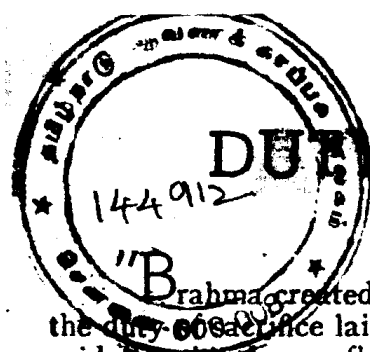
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DUTY OF BREAD LABOUR

MAHATMA GANDHI

Brahma created his people with the duty of sacrifice laid upon them and said, 'By this do you flourish. Let it be the fulfiller of all your desires.'... He who eats without performing this sacrifice eats stolen bread.' — thus says the Gita. 'Earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow,' says the Bible. Sacrifices may be of many kinds. One of them may well be bread labour. If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice. Men will no doubt do many other things either through their bodies or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love, for the common good. There will then be no rich and no poor, none high and none low, no touchable and no untouchable.

This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it. Even if without fulfilling the whole law of sacrifice, that is, the law of our being, we performed physical labour enough for our daily bread, we should go a long way towards the ideal.

If we did so, our wants would be minimized, our food would be simple. We should then eat to live, not live to eat. Let anyone who doubts the accuracy of this proposition try to sweat for his bread, he will derive the greatest relish from the productions of his labour, improve his health and discover that many things he took were superfluities.

May not men earn their bread by intellectual labour? No. The needs of the body must be supplied by the body. "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's" perhaps applies here well.

Mere mental, that is intellectual labour is for the soul and is its own satisfaction. It should never demand payment. In the ideal state, doctors, lawyers and the like will work solely for the benefit of society, not for self. Obedience to the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society. Man's triumph will consist in substituting the struggle for existence by the struggle for mutual service. The law of the brute will be replaced by the law of man.

Return to the villages means a definite voluntary recognition of the duty of bread labour and all it connotes. But says the critic, "millions of India's children are today living in the villages and yet they are living a life of semi-starvation."

This, alas, is but too true. Fortunately we know that theirs is not voluntary obedience. They would perhaps shirk body labour if they could, and even rush to the nearest city if they could be accommodated in it. Compulsory obedience to a master is a state of slavery, willing obedience to one's father is the glory of sonship. Similarly compulsory obedience to the law of bread labour breeds poverty, disease and discontent. It is a state of slavery. Willing obedience to it must bring contentment and health. And it is health which is real wealth, not pieces of silver and gold. The Village Industries Association is an experiment in willing bread labour. *Harijan 29-6-1935*

THE CHARKHA SANGH

The Charkha Sangh is the biggest Sangh. It has funds. It is pursuing the policy of decentralisation. I am not unaware of its perils and difficulties. We have to create a superior, more advanced type of Khadi Worker. Not till then shall Samaj Panchayat Raj become a reality. — GANDHIJI



of Vaisakha—the day on which Buddha was born. The whole of Asia celebrates this day as the *Buddha Jayanti*. Buddha, through his life, has left a message to the world. The world was then indeed in need of it, but not so much as today. India was not then as much in close contact with outside countries as at present. But now his message is the most needed for the entire world.

HIS MESSAGE

What are the teachings that Buddha left behind?

"Enmity will not counteract enmity; anger will not subdue anger; lie will not overcome lies. Enmity will only aggravate enmity; anger will simply fan anger. Hence enmity should be met with love; anger should be overcome by *shanti* (peace) and untruth should be challenged by truth only."

THE THIRST FOR PEACE

It is this message of love, peace and truth that Buddha preached to the world.

Nowhere is there peace now-a-days. People are thirsting for it, but do not get it. Clashes and conflicts are in plenty. Small nations live in perpetual fear of the big. This fear is increasing day by day. Even the two equally strong and mighty nations of America and Russia live in constant dread of each other. Such a tense and frightful situation, the world has never experienced before. Even a minor riot caused in any

Buddha's Message

The Need of the Present World

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

From a Hindi speech on Buddha Jayanti (17-5-'54) at Mohaniya in Shahabad district in Bihar

To-day is the full-moon day of the month of Vaisakha—the day on which Buddha was born. The whole of Asia celebrates this day as the *Buddha Jayanti*. Buddha, through his life, has left a message to the world. The world was then indeed in need of it, but not so much as today. India was not then as much in close contact with outside countries as at present. But now his message is the most needed for the entire world.

HIS MESSAGE NOT NEW TO INDIA

Till fifty years back we were not in the habit of celebrating Buddha Jayanti. Very recently only we have begun this celebration. People have begun only now to feel the need of his teachings. They are not new to us. Gita has stated '*Nirvairah sarva bhutheshu*' (non-enmity towards all living beings). The Vedas also have taught us to practise *Nirvairashe* (non-enmity). Even before Buddha many saints practised it in their lives. Our people respected and admired them. With this they stopped and never did they care to extend its adoption to the society as a whole. The people accepted the principle, but never applied it on a mass scale.

REMOVE THE ROOT CAUSE

So long as the root cause of violence and enmity is not removed, they will persist. If a person feels thirsty and cannot get pure water to quench it he would not hesitate to drink even the

dirty water before him. His first desire is to find good water, but if that is not available, he would reconcile himself even to dirty water. The people, in fact, have no natural inclination for enmity. In their heart of hearts they do not hanker for violence and hatred. They are prepared to accept the peaceful way. It is vain to aspire for peace if a way is not shown.

We have to find out that way and thereby develop the non-violent strength to resolve even the most difficult problems of the world. Then only people's faith in the power of non-violence will grow and become firm. Therefore Bhoodan Yagna has emerged with this purpose.

NON-ENMITY THROUGH BHOODAN

The Bhoodan Yagna is a revolutionary movement of Dharma—the *Dharma Chakra pravartanam*. It is moving along peaceful path. It is on the way to solve the land problem. It is proceeding in quest of peace. We are moving from village to village to establish the power of peace. We approach the people with love and make them understand that we are asking land-gifts for the benefit of the landless. If the landless are provided with land to work, there will be peace in the country. But if we simply say to the people, "be peaceful, do not harbour any hatred towards any," and move on, how can there be real and lasting peace? Till today we were exploiting others and accumulating all for ourselves. We were so mean and crooked. This does not befit the knowledge and education that we receive. Knowledge has indeed reduced our narrow-mindedness to some extent. Still the heart remains small even though the intellectual power has widened. Everyone in the country should receive that education which will develop in him the feeling of *Nireairatha*. Without this the teachings of Buddha can never be put into actual practice and it will remain only in the air.

THREE ESSENTIALS FOR NON-VIOLENCE

Lord Buddha, Mahavira and other great saints have preached other virtues besides non-violence.

They are *Ashteya* (non-stealing), *Aparigraha* (non-hoarding) and *Samyama* (self-discipline). Without these three, Ahimsa can never prevail. The society cannot exist without them. If we do not exercise self-control in life but drown ourselves in greed and lust, formidable problems will ever stare at us. Man will begin to slaughter man. Now in war alone people are freely butchered. If any doctor tomorrow happens to state that fresh human flesh is a nourishing food, people will at once begin to eat human flesh, fresh and freely. Lustful enjoyment if allowed to have its own wide play, the natural consequence will be the appearance of innumerable hideous demons of whom we have heard much in our *puranas*. You might have also heard that many animals eat their young ones. Similar conditions will arise if man does not control his greed for enjoyment. So discipline in life should be practised if non-violence is to prevail.

The second is non-stealing. We are practising it to some extent. If one commits theft he is put in prison under law. But the present law does not prevent him from committing such acts which are thefts though not now recognised as offences by society. High salaries, enormous marginal profits, interest, brokerage,—what are all these? Are they not commissions of theft? What else are they but acts of theft? There should be an escape from all these. A limit should be prescribed for the quantum and the extent of possession and hoarding. Hoarding has to be controlled and kept under bay. Unlimited possession and non-violence cannot go hand in hand. It can never happen that non-violence will work as long as hoarding continues. People may ask, "Are not radios and loud-speakers

hoardings?" If they serve as means to increase the wealth of the whole society in general they are not. But it will be violence if one enriches oneself by looting another. We can be happy only if the whole society becomes wealthy and rich. What is that which makes the society rich? If everyone in society smokes beedies or cigarettes, each for a rupee worth per day, no one will say that it is good and that the society becomes rich. Life becomes rich if good and useful articles only are produced in plenty. Possessing of articles which others cannot have and keeping them for self-enjoyment is nothing but hoarding which is a sin. The hoarder thinks of himself alone and never cares for the needs of others. Thus when non-possession, non-stealing and self-control are interlaced and welded with Ahimsa, non-violence prevails.

WORLD VICTORY THROUGH SAMYAYOGA (EQUITY AND JUSTICE)

The law proclaims that he who protects the land, should be given one-sixth share. And I state that it is the labour that protects the land. The entire burden is on these poor tillers and toilers. They are the lord and the father of the earth. This epithet is given to them by Gandhiji himself. They are entitled to one-sixth share and they should get it.

"The world is overcome—aye! even here! By such as fix their faith on Unity" says Gita.

Thulasidas has said: "Who knows who goes to heaven and who goes to hell? So in this life itself I am contented and happy to be the slave of the Lord."

CALL FOR JEEVAN DAN

This Bhoodan movement will convert this world itself into a heaven. A synthesis of science and Ahimsa can bring down the heaven to this earth. This Yagna is for the welfare of all. Its name is Sarvodaya. When will it mate-

rialise? It will when batches of those workers who have dedicated their lives (life-donors) come forward for social service in the same way that the saints, and ascetics of ancient India and the devoted Bikshus of Buddha emerged in those days. Buddha and Mahavir fully realised that their message would spread only when thousands of devotees with complete renunciation wander about propagating their teachings far and wide. Lord Buddha had said "An enlightened man does not find happiness in his home." He will be anxious to move about and finds delight in wandering. So he always moves from place to place doing service to all. He does the work surrendering passion, hatred, censure, praise, honour, insult, everything, with full trust in God. The work of this Bhoodan movement should be carried on in a similar way. It can be done only if the Sevaks come out to work for the benefit, welfare and happiness of all. The motto is not the good and happiness of the many, but that of the entire society excluding none. If we aspire to establish the non-violent order of society, such life-donors should come forward in great numbers. Under the Bodhi-tree in Bodh Gaya, Buddha got enlightenment. In the same Bodh Gaya devotees of Gandhiji assembled recently. An inspiration came to them and the Jeevan-dan emerged. Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan offered his life and made the start. Now it has begun to flow. And it should proceed on with speed.

It is the clear will of God that the society should free itself from exploitation and State control. To all those who hold principles in life, who feel the life-force in their body and possess the power of discrimination, I appeal, to plunge straight into this mission and receive the blessings of God.

(Free rendering from HINDI)



Jeevan Dan or Dedication of Life

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

The following is a comprehensive statement clarifying the full significance of Jeevan-dan for the Bhoodan Yagna with all its ideological implications. Bhoodan Yagna aims at the Sarvodaya Social order based on Janashakti instead of Dandashakti of the State, on the politics of the people instead of the politics of the political parties leading ultimately to the Stateless State. This concludes with a fervent appeal to people to dedicate their lives for this spiritual pilgrimage of Bhoodan towards Sarvodaya.

The Bodh Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan was marked by the beginning of a new movement—Jeevandan. Since Vinobaji started Bhoodan, offshoots have been stemming out of it, such as Sadhan-dan, Sampatti-dan, Buddhi-dan, Shrama-dan, Prem-dan. All these were logical developments of the original movement. Nay, they were all there from the beginning, implicit and immanent in Bhoodan. Jeevandan likewise was immanent in it and has sprouted out when the conditions were ripe and called it forth. Indeed, a stage had been reached when without this offering of new life—Jeevandan—the movement was not likely to rise higher.

As I had some little part to play in this development, I should like briefly to explain. Comments published indicate that the move has not been adequately understood.

There is not much of a personal explanation to make, nor is there need for it. Suffice it to say that the decision I took was not made on the spur of the moment. I was being slowly driven to it for months past. Nor did the step signify repudiation of the ideals for which I had stood so long. It meant, rather, that I had realised that those ideals could be achieved and preserved better through the bhoodan or the Gandhian way.

SIGNIFICANCE OF JEEVAN DAN

What then is the full significance of Jeevandan? Jeevandan in the sense of dedication of one's life to a cause, is nothing new. Moreover, amongst those who announced their Jeevandan at Bodh

Gaya, there were many who were already leading dedicated lives. Was there need for them to re-dedicate their lives? And why was it necessary for anyone so dedicating himself to forswear politics? These and similar questions rise to the mind. I shall attempt to answer them.

Jeevandan, in the first place, is not different from dedication of one's life to a cause. But it is a dedication to a particular cause: not just to bhoodan, as it has often been represented, but to all that for which bhoodan stands. Practically all those who had gathered at Bodh Gaya were Jeevandanis in one sense or the other; that is, they had already dedicated their lives to politics, khadi, Basic education, Harijan uplift, religion or something else. When some of them responded to my call and enlisted themselves as Jeevandanis, it did not mean that they were once again vowing to do what they were already doing and in this sense were making an empty or superfluous gesture. It meant, to the contrary, that they had witnessed so clear a vision of the bhoodan movement in all its completeness, as to have been moved to dedicate themselves to it to the exclusion of every other activity, including politics.

What do we see in bhoodan to be so moved? To superficial observers bhoodan is just an agrarian reform movement, which, at best, is preparing the ground for legislation. To those who have looked deep, it is a far more significant movement. It is the beginning of an all-round social and human revolution: human also because it aims at changing man

along with society. It is an application on a general scale of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent technique of revolution. In the words of Pyarelalji, "It is the spear-head of a non-violent revolution whose implications reach far and wide".

GANDHIJI'S TECHNIQUE OF CONVERSION

As is well-known, Gandhiji's was the technique of conversion. Not only did he want to eschew violence for the construction of a new civilisation, but he did not wish even to rely on legislation as a primary instrument. He told Pyarelalji at the Agha Khan Palace: "So long as we have not got power, conversion is our weapon by necessity. But after we get power I maintain that conversion would have to be our weapon of choice. Conversion must precede legislation." Persuasion, change of heart and mind, creation of new social values and corresponding climate of opinion, non-cooperation with wrong where persuasion proved inadequate, these were Gandhiji's weapons. They served a two-fold purpose, they changed society and changed the individual. Law can do the first, but not the latter. No heart or mind has been changed by law; no individual made virtuous by coercion. Gandhiji's technique of conversion was based on faith in the possibility of improving man. This faith itself was grounded in another faith that all men irrespective of outward differences were fundamentally the same and at bottom good. Did they not all come "trailing clouds of glory from God who is our home?"

How Gandhiji would have applied his technique to the reform of present society, who can tell? But as Pyarelalji has said "Gandhiji's idea is today reborn and is being pursued with spectacular success by Vinobaji; what we are witnessing today is the beginning of that thorough social awakening of which Bapu prophetically talked..."

Bhoodan is thus a great mass movement of conversion and the creation of a new climate of thought and values of life.

It brings about a living and immediate revolution in the minds of men and their mutual relationships. It attacks and corrects here and now the system of exploitation and inequality. It teaches men to share what they have with their fellow-men.

NON-VIOLENT AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

This revolutionary process could have been started in any other sphere than the agrarian. But this field was taken first because (a) land is a primary source of production; (b) the land problem is a most urgent one; (c) it affects the vast majority of our rural country. But above all because it was possible through the medium of land to put across the new economic idea and the social ethic much easier than through the medium of any other kind of property. What bhoodan says about land is according to Gandhiji, true of all our possessions, including even knowledge and skill. All wealth is a social product and no earning is possible without social cooperation. Whatever we possess, therefore, belongs to society. We are no more than the trustees of what we have, implicitly charged by society to take good care of our trust and use it for the benefit not of ourselves but of all our fellowmen. But whereas in the agrarian sphere the idea that land being a gift of nature belongs to the community is easily accepted, in the commercial, industrial or professional field, the corresponding idea would be difficult of general acceptance. But when bhoodan has sown the seeds of this idea in five lakhs of our villages and persuaded lakhs of land-owners to accept it in practice, even if partially, a psychological climate will have been created for the idea to take root and grow in other fields also. Bhoodan, indeed, has made sufficient progress already for the Sarvodaya Sammelan to have decided at Bodh Gaya to pay equal attention now to Sampattidan.

In the wake of this economic revolution reconstruction work will have to be undertaken.

GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

There is even now a good deal of constructive work being done such as khadi, village industries, etc. But all these activities are carried on without causing any disturbance to the *status quo*. Khadi work in a village, for instance, might have been going on for a decade or two, but without affecting in the least the structure of village society. Such constructive work is barren or at best, of a relief nature only. This was not Gandhiji's conception of constructive work. He was above all a revolutionary. He has himself written: "Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be false, but I believe myself to be a revolutionary — a non-violent revolutionary." It is the genius of Vinoba that he has discovered that revolutionary way.

To many constructive workers bhoodan is still one of the many activities that might be taken up at leisure or on the side. But for a Gandhian, i. e., a non-violent revolutionary, Bhoodan is not just one of the many constructive activities: it is the very ground of their being. In the context of bhoodan construction becomes creative; in its absence it remains a dead activity. Bhoodan is like the flowing river, constructive activities the boats. Without the moving water the boats are static objects stuck in the mud. But the river gives them motion and life and then they carry their passengers to their destination.

DANDA SHAKTI AND JANA SHAKTI

While many constructive workers, as I have said above, look upon Bhoodan as merely one of many possible activities, most politicians look upon it rather condescendingly as a well-intentioned movement that will help them in due course to achieve its objectives by legislation. They promise to give it their unhurried co-operation and what time they can share from their more important work, self-assured that after all it is they who have the last word, because how can

such far-reaching social and economic changes be brought about except by the State? This is the attitude of the politicians in general, whether they are actually in control of the State or only aspiring to it. The Bhoodan movement is grateful for what aid the State and the politicians can give it, provided it is aid of the right sort. But it does not rely on the action of the state to achieve its ends. It relies, rather, on the action of the people on *Janashakti* rather than *Dandashakti*. Let us recall what Gandhiji said: "Even after we have power conversion would have to be our weapon of choice." That is why Vinobaji has been laying the utmost stress on the action of the people. A revolution, whether violent or non-violent, is wrought by the people and not by Governments. Governments follow the people and put the seal of approval on what they have already done. As Gandhi said legislation comes after conversion. That is why Vinobaji is not shouting for legislation, as so many others are. He knows that after the people have acted legislation is bound to follow, no matter which party is in power.

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF BHOODAN

Here we have an insight into the political theory of the Bhoodan movement. It does not aim at capturing the state in order to use it for its ends. As a corollary, it does not wish to create or become a political party in order to capture the state. It aims rather at persuading the people, independently of what the state may or may not want, to carry out a revolution in their own lives, and through that a revolution in society. It aims further at creating those conditions in which the people may manage their affairs directly, without the intermediation of parties and Parliaments. Gandhism, like Anarchism or Communism, visualizes ultimately a stateless society. In the present world the state not only in its totalitarian form but also in its welfare variety is assuming larger and larger powers and responsibilities.

(Continued in page 27)

World Pacifist Conference in Japan

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

The First World Pacifist Conference was held at Santiniketan and Sevagram in India in December, 1949. The Second Conference was held in Tokyo in Japan in April, 1954. The following is a brief report by Shri Bharatan Kumarappa who attended the Conference along with Shri Kaka Kalelkar and others.

After the end of the Second World War, there was a revival of Buddhism in Japan under the leadership of a very ardent Monk, Rev. Fujii. This group with hardly any money but with great faith sponsored the World Pacifist Conference alongside of its efforts to resuscitate Buddhism by erecting stupas over the Buddha relics brought over at the time from India. Accordingly membership of the Conference consisted of two distinct sets of people—those who were primarily interested in the Buddha relics and partook of the religious ceremonies connected with the receiving and preserving of the relics, and those who were interested primarily in world peace. Our programme accordingly, though devoted for the most part to problems of world peace, included also ceremonies connected with the relics of the Buddha.

There were delegates to the Conference from various parts of the world, such as India, Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Viet Nam, Korea, Australia, Britain, U. S. A., Canada and Mexico. Outside Japan, India and Ceylon had the greatest number of delegates—the Ceylonese delegates being chiefly Buddhist Monks. There were about a dozen delegates from India, amongst whom were Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Shri Sudhir Ghosh, Dr. Kalidas Nag and Shri Devpriya Valisingha. The two latter came with the Buddha relics. Those attending the Conference belonged to religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity. There were also one or two Muslim delegates from India.

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The expenses of the Conference were met from voluntary contributions and donations raised in Japan. All our travel in Japan and hospitality during the Conference was met by the Conference. This was no mean achievement considering that the Buddhist Monks who sponsored the Conference were themselves practically penniless.

The Conference held its sessions in various parts of Japan, where there were also ceremonies connected with the Buddha relics. It started in Tokyo on the 31st March with some preliminary meetings to nominate Chairman for its meetings, members of the Steering Committee, Secretariat, and Drafting Committee. The open session began on April 1, and continued in Tokyo till April 3, after which it moved to Fukuoka in South Japan, Kumomoti, Hiroshima (where the atom bomb was dropped in 1945), Osaka, Nagoya and Sendai in the North. The final session was held in Tokyo. This method of holding the Conference in several towns had the advantage of many distant places taking part in the Conference, and of the delegates getting to know the mind of the people of different parts of the country. But it had its disadvantages, as much time was spent in travel, in receptions, introductions and greetings at each place and giving opportunities for the local people to discuss problems which had already been discussed in other sessions of the Conference. But on the whole, one feels that the method justified itself in that it stimulated interest and enthusiasm in many places of Japan for working for peace.

Of all the countries represented, India received the greatest attention, partly because the Buddha relics came from India and India was the land of the Buddha, and partly also because of the great teaching and work of Gandhiji for establishing non-violence and peace, and of the leadership today of Premier Nehru in following for the sake of peace a policy of non-alignment with either of the two power-blocs. The Japanese seemed to look wistfully to India for leadership in bringing peace to them and to the world.

Amongst the topics discussed at the Conference, the one which came up wherever in Japan we met, was the problem of atomic bombs. The atom bomb had sunk deep into the soul of the Japanese and they could hardly think of any other problem than how to make the world free from the horrors of this terrible weapon of destruction. In Hiroshima we saw devastation caused to the city, and paintings by an eyewitness of conditions as he saw them soon after the explosion. What happened to the place and its inhabitants appears to have been beyond all human imagination. Most of the city has however been quickly reconstructed, but the roads are still to be properly built. The hotel in which we stayed was absolutely new having been erected after the devastation, and so also the building where we had our sessions in Hiroshima. Life now goes on in the city as though nothing had happened, but in the inner recesses of the heart of the people of Japan, the sorrow and suffering caused in Hiroshima and Nagasaki remain embedded as a never-to-be-forgotten experience. We were made to realize vividly the problem as it faces the Japanese when at the very first day of the open session in Tokyo, before the Conference had hardly began, an urgent motion was brought up that the Conference should consider the havoc caused to the fishing industry by the hydrogen bomb tests a few days previ-

ously off Bikini. At the next place we went to, viz. Fukuoka, we had a moving memorandum submitted by the fishermen of the locality and of Nagasaki depicting the loss suffered by them through hydrogen bomb tests. Everywhere people demanded that the manufacture and use of atomic weapons of destruction should be altogether prohibited. The Conference has appealed to the United Nations to this effect.

Another matter which came up for urgent consideration by the Conference at Tokyo was the situation in Korea and Indo-China. There were speakers from these two countries who spoke feelingly on the topic, and appealed that war in these countries should be ended and that the people should be left free by the Big Powers to manage their affairs themselves. The Conference appealed accordingly to the Far Eastern Peace Conference which was meeting at Geneva in the last week of April.

Besides these two matters which came up for action by the Conference at Tokyo, there were reports of Pacifist movements in various parts of the world. I spoke on Gandhiji's work, linking it up with India's age-long aspiration for non-violence, since the days of the Buddha. There was an illuminating lecture by an American Pacifist regarding Pacifist teachings in the major religions of the world, such as Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam.

After this opening session in Tokyo, we moved, as already said, to the interior. The topics discussed there were 'Annihilating Scientific Warfare vs. Disarmament,' 'How can unarmed Japan and Germany promote peace as between the two Power-Blocs,' 'Ways of achieving World Brotherhood,' 'How to work for Peace,' 'What type of organizations are we to build up for working for Peace,' 'Economic measures to be adopted for achieving World Peace,' 'How to create public opinion in favour of Peace.' The Conference split up into small groups to

discuss these problems and to plan out courses of action, and at open sessions submitted their findings for further discussion and adoption. In this way it has enumerated several practical ways of bringing about world peace.

There is no doubt that under the prevailing order of things, war is entered into by Governments, and the people function only as tools to carry out the orders of their Governments. The Conference was fully aware of the helpless state of peace-loving peoples everywhere to avert war. Consequently it concentrated on suggesting practical ways in which people could strengthen themselves to resist war. This was the main task of the Conference at its various sessions and at its closing session in Tokyo on April 22, it summed up its recommendations under a single Declaration which it sent out to the people of the world, and which reads as follows:

"Whereas the World Pacifist Conference in Japan, concerned with the problems of peace, is deeply conscious of the untold physical and spiritual suffering caused by war, and

"Whereas the Conference is convinced that only the people's refusal to participate in war for any purpose whatsoever will save the nations,

"The Conference therefore appeals

"To the peoples of the world, through all organizations of youth, women and labour, and through all religions, to demand with one voice that war be abolished;

"To the peoples of the world to move their Governments to resort exclusively to peaceful solutions for all international disputes;

"To all Governments, acting through the United Nations or other channels,

(a) to take effective steps to eradicate the political, economic and social causes of tension and conflict between nations, and in their place bring about world-wide co-operation and

(b) to abolish the manufacture and use of atomic weapons as a first step to total disarmament.

Finally, the World Pacifist Conference urges the peoples of the world to become conscious of their power to reject war and total annihilation, and to affirm their right to life

and peace, and to this end, urges pacifists the world over to organize active and direct non-violent resistance to War."

One does not expect Conference such as this to achieve anything sensational or to perform a miracle. All that can be claimed is that through this Conference, men and women interested in peace, from various countries, were enabled to sit and think together how they could more effectively strengthen the movement for peace in their own countries. It was felt throughout the Conference that humanity was sitting on an active volcano which might erupt any moment, and swallow it up, if we, the peoples, of the world, did not bestir ourselves and act quickly. Japan which had suffered the ravages of war and of atomic weapons provided just the background required to remind us of the seriousness and vital importance of our task. It is hoped that the message of the Conference will reach the four corners of the earth and rally the peoples of the world to offer non-violent resistance to war and organize for free and peaceful co-operation between all men everywhere. ★

St. FRANCIS AND GANDHI

An essay by an English girl

"St. Francis of Assisi was called the little poor man of Assisi. He was just like Gandhi in every way. They both loved nature, such as the children, birds and flowers. He wears loin-cloth like St. Francis did, when he was on the earth. Gandhi and St. Francis were sons of rich merchants. One night while St. Francis was feasting with his followers, he remembered the poor Italians. He ran out and gave up all his rich clothes and all his money to the poor and dressed himself in old sacks. Gandhi did the very same thing. He gave up all his rich gay life to the poor Indian people."

— MAHATMA (Vol. 3) Page 157

The Tractor Cultivation

— J. C. KUMARAPPA

For about a week I have been here at Pannai Ashram. Ever since I arrived here I have been distressed to hear the buzz of the tractor. I understand that some landlords of Sindi, who own lands at Seldoh have hired Government tractors to plough their lands. I fear these friends have not considered the consequences of their acts. I have previously pointed out the damage caused by big industries and Centralisation. I shall now speak about the tractor in particular.

I hear this tractor is one of 50 horsepower i.e. it is equivalent to 50 pairs of bullocks and the charges are Rs. 60 per day. This means that every day it works, it takes away about one khandy of jawar and leaves behind smoke. We are already poor, how can we afford to pay such charges? On the other hand, if we used bullocks we would get rich manure with the urine and dung of these animals. This method would involve keeping cows also to breed bullocks. The cows will yield milk which is a very wholesome form of food. This is our economy. By breaking into it we impoverish ourselves.

Besides, as the tractors plough more deeply than the bullocks, unless we have more manure and more water we cannot benefit from them.

These machines cost about Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000 apart from their accessories such as plough, hoes and harvesters. Mostly these come from the U. S. A. to which place we have to export our raw materials in payment. Export of raw material causes unemployment in our own land. If we send out groundnuts the *uli* loses his work and the Ghani industry dies. Thus using tractors involves not only unemployment of bullocks but also causes unemployment of our fellowmen. We cannot slaughter these useless animals and men. Hence, they become a drain on the country.

The money spent on the tractor is not of use all the year round. It serves only during seasons of ploughing, harvesting etc., while bullocks can be used always for drawing water, transport of goods and ourselves etc. Thus it leads to a huge amount of capital being locked up.

When war or other disturbance occurs we cannot get diesel oil, which comes from foreign lands, as this oil will be used mainly as fuel for war machines. At such a time we cannot plough our fields as the bullocks being of no use will have become extinct by then.

Don't be carried away by the fact that part of the charges are paid by the Government. The Government itself has no money of its own, but what it gets from taxing the people. So part of the charges paid by the Government only means that the country bears the burden as a whole. So we are not receiving the service any cheaper, and we, who do not use the tractor, are also made to pay for the services rendered to the rich farmers who are the ones who use the tractors. Thus the burden falls on the poor people also. If you do not approve of paying for rich people, you should actively oppose the Government using public money for supporting tractor cultivation.

Great many of these machines come from America who is actively preparing for a war against Russia. By pushing these tractors into our country they get ready trained drivers for their war machines and keep them in readiness. So this is part of American war preparedness. We do not want wars, then why should we support such preparations?

There are many more evils which I have not the time to elaborate, but I have said enough to indicate the dangers underlying the seemingly innocent "help" rendered by tractor cultivation. So villagers should be warned against such dangers being imposed on them unawares, and work towards making themselves self-sufficient.

The Mother Who Gave The Mahatma

ANU BANDYOPADHYAYA

The world knows Mahatma Gandhi but not much about the mother who gave him to the world. In this article we find how much Gandhiji was indebted to his mother in some of his own most touching and reverent references to her.

In Sudamapuri, washed by the waters of the Arabian Sea, lived Putlibai, with a large family. Putlibai's husband Karamchand, was the Dewan of Rajkot State.

She did not preen herself as a dewan's wife. She was a simple, gentle and religious minded woman and generally occupied herself in looking after her family and household.

When Karamchand was seriously ill, she took charge of his nursing, and was helped by her youngest son, Mohan, who was endearingly called Manu.

From the kitchen she often called: "Manu, have you given medicine to your father?" "Have you kept water and spittoon ready for him?"

Mohan watched beside the bed of his ailing father. He kept his mother informed about the needs and condition of the patient, helped him eat, and massaged his feet.

TOLERANCE

His father prophesied: "Manu will maintain the prestige of our family."

Everyday Putlibai went to the Haveli temple to offer prayers. Mohan accompanied her. He too, had a firm faith in God but, even as a child, he disliked the pomp and splendour of the temples.

His mother was a rigid Vaishnavite, yet she visited the Shaiva and Jain temples, and had no intolerance for other religious sects. She taught Mohan that God resides in all things, and "the atom reflected the universe."

To the last days of his life, he shared her tolerance and reverence for all

religions and in his eyes, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians had equal standing. He regularly recited his prayers twice a day and chanted hymns from different religious books.

Sardar Patel once said laughing: "You have a knack of pleasing all gods."

He replied with a proud smile: "Oh yes, that was what my mother taught me. She would ask me to go to the Haveli and also to the Shaiva temple."

"When we were married, my wife and I were taken to worship not only at all the Hindu shrines but at a fakir's dargah as well."

His mother implanted in him by her example the idea of conversion by non-violent resistance. He was very fond of onions as a child. Vaishnavites considered them taboo.

His mother abstained from eating them but did not bar Mohan from taking them.

She prepared the dish separately and served it to him. By continually making adverse remarks on it, she won him to her way of thinking.

His mother never took her meals without saying her prayers and was adamant in observing trying vows and fasts. She fasted during the nine days of Navaratri, and taught her children to practise abstinence, too.

As a rule, she observed Chandrayana and Chaturmas. During Chandrayana, she regulated her diet according to the waxing and waning of the moon. Chaturmas was still more exacting.

In the rainy season, for four months, she lived on only one meal a day. She

stuck to her resolve even when she was ill.

At one time she fasted every alternate day and at another she decided to take food only after seeing the sun. Mohan was anxious to save her from fasting.

He stared at the sky for long intervals, and whenever he chanced to spot the deceptive sun, behind the mesh of clouds, announced its appearance with gusto. Often by the time, mother came to see the sun, it would disappear.

She used to console the child by saying cheerfully: "That does not matter. God did not want me to eat today."

His mother's yearning for service, her love for all people, her truthfulness and observance of vows without flinching and her practice of self-mortification as a means of purification left a deep impress on Mohan during his formative period.

Later he outdid his mother in observing long fasts. He attached considerable importance to fasts and vows: "Being accustomed from very childhood to taking vows, I confess I have a strong bias in favour of the practice.

"A vow imparts stability, ballast and firmness to one's character.... Fasting has a recognised place in religious practice. It is a satyagrahi's ultimate weapon."

Putlibai's illiteracy never diminished Mohan's admiration for her strong commonsense. He remembered how often he accompanied her to the palace where she held lively discussions with the widowed mother of the Thakore Saheb.

One gesture of his mother proved difficult for him to understand. His mother told him to avoid the unholy touch of an untouchable schoolmate. According to her, the shortest cut to efface the pollution was to touch any Muslim. He obeyed, but could not believe it to be a religious obligation. Again, Uka, the sweeper, was to be kept at a distance.

Touching him would lead to a purificatory ablution. The obedient child

detested wounding his mother's feelings and complied with her wish, but not without a smiling protest.

The twelve-year-old boy would argue: "What was wrong in touching Uka?" He told his mother that it was entirely wrong to consider physical contact with Uka as sinful, and it was not possible that untouchability was sanctioned by religion.

UNTOUCHABILITY

He remembered how Rama was carried across the Ganges in the boat of one who would nowadays be regarded as an untouchable. He believed that Ramayana could not countenance the idea of any people being untouchable on the ground that they were polluted souls.

On another issue, he deceived his mother. From boyhood he had a deep yearning for India's freedom and the following familiar doggerel had a hold on his mind:

*Behold the mighty Englishman
He rules the Indian small
Because being a meat-eater
He is five cubits tall.*

To match the strong Englishman, he stealthily took to meat-eating. The son of orthodox Vaishnavite parents somehow ate the abhorred meat, but could not altogether reconcile himself to its taste.

When the mother called him to dinner, he mumbled "I have no appetite today; there is something wrong with my digestion." He knew he was lying and that too to his mother.

After a few occasions he got annoyed with himself and confessed his guilt. After that he never ate meat and devised a better weapon other than brute force, for ending foreign rule.

After matriculating, he joined a college which he did not like. His father was not alive and could not advise him. One family friend suggested that Mohan should keep the ancestral gadi of the dewanship, and for that reason he should proceed to England for higher studies.

The thought of her young son going astray in an alien country was more oppressive to Putlibai than the long separation. She advised Mohan to consult his uncle.

KEPT WORD

When approached, the uncle evaded the responsibility by saying: "If your mother permits you to go then I won't stand in your way."

Mohan enthusiastically reported his uncle's opinion but his mother was still hesitant.

He asked: "Will you not trust me?"

Putlibai replied: "I can trust you, but how would it be possible for you to observe restrictions in a foreign land?"

Mohan assured her: "I swear that I shall not touch meat, wine and woman," and extracted permission from her to go abroad.

In 1888, at the age of 19 he sailed for England. While aboard, he had not the heart to ask whether the food served to him was vegetarian or not and lived on the fare brought from home.

In England, food became a serious problem. Boiled vegetables tasted insipid. He asked for a fresh stock of eatables from home.

An English friend was sympathetic and tried to win him over: "Once when it was absolutely unnecessary, you took meat, and will not take it here where it is quite essential. What's the value of a promise made before an illiterate mother ignorant of the conditions in England? It is no vow at all."

Mohan remained adamant: "Pardon me, I cannot argue on this sore point. I would sooner die than break the promise to my mother.

"A vow is a vow. Please give me up as foolish or obstinate."

In June, 1891, Putlibai's Manu who was then known as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and was a Bar-at-law, left England for India. He was pining to meet his mother.

His brother came to receive him at the docks and told him that their mother was no more to welcome him back to her bosom.

Gandhi was shocked. All his hopes were shattered. But he showed no weakness and checked his tears.

Two years later he made a voyage to South Africa. This time, he stated the pang of separation was not so strong as "mother was no more."

In South Africa, Mr. Coates, one of his Christian associates, who discussed religion with him noticed a Vaishnava Tulsibead peeping behind Gandhi's collar and said in astonishment: "This superstition does not become you. Let me tear it out."

Gandhi said: "No, you will not. It is a sacred gift from my mother."

FILIAL LOVE

Mr. Coates asked: "But do you believe in it?" Gandhi replied "I do not know its mysterious significance. But I cannot, without sufficient reason, give up a necklace that she put round my neck, out of love and for my welfare.

"I won't have a new one when it wears away and breaks of its own accord. But my word cannot be broken."

To the last years of his life, Gandhi made frequent reference to his loving mother. When he visited the Taxilla ruins at the age of 70, among other things, he was shown a pair of a thousand-year-old heavy silver anklets.

With a deep sigh he exclaimed: "My mother used to wear anklets like these."

While speaking to Delhi refugees about right conduct in 1947, he said: "My mother an illiterate village woman, had taught me that I should take care that I did the right thing. If I served well in my own immediate surroundings the universe would take care of itself."

MOTHER INDIA

Mahadev Desai once asked: "In your autobiography, you have called your

mother's religious observances saintliness. Don't you think austerity would be a more appropriate term?"

Gandhi replied: "No. I have used the word saintliness deliberately. Austerity implies external renunciation but saintliness is an inner quality of the soul.

"My mother's austerity was only an echo of her inner life. Whatever purity I have in me is inherited from my mother and not from my father. My mother died at the age of forty, in the flower of youth.

"I never saw in her any frivolity—any craving for dress, looks and pleasure of life. The impression of that saintliness still encircles me."

Once he said that he wanted to die in the lap of his mother. She had died years ago, and now Mother India with her countless million children had beckoned him across the seas and he could not resist that call. He found solace at last in serving Mother India.

Courtesy — "Sunday Standard," Feb. 29th, '54



DEDICATION OF LIFE FOR BHOODAN

REV. RALPH R. KEITHAHN

Thousands of people believe that Jesus gave man a concrete definition of Love and love-relationships that took us to greater heights than had been ever attained. During the centuries thereafter thousands of people have incarnated this unique expression of love throughout the world. However, such was largely limited to individual relationships.

It was Gandhiji who took the reality "soul-force", as he called it, into the very heart of social relationships. The world has yet to comprehend the meaning of his non-violent struggle for freedom in India and its success. People always found it difficult to reconcile "the saint" and "the politician." Here was a new type. However, perhaps even more such have not yet realized that Gandhiji's Love Movement had its "Constructive Programme." That is, as Gandhiji struggled for political freedom he stressed the need of complete social freedom. He knew that the two were indivisible. Immediately he began to live as though he were in a "casteless, classless society." His programme included the necessary economic features. The service of the Harijan (child of God) was a demonstration of love on the part of the repenting

"Caste" person towards the exploited "Untouchable." There was a programme for women and children's welfare. The fact of the wholehearted co-operation of Indian women today in this New World shows how successful this effort has been. And perhaps the most difficult part of the programme is that of Basic Education. Here was education-for-life, centered in life, and for the whole range of this earthly existence. It is the substantial means of bringing into being the Good Society.

Normally we would have thought that the movement would have stopped with Gandhiji's death. However, there were certain problems which could not be tackled satisfactorily until Freedom had come. Such a problem was that of land tenure, the most serious problem India faces today. Therefore, it was natural that one of the most faithful disciples of Gandhiji, Vinobaji, should soon discover this new aspect of the "Constructive Programme" and give his life thereto. One might say that he stumbled into "Bhoodan." Certainly he successfully met the challenge of the Communists in Hyderabad. And with the taste of success and a new sense of vocation

he took this New Movement into the whole of India. Already 33 lakhs of acres have been collected—the goal for 1954 was 25 lakhs.

The critics of "Bhoodan" (Land-Gift Mission) who have said that this was only one aspect of the problem have been met with the call of "Shrama-Dan" (gift of work) and "Sampatti Dan" (gift of wealth). In other words those who have land are called upon to share those lands with the landless. Those who do not have lands are urged to offer manual labour. And those who have money are requested to give 1/6th of their wealth so that wells may be dug where necessary, bullocks and instruments may be bought to help the poor till their newly acquired land.

But there has been a growing realization that the heart of the problem was that of integrity. Only recently Nehru expressed his deep concern when he criticized the "cocktail parties" at New Delhi. There has been a good deal of corruption and graft and self-seeking in India since the Day of Freedom. And those of us who have watched the developments in China during the last 30 years have been deeply concerned that corruption would be the weak-spot through which Communism would come to India. But even more than this, the selfless worker knew that in the "Land-Gift Mission" it would be purity of life that would ensure success.

Thus it was not surprising that in a living Movement and at Sarvodaya Sammelan, where thousands of Constructive Workers gathered for their annual fellowship, the supreme call should have been made for the gift of life. It is very significant that this call came from Sri Jayaprakash, the leader of the Socialists in India. In other words, he has been primarily a political man. But this great political leader, sometimes heralded as the follower of Nehru has sensed that the heart of the political struggle is in this Land-Gift Mission—and that the secret of its success is the purity of the worker. Therefore, he issued the call the full

significance of which must have been beyond his comprehension. For when the most worthy of Gandhiji's followers, Vinobaji, answering that call offered his own life, Sri Jayaprakash felt so unworthy that he passed on the offer to Ashadevi Aryanayakam, another close follower of Gandhiji and leader of Basic Education in India, who read the offer to the Sarvodaya Sammelan, at the same time offering her own life.

Sometimes I wonder why here in India and in other parts of the world the average man finds it so difficult to comprehend this New Movement of the Soul in daily life. Is modern civilization with all of its disciples in the East, so fascinated by a "gadget civilization" that it has forgotten how to comprehend the things of the Spirit? Have the disciples of Jesus so immersed themselves in the struggle for material blessings that they cannot appreciate the selling of all one has to buy "the pearl of great price"—the living of a simple life in order that the abundant life may come to all? Has the modern world become so fascinated by the power of modern weapons that they forget there is a greater power, "the power of the Soul"? Are we so blinded by the immensity of our Governments that we cannot see how a little "naked Fakir" of Sevagram can shake the greatest of Empires until even an arrogant Churchill has to watch their disintegration? Have we forgotten the power of the little seed that grows into a tree? Cannot we comprehend the power of the Seed of Life that can grow into a new humanity? All religious people, especially the Disciples of the Jesus of Nazareth, may well search the heart of this great Satyagraha Movement in India to see whether here is not something to help them to comprehend the heights, the depths and lengths and widths of their own master. It is one thing to claim the Absolute nature of Jesus Christ. But it is quite another thing to comprehend that Reality. It will be grasped only as we take the Living Christ with us into the struggles of life.

That is our Hope and that is our Joy! ★

★ A SHORTER WORLD ★

—[RADHA BENODE MUKHERJEE]—

The fifteenth century was a great landmark in the annals of mankind. It was evidenced by definite marks by human beings to come closer together by exploring unexplored regions on earth. Columbus, Vasco-da-Gama, Magellan and many other expeditioners braved the dangers of the seas and brought human beings in contact with one another erstwhile living in almost water-tight compartments. Coming down to the twentieth century the expedition of Mr. Tensing and Mr. Hillary is another feat in our striving to surmount an unconquerable thing. We now know the world from the North Arctic to the South Antarctic in flatwise—and also know the highest place on earth. With the discovery of the bottomest portion of earth (to which human attention is now energetically devoted) we shall be in possession of a complete picture of earth. Besides these, many other inventions and discoveries have been brought to our aid to bring us still closer together. Telegraph, wireless, aeroplane, and the recently invented television—all these are the outcome of human geniuses and are indeed of inestimable value for our intercourse with one another. We can now cross a distance of more than four thousand miles within ten or twelve hours and can hear news from the remotest part of earth within the twinkle of an eye. It looks as if we are living in paradise and if the present rate of progress of scientific human genius continues unabatingly Thomas More's Utopia would be a thing of the dead past.

But human genius is acting like the God of Mars, a double-headed deity. If in the fifteenth century we found a tendency towards a great expansion, then the twentieth century is showing the signs of

a great contraction. Future Columbus may not be in a position to cross the seas unmenaced by man-made brutalities. The great light-post installed in the middle of the Pacific, and the dotted light-houses all along the coastal areas and in dangerous spots into the interiors of the seas may become remnants of ancient monuments. The 1,137 ships that are under construction in the current year throughout the world may remain in the construction yards without being used for commercial purposes. Rain may no longer be one of our choicest blessings as brilliantly expounded in the sacred Kural, but a scourge to civilisation, for it may be contaminated with atomic dust which may mean death to millions. The poet may no longer sing:

"For I in spirit saw the move
Thro' circles of the bounding sky,
Week after week; the days go by;
Come quick, thou bringest all I love."

We have been doing all these catastrophic actions by the sheer folly of experimenting with the deadliest weapons ever invented by the devilish human brains. The areas which have been blocked and declared non-passagable for human beings run to lakhs of miles. If the still sheer follies of a group of misanthropics dominate the earth and if we allow them to conduct the same experiments on two more sides of the earth we may land ourselves as the powerful Rama was encircled by lakhs of snakes coming out of the arrows of Indrajit or in our common experience engulfed by a devastating fire.

Above the earth we have little to say about as no invention has so far been made to enable us to live in the air.

Driven thus from the waters as well as from the airs we may now pay a glimpse into the conditions of the third

portion of our habitation namely, the land. And land forms only one-third portion of our planet Earth. It is recognised on all hands that human population is increasing at a rapid rate and the land is now inhabited from the First Couple by more than 250 millions of people. A look at the aspiration of our habitation on earth brings a dismal picture to our fore. Our home is no longer a sweet home. For our physical ailments we want separate hospitals, for our education we want separate palatious and costly buildings, for our luxury we want high masonry buildings and giant plants, and even for our drinking purposes we want huge artificial water tanks occupying large tracts of land. Whatever is natural is left abandoned and it seems that we are busily after things artificial to the core. The result is that our home which catered almost all our needs in the past under the loving and benign care of our parents, elders and neighbours is receded to the background and the need for multiplicity of habitation is catching our imagination day by

day. The other side of the picture is as gloomy as anything. "If a million houses are built every year in the country it will take 75 years to complete the housing programme," says Mr. G. D. Birla. Whither then are we proceeding? Remember then that Gandhiji's call "Back to the Village" and his adoption of "Nature's Cure" were not mere figments of imagination.

The problem has special bearing with regard to the conditions prevailing in India where the land is actually shorter than our needs. We want land for agriculture, we want land for extracting our mineral resources from the bowels of the earth and above all we want a happy and contented home for each one of us. If we do not want to become refugees and vagabonds on earth leaving our hearth and home, peace and contentment and if we aspire to develop our self to the fullest extent we must abandon our degrading attitudes on earth, for earth is limited and not elastic and cannot be expanded or contracted.

WAR AND PEACE CRIMINALS?

G. RAMACHANDRA, Seva Asram, Gudivada

Some leading personalities in the countries (Japan, Germany and Italy) vanquished in the *Second World War* were convicted of what were termed War-Crimes by tribunals constituted by the Victorious Countries. Some were made to pay the penalty with there lives. Some others are still serving varying terms of penal servitude. The subdued countries are still under the occupation of the Victors, British, French, American and Russian, who divided amongst themselves and their allies, as War Reparations, the best war and industrial equip-

ment that the former had. Practically, the vanquished countries exist on the sufferance of the Victors. Such is the heavy price that subdued countries are made to pay, who, to boot, have their throats in the grip of the Victors who may squeeze them at any moment. After all, as the saying has it, "Everything is fair in War." Once the intoxication of war is on, it is almost a physical impossibility to discern or restrain, the only aim being to somehow to make the enemy prostrate. Even Law extenuates, even exculpates, crime done under intoxication of Drink.

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The only way to prevent such crime is to stamp out Drink. So it is with War, a thousand times more dangerous in its incidence of intoxication than Drink. To allow, or indulge, in War and yet to pick out so-called war crimes for punishment by the Victorious is sheer camouflage. The only way to prevent war-crime is to taboo War altogether, whatever the alleged provocation may be. We advocate negotiation or arbitration in the case of disputes or differences between individuals and communities. Why not adopt the same method to settle differences and disputes between countries and Nations?

As stated above, the rousing of passions inevitable in war and intoxication incidental thereto are responsible for the deprivation of discernment and common-sense and humanity. Even against the background of such circumstances, so-called war-crimes, the inevitable result of the Death-Dance of either party, are punished with Death of the leaders and confiscation of property and occupation of countries (Vanquished.) What then should be our attitude towards perpetrators of Peace-Crimes, Horrors committed by countries when there is not an iota of extenuation or provocation. The real reason is that some of the powerful nations of the world are training themselves to do mass destruction of Human, not to speak of sub-human, life by Atomic, Hydrogen, Cobalt.....Bombs. The countries responsible for it lead. Even a hearing at the international tribunal cannot be obtained by a country which does not humour the leading Life-Destructionists. Where are the nations that can say "No" to the "All-Destructionist" policy of Peace-Criminals, confiscate the plant to manufacture the all-destructive weapons, and sit tight on the Peace-Criminal Countries, so as to prevent the Peace Criminals from turning into kinetic War-Criminals at the slightest provocation? Is it Civilisation to plan and execute mass destruction of Life, Human and sub-Human, on a fabulous scale?

Alas! The Human family is threatened with well-nigh extinction — all on account of the race for Supremacy as between two ideologies. Capitalism and Communism. The nations in between the two are forced victims of their inveterate, possibly, fatal conflicts.

Crimes, War or Peace, are inevitable, so long as war is not an anathema. The latter cannot be, until and unless the intruding interloper, the exploiting trespasser and the unwanted civiliser so-called — withdraws bag and baggage, from the scenes of their "Civilising mission" via Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and New Zealand, where the Children of the Soil are being exterminated and enslaved by the "Civilising Nations" of the West. Will India move such a proposition in a meeting of United Nations at almost the certain risk of being not able to find a seconder and even of being poohpoohed as a "Dreamer." Fools like the writer of this there are who believe that the "Dream" will come true, at least after the world gets disgusted with war and fed up with the grabbing sort of Civilisation that does not scruple to enslave whole continents and Races. May God expedite the advent of that day! ★

Cannot Isolate Politics from Life

MAHATMA GANDHI

"You must understand that I cannot isolate politics from the deepest things of my life, for the simple reason that my politics are not corrupt, they are inextricably bound up with non-violence and truth. As I have said often enough, I would far rather that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth."

— Mahatma (Vol. 3) P. 143

BHOODAN AND REVOLUTION

J. B. KRIPALANI

(From a speech at the public meeting at Bodh-Gaya during the Sarvodaya Sammelan on 18—4—1954.)

From its beginning in Hyderabad, the Bhoodan Movement had a fascination for me. From study of history and participation in one revolutionary movement, I saw in it the elements of a comprehensive revolution. I saw in it the possibility of a revival of Gandhiji's ideas and ideals which we have neglected for the past few years. I wrote about the movement in the columns of the Vigil. From the many arguments that I advanced in favour of my thesis I would quote here one only. It is that when a revolutionary movement has once been started, ordinary individuals participating in it perform tasks which were never expected of them. Under the inspiration of a revolutionary urge they work wonders. This can be illustrated both from religious and political history. Christ's followers, ignorant fishermen, could exorcise demons, cure the sick, feed the hungry and perform miracles. The Master's grace had descended on them. Ignorant as they were they could hold their own against the cultured and educated of their times. Christ's 'fishermen' became the 'fishers of men.' In Islam, the tribal disciples of the prophet under the impulse of a new idea soon created an empire greater than that of Rome. The semi-civilised people of the desert became the teachers of mankind in philosophy, science and arts.

In the political field, who could have imagined that a Parisian mob hastily formed could under a revolutionary urge storm the Bastille and raze it to the ground! Who in our own days and in our country, before the advent of Gandhi on the political scene, could have believed that thousands of our countrymen, including boys of school-going age and

women of high families, who had never stepped out of their homes, would court the privations and hardship of jail, inspired by the idea of the independence of the country! Who could have believed that where great patriots had defended themselves in courts of law against the charge of sedition, every urchin in the street would fearlessly raise the slogan that British rule was satanic and the spread of disaffection against it was a national Dharma. Such historical instances of the ordinary instruments of revolution rising to high heights could be multiplied.

We witness this phenomenon re-appearing today in the Bhoodan movement. In a country where brother fought brother for a few Kathas of land and where such land disputes resulted in murders, today boys and girls scarcely out of their teens go about and ask and obtain a few acres of land every day. You heard how a young Bhoodan volunteer in Gujarat with his patience and perseverance, induced a zamindar, who would not allow him to enter his house, to part with twenty-five acres of land. In Gujarat, twenty-five acres of land would mean at least a couple of lakhs of rupees. Such examples are there in plenty.

Another point that I would keep before you this evening is that there are in history two kinds of revolutions. One seeks to change the life of the individual and community in most of its major departments. Another begins with one major department and then proceeds to transform the whole of life.

Buddha and Christ sought to solve the riddle of life. Their mission was purely spiritual. But because their approach to the spiritual problem of the individual was revolutionary, they ultimately succeeded in bringing about

comprehensive revolutions. In the wake of the spiritual impulse given by the master, new arts, sciences and systems of philosophy grew up. The political map of the world was changed and new kingdoms and empires were established. Starting from a change in spiritual values the great religions of the world brought about basic changes in other fields of life and activity.

The Bhoodan movement starts with revolutionary ideas about property in land. Yet if it remains at that level it will fail to accomplish even its limited purpose. The movement, if it is truly revolutionary must expand itself to cover all major activities of life. If the landless get a few acres of land and there are a few toddy shops in their midst, their land will evaporate in a few years. If again in spite of land the cultivators were extravagant in their expenditure on birth, marriage, death, etc. and made themselves victims of the rapacious money-lenders, their land would soon disappear. If the village lacks some main and subsidiary industries to provide employment to increasing population, the holdings will be so sub-divided that ultimately they will be of little use to the peasants. Again if the villagers are divided by caste barriers and untouchability, the possession of a few acres of land will scarcely improve their lot. If the Government is bad and tyrannical, corrupt and inefficient, the mere possession of a few acres of land will solve no problems of the villager. If the administration is extravagant and the burden of taxation goes on increasing or if through wrong policies there is inflation the villager will be ruined in spite of his five acres. In short, if the reformer wants the villager really to enjoy the fruits of his newly-acquired land, he must not confine himself merely to the land problem but also tackle the allied social and political problems. In India, before British Raj there were few landless labourers. Almost every villager

had a small plot of land. How did these plots disappear? They disappeared because the social and the political arrangements were inimical to their retention. If Bhoodan is to succeed it must work out the whole political, social and economic programme of Bapu.

Today we saw a great step being taken in the movement. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has announced his 'Jeevandan' for Bhoodan. When he announced his resolve, I too felt tempted to follow his noble example. But a little self-analysis deterred me from taking such a weighty decision. I am known to be prone to anger. I thought if I dedicated my angry self to the movement it may do more harm than good. Only people with some self-control (Samyam) should dedicate their lives for a noble cause. If we suffer from greed, anger, passion, ambition and jealousy, our dedication will be of no avail. Today, Shri Vinoba complained about the jealousies and rivalries among Bhoodan workers, their lack of sense of duty and urgency, their apathy and indifference. Why all this? Because the workers to my mind have dedicated to the movement their unregenerate selves. Sacrifice to be of value must be pure and without blemish. With the call that Sri Jayaprakash Narayan has given today I hope there will be a re-dedication to the cause.

— Courtesy—"Vigil" May 1, 1954.

THE STATE MUST FOLLOW AND NOT LEAD

But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting; that the State must follow, and not lead, the character and progress of the citizen; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of; and they only who build on ideas, build for eternity; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it. The law is only a memorandum. We are superstitious, and esteem the Statute somewhat; so much life as it has in the character of living men, is its force.

— Emerson.

All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board

PROGRAMME FOR 1954-55

The Government of India have given grants and loans totalling Rs. 1,39,90,900 for the development of khadi and village industries this year.

Government have earmarked Rs. 5.31 crores during 1954-'55 for the development of khadi and village industries. In addition a sum of Rs. five crores has been provided for the development of the handloom industry.

For the development of khadi alone Government have sanctioned this year grants totalling Rs. 1,10,94,300. Rs. 79 lakhs have been given for trading operations including the purchase of kapas, cotton and other raw materials, sale of yarn to institutions, purchase of yarn from such institutions and centres, purchase of implements, purchase of khadi from the institutions, sale of khadi to the public and the Government and other expenditure.

Rs. 30 lakhs have been earmarked for payment of rebate at the rate of three annas per rupee on the sales of khadi and three lakhs rupees for implementing "vastra swalamban" scheme under which self-spinners get a rebate on khadi. Rs. 2 lakhs is for rebate on sales of implements and accessories supplied to khadi workers in order to increase the production of khadi, and another 2 lakhs for the payment of honorarium to workers engaged in the sale of khadi on a graduated scale.

Other allocations are: Rs. 1,89,700 for providing stipends to students "training in Khadi scheme" at Nasik; Rs. 1,80,000 for publicity and propaganda; Rs. 70,000 for the payment of travelling and other expenses of workers to run spinning classes in jail; Rs. 64,500 for the payment of stipends and tuition fees of 1,000

trainees under the "agency sales scheme;" Rs. 44,100 for holding competitions and award of prizes; Rs. 23,000 for training workers in khadi salesmanship and Rs. 3,000 for the inauguration of the training Vidyalyaya at Nasik.

In regard to village industries, Government have sanctioned a loan of Rs. 7,55,000 and a grant of Rs. 3,91,000 for the development of soap-making with non-edible oils; a grant of Rs. 2,91,000 and a loan of Rs. 2,85,000 for opening 12 intensive development centres for gur and Khandsari, pottery, fibre and carpentry industries and also for constructing godowns for 30 centres; Rs. 44,600 for opening training-cum-research and model production centres for village pottery industry, and Rs. 30,000 for improving the hand-operated and bullock-driven flour chakkies.

A loan of Rs. 1,26,520 has been granted to the Government of Bihar for the development of the pottery industry in the State and for holding an exhibition of handicrafts. The Uttar Pradesh Government has been given a grant of Rs. 39,000 for the development of the pottery industry, Madhya Pradesh gets a grant of Rs. 30,700 for the development of village pottery.



The All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, which concluded its two-day session here today authorised its executive to draft proposals to be submitted to the Planning Commission for inclusion in the second five-year plan.

The Board directed its zonal directors to keep in touch "with the Community Projects Administration in their areas."

It empowered its Chairman to take up the question of vesting statutory

authority in the Board with the Government of India.

The Board decided to take over the function of certification of Khadi from the Sarva Seva Sangh in view of the Sangh's "reluctance to continue the work."

The Board referred the questions of using motive power in the technical process of village industries to its Economics Committee. It felt the question should be examined "both from the economic and technical aspects, bearing in view the basic policies of the Board pertaining to village industries."

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Trust Fund proposes to intensify its activities on four fronts—anti-leprosy work, propagation of Bhoodan movement, medical relief for labour and the spread of the principle often emphasised by Gandhiji that all religions are equal.

The Committee has also drawn up schemes to spread and perpetuate the memory of the Mahatma. A sum of Rs. one crore is proposed to be spent on construction of four national museums and memorial columns in places with which Gandhiji was associated. The four museums will be located at Rajghat at New Delhi, and the Gandhi Ashrams at Wardha and Sabarmathi and at Madurai in the South. These museums will be equipped with up-to-date libraries of literature on Gandhiji and his philosophy. They will also contain albums of photos and pictures taken during Gandhiji's life-time and depicting his multifarious activities.

In view of the keen interest Gandhiji took in anti-leprosy work, the Trust Committee has decided to constitute a Rs. one-crore fund to take this work on a wider scale.

So far its activities were limited to helping leprosy colonies, but now the

Sri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, who had surveyed the Kholapur district to explore the possibilities of developing soap-making with neem oil, informed the Board that there were about 15 lakh neem trees in the district which could yield approximately three lakh bags of neem seeds.

Sri Gajanan Naik reported on the difficulties encountered in the development of neera tapping and sales, and requested the Board to approach the State governments for facilities for the development of neera as a fresh beverage.



Committee will focus its attention on measures for the eradication and control of leprosy. Special efforts will be made to detect early cases of leprosy, particularly in rural areas, which it is known, are neglected. Facilities for training and research in leprosy work will be provided at training centres and awarding research scholarships. Two such training centres have already been opened at Wardha and Dallitpur in Madhya Pradesh.

The Committee's programme to provide better medical facilities to labour includes construction of two hospitals, one at Calcutta and the other at Bombay. Negotiations for opening a hospital for jute labour at Calcutta are almost complete while those for a hospital in Bombay for textile labour are under way.

The Committee has set apart a sum of Rs. 13 lakhs for carrying Bhoodan propaganda and for helping in the distribution of land donations received. Last year, the Committee spent over Rs. 9 lakhs over this work.

The Trust is also keen to popularise the Japanese method of rice cultivation and proposes to set up demonstration centres to train cultivators in this method. A sum of Rs. 9 lakhs has been set apart for this work.

Continued from page 10

The welfare state, in the name of welfare, threatens as much to enslave man to the State as the totalitarian. The people must cry halt to this creeping paralysis. The fact that the welfare state is a creature of the people, in the sense that it is set up by them, does not affect the matter. The device of democratic elections cannot equate 500 representatives with eighteen crores (counting only the adults) of the people. To the extent the eighteen crores look after their affairs directly, to that extent the powers and functions of the state are restricted and real democracy is practised.

The experience of Communist countries shows that if the immediate steps that are taken are not consistent with the ultimate goal, we may arrive at places that are vastly different from the ultimate destination. Placing before them the great ideal of a stateless society, the Communists set out to do everything through the power of the State. The result was that the State went on acquiring greater and greater powers and in place of the state withering away, there emerge the total State.

STATELESS STATE

It is for this reason that the Bhoodan or Sarvodaya movement insists that if our ultimate aim is to do without the state, we must here and now create those conditions in which the people will rely more and more on themselves and less and less on the state. No one can tell whether the state will ever completely disappear, but if we accept the ideals of a non-violent democracy, we must begin today to work for it.

It need hardly be added that a people who want to do without the state or who wish to lean on it as little as possible would be a self-regulated people—self-disciplined, just and mutually cooperating.

In passing let me add that only when the people of the world become so, and governments have withered away or have been vastly deflated, that there will

be peace in the world. War is not likely to be abolished by governments. Only the people who have freed themselves from their governments can do it. But I have digressed.

LOK-NITI AND NOT RAJA-NITI

So much for the attitude of the Bhoodan movement towards politics. It remains to be added that in a sense Bhoodan is itself an intensely and deeply political movement. A movement that aims so utterly to revolutionise man and society cannot be unpolitical. But it is politics of the kind I have described above—not the politics of parties, elections, parliaments and governments; but politics of the people. Not *Raj-niti* but *Lok-niti* as Vinoba says.

THE SIGNAL SUCCESS

It is in the background of this wide sweep of the movement, its revolutionary and creative character, its ethical and humanist approach that our dedication to it is to be understood. I have seen commentaries on Jeevan-dan by persons who were expected to know better, who by equating it with any sort of selfless dedication of life have robbed it of its special significance. The special meaning of Jeevandani is that the Jeevan-danis believe that there is no other work of greater importance today than Bhoodan (using the term in its all inclusive sense) and that therefore every other activity must be subordinated to it. The call for Jeevandani went forth precisely for the reason that except for a very small number, those who had flocked to the bhoodan fold lacked this conviction and therefore the necessary singleness of purpose. The experience of the past three years had established beyond doubt the efficacy of Gandhiji's revolutionary philosophy and technique. The All-India target of 25 lakhs of acres by 30th April, 1954 was exceeded by no less than 8 lakhs. This was signal success. But the figure of 33 lakhs could easily have been one crore if there had been enough workers to take the message of Gandhiji and

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.

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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.

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SARVODAYA STUDY CIRCLES

Vinobaji laid stress on the need of organising Study Circles or Mandals as the foremost of the five-fold programme for the Village Panchayat in his recent talk to Panchayat workers in Sugauli in his Bhoodan Yatra. He said:—

"There should be Study Circles or Mandals at different places where people should be brought in touch with new thoughts and currents. Sarvodaya and Gandhian literature should be studied and read out to the people."

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 Convener 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. ★

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(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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Five-fold Programme for Panchayats

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

1. There should be Study Circles or Mandals at different places where people should be brought in touch with new thoughts and currents. Sarvodaya and Gandhian literature should be studied and read out to the people.

2. They should raise production of the country. Unless production is increased and village unemployment removed, village people cannot be roused to any activity. What is the use of building roads that help city-people to exploit village folk?

3. The Panchayat should see that none is hungry or unemployed. As boycott of foreign goods brought Swaraj, boycott of mill goods was necessary for Village Swaraj or 'Gram Raj'.

4. As land is the primary basis of production, village land must be redistributed. Land must belong to the village and there should be no landless anywhere.

5. The real strength of the Panchayat lies in public opinion. The Panchayats should run according to the will of and under the control of the village people. It matters little whether Government recognises them or not. People should work with their own strength.

—From a speech at Sugauli, in Champaran Dt. (Bihar)

Madras Chief Minister on Bhoodan

A training camp for the Bhoodan workers of Chingleput District was held for three days at Shriperumpudur on 28th, 29th and 30th May, '54. Shri Dada Dharmadhikari, and Shri Vimala Takore and others gave several discourses on the Bhoodan Yagna and Sarvodaya ideology. About a hundred workers participated in the camp. It was organised by Shri J. Madanraj, Bhoodan organiser for the district. It was inaugurated by Shri Kamaraj Nadar, the Chief Minister of Madras State. Shri S. R. Subramaniam, of the Praja-Socialist Party, Tamil Nad, presided over the inaugural function. The following is the summary of the Tamil speech of Shri Kamaraj while inaugurating the camp on the 28th May, '54.

Gandhiji had always maintained that political freedom would be meaningless unless it is utilised to relieve the hardships in the economic and social spheres. The Bhoodan movement is in perfect harmony with Gandhian thought and approach. Acharya Vinoba Bhave first conceived the idea of Bhoodan when he was touring Telangana, where an orgy of violence had been perpetrated and whole villages ravaged by terrorists.

The land-owners are agreeable to donate lands if only the workers approach them and ask for lands. The example of the village of Mathur in North India where those who own lands have offered to share them with those who do not, shows that people as a whole are good at heart. What is needed is the correct approach. That is why the camp has been organised here to guide them in their work and to instil in their minds the ideals of the movement.

The prevalent tendency in not recognising the dignity of labour is deplorable and it is revolting to see that those who till the soil do not enjoy the fruits of their labour.

Such a situation is full of explosive possibilities and anti-social elements are not slow in exploiting the general dis-

content and frustration. The land problem in India is one which brooks no delay in solution and unless it is solved there can be no peace. Many people clamour for Government legislation. But Government legislation would only bring in an element of coercion. It is far better that land-owners come forward to part with their lands of their own accord. It is in this context that the Bhoodan movement has a vital role to play.

BHOODAN WORK IN TAMIL NAD

There were several Bhoodan conferences in the districts and training camps in May, '54. Sri Dharmadhikari and Sri Vimala Takore addressed at the conferences. Several batches of workers and others had walking yatras in parts of Ramnad, Tinnevely and Madurai districts. Bhoodan received in May, '54 is 2,346 acres bringing the total in Tamil Nad up to the end of May to 24,043 acres 51 cents.

BHOODAN RECEIVED IN ALL PROVINCES upto 31-5-1954

Province	Land in Acres	No. of Dams Patra
1 Bihar	20,62,381	1,99,917
2 Uttar Pradesh	5,03,602	14,487
3 Rajasthan	3,18,598	1,832
4 Utkal	92,305	29,146
5 Hyderabad	92,114	3,316
6 Madhya Pradesh	66,200	12,000
7 Madhya Bharat	62,412	5,377
8 Gujarat	33,324	5,785
9 Saurashtra	41,000	15,000
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	5,122	960
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	33,71,075	2,99,004

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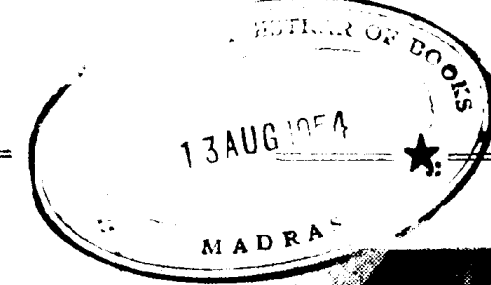
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Vinobaji with Jaiprakash Narayan

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SATYAGRAHA OR SOUL-FORCE

[MAHATMA GANDHI]

Satyagraha is the most marvellous gift that the Mahatma gave us. In this article, taken from 'Satyagraha' published by Navjivan Trust and edited by Shri Bharatan Kumarappa, Gandhiji has described the different aspects and applications of Satyagraha, Passive Resistance, Civil-Disobedience and Non-co-operation.

SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is literally holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is, therefore, known as soul-force. It excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish. The word was coined in South Africa to distinguish the non-violent resistance of the Indians of South Africa from the contemporary 'passive resistance' of the suffragettes and others. It is not conceived as a weapon of the weak.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Passive resistance is used in the orthodox English sense and covers the suffragette movement as well as the resistance of the Non-conformists. Passive resistance has been conceived and is regarded as a weapon of the weak. Whilst it avoids violence, being not open to the weak, it does not exclude its use if, in the opinion of a passive resister, the occasion demands it. However, it has always been distinguished from armed resistance and its application was at one time confined to Christian Martyrs.

CIVIL-DISOBEDIENCE

Civil disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resis-

tance to the laws of a slave State. He has left a masterly treatise on the duty of Civil Disobedience. But Thoreau was not perhaps an out and out champion of non-violence. Probably, also, Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue law, i. e. payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience, as practised in 1919 covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the resister's outlawry in a civil, i. e., non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of satyagraha.

NON - CO-OPERATION

Non-co-operation predominantly implies withdrawing of co-operation from the State that in the non-co-operator's view has become corrupt and excludes Civil Disobedience of the fierce type described above. By its very nature, non-co-operation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practised by the masses. Civil Disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can, therefore, be practised only as a last resort and by a select few in the first instance at any rate. Non-co-operation, too, like Civil disobedience is a branch of Satyagraha which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

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THE CAUSE AND CURE OF CRIMES

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

This is adapted and condensed from a recent post-prayer speech of Vinobaji. He makes an incisive analysis of the cause of crimes like theft and suggests a radical remedy for the cure consistent with our rich heritage of non-violence. He exposes in the Socratic way the vicious circle of the present economic order which respects hoarding through high salaries, profits and interests resulting in mass unemployment and consequential crimes of theft which need again the institution of judiciary, police and lawyers for their detection and punishment. Vinobaji pleads forcibly for the new values of life based on dignity of labour, non-hoarding and self-sacrifice for the welfare of all.

OUR RICH HERITAGE

"Of late crimes are on the increase in the villages" so said some panchayat friends who met me. This is a grave problem and I pondered over it. I am not at all surprised at it. If the crimes happen to be less, I will be then really surprised. Under the existing social set-up, they could only be more in number. Our village people have a very noble tradition behind. There is the rich heritage of thousands of years handed down to them. Our country is a very ancient one. In the ancient days it had a very good social set-up and high code of morality. It had a distinct culture of its own. That is still running in the veins of our village people. It may be that they are uneducated and illiterate. But they are wise, intelligent and receptive. By nature they are tender-hearted and peace-loving. Besides they have Samyama (self-discipline) in them.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

Ten or twelve years ago there was the terrible famine in Bengal. The Government estimated that 30 lakhs of people died of starvation. According to popular estimate more had died for want of food. I was then in jail. There friends often asked, "Why did these 30 lakhs of people die for want of food? Could they not steal, rob or plunder and eat? It appears that our people have fallen low and have not the courage to straight enter into others' houses and snatch food even by force. Nothing short of it could be naturally expected in such a plight.

This is what is happening in other countries under similar circumstances." I got confounded and restless. I could not sleep and went on thinking. At last, a voice from within gave me this answer: It is not because of want of courage in our people to do such things as cats and mice do, that they faced starvation and death, but because of the culture handed down to them by the teachings of the ancient sages and saints which prompted them to behave otherwise. These people thought, "We are, of course, dying. Why give then, trouble to others and deprive them of food on which they can live?" This is the great heritage handed down and it is indeed a unique treasure. There is a great power behind it, and we have to make use of it. In our houses children are taught such rules of conduct. Suppose I am eating some sweets with a child standing by. The child will not stretch its hands for a bit of it. If I give, it will take, but it will never ask of its own accord. This dignity of conduct is inculcated even in the childhood from very ancient days. So those thirty lakhs of people in Bengal might have with courage faced death with God's name on their lips. Real strength and courage are there in our people. And this is the power of Ahimsa. Our people are capable of demonstrating it. To put up with one's own suffering rather than inflict the same on others is their motto. Such a conduct is considered as quite natural. It is from this the power of non-violent retaliation develops.

SARVODAYA

THE ROOT CAUSE OF THEFT

Today minor thefts are occurring here and there and our courts convict the culprits to imprisonment. If I were to sit in judgement, I would forgive them and instead of 2 or 3 years of imprisonment I would give them 2 or 3 acres of land and ask them to work on it and maintain their family well. We should realize that it is we who give them inducement to commit the crimes.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EDUCATED

We, city people, well educated, ourselves do commit a number of crimes but they escape unnoticed. They who appropriate to themselves 100 acres of land either by fraud or deceit, and create extensive farms for themselves are not considered by the present social set-up as offenders. It is but natural that there will be the temptation to skip over when one is circumscribed by fence. The locks and keys in houses really invite thefts. The more they are in number, the greater will be the temptations offered. Thefts will stop the moment these keys and locks cease to exist. A Greek historian had written that, here in our country in ancient days, the rich people used to keep open their palatial buildings even in the night when they slept. Such things were never there in his country and he had nothing but wonder and surprise. Even in those days when there was so much wealth which attracted people from thousands of miles off, there were no locks and keys in our midst. But when we became greedy and covetous of money, different kinds of locks appeared.

HOARDING IS BUT LOOTING

Our wealth began to dwindle when keys began to multiply. Our society does not consider hoarding a sin whereas it believes that theft is a sin. Why is it so? Because we who created a class for ourselves, happened to be the law-makers. We punish those who commit theft and honour and respect those who hoard

those objects of theft. When these hoarders come to our houses we offer them even cushions to sit on while at the same time we ask the kisan - the peasant - who is the real supporter of life, to sit on the bare ground. We call him by the simple word 'you' and order him 'sit down'. The hoarder is addressed 'Your honour', and in all courtesy he is requested 'be pleased to take your seat.' We do so because he is a bigger looter than ourselves. With such a dexterity and excellence of skill he loots others that all laws of the land prove infructuous and useless before him. It is quite easy for him to make a hundred rupees into a thousand. It is quite enough if a mere zero is added. A hundred rupees lent today becomes Rs. 1 000 within ten years. Receiving interest is not at all considered by us as an offence. There are ten commandments enjoined in Islam. One of them says that receiving 'interest' is a sin and hence it is forbidden. It is condemned just like adultery and murder. But we think that 'interest charge' is a principle in Economics. Every business is run and progresses by it. Enormous marginal profits, bribery, false accounts are all sins. Accepting 'interest' means earning money by taking advantage of others' troubles and difficulties. And we do not consider this as a sin! But we take notice of small thefts which are committed here and there and feel much agitated on that account.

THE ROOT CAUSE

Worry is of no use. Instead, we should think, search, analyse and discover the causes. When at Ranchi, we were put up in a very big building where, of course, thefts will happen. There my fountain pen was lost twice. From that time onwards I began to write with pencil only. Of course, my secretary has got a pen, but I sign only in pencil. Friends will readily give me a pen, but why should I possess a thing which will attract someone to steal it again?

TWO WAYS FOR REMOVING CRIMES

Are we doing anything to ensure that thefts are not committed at all? No, we do nothing, but we simply suppress them through the force of law. We do not search for their real cause and where the mistake lies. We have to find that out. Our social set-up has to be reformed and purified. There are two ways. One is the distribution of land and wealth and the other is responsibility of the village-father to give work to all in the village. He can discharge this responsibility only through village industries. Village industries will flourish only if the flow of articles from outside is banned. The agriculturists will have no other occupation if articles produced outside are allowed inside and purchased by the villagers.

HIGH SALARY, A THEFT

Besides, there should be purity in our thoughts and ideals. We should feel that avoiding manual work and hoarding wealth are both sins. Why is 'stealing' considered a sin? Why is a thief called an offender? Because he snatches away some Rs. 1,000 in an hour. One full hour's hard work brings him Rs. 1,000. If he takes only 10 to 12 annas for the same time of labour, it may be said that he has earned only a reasonable wage without being a thief and a sinner. He is called a sinner because he has not put in as many hours of manual labour as he ought to have done according to the known standard. For hardly a few hours' work the judge draws about Rs. 1,000 as his salary. Is he not taking more than what is reasonable? To that extent he too may be considered to have committed theft.

FOOD WITHOUT MANUAL LABOUR IS THEFT

What is meant by 'thyag' (Sacrifice)? It means 'take or eat little but do more of work and service.' Why do we call a Sanyasi a 'thyagi'? Because he serves the people all through his life and in return takes only a little food, and two loin-clothes for the year. Sanyas only

means taking less for oneself and giving more to the people at large. So if one takes more for himself and does less service he is to be considered a thief. According to this standard the judge, the lawyer, professor, minister and the merchant all will be considered as thieves. They are a group or class by themselves. This is the class that governs the society at present. Tomorrow if it happens that he who eats without putting in manual work, will be proclaimed as a thief, this entire group will be also classed as thieves.

We are not giving any work or occupation to those in the villages. We do not give them wages to maintain themselves and their family; we do not give them lands to work; we make them unemployed; and when they commit thefts we take them to be punished by those who are a class of great looters. Why should society bear the burden of numerous police officers, jailors, warders, judges and lawyers? We too are responsible for having created unemployment among the people. In fact we ourselves belong to this class of looters. There is only one section of the people who are outside this group and they are the Kisan-labourers.

TRUE DHARMA

We should understand what is real Dharma. We should have a clear conception of it. What is happening in our society today? A man is acclaimed as charitably disposed if he gives a little out of the huge wealth he has hoarded, for charity. He is honoured as a philanthropist. He is called a man of dharma if he builds temples, undertakes pilgrimages and attends the Kumbhamela. In fact he is just the contrary. What is dharma? It means 'Tyektena Bhunjeetha' i. e., one should eat after feeding others. People must understand this and we should teach them. To feed a Brahmin is considered now as a dharma. There was a time when the Brahmin was a

great 'Thyogi'—a renouncer. He dedicated all his life, all the hours of day and night, for teaching others to read and write and for imparting knowledge. He was the selfless servant of the people and never kept anything for the morrow. Lifelong service to the village people was the sole motto of his life.

OUR ANCIENT WALKING UNIVERSITY

The saints of ancient days were themselves universities. After having mastered all the Sastras, and well-versed in all branches of knowledge, they wandered from place to place, and village after village. Apart from imparting knowledge, they served and nursed the sick. They took nothing but little food to sustain their life. In the monsoon days when travel was difficult, they opened their universities wherever they stayed and the people fed them. But in these days the Brahmins have left that superior profession and have started business in all walks of life. Some sell cows and thus become a partner even in the butcher's profession. I am not condemning any particular caste or profession. In every profession or caste there are good people. Today there are some highly virtuous and enlightened amongst the Brahmins and all respect is due to them. Before them I bow in all reverence.

But today every student has to spend at least Rs. 100 per month if he desires to be educated in a university. There the professors spend barely 2½ hours a day in teaching work. Besides they take 6 months as holidays. And what do they teach the students? Nothing but the art of earning without work. Thus *Vidya* is made *Avidya*. The economics and politics taught are not those Sastras in the real sense of the terms. And even this education is beyond the reach of the poor people.

A REAL PILGRIMAGE

Again our people think that those who visit temples and pilgrim centres

are devoted to dharma. In ancient days our people, even from distant parts like Kashmir, facing all the dangers from wild animals in forests, entirely cut off from their families for months together, went on foot from one holy place to another. On the way they used to meet learned people and Sanyasins for enlightenment through contact and discussions. But what do our present day pilgrims do? They buy a railway ticket for a few rupees, and are straight carried to the pilgrim centre. Some of them take with them even servants to cook food. I heard that for the recent Kumbhamela in U. P., the Legislative Assembly was prorogued for seven days!

TRUE DHARMA

Such is the observance of dharma by our people! In this changing world dharma is the only permanent thing. Where there is true and pure dharma, there alone will be wealth, prosperity and success. Our people have lost sight of the essence of dharma and practise only what is superficial. They have to be retaught what it really means and enjoins. Justice, humanity, and true devotion have to be restored in our society. All the conflicts and difficulties that are now there in our social set-up have to be removed. Correct understanding of Dharma and Bhoodan will bring the purification and transformation of the society. As the sun's rays enter darkness vanishes. When everyone gets food, theft will disappear. Who then will take the trouble to steal under the cover of the darkness? If the people feel sure of employment when they approach the village head-man, will they even think of committing theft? If you desire that society should be free from all crimes and offences all of you should join this Bhoodan movement. You should do this work with love, kindness, co-operation and devotion.

(From the Hindi Speech on 18-6-'54 at Pakdihar, Champaran Dist.)

THE POWER OF PRAYER

— C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR —

From a speech on 16th July, '54, at Madras in connection with the construction of the Gandhi Memorial Prayer Hall in Guindy.

Strictly speaking Gandhiji needed no memorial at all because the freedom that the country enjoyed today is by itself a magnificent monument to his life's work. But the people among whom the greatest man of the age lived and worked need a symbol to act as a solace to them, even as individuals and groups sought a symbol to mark an important event by taking its photograph. The memorial to be erected at Guindy will in a way be a "photograph" of our share of faith in the wonder man of our age. Having made a move it will not rebound to our credit if we leave the work incomplete like a "mottai gopuram." In that event posterity will suffer the stigma of their ancestors having been found wanting. Moreover we have collected some money already and that has to be spent quickly. I say so because money is like a "snake" and has the knack of disappearing suddenly unless spent at once for the purpose for which it is intended.

There is an additional reason why Madras should erect this memorial. Although Mahatmaji had fought many a battle for several causes in other parts of the country the national campaign for Swaraj which he achieved for us in our lifetime was first launched by him only in Madras in 1919.

The real work of placing India on the map of the world starts only now. In this respect India's horoscope is the brightest and luckiest in that it has the chance of producing not only a world seer in Mahatmaji but also a world statesman in Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. A country which has God's grace in this abundant measure is bound to have it in the future as well and India's destiny is indeed God's concern today.

The world is faced, with one of the worst perils today. Huxley once said

that the world's troubles would come to an end if some heavenly body hit the earth and smashed it to smithereens. It looks as if the earth itself has now produced in the shape of Atom and Hydrogen Bombs the principle of its own destruction. The Hydrogen Bomb can be likened to a miniature sun. There are now two monkeys on the thatched roof of the world dangerously brandishing these flaming flares. There is no doubt that they are "monkeys" and the things in their hands are flaming torches and the house on which they are perched is a thatched house. The situation is therefore explosive.

That is why India's leader is firm today that he could have no truck with either of these monkeys or their torches. His only concern is that these blazing torches on top of the thatched roof, should be extinguished at once if the house should be saved from being gutted by fire by the slightest mischief on the part of these monkeys. Perhaps one may as well ask why all this bother about a memorial when the world itself is on verge of destruction. What then is the remedy? Like a thirsty man running after water we have to go back to our Creator and pray that the monkeys may safely put aside the torches and they may be extinguished. More things are wrought by prayer than the world dreamed of. Mahatmaji had shown them the way in this respect. He did not use any unintelligible "Mantras" to invoke the aid of God. His "*Hare Ram*" represented the simple rustic's spontaneous reaction in trouble. It is for us now to follow him in that intense faith in the power of Uuseen. The memorial we are going to erect at Guindy should reinforce us in that simple but firm faith.

Adapted from "Indian Express" — 18-7-'54

Integrity in Accounts & Audit

— DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN —

On the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the buildings for housing the office of Accountant General, Madras, on June 2nd, Dr. Radhakrishnan laid great stress on the sacredness of public funds and the responsibility of those in charge of Accounts and Audit. Every word spoken by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on this occasion has to be carefully remembered by all those in charge of public funds, be they in the State, commerce or philanthropic organisations in constructive field. Under the principle of Sampattidan even private property is considered as a Trust property. Hence the guarding and accounting of public funds should be all the more sacred.

ABOVE PARTY AND POLITICS

It is something which is above all party and political considerations. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is not appointed because he has rendered any political service to the country. He is appointed in view of his expert knowledge. His duties are not to the party in power, not to the Government of the day, but to the tax-payers and to Parliament. Their office is of a judicial character. An objective and intensive study and a disinterested desire to find out the truth and willingness to face the truth, even if it is inconvenient and unpalatable, these are the qualities which are necessary in the academic world and I take it they are also the qualities needed for the officers of the audit and accounts department...

BE WATCH-DOGS OF PUBLIC FUNDS

India is a poor country. Its resources are limited and we cannot afford to risk any kind of waste, and the Audit and Accounts Department will have to look upon its functions as functions of the greatest public utility by pointing out errors, by showing where and how we can remove the abuses, effect economy, increase efficiency and reduce waste of expenditure. These things are very essential. I do hope that these people who are the watch-dogs, so to say, of public funds, of the tax payers' money, will exercise great vigilance and control and see to it that we get a proper return

for every rupee spent and that there is a proper utilization of public funds.

DO NOT SHRINK FROM TRUTH

We are trying to build up a welfare State. Building up a welfare State is not to be regarded as merely a motive for promoting our own welfare. It is the welfare of the country which we have to set before ourselves and the work which the Audit and Accounts Department can do in this sphere is very great by exposing the failings or by revealing the defects. You set before the country a great standard. We are obliged to say things which are embarrassing to the Government. But it is our duty, on account of our greater loyalty to the country, that we should put a check even on the Government of the country... If I have one advice to give to the officers of the Audit and Accounts Department, it is this: "Do not shrink from truth for fear of offending men in high places." ★

★ Ishopanishad ★

I have often said recently that even if all our scriptures were to perish, that one mantra of *Ishopanishad* was enough to declare the essence of Hinduism. But even that one verse will be of no avail if there is no one to live it. Even so, what I have said and written is useful only to the extent that it has helped you to assimilate the great principles of truth and non-violence. If you have not assimilated them, my writings will be of no use to you. I say this to you as a Satyagrahi meaning every word of it. **GANDHIJI—Mahatma—Vol. IV.**

A SAINT WALKS IN INDIA

— FRANK HORVAT —

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna had attracted the attention of foreign Press and Radio. We had reproduced some articles from Reader's Digest, Time etc. in Sarvodaya. A friend in Malaya has drawn our attention to an illustrated article in 'Picture Post' Britain's, leading Weekly dated 16th Jan., 1954, paying high tribute to the author and his moral technique of Boodan Yagna. We are indebted to *Picture Post* for sharing this article with the readers of Sarvodaya.

In 1951, armed Indian Communists, taking advantage of troubles in Hyderabad, killed landlords in the district of Telengana and distributed their property among the landless peasants. Three thousand people were killed and 35,000 jailed, before Government troops restored order.

That might have been the spark to kindle a nation-wide revolution for land reform by violence. As it turned out, it touched off quite a different sort of revolution—a one-man crusade based on goodwill and non-violence which is still sweeping India like fire.

"I AM THE FIRE"

Indeed, that is how the man who started it describes himself. 'I am like the fire,' declares Vinoba Bhawe. "The function of fire is to burn. It does not worry if man uses it for good or evil—or not at all. My preaching creates a proper atmosphere for non-violent solution of economic problems. The people will solve the problems—not I. It is up to them to get the best out of the atmosphere I create."

In less than three years, the 'atmosphere' has resulted in India's notoriously tenacious landlords parting with enough land to settle two and a half million of the nation's 50 million landless peasants—voluntarily. Neither the Communists, by violence, nor the Government, by legislation, could have achieved anything like it.

Although its consequences may be very complicated, the secret of this staggering success is simple. Vinoba's appeal is spiritual, not political; aimed direct at the heart, not the head. This formidable scholar (besides English, Arabic and Persian, he speaks eight of India's principal regional languages) talks in words that the most child-like can understand. "One-sixth of India's people are landless. If one of you has five sons and a sixth is born to him, he will divide his property into six parts instead of five. I am asking for one-sixth of India's soil on behalf of the landless. Consider me as your sixth son." His other main asset is that he is in everyday touch with the real heart of India—that overwhelming majority of her 350 millions who live in villages. Since he went to Hyderabad in 1951 to preach non-violence, he has walked nearly 10,000 miles (Land's End to John 'o' Groats is 850), avoiding towns and politicians, but constantly able to check at first hand the results of his experiment. Since September, 1952, Vinoba has concentrated on the North-Eastern Province of Bihar, which has three million landless peasants out of a population of 40 million. Here he aims to collect enough for all before the end of 1954, in a pilot project for his all-Indian goal of 50 million acres before the end of 1957.

Long before he started his land reform crusade, Vinoba was a national figure. His fame rested on the known facts of his personal holiness—a

dedicated ascetic life since the age of ten, total celibacy and 40 years' practice of the discipline of Yoga. He became a follower of Gandhi in 1916 and though always indentified with the spiritual side of the Nationalist movement, he was several times jailed as a political prisoner during the non-violence campaigns. His deliberate refusal to be tied by official connections (even when invited by Nehru) or to indentify himself with political factions (although the right wing socialists dedicate their party's whole activity to supporting his crusade) has increased his authority and put him in a position above parties perhaps unequalled even by Gandhi's. His portrait hangs in millions of huts, alongside the household gods—the Lord Krishna, the flute-playing god, Ganesh, the elephant-headed deity, and Hanuman. To the Indian peasant, he is 'Bubaji' (little grandfather), just as Gandhi was 'Bapu' (father).

A SAINT'S ROUTINE

Vinoba's day begins at 3 a. m. with prayers and song with his closest disciples. At 4-30 he takes the road, lighted by a kerosene lamp until sunrise. Warned by disciples who have preceded him, of his coming, villagers go out to meet him with flowers, build triumphal arches and shout "Santa Vinoba ki jai" (Long live Vinoba, the saint).

Since he nearly died of malaria a year ago, he averages only ten, instead of 20 miles a day. Neither thunder, rain, mud nor wind deter him. He refuses an umbrella because "the rain is sent by God," preferring to run to keep warm—often flanked by barefooted village girls or fat local politicians breathlessly trying to gain popularity by keeping pace with the cavalcade. On arrival he has his one daily meal—milk or curd, fruit juice or raw vegetables. He is deafish and suffers from stomach ulcer, but after an hour's rest he receives farmers and landlords, reads or dictates letters. Between two and four in the afternoon he

spins, a symbolic Gandhian ritual. After more prayers, he speaks to assembled villagers, always trying to add something new to his repetition of his appeal for land to distribute. To his regular retinue of five, half a dozen temporary followers travel with him to get experience and inspiration before returning to collect land for his movement in their own home areas. The Government passed special legislation to simplify the transfer of land under his scheme by a witnessed signature or thumb-print on a prepared form. Landless villagers put in their claims before these meetings and, when donations do not meet demands, they are invited to decide among themselves whose need is greatest. If they disagree, the village elders are called upon and, if they too fail, a lottery is held. In any case, receivers of land are pledged not to alienate it for ten years. To meet the objection that land given is often of poor quality and that its new owners have nothing to till it with, Vinoba has launched a subsidiary campaign for gifts of revenue over a number of years to provide bullocks, ploughs and seed for the new land-owners.

In the cold light of Western economics, Vinoba's crusade is full of pitfalls and anxious question marks. Like Gandhi, who never lived to practise as an administrator what he had preached as an agitator, he wants to save the Indian village from Western materialism. He would transfer virtually all powers to the village assembly, so that necessary reforms would come about *not* by legislation from Delhi, but from inside the village itself. In this way reforms would happen only when local conditions, based on the full understanding and consent of all the villagers, became ripe. A village assembly, for example, should have the right to prohibit imports of industrially produced food and mill cloth from the cities, where this would upset the pattern of village life or cause unemployment.

(Continued in page 45)

THE VOICE OF THE MILLIONS

— VINOBA BHAVE —

Shri Suresh Ramabhai who is now with Vinobaji in his Bhoodan Yatra in Bihar is sending us reports of Vinobaji's prayer speeches. This is the report of the post-prayer speech to a huge gathering at Chaita village in Champaran District on 9-7-54.

"For the last several years I was going round from one village to another. If my object had been to collect land gifts from the rich I would have gone to the cities where they live. My object is to generate strength in the people. Land should not be a marketable commodity. Its ownership should not rest with any individual. Land must belong to the entire village. I want to tell the farm-owners, that if they are not prepared to take all the workers on their farms as their equal partners, their farms will be broken up. After all, who owns India? The people of India. It is to awaken the people that I am going round and round. I want them to realise their duty. Hence I demand one-sixth share. Some people say that they would consult their relatives and friends. Well, whom will they consult when the call from Yamaraja comes? Nevertheless, I do give them time and let them consult. But a day will soon come when land will no more be in their hands. There can be no doubt about it.

"Besides I also want the land-owners to show wisdom. I want to raise their dignity. I want to enhance their prestige. Today they command little respect. They maltreat the labourers at their sweet will. Yesterday there came to me a labourer beaten by the land-lord. I ask 'Is there any sense or dignity in it?' If the labourers refuse to go to their fields, what would be the plight of these so-called owners? This is going to happen in the country. Had the labourers some land with them, could they be insulted in this manner? Today, the labourers also command little respect, for they do not turn out enough work and are given to drinking and other evil

habits. The so-called 'maliks' (land-owners) are called 'gentlemen' (white dressed). A 'bugla' (a white bird) has also got white feathers. Greatness lies in doing great acts. If you have a thousand acres, keep 50 acres with you and donate the balance of 950. Then your respect will grow. Instead of doing it you are now trying to transfer your land in the names of your various relatives. You do not realise that this will break up the family, and poison mutual relationships. It is time that you should think over the matter. Whatever God has made He has made for all. Land, like air, water and sky, must belong to the society as a whole.

"People ask me that if one having 100 acres has given only 100, how the remaining 900 will be obtained. Well, I am not at all worried about it. I would get that even without a 'dan-patra'. The only thing required for it is the mass-strength of the poor and the small land-holders. If the latter give me all their land and get united I need not go to any of the so-called 'gentlemen.' This army will be raised only when the small holders surrender their ownership. The small holder has as much attachment even to his 0.04 of an acre, as the big holder has to his extensive holding. So I appeal to you, small holders, to cast off your sense of ownership. That would generate strength in you which the few big would not be able to face.

"If there is Rama's strength in you, Ravana, the ten-faced Ravana, would be powerless before you. What could Ravana do? He was blessed that no 'Rakshasa,' no 'Devata,' could kill him. This mighty being did not know that he would meet his end at the hands of the

monkeys ('Vagars'). It may be that these big land-lords may not be over-thrown by the Communists, may not be dispossessed by legislation; but they are sure to be overpowered by the organised strength of the poor. When I advise the poor people to organise on this line, the Communist friends ask me: 'Why do you loot the poor?' I tell them: 'Well, in this battle, the weapon is non-violence. It has its own strange technique. The fighter has to dispossess his near ones first and the farthest at the end. He begins the fight with himself.'

"So far, about 3 lakhs of persons have donated lands. Out of them 2½ lakhs must be the poor people. That is why Rajas like those of Ramgarh, Dar-

bhanga, Palkot, etc., are coming forward with their donations.

"In a non-violent battle, none loses. Rama wins and so also Ravana. I am going to raise the prestige of the rich as well as of the poor. It is my love for the rich that makes me speak like this. I tell them that I am no enemy of theirs. I want to save them. Who am I? Well, I have little strength. I mean this Bhoodan Yagna movement will save them. It is a movement on the lines shown by Mahatma Gandhi and Gautama Buddha. I, therefore, ask all of you not to lose hope or courage. Join this army and come forward. No delaying, please. God has spoken His word."

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(Continued from page 44)

A SAINT WALKS IN INDIA

Since India chose to become a secular, progressive Republic, the conflict between Vinoba's teachings and Nehru's development programme is all too obvious.

Politically, Vinoba's critics ask whether simple peasants will not confuse his noble message with Communist invitations to grab land by violence. But no one dares assail—openly at least—the frail little man who probably represents today the biggest bloc of votes throughout the length and breadth of the country. Since Vinoba's triumph in Telengana, the Communists are bitterly aware that he is their deadliest rival for the possession of the souls of those millions of under-privileged Indians whom Marxist theory had always promised them as easy recruits. In one village terrorised by Communists, he challenged them directly. "Do you really believe in your ideology? If so, why not come in the daytime instead of by night? If you want to loot the people, loot as I do, with sincerity and affection."

THE WAY OF GOD

Since he began his campaign, India's President has told him to take what he

wanted from his Bihar estates; that close-fisted Moslem potentate, the Nizam of Hyderabad, has handed over an undisclosed amount of land; a single rajah has given 350,000 acres and countless tiny holders have sacrificed parcels of their minute but treasured plots.

Vinoba Bhave is quite aware of the conflicts and problems he is creating—and quite undeterred. He believes that spiritual discipline, religious studies, prayer and meditation, have qualified him to practise Karma-Yoga—the way of God through action. "You must perform every action sacramentally, and be free from all attachments to results."

Because of his undoubted integrity and terrifying single-mindedness, Vinoba's fire will continue to burn. To the people and their politicians he leaves the responsibility of turning the blaze into one of the world's greatest social and economic reformations, or letting it smoulder into a barren conflict between traditional Indian spiritual values and the Western tide of material progress.

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THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

JAIPRAKASH NARAYAN

(The following is Shri Jaiprakash Narayan's talk on Bhoodan on 8-7-'54 in the National Programme series of the All-India Radio, Delhi, to which we are indebted.)

Bhoodan is the Gandhian way to bring about an economic and social revolution. Bhoodan is the theory and practice of a new way of life, a new social philosophy. It is the intimation of new humanity and a new civilisation.

Bhoodan is really a development of the Gandhian concept of satyagraha, or a revolutionary application of truth and non-violence to the present day problems of social and economic injustice and of social transformation. It is regrettable that there is no adequate appreciation yet of the Bhoodan movement. Strangely enough the misunderstanding is found to be comparatively greater amongst the educated classes. Our education is yet so removed from the people and their problems, and is, therefore so superficial that there seems to be as much need of uneducating the educated as of educating the uneducated.

While I am talking about Bhoodan, I am not using the term in the restricted sense of the land gift movement, but in its wider and ideological sense which includes all other similar activities such as Sampatti-dan, Shram-dan and Buddhi-dan. The use of the word Dan, is perhaps unfortunate for the reason that it creates the misunderstanding that Vinoba is merely asking for charity. He, of course, is using the word in its classical sense, as Shankara did i.e., in the sense of *danam samavibhagah* (Dan is equal division). But the popular meaning sticks to the word and confounds its revolutionary significance.

Therefore, it is necessary first of all to understand that Bhoodan is not a charitable movement, that behind it is

Mahatma Gandhi's theory of trusteeship—in other words, the simple yet potent truth that man is not the master of what he possesses but only a trustee of what in reality belongs to society. The natural corollary of this axiom is that a trustee should take from his trust no more than what is necessary to fulfil his needs and give all the rest back to society. Needs may differ from man to man but the difference may not be great in any case. Giving back to society what belonged to it is not charity but elementary honesty, the performance of a simple duty, an act of restitution. Conversely, not to do it that is, not to return to the owner what belonged to him would be immoral, a kind of theft.

I admit that the instinct of charity is a noble instinct. But the fact that there should arise any need for charity cannot but be a matter of shame and anxiety. Both the giving and receiving of charity imply that there are in society injustice and inequality, which charity can never remove, but only a radical transformation of the social order. It is this radical transformation that is the aim of Vinoba's movement.

Satyagraha is the technique of change of heart. It is in essence a process of conversion. There are, no doubt, some among us who refuse to believe that except in rare cases there can be a general change of heart, particularly of those who represent the vested interest of wealth or power. They believe that coercion whether of the sword or of the law is the only method to deal with the privileged classes and to change the social order. Those who believe thus

should realise that coercion may succeed in changing the outward forms of society but it cannot change man himself. Force can divest the vested interest, but it cannot change men, it cannot remove greed from their hearts and selfishness. It can take their wealth away but cannot make them work as trustees.

Mahatma Gandhi's technique of conversion, is an alternative both to legislation and violence. It is not as if legislation has no place in this technique, but it follows conversion, not precedes it. Individual approach and the creation of an appropriate psychological climate, of a new social ethic in the place of the old, are the forms that the process of conversion takes. We see this happening in Bhoodan. Millions of landowners have been individually approached by Vinobaji and his co-workers, and a concrete mass movement of conversion has been set in motion. And prevalent ideas about land-ownership are being replaced by other revolutionary ideas. Man is always influenced by social opinion. We do not thief merely out of fear of the law, but also because thieving is universally condemned. Likewise when the currently accepted views about land-ownership, or about ownership of property generally, are replaced by ideas of trusteeship and when these become generally accepted, men's actions cannot but be influenced by the new social opinion.

It is important to remember that for the creation of the new social opinion, it is not enough to convert only the wealthy and the bigger land-owners. The process of conversion is an all-embracing process. Current attitudes towards property are found not only among the wealthier classes, but even among the poorest. The poor landowner who has only a fraction of an acre, looks upon his possession with the same eyes of possessiveness as the big landlord. Nay, even the poor landless labourer accepts the present claims of proprietorship. Therefore Gandhiji always made it clear that the process of

conversion embraces both the haves and the have-nots.

Referring to re-distribution, the land will be distributed in the first instance to those landless people in the villages who are prepared to till the land themselves and who have no other means of livelihood. If after distribution to the landless, there is land left in a village, it will be given to the poorer peasants who have not enough land for their families. Distribution is made in accordance with the wishes of village people—both landed and landless.

Bhoodan is not only an agrarian reform movement. It is a new way of life. Our cities and their capitalist economy are not going to be left untouched. Sampatti-dan already is carrying this message to these spheres. The idea behind Sampatti-dan is the same as also the technique, the first step being contribution of a part of one's income, the last becoming a trustee.

Just as in Bhoodan, everyone, rich or poor, has to participate in Sampatti-dan, and for the same reasons. It is the same with Buddhi-dan, Shram-dan etc. Whatever we have, we must share with others, because they have a right to it. If we have nothing to give let us give our service—Shram-dan, our love and goodwill—Prem-dan.

Adapted from "THE HINDU", July 11, 1954

VILLAGES WHICH HAVE OFFERED THEIR ENTIRE LAND FOR BHOODAN

Province	District	No. of villages.
Utkal	Koraput	31
"	Cuttack	1
"	Sambalpur	1
Bihar	Palamu	12
"	Gaya	3
Uttar Pradesh	Hamirpur	1
"	Sultanpur	1
Total		50

JEEVAN-DAN

819 workers have so far offered their full life-service for Bhoodan. They are 451 in Bihar and 368 in other provinces.

* THE SURE WAY TO PEACE *

— J. C. KUMARAPPA —

Since the Atom Bomb was introduced and the H-Bomb was exploded and threats of Cobalt Bomb have been discussed, the fashion of the day has been to discuss the various methods of maintaining Peace. We have War Resisters' Conferences, Pacifist Gatherings, Peace Council Meetings, Statesmen's Conventions etc., putting forward conditions, resolutions and appeals and yet we are still where we were. All this proves the futility of these methods. The reason for such sincere and varied efforts being in vain is that all these are dealing with the symptoms rather than the deep seated disease.

We have often pointed out that the basic disorder lies in our economic system which does not satisfy the basic needs of all. Hardly anyone is willing to face the facts.

Man is the only creature who makes his own environment and conditions the circumstances of his life. War is the result of our present economic systems based on injustice, greed and created wants, and by using wrong methods of satisfying our demand. We have to change radically our way of life if we would have peace as an inevitable consequence of our mode of life. This way is the Sarvodaya way which will generate non-violence as the necessary outcome of its practice. We give below a brief outline of this way of life:

DEMAND

Our main requirement of life should be natural and not one for making business. It should be based on a strong spirit of Swadeshi restricted to localities under convenient political control.

SUPPLY

The commodities to satisfy our needs must be produced locally, using available raw materials for the most part, with

motive power not artificially made cheap so as to oust human labour. At present we have coal, oil and electricity supplied at unfair prices which creates unemployment, poverty, and dissatisfaction. This cheap power enables centralised industries to produce standardised goods which create unfair competition.

All these sources of power are obtained from nature with very little human effort and sold at a price to cover this effort. These natural gifts are the patrimony of the people as a whole and so should not be sold to a few at bare cost. The price fixing must bear a comparative relation to the living cost of labour at least. Any excess over the price should be a source of income to the State, used for the general welfare of the whole population and should not be dealt with as a subsidy to manufacturers alone, as it is at present. Such a policy will immediately make commodities produced with such power more expensive and place human labour at an advantage and strike at the root of one of the principal sources of social injustice. It will relieve unemployment and alleviate poverty.

This one step alone will change the course of our economic order and lead us to self-sufficiency and self-help. Economic interference is one of the basic causes of war. If this is removed we shall be on the high road to permanent peace. Have we the courage to face this situation? It may simplify our lives and bring happiness to many. At present we have complicated our lives and brought misery and insecurity to all.

MONEY

Our price mechanism operated by money leads to all kinds of inequalities. We have to shear money of its quality of accumulating purchasing power and sterilise its nature of earning interest and so make unearned income a thing of the

Bharathi's Non-Violent Village Communism

Vinobaji's 'Bhoodan' seems to have been anticipated by the great Tamil Poet Subramania Bharathi in his essay *Wealth* (பேரவையு) written probably at the time of the Russian Revolution. This article written by an admirer of Bharathi and devoted to Bhoodan, shows the clear vision Bharathi had of a Non-violent Village Communism through voluntary effort of the 'haves' inspired by love and justice.

The history of human civilisation is the history of human endeavour to bring about fellowship among human beings. From time immemorial, man has been constantly thinking of an equitable way of dividing the essentials of human life among the members of the community. Where there is no equitable distribution of these necessities of life, trouble shows its head, revolution shoots up and even war ensues.

Like the many thinkers before him, the great poet Subramania Bharati, whose songs are a byword in Tamil homes today, also gave thought to this question.

A contemporary of the Russian Revolution, Bharati easily foresaw the meaning of the revolt. "The age of the fourth caste—the workers—has come," he said in one of his essays. His Tamil

(Continued from previous page)

past. The use of money should be only to facilitate barter.

MARKETS

Exchange of surpluses, both of raw materials and consumer goods, should follow a natural course rather than be forced by political and other controls.

Adoption of these steps would leave no room for armaments. Minor disputes can be solved by negotiation. Only thus can man rise above the brute level and cease massacring his fellow beings. Sarvodaya way of life holds out the only hope of ushering in world peace and saving humanity from committing suicide in a most barbarous, though "Scientific" way. Let us deal with the situation with courage and faith it calls for.

"Gram Udyog Patrika" June, '54

poem hailing the fall of the Czar is well-known for its condemnation of tyranny and appreciation of democratic power. But Bharati lived long enough to be disappointed with the turn of events in Russia, and he plainly enough condemned the "Path of murder" followed by Lenin and his colleagues. Says he:

"What shall we do? We have to use murder to end murderers; we have to use injustice to end injustice" says Mr. Lenin. This is absolutely wrong in principle. Murder will only sow the seed for more murder; it cannot end it. Injustice will only sow the seed for greater injustice; it cannot end it. The only way evil can be conquered is through good. Only the foolish think that evil can be won by evil. *Adharma* should be overcome only by *dharma*. Murder and pillage can be overcome only by love and generosity. This is the only cure that will give lasting benefit."†

Forswearing violence, Bharati saw only one way of solving the eternal problem of food, clothing and shelter.

He describes his panacea in general terms in an English essay of his, titled "The Coming Age:" ‡ thus:

"What the Westerners call Socialism is not clearly understood here. But still for the West as well as for the East, there is only one decent way of living, viz, to make the land a common property and live on it as fellow-workers and co-partners. We have a tradition that in the *Krita Yuga* men

† Essay 'Wealth,' in Collected Essays (Tamil), pt. 4, 'Society.'

‡ In his English work "Essays and Prose Fragments."

lived like that in this country. That may or may not be true. But human will shall yet succeed in bringing about that *Krita Yuga* in all countries and in not a far-off future. The higher Will of man has been baulked till now because for some reason or other it could not direct the main part of its energy towards rectifying the root of our social ills. Justice must be made to triumph in the very formation of human society. And then she will naturally triumph in all human affairs and relations.

'So long as the principle of competition holds sway over the structure of human associations, so long as land and water do not belong commonly to all human beings, men are bound to behave worse than brutes in their 'economic' relations at any rate.'

We see here a striking similarity in thought to the message of Bhoodan. But this is not all. Bharati almost anticipates Bhoodan. For, in the article "Wealth," already cited, he actually suggests that the rich of the village should convene a meeting before the village temple and by public declaration place their land at the disposal of the whole community! The scene he describes reads almost like a news item from today's papers describing a meeting in a village in Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yatra.

Let us listen to his suggestion:

"The world consists of countries; the countries consist of provinces; provinces consist of districts; districts consist of some cities and a large number of villages. Therefore, if we take a village and discover the cure for ridding it of poverty, then that cure could be adopted for ending poverty in the whole world. This is self-evident. Let us, for example, take this village of Kadayam§ where I now live. The fields around here belong to 30 big landlords and several small land-holders.

§ In Tirunelveli Dt., Madras.

"These landowners should all join together and establish an organisation. This organisation should meet before the local temple, and by beat of tom tom gather all the people of the village. Then, with the consent of all the other land-owners, and representing them, one of them should rise up and make this following Promise:

"Although you people get only gruel for food, you are not in a position to be sure of a regular supply of even that. Hence you are beset by endless worries, quarrels, envies, deceits, disappointments and riots which mow you down. This worry over food has become your major worry for which you see no end.

"The lands in this village have become the sole property of a few of us, either through proper labour or—as Prudhome said 'Possession is theft'—through improper means. It is not our mistake that land belongs to us. But, it is a fact that without your cooperation, help and friendship, these lands will be of no profit to us.

"Further, the troubles you undergo and the resultant struggles you endure in your fight for a regular supply of food, also affects us and makes us miserable. Though we are different in the matter of possession of wealth, otherwise we are exactly like you in all things. And it is very essential for us to mingle with you and have dealings with you. Therefore, if you are ground by misery and poverty, we find it impossible to be happy. All our affairs have to be carried out with your help. We have no other alternative but to depend on you. The flame of your poverty burns us on all sides, like a curse, and makes us disunited. Only envy is growing among us, the rich.

"We understand that land is like the mother, common to all, and that it is unjust for us to claim exclusive rights over it. Also, that it is not

right, as it happens in countries like Russia, for you to violently do away with us by murder or imprisonment so that you can expropriate our property which has been handed us from generation to generation. For, possession helps to foster civilisation, and to rob one of possessions is wrong whatever be the reason for doing it.

"If you who are landless can by force rob us and take the land from us, will it not be right for those without clothes to rob you of your clothes? Similarly, the houseless can rob those who possess houses and take them over. The man without possession is such a rarity, that such a man is not found even among the wandering hill tribes.

"And, is land alone property? Houses, vessels, articles of use, the mat, the pillows—everything is property. Would you consider it right if hill tribesmen enter your village and by force rob you of your houses, and all things in them?

"Therefore, it is clear that it is not right for you to expropriate our lands by force. However, we do not want to continue to commit the sin of appropriating and sharing between ourselves the produce of land which mother Earth provides for the use of all. We do not want to continue to say, 'You can have food only at our mercy. If we do not like you, you will have to face starvation,' and keep you in a state of bondage. As the sage Tiruvalluvar has described it, you lead a pitiable life asking yourself ever and again the question:

"Is indigence to bear me company even to-day? She tormented me but only yesterday even unto death."

"We do not want any longer to continue the sin of keeping you in this tantalising state resulting from the problem of food. We have now decid-

ed to free you from the fear of hunger, and propose to adopt the following method to achieve the objective.

"Let some of us and some of you join together to form an organisation called Work Planning Association. This Association will decide the amount of work to be done in the village in such matters as agriculture, sanitation, education, temple affairs (religious welfare), food, clothing, utensils, and other industries. This Association will also allocate work to each person according to his competence, and the people of the village will accordingly contribute their labour. Every man, woman and child will be assured of a square meal.

"We and our descendents shall abide by this agreement, generation to generation. We promise to this effect here in this temple, in the presence of God, on our honour and for the welfare of our own children. This agreement between us shall be cut on copper plate, signed by a leading representative of ours, and kept in the temple archives."

"If such a vow is taken and village work carried on on the basis of the vow, poverty will be ended in the village. More than that, the greater evil of the fear of poverty will vanish. Unity and mutual goodwill will prosper; disease and untimely deaths will decrease; the village will radiate with happiness. If this plan succeeds in one village, it will be followed with benefit by others all over the world.

"My brethren of Tamil Nad, let it be to your credit to lead the way to the eradication of poverty in the world."

Whether poets, philosophers, or politicians, thinking men have come to the same conclusion. Today's Bhoodan is the answer to centuries of the people's longing. It is the Gandhian answer to the Western attempts to force a solution by might.

VINOBA AT MOTIHARI (Bihar)

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

Of all the districts of Bihar, perhaps the most well known all over the world is Champaran, associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi who taught India the first chapter of the Book of Satyagraha on its soil. Champaran, literally meaning a jungle of Champaka flowers, is wonderfully fertile and green. The long *Shisham* trees stand, as it were, sentinel to both its fertility and greenery. Motihari is the headquarters of the district and connected by railway to Muzaffarpur. It was on Sunday, 4th July last, that in the course of his Bhoodan tour in Champaran district, Vinoba reached Motihari.

Halting on Saturday at Turkolia, we left for Motihari early in the morning at four. Vinoba leaves his bed daily at half past two and by three, every member of the walking party gets up. Between three and four we prepare ourselves and hold the prayer. The distance from Turkolia to Motihari Pandal, our halting place for the day, is about seven miles. As we entered the precincts of the town, Sri Dhruva Narain Tripathi, President of the District Congress Committee, gave us a hearty welcome. As we went into the town it was past six; more and more people, including pretty children, received us with garlands, both of flowers and hand-spun yarn. And the sky resounded with the cries of "*Champaran zile men bina-zamin koyi na rahega, koyi na rahega*" (there will be no landless in Champaran district). Vinoba joined the mass raising both his hands. We encamped at the Banjaria Pandal. To the crowd gathered in the Ashram to receive him, Vinoba said a few words calling upon the people to do their duty, as Mahatma Gandhi had set up the noble tradition in their district. He also appealed to them to purchase and study Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature available there.

There was a stream of spectators all through the day. After going through the day's papers, Vinoba had a nap. Then, as usual, he attended to his correspondence. On account of the pain on his right shoulder, he is not able to spin these days. In the afternoon there was the press conference in which there was also the intelligentsia of the city. The press people were ready with written questions. A prominent question was what his (Vinoba's) reactions were to the poor land collections in Champaran. With a robust confidence, Vinoba replied, "To say that people here are not giving land is not the truth. The fact is that very few workers have approached them for land. Judging by the faith, sympathy and enthusiasm displayed by the masses here I can say they will respond plentifully if they are properly approached." To the query whether he contemplated offering satyagraha, Vinoba answered, "Bhoodan itself is satyagraha where defeat is out of question. Presently there is no occasion for non-cooperation. But it may come in future if there be need. Non-cooperation and satyagraha are a part of the Bhoodan process. But I do not think in terms of the next step. As Bapu said, 'One step is enough for me'. Whether he was satisfied with the progress of the movement was the next question. In a clear voice, he affirmed, "Of course, the response of the people is beyond expectations. But those who have not donated land today will do so tomorrow. Donate they undoubtedly will. None can escape it as none can escape death." Some questions put by political workers betrayed a strange ignorance of the fundamentals of Bhoodan. Vinoba requested them to read the necessary literature and to develop the habit of study.

* English translation from V. V. S. Aiyar's *Maxims of Tiruvalluvar*.

The evening prayer began at six. The Pandal was full. After the prayers, followed Vinoba's discourse. Welcoming a recent speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinoba said: "Pandit Nehru had declared that we must stand on our own feet rather than seek other's help. It was a right resolve made at the right moment. It is in keeping with the teaching of our scriptures which teach us that one can raise oneself with one's effort. We must be self-sufficient in basic requirements like food, clothing and medicine in which no nation should depend on or exploit any other. And it is not a difficult task. We have ample wealth in the form of human power, intellect and natural resources, which could easily make us stand on our own feet. Some people are afraid of the enormous population in the country; if we have 36 crores of mouths to feed, we have also 72 crores of hands to work with all of which must be provided with suitable tools and implements."

With regard to thinking or intellectual power, our country, said Vinoba, could not be called wanting. For even during the last century of slavery, we have provided to the world such a leadership of thought as no other country had done—the philosophy of unity in diversity taught and practised by Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, of divine life by Aurobindo, of Satyagraha by Mahatma Gandhi and of Visva-Bharati by Rabindranath Tagore. The very fact that we Indians, could acquire such a thorough command of English language, showed that we were mentally inferior to none in the world. Here in our country was taught the first Mantra. Here had flown incessantly the current of self-contemplation and meditation. Likewise, we were rich in natural wealth or resources in the vegetable or mineral spheres.

Vinoba continued that for an adequate employment of these resources, two things were very necessary—unity amongst ourselves and decentralisation

of power vested now in the centre. As regards the former he said that we should be Indians first and Indians last. From times immemorial we had kept an open door for all people, religions and cultures and absorbed them and made them our own. But at times, we became disunited and hence lost. To bring in unity now, Vinoba added, changes would have to be introduced in the methods of election in the country. Elections were aggravating the evils of communalism and casteism. We might have different ideologies or hold different views, but for our practical progress we must have such programmes on which all parties could agree.

The second requisite was distribution of the power held at the centre. It was absurd that a few brains at Delhi should plan for the whole country in their own way. Every village must be developed into a self-sufficient unit. All the finished products required in a village—and for which raw materials were there in the village—should be prepared in the village itself. At present the city people were making those things which the villages could make. Hence village-folk were running to cities where unemployment was soaring up. Besides foreign goods were being dumped in city markets. Over and above, the education imparted to the people created in them a disgust for work, which further aggravated unemployment. What was desirable was distribution of work, on right lines and those things which could be made in the villages should be made there. He asked the city people to contribute a part of their income to *Sampatti-Dan Yagna* regularly.

Finally Vinoba enjoined the youth to come forward and offer their life to the cause. He expressed the hope that they would come forward in large numbers.

This 50-minute speech was listened to in pin-drop silence. Then it was announced that so far 3922'21, acres of land were donated in Champaran.

ECONOMICS OF BHOODAN

S. N. AGARWAL

This is from the leading article by Shri Agarwal in the A. I. C. C. Economic Review, reviewing the decisions of the historic Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh-Gaya in April last.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave with his Bhoodan Yagna has now rightly become the symbol of a great economic revolution which is sought to complete the process of political freedom through peaceful and democratic methods. As the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh pointed out, Bhoodan is only the first step towards the bloodless revolution which Vinobaji desires to bring about in India by the end of 1957. The year 1757 marked the beginning of the British rule in India at the battle of Plassey; in 1857, the people of India revolted against the foreign rulers and laid the foundations of a political revolution in this country. Acharya Vinoba earnestly feels that the year 1957 must witness the success of a peaceful economic revolution in India.

Bhoodan Yagna will naturally be the spearhead of this revolutionary movement; but the establishment of economic equalities in both rural and urban sections of society through a radical change in the basic values of life would require a far-reaching reorientation in the pattern of industrial organisation in this country. The Sarvodaya Sammelan was of the definite view that "a self-supporting decentralised economy" was the only means "for the achievement of economic emancipation of the people."

As regards the land policy, the Sammelan laid great stress on the need for redistributing the Bhoodan lands among the landless peasantry without any further delay. Out of over 25 lakh acres collected so far, less than a lakh acres have been distributed among the people. The slow pace of land distribution has been mainly due to certain

legal difficulties as also the dearth of constructive workers for the purpose. We, therefore, welcome the decision of the Sammelan to expedite the process of land redistribution. The target fixed by Vinobaji is the collection and distribution of 5 crore acres of land by the end of 1957. The achievement of this target would, surely, require the spontaneous and sincere help from all sections of the public.

Conflicting opinions were expressed at the Sammelan regarding the role of legislation in the task of land reforms. ...Some went to the extent of stating that legislation would thwart the very objective of Bhoodan by interfering with the non-violent process of persuasion and a change of heart. Others felt that land reforms could not be effected without introducing radical legislative measures. We think that there is no inherent conflict between the Bhoodan movement and the legislative process, the two can supplement each other for achieving the common objective.

Acharya Vinoba has rendered conspicuous service to the noble cause of ushering in a non-violent economic revolution in this country through his *Bhoodan* and *Sampatti-dan* movements. But the popular and democratic State Governments cannot get rid of their own responsibilities by leaving the whole task of land redistribution on the shoulders of Vinobaji. They can undertake legislation in consultation with Acharya Vinoba to further the cause of making the actual tillers of the soil the owners of land. In fact, several State Governments have already passed Bhoodan Bills for facilitating transfers of land-gifts to the land-

less peasantry. Bhoodan Yagna has eminently succeeded in creating a healthy and favourable atmosphere for the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in the country; it has demonstrated to the world that the land problem could be effectively solved through peaceful methods. Suitable legislation to speed up and supplement this peaceful process should, in our opinion, be welcomed and encouraged. If fact, we are sorry that the pace of land reforms in India has been considerably slow during the last few years.

It has been pointed by some economic "experts" that re-distribution of land would lead to a fall in production of food in the country. This is not a correct view of the problem. In fact, in China and Japan the average size of land holdings is only about 2 acres and yet their yield per acre is three times as much as that of India. Experiments all over the world have amply demonstrated the truth of the contention that with an increase in the size of the farm and with the introduction of mechanical devices, productivity per labourer increases; productivity *per acre* does not necessarily increase. As a matter of fact, in thickly populated countries like India small-scale and intensive farming is the only correct solution of our economic problems. It is, of course, necessary that the small farmers should be provided with the requisite facilities of good seed, manures, irrigation and co-operative marketing. Mechanization in Indian agriculture should be undertaken with great care and discrimination. Excessive use of tractors and other machines would be both uneconomic and *inhuman* in a country like ours where the basic national problem is that of providing gainful employment to the millions of our people.

One of the arguments against quick land reforms is that simultaneous legislation for limiting incomes in the urban sector should also be undertaken. Ceilings on land holdings should be followed by the fixation of ceilings on city

incomes as well. We fully appreciate this view. It is quite evident that an economic revolution cannot be confined to land alone; it must touch all sectors of our national economy. The existing gulf between the rich and the poor must be bridged or filled up. We have abolished feudalism in land; we must now proceed to abolish feudalism in industry. We regard the system of Managing Agents in India as a relic of feudalism. So far as we know, the system of Managing Agency in this shape and form does not exist in any other civilized and industrialised country in the world. It was a creation of alien rulers in this land. It must, therefore, be radically transformed without further loss of time. The existing Indian Companies Law should be amended by the Government of India in such a way that the intermediaries between the shareholders and the Directors of industry should disappear. In fact, we should go a step further and gradually make the workers themselves the owners of industry. This far-reaching reform in our industrial organisation is absolutely essential for achieving a real economic revolution in India. It must be fully realised by all of us that our democracy cannot succeed as a political ideal unless it is achieved as an economic ideal. Political freedom without social and economic freedom would remain a vacant dream. Land is a gift of Nature; it can neither be increased nor decreased by man. Its redistribution on a more equitable basis is, therefore, of paramount importance and land reforms should naturally receive the highest priority. But such land legislation must be quickly followed by industrial reforms which would set into motion the process of economic equality and social justice in the urban areas. We earnestly hope that the Government of India would take up these economic problems with a *sense of urgency* in order to usher in true Swaraj of Gandhiji's dreams.



Agriculture and Village Industries

— N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN, M. A. —

Agricultural problem cannot be solved on the basis of wage as in the industrial sector. Agriculture and village industries of basic nature like food and cloth for subsistence are inseparable. They are indispensable for the self-sufficient economy of the villages. The capitalist hold over land and the centralised industries are destroying the very agricultural and human economy of the five lakhs of villages in India. There can be no compromise between the two. The writer is a scholar-peasant dedicated to freedom of the villages and writes with greater authority than the urban theorists of modern economics.

Fixation of minimum wages is considered to be one of the duties of the Welfare State. Highly industrialised countries where even agriculture is carried on a large scale industrial technique do require such a regulation in a competitive economy. In India too we hear of minimum wages. Should we and can we fix minimum wages in agriculture? Indian agriculture is on a different level here and the extension of fixation of wages in agriculture is not practicable and is fraught with grave danger to agriculture and national economy.

Indian agriculture is on a peasant scale, where employment is on a seasonal basis depending on the vagaries of the monsoons. Before the days of mechanical large-scale industries Indian agriculture was carried on in close association with decentralised industries. Agriculture and handi-crafts went hand in hand, employing the population to the full. When work in the one was finished, there was work in the other to employ them. Thus the bulk of the people, though in rural parts, had enough and full employment throughout the year. Their labour was fully utilised, and national economy got strengthened on that account. With the competition of the mechanised large-scale industries of the West in the beginning, and of those within the country later, all the rural industries—cottage and small scale ones—have been forced out of existence.

Those who mainly concentrated on crafts, lost them, and those who engaged themselves in them for producing their needs and for utilising their waste time, gave up the subsidiary employment. All crowded themselves in agriculture as their sole occupation. This change rendered very many small holders landless. The result has been that about eighty per cent of the population of the country are now agriculturists—landholding or landless—and expect to be sustained by agriculture. There is not full work for them, and their time is going to waste. This crowding for semi-employment is the main cause for the lowering of the standard of life of our people. Indian mechanised large-scale industries are making a great headway, but they have not been able to absorb any substantial part of the semi-employed millions in agriculture, nor are the chances of their being so absorbed very bright.

Our genius is more imitative than creative and we want to plan and push ahead to achieve the prosperity of the countries whom we admire. We know that the great days of centralised production and world trade are numbered, and any attempt on our part to sustain it here is doomed. That economy has been the root cause of all internal troubles and international friction. With all the talk of social justice and political and economic equality, centralised system of production has made man a miserable

sub-human being that he is today. We feel shy to look into our past, and adopt the organisation which helped us to attain a prosperity which evoked the envy of the nations of the world. In the past our agriculture and industries were perfectly decentralised, for that was the only way of employing fully the teeming population of the country. This intensive division of labour was unknown in the past, and the bulk of the population could labour in agriculture as well as in some other craft. Only a few were specialists who confined themselves to single crafts, and they too hurried to agriculture to participate in team work like harvesting and sowing. Then our production was not primarily for world trade and profit, but for self-sufficiency and abundance. The rural community was well and closely knit together, and such units worked for national prosperity. Now our modern ideas are different. We are individualistic, we produce for trade and profit—not for consumption—we think of vague higher standards of life which dehumanise men, but we talk of social justice and human brotherhood. Fortunately we have ceased to deride the past, but we yet hesitate to take proper lessons from it. Not that our past was the last word on perfection, but that way was straight, human and just and led us to the proper goal. Perhaps it may be early to hope for such a change.

Our industrialists and the planners—not solely altruistic—now think of a clear separation of industries from agriculture, and to make agriculture produce the food for the people and the raw materials required for their industries. They want the cottage and small scale industries—the few existing ones—to go, leaving the industries a free rich monopoly market. Is it possible? Can eighty per cent of the people sustain themselves with only agriculture as their employment? It may be that the fixation of minimum wages in the field of agriculture is an attempt by the industrialists in this

direction. Large scale holdings are few, but even peasant farming requires casual labour in seasons. Minimum wages may throw more burden on agriculture for some time only. Agriculturists in the foot-steps of the industrialists will seek for means of rationalising, mechanising, cutting short production, and other devices if their agriculture turns out to be uneconomic. That will lead to a breakdown of national economy. That will lead to greater unemployment and misery. With short production the manufacturers will have to import the raw materials from abroad at a higher cost. With less employment and with less yield the markets for these industries will dwindle and the industrialists will be in a fix. It is indeed a vicious circle and the way out will be bewildering. Now with centralised production on the one hand and agriculture on the other there is a conflict in which national welfare is lost sight of. The industrialists cannot have a rich market if all the people now in agriculture are to be sustained by it. Mere agriculture—however intensive it might be—can neither give full employment nor full sustenance to those who are now engaged in it. Indian agriculture cannot be planned on the American model, with vast stretches of virgin land and perfected machinery and scanty population. Wisdom should lead us to the other way of peasant farming, and decentralised cottage and craft industries. If somehow landholding assumes the capitalist role, it will have to go with so many other factors which breed social injustice and inequality.

VINOBA AND HIS MISSION

By Suresh Ramabhai

With a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and

Introduction by Shri Jaiprakash Narayan.

Price Rs. 3. Thick Cover Rs. 3-8-0

Postage As. 12 extra.

Sarvodaya. P. B. No. 9, Tirupur.

A New Concept of Politics and Society

Commenting on Vinobaji's Bhoodan and introducing the *Harijan* weekly and the *Sarvodaya* monthly to its readers 'Peace News,' the *Pacifist Weekly*, London, writes in its issue dated 25th June, 1954, as follows:

It is unfortunate that in the popular mind Mohandas Gandhi's work was thought to be limited to the liberation of India from British rule, and that, even to pacifists, his main contribution to human progress is assumed to be hardly more than a social technique for achieving what you want to achieve.

In fact the Gandhian idea is very much more than that. Gandhi's real work, it would not be unfair to say, only began with the achievement of independence for his country.

It is not widely known that after independence he advocated the dissolution of the Congress Party and the founding of a new molecular system of village and regional self-government throughout the land. This was repudiated by many of his erstwhile allies and followers and the subsequent entrenchment of political power in the Federal Government is one of the big problems worrying his disciples in India today.

Nevertheless, India still leads the world in revolutionary social ideas through the emergence of Bhoodan Yagna (the Land-Gift Mission) and the example of Vinoba Bhave.

MAN OF VISION

It is almost without parallel that a man of such vision and integrity as Gandhi should be followed immediately by another of the same stamp. Yet Bhave's right to assume the mantle of his mentor is undoubted.

Vinoba Bhave combines the spiritual consistency and practical concern of the true Gandhian with a penetrating intellectual insight into the modern ideological problem.

7

He is endeavouring to build up not merely a movement for land distribution, but a new concept of politics and society. His answer to the dilemma of capitalism or communism is neither the one nor the other nor yet a middle way between them, but a new idea, *Samya-yoga*, which "seeks to reform and rebuild the entire life of society on a spiritual foundation with revolutionary result in every field, ethical, social, economic and political."

This is the programme and the task of the movement for which Gandhi had prepared, the Sarvodaya Samaj (Brotherhood of General welfare), which will campaign for the introduction of basic reforms in all departments of Indian Life.

TEST OF SINCERITY

The dynamic behind this movement is, if anything, more profoundly understood and deeply moving than during the rule of the British Raj, for it is only in these days of freedom that the true sincerity of the Satyagrahi is put to the test.

The temptations to go the power way of the West are enormous in modern India. It requires great sense of conviction and and purpose to remain true to the vision of the Mahatma.

SARVODAYA MONTHLY

Several Gandhian newspapers in India have had to close down in recent years because of lack of finance. But *Harijan*, the English language weekly founded by Gandhi still continues. There is also a monthly magazine in English, inaugurated to serve the Sarvodaya Samaj and titled simply, *Sarvodaya* (The welfare of all). It is issued on the first of every month from Devji Colony in Tirupur, and costs six shillings or one dollar a year. In its average of twenty-eight pages it contains news of

MESSAGE FOR ALL

— HANWORTH WALKER —

(General Secretary, International Vegetarian Union)

This is part of a speech of Mr. Walker delivered at the American Natural Hygiene Convention, New York. This was sent to us by Sri S. M. Neksatkhan, now in Gram Seva Mandal, Fort Songad, Surat, with his note: "Idealism shoots forth in many hearts and in many lands, in multifarious forms and ways. Study of this phenomenon is essential if all those working for good causes, whomean to learn humbly from others, who have the same impulse and strive in their own ways. This awakening responsibility in many countries extends beyond ourselves, our neighbours and the human race to include the animal and the plant life and indeed the whole of creation."

Mankind has been led to believe that peace can only come after many unformed men have spent months looking for a formula after governments have spent years in time and millions in money in generating hot air and spilling ink, and after scientists have covered the earth with hideous and grotesque constructions in order to prove that an atom is nothing rushing round nothing and also to devise the most elaborate and costly method of race suicide. From this blindly accepted belief has sprung the idea that the common individual, such as we are here, has no part to play in the building of a peaceful world and that this must be left to principalities and powers. These have never and will never establish lasting peace because peace springs from the heart of the individual human being. Peace can only become a real and permanent state on earth when man lives at peace within himself and man will live at peace within himself when he is free from the guilt of fratricide, free from the crime of murdering animals, free from the sin of foul-

(Continued from previous page)

the Bhoodan movement, articles by leading Gandhian thinkers, including Britain's Wilfred Wellock, and notes of general constructive developments in India and abroad.

Constructive workers everywhere would find it cheering and helpful to have this news of the progress being made in India's "silent revolution."

ing the temple of his body with vile poisons, free from the foolishness of opposing nature. Man must learn to transcend man-made law that is so fallible that it must be changed daily to meet expediency and live in accordance with the Divine or Natural Law, a law that is complete and constant. It is surely the recognition of this natural law that has brought us all together to-day. Are we sufficiently aware of our responsibility, do we realise that in us here and in those of like mind throughout the world, lies the salvation of mankind? Let us all develop a strength equal to the burden, a courage equal to the task and such loyalty, unity and greatness as befits our mission.

How far away is peace? Rather would I ask—How near is Peace. I know how near it can be. All great truths are simple and the simple truth is this—we can have lasting peace throughout the world this very night if we stop hurting each other. As simple as that. Cannot we here to-day make our own individual and collective contribution towards lasting peace on earth by refraining from giving hurt, from hurtful deeds, hurtful words, hurtful thoughts and even hurtful motives? Here I recall the opening words from one of the Upanishads, the ancient Indian Scriptures:—

May He protect us, May He take pleasure in us, May Spiritual Knowledge shine before us, MAY WE NEVER HURT ONE ANOTHER, and may Peace and Peace and Peace be everywhere.

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

THREE BOOKS ON VINOBA AND BHOODAN

VINOBA AND HIS MISSION

By Suresh Ramabhai: Page 246: Price Rs. 3: with Board cover Rs. 3-8-0 Postage Rs. 12 Extra.

Readers of Sarvodaya interested in Bhoodan Yagna, will welcome the latest publication of the Akhila Bharatha Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha on Vinoba and his Mission. Shri Suresh Ramabhai, a brilliant student of Gandhian economics and Sarvodaya ideology should be congratulated for having brought out this substantial book on the non-violent revolution of the day under the leadership of Vinobaji.

The book runs to 246 pages. It starts with a description of the state of the country immediately after freedom and the emergence of Vinobaji with his Sarvodaya Samaj. The book is well-planned and the chapters are devoted to biographical sketch of Vinobaji, his great experiments in Kanchan-mukti, the genesis of Bhoodan Yagna in Hyderabad State, Vinobaji's walking Yatra to Delhi in response to Pandit Nehru's call and the rapid progress of the movement up to the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh-Gaya in April, 1954, when the target of 25 lakhs of acres was exceeded.

The social and economic and political doctrines and the Sarvodaya ideology behind the Bhoodan Yagna are discussed in Vinobaji's own words from his speeches during his Yatra.

As Dr. S. Radhakrishnan says in his foreword "it should be read by all who are interested in this unique campaign, its objects and its philosophy."

In the words of Shri Jaiprakash Narayan in his introduction to the book, "this book would give the reader a comprehensive view of this great movement and its great significance for human society, particularly at the present

juncture when terrific weapons of violence are threatening its very existence."

The book is also available at the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur.

Vinoba Bhava

This is a nice and attractively got up book published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay; price Rs. 2-8-0. It is a collection of articles on Vinobaji and Bhoodan written by Sri Bharatan Kumarappa, Acharya Kripalani, Sri Suresh Ramabhai and others in India. The Bhoodan Yagna has attracted many foreigners who have contributed articles in foreign journals after a close study of the movement by personally touring with Vinobaji. Articles from their pen have appeared in the Reader's Digest, American Time and other journals. Mr. Hallam Tennyson gave a talk on the B. B. C. on Vinobaji. These articles and Radio Talk are also collected in this book. This small book brings together in a single focus the various aspects of Vinobaji's unique personality and his revolutionary movement from different angles.

This book is available with the publisher and also at Sarvodaya Prachuralayam, Tirupur.

Bhoodan or Land Through Love

The Hyderabad State has done signal service in making a timely presentation of the great Bhoodan Yagna in a pictorial book with a good collection of articles on Vinobaji and his mission. The book contains a note by the Director of Information, Hyderabad State, and articles by Sri M. V. Desai, Sri B. V. Rao and others. The B. B. C. Talk and the article from the Reader's Digest are also included. It contains 25 photos of Vinobaji's historic march in the Telengana area. The book is printed in art paper and with card board cover. It is nominally priced at Rupee one only. Copies are obtainable from the Director of Information, Hyderabad State, Hyderabad (Dn).

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 Vasthahalas 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 IS International Reply Coupons.

Remittances in cheques should include the bank commission also.

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 the Tamil Sarvodaya, a monthly Digest since August 1947. This is not a reproduction of the English edition but contains different articles. 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.

Please write to:

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P. B. No. 9, TIRUPUR (S. India)

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With Foreword by

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which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya has been organising and participating in Bhoodan Yatras in Tanjore district since February last in consultation with the Convenor of the District Bhoodan Committee.

A Branch office of the Prachuralaya will be opened at Tanjore on the 2nd September 1954 with a view to intensify the Bhoodan work in that district.

Orders for books can also be forwarded to the Branch addressed to:

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA,
(Branch)

19, Sivajipuram, TANJORE

All correspondence regarding the Sarvodaya magazines in Tamil and in English, and accounts etc.; may be addressed as usual to:

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P. B. No. 9, TIRUPUR.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In the Shadow of the Mahatma
A personal Memoir—by G. D. Birla, with a foreword by the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd. — Bombay — Calcutta — Madras — Pages 338—Price Rs. 5—8—0.

Our Fallen Village
By C. Ananthachari, Pleader, Salem, Publisher: Sangu Ganesan—E. P. I. C. Centre, Pichiwalkam, Takkolam P. O., (Via) Arkonam, Madras State. Pages 52, Price Rs. 0—8—0.

Congress Souvenir (59th Session at Kalyani)
Published by: Shri Sabitri Prasanna Chatterjee, Chairman Publicity Sub-Committee of The Reception Committee, Kalyani Congress, Congress Bhavan, 59-B, Chowringhy Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2—8—0.

Folk Tales of India
Told by B. Gangulee. Published by: Hind Kitabs Ltd., Publishers. 261-263, Hornby Road, Bombay—1. Price Rs. 2—0—0.

Commonsense or Chaos
By A. Ruth Fry. 48, Clarendon Road, London, W-11. Price 3 Pence.
Shri Bhagavad Gita:
Rajvidyiah G. K. Shanti-Gondal, Rasasala Ausadashram, Gondal, Kathiawad, Price Rs. 4—0—0.

Shri Bhuvaneshwari Installation:
Illustrated sketch. Publishers: Shri Bhuvaneshwari Pith, Gondal, Kathiawad. Price Rs. 1—4—0.

Our Bapu
By Begum Qudsia Zaidi, Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Publishers, 4, Francis Joseph Street, Madras. Price Re. 1.

The Plough
The Quarterly of the Bruderhof Committee, Summer and Spring Number of 1953. Published by the Plough Publishing House, Bromham, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England. Subscription 10 Shillings per annum.

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

For Sarvodaya Prarthana (Dharmam Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tirupur.

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

Anti Militarist News

Issue No. 17, February, 1954, published by the League for Freedom and World Friendship—Editor K. J. Kanafick, Box 2602, G. P. O. Melbourne, Australia.

Peace

English monthly, Published by the Mission of Peace, Sri Santi Ashram, Rishikonda Beach, Waltair, S. India. Annual Subscription Rs. 3 or (Foreign) 2 dollars or 15 Shillings.

Bhoodan Received in All Provinces

upto 10-7-1954

Province	Land in Acres	No. of Don Patras
1 Bihar	20,78,072	2,29,374
2 Uttar Pradesh	5,05,945	14,607
3 Rajasthan	3,21,544	2,055
4 Utkal	94,645	29,771
5 Hyderabad	92,114	3,316
6 Madhya Pradesh	66,200	12,000
7 Madhya Bharat	62,412	5,377
8 Saurashtra	41,000	15,000
9 Gujarat	35,228	8,289
10 Tamilnad	21,697	3,535
11 Andhra	18,976	552
12 Kerala	17,000	1,200
13 Maharashtra	15,480	769
14 Delhi	9,245	249
15 Punjab	6,847	1,947
16 Vindhya Pradesh	5,141	977
17 Mysore	3,414	1,395
18 Bengal	2,210	1,658
19 Himachal Pradesh	1,900	66
20 Karnatak	1,809	239
21 Assam	1,692	—
Total...	34,02,571	3,32,376

Land Distributed

Province	Acres	No. of Families
1 Bihar	557	410
2 Uttar Pradesh	46,666	14,975
3 Rajasthan	4,088	1,022
4 Utkal	708	214
5 Hyderabad	10,505	2,222
6 Madhya Pradesh	1,416	450
7 Gujarat	942	251
8 Tamil Nad	256	55
9 Delhi	41	20
10 Vindhya Pradesh	152	74
11 Karnatak	239	—
Total...	65,570	19,693

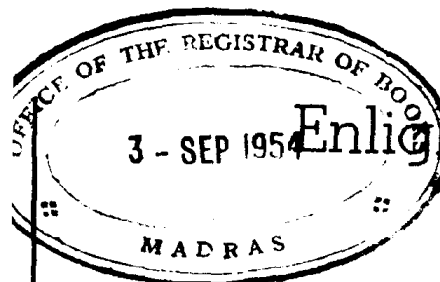
SARVODAYA

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Vol. 4

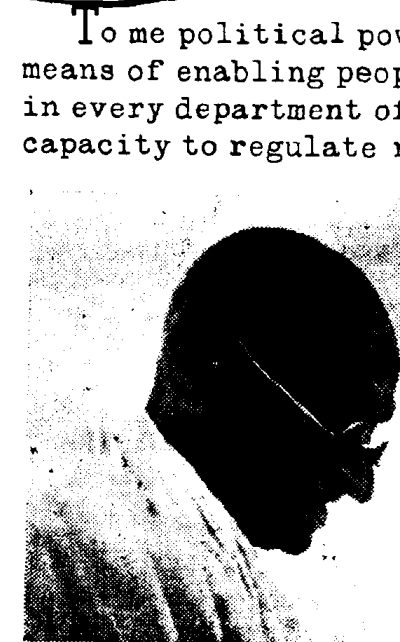
September, 1954

No. 3



Enlightened Anarchy

MAHATMA GANDHI

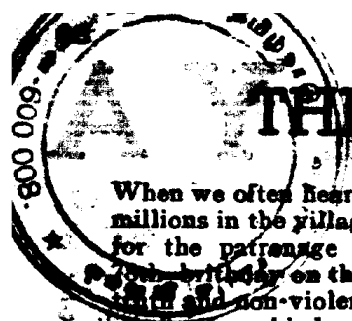


To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that Government is best which governs the least.

Page 70 — 'SARVODAYA'

— A Navajivan publication

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THE CHARKHA JAYANTI

When we often hear the charkha being mentioned as a means of relief to the semi-starving millions in the villages and Khadi is exhibited in emporiums as a commercial commodity for the patronage of the urban classes, let us recall what Mahatmaji said on his visit to the true message of the Charkha. The charkha was to him an emblem of non-violence, the basis of the non-violent social order. Gandhiji's words, coming from his heart, make it clear that it is not the doles of wages through spinning or charitable feeding on occasions that will redeem the poor from poverty or economic slavery. These excerpts are from page 250 of Vol. VII of MAHATMA by Tendulkar.

THE SYMBOL OF NON-VIOLENCE

The days of celebration come to mind. In my opinion, however, the real celebrations will come only when the music of the wheel, which is the symbol of independence and non-violence, will be heard in every home. If a few or even a crore of poor women spin in order to earn a pittance, what can the celebration mean to them and what achievement can that be? This can well happen, even under a despotic rule, and is today visible, wherever capital hold sway. Millionaires are sustained by the charity they dole out to the poor, may be even in the form of wages.

"The celebration will only be truly worthwhile, when the rich and the poor alike understand that all are equal in the eyes of God, that each one, in his own place, must earn his bread by labour, and that the independence of all will be protected, not by guns and ammunition but by the bullets, in the shape of cones of hand-spun yarn, that is, not by violence but by non-violence.

"If we consider the atmosphere in the world today, it may sound ludicrous. But if we look within, this is the truth and the eternal truth.



THE TRUE LESSON OF THE CHARKHA

[On 22nd Sept. 1946 on the occasion of the Charkha Jayanti celebration at the Harijan Colony at Delhi, a worker in charge of the programme had planned to have refreshments served to Harijan children, just after the flag hoisting ceremony by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.]

It seemed to Gandhiji that the inwardness of the spinning wheel had been forgotten by his comrades. "The music of the charkha murmurs sweetly," he explained at the evening prayer gathering, "that we were all one, born to be the equal sharers in the goods of the earth, with no one higher or wealthier than the other. Yet the world is today full of inequalities of wealth and invidious distinctions of high and low. This is a great folly. In our arrogance we forget that we are all one day going to be levelled with the dust by death that knows no distinctions." The second lesson was that we were to earn our bread by the sweat of our brow—what a Russian savant had called "bread labour" and, the third was that if we were one of and with the people, we should refuse to give food to those who were not in need, or to take more than we needed for health.

...The real hunger of Harijans, which needed to be satisfied was not for morsels of food but for decent living as self-respecting equal citizens for a square deal as human beings, for freedom from fear, for inculcation of clean and sanitary habits, thrift, industry, and education. That required perseverance, self-sacrifice and patient intelligent labouring on our part. If they gave him money to feed Harijans, he would refuse to accept it. For, he did not want to make beggars and idlers of them.

...That lesson, he remarked, was a grave warning for all, if we were to learn truly the lesson of the charkha.



Mahatma, The Ideal Karma Yogi

— SWAMI SIVANANDA —

Gandhi loved and lived a life of Truth. He had a passion for Truth, and in his life, to the very last breath, he exemplified in himself the glory of Truth. His "An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth" is one of the most thrilling biographies and every spiritual aspirant will be greatly benefited by a deep study of Truths that he has revealed about himself, his own struggle with the lower nature and the secrets of his success.

Mahatmaji has shown how a life of complete renunciation can be led while yet remaining in the thick of the battle. His was a supreme example of one who has led a Divine Life while yet remaining in the world — truly a lotus leaf in water.

His tenacious adherence to the cause of the poor, the downtrodden Harijan, the common man of the Indian village, is indeed worthy of emulation. Through all the vicissitudes of time, power and fame, Gandhiji had kept before the eyes of the Congress the fundamentals of the programme with which it came into being, the amelioration of the suffering of the villager. A supreme example of this truth is his achievement in the matter of getting the Salt Tax waived. Another is his insistence, against all opposition from the ranks of his own followers, on the introduction of prohibition throughout the land.

Uncrowned King of the land, he had yet remained the friend of the poor: he lived for them; he moved among them as one of them; he loved them and he served them with all his heart. He saw his God in them; in their service, he wore out his body.

The Father of the Nation in every sense of the term — I say so advisedly,

for besides winning for India her freedom from foreign political yoke or Swaraj Gandhiji had brought about a re-orientation in the average Indian's outlook, and instilled in him the love of God, his religion and his own motherland, all of which had been eclipsed for more than one century by the unhealthy influence of western culture, manners and language — the Father of the Nation chose to remain away from power and position till the very last day, refusing to profit by his own labours! This indeed is the noblest example of *Phala-Tyaga* which the Lord in the Gita characterises as real renunciation. Several times when the Congress turned away from him, he coolly stepped aside and blessed the great organisation with a smile. This shows clearly that under all circumstances Gandhiji was unaffected. Every evening, in spite of the heaviest load of responsibilities that weighed down his shoulders, he repaired to the prayer ground to offer his congregational prayers to the Almighty. I wish every leader and every politician, every King and every President, follows this golden example. For then and then alone, will their heads be cool for judgement, their hearts in tune with the infinite, their entire being permeated with the Divine Will.

The Gita ideal of Karma Yogi was Gandhiji. What an amount of struggle he had to pass through, what an amount of mental and physical disciplines he had to undergo, is clearly portrayed in his autobiography. An apostle of self-control, he had clearly said before us in unambiguous terms the rugged path everyone desiring to achieve the goal of self-control has to tread, the pitfalls on the way, the precautions he had to

take, and the method he had to adopt. Ahimsa, Satyam and Brahmacharya were his watchwords — the three qualities that go into the making of every superman or Godman, which are incidentally the watchwords of the Divine Life Society, too.

Gandhiji would not allow even the most insignificant of creatures to be harmed. He was on a level with Lord Jesus in putting into practice the well-known precept of Jesus: "Turn your left cheek to the man who smites you on the right." Gandhiji's love knew no bounds: he had no enemies. In a loving embrace he brought to himself even those who were antagonistic to him, and to his principles, and who unilaterally considered themselves his 'enemies' and he extended toward them all his hand of love.

In plain speaking — which is the aspect of the practice of Truth — perhaps no one can excel Gandhiji. There was perfect unison between his thoughts, words and deeds. He said what he felt; and he acted in strict accordance with his own convictions. He kept his promise to the very letter. He was punctual and regular in daily duties.

Another Divine quality should perhaps rank foremost in the eyes of every aspirant: the readiness to accept one's own defects, shortcomings and mistakes. I would ask every aspirant to emulate Gandhiji's example in this respect. Never once did he fail in this regard. Even at the slightest hint of his mistakes he would sit in judgement over himself, analyse himself thoroughly and if he was convinced of his own wrong-doing, openly admit his error. Very few leaders would have dared to do this.

The one great service — the greatest service, I should say — that Gandhiji has rendered to humanity is the gift of an entirely novel, divine weapon to fight against wars. That is Satyagraha, the non-violent weapon whose potency in warfare against wars, hatred, ill-will and

violence, Gandhiji had proved in his own life-time. Would that the world awoke to his clarion-call and realise that the path to prosperity lay not in wars and violence, but in peace and non-violence. Non-violence was, with him, not a negative virtue, but the positive one, of love.

It was at the altar of non-violence, at the altar of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, which by itself symbolised his passion for the bringing about of a world-brotherhood that he laid his mortal coil. The establishment of this world-brotherhood alone can bestow on humanity peace, prosperity and happiness for all time to come, erasing from the fair face of the earth, wars, riots and bloodshed. The establishment of such a world-brotherhood alone can be a fitting monument to this great Apostle of non-violence and love.

Gandhiji has immortalised himself through relentless pursuit of Truth. He has endeared himself to the entire humanity through his untiring selfless service to the masses, his devotion to the Lord, his humility, his utter egolessness — in short, DIVINE LIFE.

★ TRUTH ★

Ever will I trust in thee, O Truth
In the temple of my heart shalt thou ever
shine
Keep thou my vision, true star of our
stormiest Nights,
Mother of Liberty, maker of Strength,
Bride of the four-faced Lord who made
these Worlds.
O thou, white River of Bliss,
Soul of Being and its only light,
Hold thou my tongue.
Ever will I trust in thee, O Truth,
Not all the friends of the triple worlds
shall Prevent me,
In the temple of my heart shalt thou shine
for ever.

SUBRAMANYA BHARATI

(An original Poem in English from "Agni
& Other poems")

The Sarvodaya Way to Banish War

— ACHARYA VINOBA —

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

When we talk of peace, we think how to banish war. There are two rival forces standing face to face in the world to-day. India is standing aloof from both and exerting its influence to champion the cause of freedom and maintain world peace. This policy has the approval of almost all the parties in the country. Our Government, as well as the great thinkers of the world, are for the creation of a 'Third Force' independent of and separate from these two power blocs.

Bhoodan workers also aim for the creation of a 'Third Force.' Let us examine what this 'Third Force' should be.

Bhoodan has no independent ideology apart from that of Sarvodaya. It is based on one of the aspects of the entire ideology behind 'Sarvodaya'.

As it is understood by the people to-day, the 'Third Force' is meant as that force or power which will function apart and independent of the Russian or American bloc. But Sarvodaya views it differently. It believes that, as long as the world does not abandon the way of violence to solve its problems, wars are inevitable and there will be no peace. To-day there are many problems before the people which need immediate solution. But the remedy is sought through violent means with the result that, instead of these problems being solved, new problems crop up. Hence, all hope or the idea to solve any problem of the world with the aid of violence has to be entirely given up. This is the first principle of Sarvodaya ideology.

THE FORCE OF THE STATE

All Governments of the world, what ever be their constitution, whether de-

mocratic or otherwise, depend on their Danda - Shakti - Penal Sanction - for their very existence. Their very strength lies in it. This sanction is delegated to the State authority by the people themselves and entrusted to use for their own welfare. Of course, it can be used for the good of the people. I don't gainsay that fact. But it cannot create an atmosphere to banish war from the world; for the method and means used to resolve conflicts are only suppression and pressure. It does not bring about any mental transformation. So long as suppression is the accepted principle and means there will be constant efforts on the part of all Governments to command more and more of power through force to gain advantages over the rivals. Hence there will be incessant mutual rivalries. The various States can at the most maintain the balance of power by keeping at par the strength of the rival forces. If two powers are of equal strength, chances of conflict will be brought down to the zero level and thereby peace can be maintained. It is in this line all our Governments think of bringing peace to the world. So they strive to see that neither of the two powers gathers more strength. So efforts will be directed only to keep this balance of power.

BALANCE OF POWER

The law of physics tells us that matter remains static if two opposite forces are equal. All Governments try to apply this very same principle to keep the balance of power between the nations and bring in peace.

There is the talk for disarmament i.e., reduction of military expenditure. Some talk about this out of fear. Others think that if this expenditure is reduced the money saved thereby can be diverted

for the welfare work. Governments talk much about the welfare work, but if any neighbouring State increases its military expenditure, each government at once begins to proportionately increase its own. Each argues that the necessity of the changed situation compels it to do so. So the race for competitive strength of the armed forces is kept going on. Till today no State has considered and declared the willingness to give up its military strength in entire.

Only some individuals like me welcome such things. No State will ever think of it, so long as there is the 'penal sanction' behind it.

LEAVE LAW-MAKING TO JUDICIARY

We call this 'Third Force' by various names as constructive force, constitutional force, love-force etc. The strength to develop the love-force can never be there in them whose very support is penal sanction (Danda Sakti). Therefore if we desire that peace, plenty and freedom should reign in every village and in every country i. e., every one should have opportunities for full development, everybody should get the comforts of the basic necessities of life as food, cloth, house, education and sanitary conditions of life around, and every individual should have the freedom of independent thinking, then it becomes absolutely necessary that the people should learn to work by their own strength and the Government's help and interference should be lesser and lesser. For this reason I have been always demanding that the State should not exercise its power over Education.

It is contended now that the administration of justice should be entirely left to the Judiciary which should function independent of the Executive even if the laws are made by the Government. I may go even a step further and demand that even the power of law-making should be taken away from the State's authority and be in the hands of an assembly of

intelligent, learned, wise men of absolute detachment.

Just like the Judiciary, Education also should function independent of the State's authority. It should be imparted through the wise men in the villages. If research in education is carried on independently, the power of free thinking will develop in the people. But today every village appeals to the Government to open its schools there. This will result in the Government enforcing its own readymade schemes on the people who will then be reduced to nothing.

CHANGE OF EDUCATION WITH CHANGE OF GOVT

Some months back Rajaji introduced in the whole of Madras State a scheme of education. There were, of course, some defects in it; yet it was better than the old one. But after the advent of the present new Government that scheme was dropped and the old system reintroduced. Change of Government brought over the change in the educational policy. If the Socialist Party happens to come to power tomorrow, it will replace the existing system with its own scheme. Similarly Jana Sangh Party, Communist's Party etc, may introduce their own schemes when they capture the Government power. The effort of every party will be to stamp its own seal on the immature brains of the young. If this happens, peoples' power of free-thinking will get paralysed. The country will then lose its freedom and return back to slavery again. Slavery is better than forced labour. What is known as educational policy is erroneous by itself.

The people should gradually divest the Government of all its functions and take them all in their own hands. Now sitting at Delhi, planning is being done for the five lakhs of villages in the country. If tomorrow, as science is fast advancing, inter-travel between the planets of Moon, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, becomes possible all these worlds

may think of forming a One-World-Government. Then that Union Government will sit in the planet Moon and attempt planning for the Earth. It may order that the Earth should produce cotton and jute only and the wheat and other grain requirements of Earth shall be supplied from Moon. Now imagine how it would look if the planning for all the villages in the country is done there at Delhi! It will be exactly like the bread prepared at the bakery. If the wheat flour is good all the bread becomes good, but if it goes bad the entire lot will get spoilt.

POWER GIVEN OR TAKEN?

We have been telling that power should gradually get decentralised in the hands of the people. The Government now says that they desire to give power to the Panchayats. May I ask them, 'Who are you to give power from the top? Let the people take it if they so desire. Let the people develop and increase the strength in them for this.

THE TWO KINDS OF DEVOTEES

We don't desire nor are we anxious to receive any power from the top. There are two kinds of devotees. The one is of the monkey pattern and the other is of the kitten type. In the former the child clings by itself to its mother, whereas in the latter it is always carried by the mother in its mouth. The second type of devotee thinks that he has nothing to do like the kitten and throws the entire responsibility on God. For such a devotee there will be no function to do. For material necessities he may steal, but for spiritual liberation he will have nothing to do! Against this belief the wise men have said "Let each lift his self by his own self." Therefore we don't want anyone to lift us without the effort on our own part.

A brother asked me "Have you met a great Yogi who makes one go into a trance as soon as the Yogi lays his hand on one's head?" I replied that the yogi's *tapasya* is demonstrated but we do not

wish to be simply dolls of clay to be acted upon like this. We want only such a *guru* (teacher) who will serve an example to make us work ourselves. We may not like God even to make us depend on others.

Therefore I do not wish that the power for the Village Panchayats should come from above. We should awaken the consciousness of the people, which will make them take the power themselves. When the State is divested of its power, the sanction of the force behind the State will break. Then only war will be banished from the world and peace can be realised.

Therefore, the meaning of the 'Third Force' is that force which is distinct from the State-force and different from and opposed to the force of violence. The strength of the people will grow to the extent of the development of all their faculties and to that extent the State will wither away. When such *Jana-shakti* or the strength of the people is developed, peace can be established.

WORSHIP BY SELF-HELP

People ask me what I am doing to generate such a *jana-shakti*. They say "It is true that you have collected 30 to 34 lakhs of acres of land. But your target is 5 crores of acres. How long will you be wandering like this? You have some influence with the Government. Why do you not get this done through the Government?" My reply to them is that I cannot reduce the people to the state of sheep to be shepherded. I want the people to be like lions. My desire is that if anything is to be done it should be done through the strength of the people themselves. I may not complain if the Government distributes land by the exercise of its power. But I consider that the world will not become free from war through the force of the State nor could peace be established.

It is therefore that I desire that the people should themselves solve their land

problem through their own power of thinking. How long will it take? I cannot exactly say what time it may take. It will take as much time as it may take to make the ignorant wise. I want to make the people get enlightened. Till today all experiments have been carried on keeping the people ignorant and people have been submitting also to be treated as such. But we do not like this state of things. It is our desire that the people

should all be awakened to the power of thinking. But the Governments plan and make all arrangements by themselves, leaving the people in the dark. There are some among the people who are foolish enough to welcome this as they do not want to take even the trouble of thinking. I want the people to use their power of thinking and discrimination and do their work themselves solving all the problems that may come in their way.

(Adapted and Condensed from Hindi Sarvodaya-Aug, '64)

★ VINOBAJI'S APPEAL ★

TO BIG LAND-LORDS

"Each and every one of us will have to fight against the 'Ravana' — the symbol of attachment for lust and greed in us. This Ravana, the mighty demon, has got ten faces, claiming ownership of land, of money, of factory, of homes etc. We have to get rid of this craving for ownership. The idea of ownership is against the spirit of God. I have been telling this to the people for the last three years and asking them to donate one-sixth of their land. I want the rich to give more than one sixth. They should keep only a little with them as *Hari Prasad* (God's blessing) and donate the rest. I have received till today 34 lakhs of acres, and that in this *Kaliyuga*. It is no achievement of mine. It is the Will of God. He wants that there should be no landless and that land should not be regarded as a thing of private ownership. The masses cannot feel the glow of Swaraj unless the land-hunger of the landless is quenched"

TO SMALL LAND-OWNERS

"You should cast off the ownership of the land with you. You should not wait for the big land-holders to respond first. The big owners are not in fact big holders—they are so only in appearance. In their heart of hearts they know that the land that they own, is not theirs. If you offer your share they cannot say, no; they have to follow in your footsteps."

TO THOSE WHO EVICT

"Land eviction must stop forthwith. They who evict, do so out of fear. Let

them cast off their fear, and offer their land, ear-marking it for the peasant who has been cultivating it already. That will bring in justice and peace.

TO THE EVICTED

I appeal to those of you who are being evicted, not to forsake the land you have been cultivating. Let the evictors maltreat you in any manner they like, but you should stick on undaunted. Our scriptures have taught us that our soul is distinct from our body and no torture can affect us. Stand firm on your rights and stick on to Truth and Dharma. Take care not to offend by words or do any harm to the person of the evictor. Be calm. If you persist in this conduct, the evictor's heart would change and melt. This change of heart is already permeating through the atmosphere.

TO WORKERS

I appeal to the workers to bring cases of eviction to my knowledge. The evictors are equally my friends, and they are dear to me as those who are evicted. I will try to bring the two nearer.

GIVE YARN OFFERING

In case you depend on mill-cloth your serfdom will continue. Let the charka ply in every home. Only then the villages will be free and Gram-Raj established. Let one hank of self-spun yarn be offered by every one on Bapu's death anniversary. Every one, even children above four, should offer. Won't you do this in memory of Bapu?

(Condensed from a report by Sri Suresh Ramabhai)

SAMPATTIDAN MOVEMENT

— JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

Sri Jaiprakash Narain and Shri Shrikrishnadas Jaju visited Bombay in June last in connection with the Sampattidan movement. They met the leading men of Bombay and the response was encouraging. There was a general acceptance of the principles from a majority of friends including Sri Cowasji Jehangir, Sri D. M. Khatau and others according to Shri Jaiprakash's statement. A condensed report of his speech in Bombay, explaining the basic principles of the movement is given below.

Sampattidan Movement is based on the Gandhian principle of trusteeship. It creates a new psychology that property belongs to society.

In every country, and more so in India, there are social and economic injustices, inequalities and exploitation of various sorts, poverty and misery on the one side and wealth and luxury on the other. Hitherto efforts to reshape things have been made on a basis which promoted a clash of interests. There have been in various forms, struggles between the 'haves' and 'have-nots.' These struggles have not led to very happy, uplifting or constructive results. Either they led to naked violence or to serious tensions which have affected deeply both the sides and warped social life.

If social progress is to be achieved only through a mutually destructive struggle between these interests, there seems to be little hope for the future of human society. Progress can be achieved only through the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji asked both the sides involved in the struggle to look beyond their selfish or class interest. He asked the people to submerge their individual selfish interest for the welfare of the society as a whole. His solution was based on a new outlook of life. He asked the 'haves', the captains of business and industry, to consider themselves as trustees of the wealth they possessed. He taught them that what they considered as their wealth was in reality the product of social co-operation and effort. It was wrong if they looked upon it as their personal possession. Wealth belonged to the society as a whole and the wealthy were merely trustees of that wealth from which they were entitled to take for

themselves what was essential for their living and devote the rest to the good of the community. Gandhiji also told the 'have-nots', to look upon themselves not as wageslaves engaged in a perpetual war against the owners for a higher share in the value they produced but in a common endeavour to produce and serve the whole of the society. The workers are also not entitled, therefore, irrespective of what they produced, to more than what is necessary for their wants as long as there are others in society who are more in want.

After Gandhiji's departure, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has been trying to translate these teachings and ideas of Mahatma Gandhi into practice. The Bhoodan movement, Sampattidan movement, Buddhidan movement and similar other movements are attempts to give a practical and concrete shape to the Gandhian way of social revolution and reconstruction.

Sampattidan is a first step towards the realisation of Gandhiji's ideas of trusteeship. It does not mean giving contributions to a fund. It is not to be confused with charity or other ordinary contributions to various charitable funds. Sampattidan means the acceptance of a new outlook on life, namely, that every individual, however, high or low in the economic scale, has a partial responsibility towards his fellowmen. This would be the first step in the conversion of capitalism into the non-violent and just society of the future, in which everyone lives for all and all for everyone. That is the Sarvodaya society of Gandhiji's dream.

The whole movement is based on a certain idealism. It expects everyone to

International Insecurity: Its Causes and Remedy

— J. C. KUMARAPPA —

[An address delivered to the World Council of Peace, Berlin on 27th May 1954.]

We have met here to consider how, in the present context of the world, we can obtain security and Peace. On all sides we are faced with insecurity—Personal, Political, Economic and Social. This has brought about terrific conflict among the nations. As my time is limited I shall confine myself to the outlining of the economic causes of insecurity and its remedy.

By nature most of our countries are blessed with resources which, if we handle in a proper and rational way, we shall generate peaceful living for all of us. It is the attempt of the more powerful to turn condition in their own favour, that brings nations into conflict and turns our neighbours into enemies.

THE ECONOMIC PLAN

The least that each nation can do is to aim at being able to provide its people with food, clothing and shelter. After that, if any resources of land, water and minerals are available, we may enter into trade and commerce by attempting to supply the demands of luxury and

(Continued from previous page)

contribute a part of his income normally, the sixth part of it for his fellowmen. The contributions so made are not to be collected in a fund but everyone has to keep the money with himself and spend it in accordance with the advice of Acharya Vinoba Bhave or his representatives. The donor is expected further to keep accounts and submit them annually to Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

When hundreds of thousands of people participate in the sampattidan movement a climate will have been created in the country for taking the next step towards the transformation of the exist-

enter into foreign exchange of goods. Any maladjustments and misdirections lead us into trouble.

For instance, Indo-China produces nearly 85% of the world's supply of rubber. But it can, by no stretch of imagination, use all this production. Most of the highly developed and industrial countries need such raw materials. How can they get at this basic need? Only by controlling the direction and production of this material. To do this the foreigners attempt to get hold of the country. This is the basis of all colonialism. The people of Indo-China, instead of producing so much rubber, should lay stress on the production of the materials for their own food, clothing and shelter and promote primarily industries conducive to such an economy. Only such direction of their economic life will bring contentment for the large masses of their people.

Similarly, Ceylon produces chiefly tea and rubber. What can be done with such an economy? Ceylon is an island. It can be easily controlled by a naval power and made to surrender its economic life to the needs of the foreign

ing economic order. The next step is that of "Full Trusteeship." Under "Trusteeship", commercial and industrial enterprises would belong to the society and there would be no employer and employee. The management and labour would have joint responsibility to run them not for themselves but for the good of the society as a whole. Thus Sampattidan aims at creating a new psychology where the profit motive would be completely eliminated. It also eliminates violence. It introduces love, persuasion and the power of truth — the great tenets of Gandhism.



manufacturers as it imports all its requirement of cotton yarn and most of its food. Whatever wealth is made by its trade remains mainly in the hands of the exporters and importers and leaves the country in insecurity as people could not eat the rubber or clothe themselves in tea leaves if the island were surrounded by interested parties. Hence their safety lies in moulding their economic life to suit their national requirements.

MINERAL RESOURCES

Treasures in an open house tempt the passerby. If we do not wish robbers to visit our houses we must keep our doors closed. Our natural resources are our patrimony. Manchuria has a wealth of coal. It was this attraction that made Japan conquer Manchuria. We should plan our mining operations according to our needs and not trade on it. When our hidden treasures get exhausted it leads to violence. As far as possible we must live within our own resources and conserve them for our future generations. It is the extravagant use and exploitation of petrol that is driving America to seek violently other oil fields in Transjordan, Iraq and Borneo. That has made her a belligerent nation. For this we need long term planning.

METHOD OF PRODUCTION

Thus far we have seen how to utilize our natural resources. Now we must consider how we should proceed to convert our raw materials into consumer goods, especially in under-developed countries. Most of the countries of Asia are under-developed. They all represent an enormous labour power which is largely unused or under-employed. This indicates that as far as possible we should avail ourselves of this power. In the first instance at least this does not call for "labour saving" devices, but methods of production involving increased labour forces. In this way we shall be able to bring satisfaction to everyone of this neglected section of people.

WAGES

The amount of returns to be paid to our workers must be based on what is needed to maintain him or her on a full diet and on a reasonable and suitable standard of living. At present, in capitalist countries especially, the price of commodities controls wages. Wages are largely an elastic factor—the higher the market price and profit, the better will be the wages. It should not be so at the basic wage level. The elastic element is in the nature of a profit and so should not be brought into the equation at the wage level. Basically workers should be paid what is needed to maintain them throughout the year.

In India our landless labour has work mostly during the monsoon or rainy seasons and then at a very low starvation level. They should be paid enough to maintain them throughout the year on a reasonable standard. This will immediately put up the prices of agricultural products which will lead to a better distribution of wealth and satisfaction.

Dissatisfaction is one of the fertile seeds of conflict.

PLACE OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture should not be treated as an industry and should not exist on the price mechanism. We all know the scandals caused by burning a good harvest of wheat, to raise the prices by reducing the stock. Such acts must be regarded as utterly anti-social and dealt with accordingly.

MARKETS

The goods we manufacture must have a ready and local market. Wars are caused by attempts to control markets. It was such competition that drove the United Kingdom, Germany and Japan into devastating wars. The underdeveloped countries supply raw materials to and consume finished products from industrialised countries. This creates fertile beds for colonies. If France wishes to stay in Indo-China it is on this account.

Every country should be allowed to develop in its own way, without let or hindrance from outsiders. Foreign interference suppresses independence and leads to violence.

DISCRIMINATING CONSUMPTION

If collectively we are not able to bring about such non-interference, the citizens of under-developed countries should be so educated as to develop into discriminating buyers.

They should not buy foreign articles where locally manufactured goods are available. This is a difficult policy to practise because of the temptation of cheap prices and perhaps better goods being available from elsewhere. But such a development of character is absolutely essential for the production of peaceful conditions. We have to follow the tortoise in the economic field. We have to draw ourselves into our national shell for protection, when the danger of exploitation presents itself.

Without studying this question minutely many persons are carried away by the talk of "World Markets." Today such talk is dope meted out by the capitalist. The Soviet Union has set a good example in these matters by making foreign trade a state monopoly and by keeping foreign traders from entering the inside local market. These measures ensure better wages and living condition to workers.

I have, in passing, cited these illustrations to bring out in relief, the deep set causes of present day colonialism which gives rise to the causes of war in the economic field. At present we witness the strange phenomenon of science and human effort struggling to produce more and more goods and yet, in most countries, the results of all this effort do not seem to raise the people from poverty, starvation and distress. Of late, even human life is made very insecure and such existence as we can expect is made one of worry and care. The

modern weapons of mass destruction cause night-mares throughout all the countries of the world.

The modern methods of warfare need little to condemn them. Apart from the general, moral and social considerations the economic consequences are forbidding. The war brought about by imperialism destroys more than the good it brings to its few beneficiaries. The masses of people have nothing but destruction to gain by the transaction—not only material destruction but what is worse is the human demoralisation and destruction. This one issue is in itself enough to condemn them.

THE ECONOMIC GOAL

These points I have raised are only to urge that the government of each country should follow the way which meets the needs of its common population with an eye to their comfort and well being, rather than from considerations of material accumulation of wealth. Until we shift our view point to meet the requirements of the people and reorganise our economy to produce commodities needed by the masses of the people by our own efforts, leaving international trade as a residuary benefit, we shall not be able to bring about world peace. We have to rationally organise each of our countries for Peace. Mere paper agreements with imperialist governments, however well meant, will not lead to a stable Peace. Real and lasting Peace can only be obtained when we are organised for it and it be the outcome of our action. Today war is definitely the result of our economic actions, similarly, by a change of approach we can and we must live for permanent Peace. This needs a great determination and much courage to accomplish. If all under-developed countries realise this and stand as one man Peace cannot be far off. May we all unite in this common purpose and live and die for the Peace of the world.

From "Gram Udyog Patrika" July 1966



Vinoba in Jeevandani's Camp

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

"There cannot be any class or caste of Jivandani. It cannot be said that such and such person is Jivandani. And only 'Antaryami' can say that such and such person would be a Jivandani. Therefore, the only statement that can be made is that such and person was a Jivandani. After his or her death, it can be decided whether he or she had dedicated his or her life or not. Hence none should say that he or she is a Jivandani. A meeting or sitting of Jivandani can only be held in Heaven. On this earth only we, ordinary folk, can meet or gather. Their conference will also be in Heaven. All after death. Nothing earlier." declared Acharya Vinoba Bhave, while inaugurating the five-day camp of Jeevandan workers of Bihar on Saturday 24th July last. The camp was located at Sarvodayagram, on the outskirts of Muzaffarpur town of Bihar.

THE REAL JEEVANDANI

"Those who enter the Jeevandan Yagna," added Vinoba, "will help, advise and care for one another. This is not a herd of sheep requiring a shepherd. These are all lions who will work by their own, i. e., God's strength. None should think that he has submitted himself to any particular person. This is not 'panigrahan' or wedlock. This is friendship embracing the whole world. All of you are free. As free men and women, you have come out into the open to undertake the task ahead. Thus I have reached the conclusion that this is a very easy work and there is no fear of any untoward result. Everybody would be on trial. Those who survive, will survive, while the rest would go. I am with all those who come with me. If any body wants to part company, he can do so by all means. And I have the right to go onward."

Concluding his remarks, Vinoba said, "Our reliance is only on Him and to whom we have dedicated our life. This is the path of devotion or 'Bhakti.' If there is any ego or self working there, it won't be Jeevandan. One's resolve should be true 'bhakti.' And the work would be done according to one's strength. But strength would grow with the progress of work. So also would grow the capacity to do it. A Jeevandani can be short of strength or capacity but not of devotion or 'bhakti'."

Babu Lakshmi Narayan, the convener of Bhoodan work in Bihar, spoke a few words welcoming the Jeevandan workers. This was followed by a brief speech from Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, the President of All India Sarva Seva Sangh. He said that as in the movement of 1942, every body was his own guide or leader in Jeevandan Yagna and should proceed onward according to his capacity and faith. He also stressed on the paramount need of a change in outlook and values. He concluded, "Examine yourself and see how much and how far you can carry on. Think with an open and free mind. Then you will be able to arrive at a definite step leading us all to the cherished goal of a classless and state-free society."

FAITH IN GOD

After food, rest and an hour's spinning programme, the campers sat for the afternoon deliberations. On the opening day they related their own experiences and placed the difficulties in their work. One of them raised a poser: Why should the Bhoodan workers take the name of the same God in whose name the 'haves', have been and still are exploiting the 'have-nots'? This formed the subject of Vinoba's post-prayer speech. He remarked that it was not possible to do away with both God and the exploiter in the same breath. The former was too powerful to be knocked out. He added, "There is no sense in disarming ourselves by

handing over our own weapon to those who do not know its use or pretend about it. It is wrong to abandon our weapon." Further, he observed that God which had disillusioned the new thinkers who had consequently given up that name, was, as preached by the devoted worshippers of the West, a resident of Heaven. That conception differed from the one prevailing essentially in India, of an all-pervading and in-dwelling God. "Our God is an objective truth," remarked Vinoba, "that cannot be dispensed with. Our belief in God makes us 'Atma-avalambi' and fearless and leaves no ground to seek any shelter."

PRAYER UNDER RAINS

Early next day, Vinoba joined the campers in their Shramadan Yagna work. On account of some trouble in his left shoulder, Vinoba was not able even to spin those days. But he insisted on participating in that programme for some time, which he did. After the usual breakfast, there was a two hours' study class daily. On 25th, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan threw vivid light on the various aspects of the Jeevan-dan movement and removed misgivings about its political implications. In the afternoon, Dada Dharmadhikari, popular with the Bhoodan workers as an exponent of the Sarvodaya philosophy, answered a series of questions raised by the campers for the sake of clarity. At the evening prayer time it was raining. Vinoba conducted the prayer, all standing. As usual, he also spoke a few words amidst the rain. Expressing his joy at the beautiful sight of all praying together in a standing posture, he asked, "What is rain if not another form of God? That is why we call God 'Ghan-Shyam'. There was no lightning today, which is a manifestation of the spark of His *Sudarshan Chakra*. So also thunder is the sound of His conch. And these are just arrows from the bow in the sky, arrows to kill lust, greed, anger and attachment." He went

on to state that rainwater was healthier than any other water and was perfectly harmless. Hence he pleaded for a liberal enjoyment of the majestic 'shower-bath'. Closing his remarks, he said, "It was the rule in our country that the teacher took the student on the completion of the latter's education, to a river for bath and the student was thereafter declared as his graduate or '*snatak*.' These days they use gowns for convocation purposes. Bathing was our popular custom. So also you have had your bath today. And you are my '*snataks*' now. I am sure you will henceforth do my work."

ALLOWANCE TO JEEVANDANIS

At different hours, Vinoba met workers of the various districts and discussed their programmes and problems in detail. In the morning class next day, the campers discussed the subtle question of salaries or allowances to the workers. Different views were expressed. It was a cool-headed and thought-provoking discussion. But they could not reach any definite and unanimous conclusion and decided to seek Vinoba's guidance on the question. So in the afternoon, Vinoba expressed his views on this and allied issues. He said that the object of Jeevan-dan was to build such a structure free from exploitation and the domination of the State. He wanted two to four Jeevan-danies from each and every one of the five lakhs of villages in the country. It was with this wide, gigantic view that they should chalk out their schemes and plans. Hence none could take the responsibility of personal or family maintenance of those who had offered their Jeevan-dan.

SHOULD FACE ALL TRIALS

Vinoba pointed out that the object of the camp was to reach a common background and think about the future. He also warned that all of them were going to be put to severe trial. "I won't examine you", said he, "but the examination will take place of its own accord

and would be a very hard one indeed. Violence would not bear non-violence. Nay, the former will firmly resist the latter. If our work is ineffective it would be ignored, otherwise it would be fiercely opposed. Those who are our friends and whose friendship we cherish, perhaps, would cease to be our friends. You should, therefore, be prepared for a very hard life." In the end, Vinoba told the campers that their chief means consist of walking-on-foot and the performance of bodily labour. He advised them to be tolerant, generous and full of love. In the evening prayer, Vinoba placed a suggestion before the workers that they must organise such centres in every district where one could see Sarvodaya in practice.

JAIPRAKASH'S APPEAL

Dada Dharmadhikari dealt in detail on the subject, *Lok-niti versus Raj-niti* (law of the people versus power of the state). Sri Lakshmi Babu explained the importance and necessity as well as the technique of the constructive (what Vinoba calls as 'Nirman') programme. Next Damodar Das Mundada in-charge of Vinoba's newly founded Samanvaya Ashram (at Bodh-Gaya) as also of Bhoodan and allied work in Bodh-Gaya Thana of Gaya district, described his experiences of land-distribution work in Bodh-Gaya. Then followed the moving address of Sri Jayaprakash Babu. Relating some of his own experiences of Sampatti-dan work in Bombay, he said that the idea behind that was acceptable to and was liked by the society. He came across none who would condemn it as wrong, baseless or impossible. They regarded it as in accord with their respective religions. "I am sure", said he, "that you will adhere to it tenaciously and a new atmosphere would spring up. All of us suffer from one fault or another. Our new resolve shows our determination to wash them off and refashion our life. Our life continues to be as before, it is an *ashram* to Jeevan-dan."

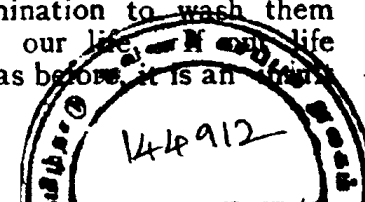
NEED FOR SELF-INTROSPECTION

After the evening prayer, Vinoba advised the workers to devote fifteen minutes to half an hour each day for introspection. For that period they should withdraw themselves from all activity and turn the searchlight inwards. Without this self-examination, the daily prayer would be reduced to a mere external routine. At night, Vinoba advised the workers from different districts to devote themselves to Bhoodan work exclusively.

On 28th July — the last day of the Camp, workers sat district-wise and discussed among themselves the ways and means to expedite the Bhoodan work. They placed their respective decisions before Vinoba and promised to execute them.

YARN OFFERING

Vinoba, told them that the rules of land distribution must be strictly adhered to and that it should be done in a manner free from any complaint or bias. He advised them to collect six crores of hanks from all over the country. Everybody above four years of age could spin and offer his or her hank. "It is not a mere hank," added Vinoba, "but a symbol of our resistance to the process of wealth-collection on the basis of mill-industry. It is an emblem of our opposition to centralised industry. It is an expression of the Sarvodaya thought". Then he referred to the importance of cities and observed that we could not ignore them in the progress of our non-violent revolution, for the cities gave these days colour and inspirations to the villages. There should, therefore, be separate schemes for the cities and attempts should be made to approach every home through Khadi, Ghani-oil, gur etc., as also through Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature. The Sampatti-dan work should also be carried out there. Vinoba called upon the workers to cast off their indolence and be alert. ★



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The Three Influences On Man

Vinobaji's Concluding address at Jeevandani's Camp

[SURESH RAMABHAI]

On the concluding day of the camp Vinobaji observed that so far he had placed before Bihar his demand for seven and a half lakhs of 'Danapatras' (land-gift deeds,) but as there were about thirty-five lakhs of big and small land-holders, he wanted no less than thirty lakhs. He suggested that they should have a regular programme of approaching the bigger land-holders residing in towns or cities. Then he came to Sampattidan and said that it had a triple importance. "First, it is an independent idea in itself. Secondly it is an indispensable part of Bhoo-dan and basically essential for its success. Thirdly, it infuses a religious spirit, the righteous spirit in the people."

"But, its religious aspect", observed Vinoba, "is of the utmost importance to me. Whatever functions are performed in the society today they have three features, the legal or constitutional, the social, and the religious or the spiritual. All three combine to make the society as we find it. Nay, of these three, the constitutional aspect, on which is based all politics and diplomacy, plays the smallest part. A greater share is of the social aspect. We are influenced by social ideals, public opinion and public feelings. But the highest share is of the spiritual aspect which is the root of all human endeavour. It is why man makes sacrifices in his life. Whenever I catch a glimpse of mountains in my tour, I recollect Bapu's words that these hills are not made of rocks but of the penance of our saints and rishis...." Vinoba became speechless and remained in that absorbed state for two minutes. "Why do", he added, "our people go for Kumbha Mela? Do they expect any reward in lieu of a dip? No, they go there because they know

that countless souls have undergone penance and sacrifice on the banks of the Ganga." Vinoba's throat choked again and he stopped for a while. "Why do", he inquired, "the Musalmans present to the bride-groom the holy Koran on the occasion of marriage, irrespective of the fact whether he is literate or not? Because they regard it as above everything else...." And again Vinoba was calm.

Wiping his eyes, he continued, "I have no doubt in my mind that the greatest influence on man is of spiritual forces. Spirituality is even higher than what is called humanity." Then Vinoba related the well-known event in Tolstoy's life (his killing a deer and lamentations at it), referred to a similar incident mentioned by Jawaharlalji in his autobiography, and described Ramana Maharishi's conduct of sharing his frugal meals with all those present before him. "What is all this?" asked Vinoba. "Why does a man sacrifice his life for the sake of a tiny piece of cloth called flag? Why should he insist on keeping that straight and high? These are feeling and emotions leading to spirituality which make life possible. If we turn towards that with faith, we can achieve the maximum results..." So saying, Vinoba's voice stopped. And his eyes revealed the effort he did to hold up his tears from trickling down. He removed his spectacles, wiped his eyes, and cleaned the glasses. Then he made an endeavour, almost stupendous, to speak again. But again, he failed. His voice was utterly choked, eyes were half-closed and the head bent low. Ultimately, he gave up the struggle and turned the mike away. And with folded hands he left his seat.

The Significance of L'Abbe Pierre

—[GEORGE GODWIN]—

The moral and spiritual technique of L'Abbe Pierre in France for the amelioration of suffering humanity is similar in some respects to that of Vinobaji in India. He does not approach the State or the big monied class but makes a straight appeal to the head and heart of the average man and especially of the working class and there is a tremendous response even as we witness from the small landholders to Vinobaji. The significance of the Abbe is discussed in this article. It shows that it is the spiritually inspired individuals who can tap the springs of love and compassion in man and not the power of the State, institutional religion or the public organisations. We are indebted to 'Aryan Path' for reproducing this article from its number for August, 1954.

L'Abbe Pierre Groues was a hero of the resistance. He succoured many Jews who went in fear of their lives. He carried upon his back the brother of General de Gaulle into the safety of Spanish territory. He ran daily great risks. He was the friend of all in jeopardy.

For this work the Abbe was awarded the Legion of Honour and other decorations; and these he wears upon his drab soutane from which peep out the cumbersome boots of a peasant.

There were many heroes of the resistance, and there are even more who have passed themselves off as such. But it is not for his war-time work, fine as that was, that this gentle featured French priest suddenly looms before the world as a great spiritual force.

The transformation of a regionally celebrated individual into a significant world figure is an impressive phenomenon. What brought it about?

A single word yields an answer of sorts. For one can say, and with truth: This man fired the imaginations and moved the hearts of men as an exemplar of the virtue of Charity of the stature of St. Vincent de Paul.

It was last winter that the wider world first became aware of the working of a new spiritual force. There were then many outcast in Paris, down-and-outs, many of them the victims not so much of the social system as of their own infirmities.

To these poor and pitiable ones the Abbe Pierre turned, as, three centuries

ago, Vincent de Paul gave himself up to the succouring of the galley-slaves of Marseilles, and brought into being in Paris the 'Filles de la Charite.'

In effect, the Abbe said: It is not enough to feel for the poor. It is not enough to help them. No! One must share their poverty and their suffering.

For him religion was not so much a matter of the outward observances as of the practise of the first of the cardinal virtues, namely, Charity.

So it was that the Abbe Pierre made his appeal, not to the rich, as is the way of those who ask for money, but to the poor, asking in its stead service.

Would the bricklayers lay bricks in their spare time without wage? Would carpenters erect and plumbers weld so that there should be houses for those without homes or even shelter? Would these people, with their own difficulties and problems of survival, give of their time and skill and work for no other reward than that mysterious inner joy that is born of self-forgetfulness?

In that way, working himself as a labourer, living with the dispossessed, the Abbe got many little houses built.

Is it not remarkable that men ready to paralyze the State by strike action for more money can be induced to set to, after a day's work, and toil for no wage at all?

There was last winter a spell of intense cold. There were many destitute in the French capital. They were huddled under the bridges, they lay in their

An American Weekly on Vinoba

MANAS, the weekly journal from Los Angeles, California is purely concerned with philosophical and psychological values. It has taken editorial notice of the Bhoodan under the title 'Vinoba at work', in its issue dated June 2, 1954, based on the interesting conversation between Vinobaji and the landlord reported in our Sarvodaya. It is reproduced here with courtesy to the editors of MANAS.

The press of today is filled with forebodings of violence, and the leaders of powerful nations seem practically obsessed by the commanding force of violence. Meanwhile, in India today, there is interesting exercise of an entirely different sort of force—the force of public opinion.

Vinoba Bhave, Gandhian leader of the land gift movement, has explained that he is perfectly willing to use the pressure of public opinion in persuading Indian landowners to give land to the landless Indian peasants. Vinoba maintains that social progress must ultimately depend upon faith in man. Even communists theory, he argues, adopts this view. As he puts it:

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.

The April 1954 issue of *Sarvodaya*, a magazine devoted to Gandhian ideals and the *Bhoodan* (land-giving) movement, contains evidence of how Vinoba works to spread trust among men. The following is extracted from a report of his conversation with some reluctant landowners:

Landowner: Suppose we give them land. They will simply receive it and walk off. They will go and work under another landlord. How do we benefit thereby? But if we lend 100 rupees to one of them, he will feel indebted and respect us.

Vinoba: The object of my work is not to give you also a benefit along with the landless laborer. 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 of indirect coercion.....

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

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

Landowner: Well, then, will they give us in writing that they will come and work in our fields if we give them land as a gift?

Vinoba: Why should they give a writing?... Your wife is there by your side. Have you taken a written document from her that she will serve you? The main thing is the relationship — it is the love that keeps it on... You demand a written contract. Will you also give them a paper saying that you will always engage them?... You say "Yes". But suppose tomorrow your son wants to cultivate his share of the family land. Can you say "No?" Where is your contract?

Landowner: All right, you receive whatever we decide to offer as gifts. Won't you?

Vinoba: Well, come on, how much will you give?... One twentieth? If you think that 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. Every one of the landless peasant should be provided with land. With this object before you, you yourselves estimate the share and give accordingly.....

The landlords are responding to this appeal, which combines the compulsion of conscience with the pressure of public opinion. What can such methods accomplish? So far according to reports, more than 2,500,000 acres have been given to landless peasants. Thus proceeds a redistribution of India's natural resources, without conflict and without bitterness.

Dan or Gifts: The Inherent Nature of Man

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN, M. A.

The writer is a scholar in Tamil. He quotes from the Indian Epics and the Tamil classics instances of those who gave away their thrones and even lives. He cites the various kinds of gifts prevalent in Tamil Nad. In Tanjore district, the granary of Tamil Nad, the ancestors had endowed nearly a third of the total land in the district for the maintenance of temples, for spreading education, public feeding etc. The writer has used the word charity in the sense of 'dan' as in Bhoodan or Land-gift:

Man, if he has not the instinct of the crow to assemble his fellow-men to partake of what he has, or has gathered, is not a leopard in hiding to pounce on others when hunger prompts him. He has an instinct to give to others who are in need. This instinct is imbedded in one and all in various degrees, and at times rises to heights, when it prompts man to sacrifice anything of his to help others. In giving, man finds greater joy than in keeping it to himself or himself consuming it. So in many cases charity has become a human duty, and the extent of the appreciation of duty determines the dimensions of charity. Charity is no bargain, anything done with the expectation of some return. It is accepted as a duty and is done for its own sake. It may start with a cup of water and may extend up to any level beyond human comprehension. The finer and the inspiring side of human story is the chapter of such charities and sacrifices. Charity is twice blessed as both the giver and the receiver attain joy and relief.

KARNA, THE HERO OF CHARITY

Karna is our hero of charity whose lips never uttered 'nay' to anyone asking of him. His name is a synonym for charity. Sorely wounded and gasping for his last breath, he gives away all his accumulated *Punya* to the Brahmin who begs it of him. The Brahmin—Lord Krishna—pleased with Karna's steadfastness in giving—assumes Viswarupa and commands Karna to ask boons.

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Karna only wants the heart to say 'nay' to none who approaches him. Karna seems almost mad after charity.

Bharatha runs to forest to hand over the kingdom to Rama, which was got for him by his mother's machinations. Rama too refuses to accept it. To both of them the kingdom is an abhorrence and they want to cast it away as soon as they can. Ill-gotten things become so abhorrent.

Then the celebrated Sibi is an extreme instance of supreme charity. He is prepared to slice off his body and lay the whole of it to save the life of a poor dove and to provide food for the raven that pursues it. Here is justice combined with charity, and the realisation of the truth that any life is equal to that of any other, nay to that of his own self.

KUMANAN WHO OFFERED HIS HEAD

The Tamil chieftain Kumanan is another instance. One day while roaming as an exile in the forests he meets a poet in dire need. He has in his better days generously relieved the misery of many men of letters but is now helpless. But he does not reconcile himself to send away the poet empty-handed, for to him the return of the poet empty-handed, looked more miserable than his lot as an exile. He gives him his sword and asks him to sever his head and take it to his brother to receive the prize announced for it. The dignified man of letters never stoops to use the sword, but

ragged in dark door-ways. It was then that the Abbe Pierre spoke over the radio. He did not ask for donations to assist his building operations. He did not ask for money at all. He told his unseen listeners that while they were in the enjoyment of their homes, warm and well-fed, there were men and women lying in the night without food or shelter.

Then he told his unseen listeners what they must do, namely, leave their fireside and dinner tables and go out and seek these unfortunates and bring them into their homes and succour them.

What power was there in that voice that there was an immediate response? Through out Paris citizens left their homes by the thousand and searched for the homeless and hungry.

Some strange power had touched all hearts.

Recently, the Abbe Pierre (he is now always so called) came to London to address a public meeting as an advocate of world government and world disarmament.

A single priestly voice: but where was that mighty shout of condemnation that should have been heard from the great churches of Christendom?

This short piece is headed: The Significance of the Abbe Pierre. What, then, is that Significance?

It is, I think, that there is latent in the hearts of men a secret desire for moral leadership. Given that leadership, the response is overwhelming. The Abbe Pierre exemplifies the truth of this. But there is a startling disparity between the influence for good wielded by such dedicated souls and that which proceeds in so meagre a measure from the great Christian churches.

There has never been in history a moment when mankind stood in greater need of spiritual leadership. There has never been before the churches of Christendom an issue of good and evil so clear-cut as that presented by the atom

and hydrogen bombs. Yet scarcely a murmur in condemnation has come out of Rome or Canterbury and from other centres there has been something painfully like special pleading for this most ghastly thing.

Institutional religion stands today near to spiritual bankruptcy. It is only from the isolated dedicated soul that comes the example that fires both heart and imagination and casts out the near-despair of hopelessness.

It is this which gives significance to what has been achieved in France (and already exercises influence far beyond that land) by this priest.

Goodness and nobility are infectious. Such men as this French cur'e, a mere nobody in the mighty hierarchy of the Church he serves, drew upon invisible sources of power, the nature of which passes understanding. From that same reservoir Albert Schweitzer drew for the strength that sustained him through a long life in equatorial Africa. From it, too, Mahatma Gandhi drew that power invisible which gave him before the end the might of great armies.

Institutions, it would seem, become the graveyards of the living spirit

Today, the signs are not wanting that it will be, not the great religious institutions which will make an effectual frontal attack upon the evils of the Atomic Age, but inspired individuals.

That is why there arises hope when an obscure French priest demonstrates the power of the spirit and proceeds to preach the brotherhood of man beyond his own cure of souls.

This man, with the mild eyes of an ox and the gentle smile of a saint, already means something in the minds of millions. Others like him may arise and help the world to climb from the shadow of the valley of fear.

In the United States the Government required the services of Dr. Norbert Wiener, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He refused to co-operate.

He would, he averred, have nothing to do with the work connected with the making of ever more terrible weapons of mass destruction.

Sooner or later the world must divide upon this issue into two great camps: those who turn towards life and brotherly love and those who put their faith in slaughter.

The history of religion is not a record of the spiritual achievements of institutions or of their spiritual leadership, though always one comes upon the claim to spiritual authority. The record, rather, is that of a succession of spiritual beings united in both purpose and method, irrespective of creed, by a unifying divine compassion which runs, like a thread of gold, down the centuries.

It may be objected that social behaviour is here put forward as a substitute for worship: to which, surely, the answer is that social behaviour may be made the vehicle and highest form of that.

A few lives in our own time exemplify this. The self-immolation of Albert Schweitzer to succour the backward people of French equatorial Africa, is an example.

The sphere of Schweitzer's work was local; its character was primitive; but its influence is global.

So, too, the self-sacrifice of Father Damien, who turned his back upon the world to live among, and suffer with, the lepers—who before his coming were virtually abandoned upon the Island of Molokai.

Who could measure—or would dare—the moral influence of these two men alone?

The great religions of the world profess many differing creeds, propound many conceptions of Deity. Yet they have this in common, that their literature reflects a universal conception of man's duty to his brother through the agency of love.

Christ said: "Love one another." In the Upanishads we read: "Who knows that one whose dwelling is love, he indeed is a teacher Sacrifice, study, charity, are the first branch of the law."

And from the Buddhist texts: "Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time. Hatred ceases by love." From the Zoroastrian Scriptures: "He who relieves the poor makes Ahura king." And Confucius, simple as Christ: "Love all men. Know all men." Then the Scriptures of Taoism: "He who loves the world as he does his own body can be entrusted with the world." So, finally, to the Jewish Prophet: "Do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with thy God."

The theme of this brief paper is put so much better than the writer could put it in a passage by Max Muller, writing to a friend in 1883, that I venture to conclude with it:—

'The true religion of the future will be the fulfilment of all the religions of the past—the true religion of humanity, that which, in the struggle of history, remains as the indestructible portion of all the so-called false religions of mankind. There never was a false god, nor was there ever a false religion, unless you call a child a false man.'

Today when we live in a world where fear induces a sort of spiritual paralysis, and hatred and cruelty make life bitter, it is the spectacle of pure love in action which lights again for us the lamp of hope.

I would bend before the scavenger

I would bend the knee before the poorest scavenger, the poorest untouchable in India, for having participated in crushing him for centuries; I would even take the dust off his feet. But I would not prostrate myself, not even before the King, much less before the Prince of Wales; for the simple reason that he represented insolent might. I may allow myself to be crushed by an elephant but not prostrate myself before him, but should prostrate myself before an ant for having even unconsciously trodden upon it. — MAHATMA GANDHI

runs to his brother and effects the reunion of the brothers. Of course the poet is richly rewarded by both the brothers. Here Kumanan has a keen understanding of the misery of others and is prepared to alleviate it at the cost of his life. This is a classic example of the softness of the human heart.

PRINCES OF GIFTS IN TAMILNAD

Tamil literature abounds in anecdotes of the generosity of patrons and princes and their softness of heart. Again Aputhran with his *Amuthasurabi* — *Akshaya patra* — begs of Authirai, her first morsel to be placed in the bowl. She puts a handful with the prayer that hunger on the face of the earth should be appeased. Her morsel is nothing, but her prayer is a grand conception of her duty. It is her mind, her feeling for all creation that glorifies her morsel of food. It is this conception of charity as duty and its dimensions that raise the human mind, and add glory to man. It is charity that has relieved so much of the suffering in the past and will relieve suffering in the future. The acts by themselves are grand and the thought which prompts them is grander still.

Giving away of land, gold, silver and wealth are not new to us. Temples, Choultries, Vidhya-salas and Vaidya-salas have been richly endowed by kings and wealthy men in the past and in the present. Even ordinary men with meagre means have tried to set apart a part of their little belongings to such good causes. Smaller dans like *Anna-dan* and *Vidhya-dan* are also much praised and practised. Helping others by giving them something is at the bottom of all these dans. Even giving a girl in marriage is considered to be dan by her parents, for they give her away to become the fellow traveller of the bachelor who accepts her.

Today we have the death bombs, but side by side with them are the blood-banks to which man contributes his

life blood. With all his business acumen man is not so dead as not to think of his fellow-men and to do everything with a guarantee of return. Even the promise of rewards in the other world is for the less cultured. Man gives to others, shares with them what he has, and works for them even at the cost of his convenience and at times his life. The effort to alleviate the suffering of others is a part of human nature, and man is more happy with a feeling of usefulness than with the pride of possession.

To us of Bharat, dan is not anything new, for the injunction to do it to rich and poor alike on specified occasions and perpetually has been there from time immemorial. Dan is a mild but an effective prevention of the accumulation of wealth. Dan steps in to disperse wealth. While dan diminishes the wealth of one, it goes to sustain the other in need. It is an equally mighty agent for the division and distribution of wealth.

Vinoba Bhave started the Bhoodan movement which has now expanded to include in it the dan of money, of labour and intelligence. This dan has all the significance which it had in the past and something more. Now Bhoodan has more than an institutional or individual effect. It has a social role with a universal import.

It is the appreciation of his duty that prompts one to give a dan, and with the giving away he is to desist from means and ways which go indirectly or directly cause the distress of others. The dan is not a mere giving away, it is also an effective corrective. This dan movement aims at the establishment of a society in which there will not be people in need, and where dan will not be accepted.

THE TAMIL POET'S SARVODAYA

Kamban, the Tamil poet, in his description of Ayodhya says that there were

neither thieves nor watchmen, and that there were neither givers nor receivers in need. In that city all were highly educated and all had abundance of wealth, making it difficult to class them as rich and poor. The people took to dharma overflowing with love and lived happy lives. Kamban has very correctly portrayed the Sarvodaya Samaj which Mahatma Gandhi planned and which Vinobaji is now laying out.

The Dan way is the way of love and service which has never failed man. If this fails, the other remedies — more drastic and less reliable — have no chance to serve humanity. They may cause more confusion and add to the miseries of the distressed world. Wisdom, the greatest possession of man, should suppress the animal propensities and lead him to this simple and natural path of human happiness.



HAND-POUNDING AND RICE MILLS

V. S. THIYAGARAJAN M. A., Gandhi Ashram (Salem Dt.)

The Government of India has begun to move in the matter of deciding the issue in the controversy between the machine milling and the handpounding of paddy. It is setting up a committee to examine the various claims of public benefit made by the supporters of rice mills and of the traditional instruments of handpounding. The committee will in due course visit all the States and meet and hear representations from both millers and handpounders. The mill owners, sensing the danger to their trade and capital, will certainly make a hue and cry about the mills having come to stay, their indispensability in modern life, and about the public support for the polished rice they produce. They will prove their case by all possible means, with the tremendous power of organised effort and plentiful money. But the case of the handpounders is really strong, though it is in great danger of being lost through lack of organised and efficient effort. An unprecedented opportunity has come to them to present their case before this committee which has the power to make a decision.

This presentation has to be made from several aspects. The most important and fundamental is — can all the rice

requirements of the country be effectively met by the hand-pounders if the mills are closed. The answer is definitely 'yes, but not immediately'. After all the whole population was feeding on only hand pounded rice a bare 50 years ago, and even now, except in the States of Madras, Saurashtra, Punjab and Bombay, most of the paddy grown in the country is hand-pounded. In the State of Madras, not only do peasants and land-lords who grow paddy still continue to hand-process it in many places. And there is also a small amount of trade in the open market in hand-pounded rice, in scattered places, where the rice mills have not yet penetrated. They do not feel any special difficulty in this. All around the big towns are numerous villages beyond the 3 mile limit, where unemployment and underemployment among the people is chronic. They are willing to be put to work in handpounding of paddy. If this is possible hundreds of them around each town can be employed in this industry all the 365 days of the year if they choose. This will be a tremendous gain to the villagers.

The price factor has to be properly worked out and shown to the committee. The increase in price of hand-pounded

rice is due to increased wages for hand-pounding and the lower price of paddy husk from handpounding as compared with powdered husk miscalled 'bran' obtained from the mills. This increase will be offset to a large degree by the increased recovery of rice in the handprocessing. The net increase will be only of the order of 2 to 3%. With better methods of hand processing, this can even be turned to a lowering of price to the same extent.

One other factor will loom large in this connection. People have acquired a taste for polished white rice and even ask for double polishing. This is so because such people are ignorant of the loss in food value suffered by polishing rice. It has been suggested that this loss is not much in boiled rice, but only in raw rice, and that as the majority of people in this State eat only boiled rice, the gain in respect of nutrition from hand-processing is not worth all the trouble. As against this, it should be said firstly that even a slight loss in nutrition and health in so poor a country as ours should be prevented at all cost especially as no substitute has been suggested to make up for this loss, and secondly, that in the process of mass boiling of paddy in mills, undesirable chemical and physical effects are induced from profit motives and that the cooked rice obtained from ill-boiled and mill processed rice is much less than what is obtained from ordinary home-boiled and homeprocessed rice.

Even if we cannot close down the rice mills to-morrow, it will be a step in the right direction if we stop new mills from coming into existence, stop replacing worn-out ones and put a ceiling on the performance of the mills, which can be gradually lowered. It is time for Sarvodaya workers to get busy and prepare their case. ❧

Bhoodan Received in All Provinces

UP TO 5-8-1954

Province	Land in Acres	No. of Don Patras
1 Bihar	20,99,000	2,29,374
2 Uttar Pradesh	5,05,945	14,607
3 Rajasthan	3,31,922	2,107
4 Hyderabad	1,00,873	3,726
5 Utkal	94,645	29,771
6 Madhya Pradesh	66,200	12,000
7 Madhya Bharat	62,412	5,377
8 Saurashtra	41,000	15,000
9 Gujarat	35,681	8,344
10 Tamilnad	25,104	3,973
11 Andhra	18,976	552
12 Kerala	17,000	1,200
13 Maharashtra	15,480	769
14 Delhi	9,245	249
15 Punjab	9,321	2,021
16 Vindhya Pradesh	5,141	977
17 Mysore	3,414	1,395
18 Bengal	3,315	1,938
19 Himachal Pradesh	1,900	66
20 Karnatak	1,934	239
21 Assam	1,692	—
Total	34,50,200	3,33,685

Land Distributed

Province	Acres	No. of Families
1 Bihar	1,381	762
2 Uttar Pradesh	46,666	14,975
3 Hyderabad	14,613	3,075
4 Rajasthan	5,389	1,243
5 Utkal	708	214
6 Madhya Pradesh	2,307	629
7 Gujarat	942	251
8 Tamilnad	256	55
9 Delhi	41	20
10 Vindhya Pradesh	152	74
11 Karnatak	239	—
Total...	72,694	21,298

PROGRESS OF BHOODAN

MAHARASHTRA

At Pachora in East Khandesh was held a camp of the Bhoodan workers in Maharashtra on the 3rd, 4th and 5th August. Nearly 75 workers from five districts namely, East and West Khandesh, Nasik, Thana and Ratnagiri, attended the camp. Shri Shankarrao Deo guided the deliberations and among those who participated were Shri Raosaheb Patwardhan, Shri Appasaheb Patwardhan, Shri Dada Bhai Naik, Acharya Bhise, Shri Balubhai Mehta and Shri Narayanbhai Desai.

In his inaugural speech Shri Sankarrao Deo said that the target of one lakh acres of land had not been fulfilled in Maharashtra, only 15,000 acres had been secured so far and it was the bounden duty of all to try their utmost to reach that target at the earliest. It was therefore, decided to concentrate for the present on the above mentioned five districts and to secure at least ten thousand acres of land from each of them. Referring to the points recently raised by Acharya Narendra Deo, Shri Shankarrao Deo said that the main motive behind the Bhoodan movement was that truth and non-violence would not succeed unless the people were ready to relinquish their claims, and as such Bhoodan was an applied science which taught people how to bring truth and nonviolence into actual practice.

Shri Raosaheb Patwardhan made a fervent appeal to the Bhoodan workers to make the movement an 'Andolan' in Maharashtra, so that an atmosphere would be created which would stir all sections of the society.

At the conclusion of the camp a plan was formulated to spread the movement through the five districts. Shri Shankarrao Deo, Shri Appasaheb Patwardhan, Shri Mehta and Acharya

Bhise would be touring on foot in these districts and would cover nearly ten thousand miles, before March 1955.

In East Khandesh Shri Sankarrao Deo began his tour immediately after the camp. Within the first five days of his tour more than six hundred and fifty acres of land were secured. The enthusiasm of the villagers was great and everywhere the response had been encouraging.

PUNJAB

Fifty four college students coming from four corners of the Punjab and Pepsu States assembled recently in a Student Bhoodan Camp at Abohar dist., Ferozepur, to give impetus to the Bhoodan movement. Prominent exponents of the Sarvodaya ideology such as Dada Dharmadhikari, Editor, Sarvodaya, (Hindi), Wardha, Shri Siddharaj Daddha, Sanchalak, Rajasthan Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Shri Krishna Raj Mehta of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya, etc., explained the significance of the Bhoodan movement to the students.

After the close of the camp the students divided themselves in various groups and under the guidance of experienced local Bhoodan workers started their bhoodan marches on foot in surrounding villages. They have concentrated on Bhoodan collection work mainly in Fazilka Tahsil.

Reports coming from Fazilka Tahsil say that up till now the students have received land gifts of 300 acres besides 5 ploughs, 17 maunds of cereals and one house.

The convener of the Punjab and Pepsu Bhoodan Samiti, Shri. L. Achint Ram. M. P. has expressed his resolve to concentrate his entire efforts in Fazilka Tahsil for the next three months.

Three batches of workers toured in many villages under the guidance of Srimathi. Satyabala, Sri. Ajimtram and Sri Mani Ramji.

RAJASTHAN

In Rajasthan in the month of May a workers' camp was organised. During this period 1166 bighas of land were received. 1312 acres were distributed among 123 families, among whom 43 families are Harijans. In Pali district the convener received 551 acres of land in his walking tour of 21 days, and he distributed 640 bighas among Harijan families.

In Udayapur and Alwar districts through Sri Gokul Bhai Butt lands were distributed and 180 acres were collected. In Tong district 40 bighas were distributed among 10 families. In Baratpur district 40 bighas were distributed among 12 families.

So far Rajasthan has collected 3,31,922 acres from 2107 donors out of which 5,389 acres were distributed among 1,243 families.

UTKAL

In Utkal province since the Bodh Gaya Sammelan more attention was given to distribution work. So far 708 acres of land have been distributed among 214 families and many of them were provided with seeds and agricultural implements. Two training classes for workers were conducted, one at Koraput and another at Ramchandrapur. Over 75 workers received training. 33 villages have offered their entire lands for Bhoodan.

MADHYA PRADESH

In Madhya Pradesh the Samiti has earnestly taken up the distribution work. A workers' camp in Sauga village to give training relating to the method and way of distribution of land, was held. About 100 workers were present. In Buldana district 272 acres were distributed among 48 families in the month of May. Many of the leading workers undertook walking tours in many districts. In Katol taluk another 50 acres were distributed. In Wardha district 1396 acres were dis-

tributed among 250 families in 36 villages. At Maghanwadi a workers' camp was run for two days wherein 125 workers participated.

BENGAL

In Bengal Srimathi. Lavanyavathi Chander, Sanchalak of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, took an active part in Bhoodan work. She with some friends toured in many villages to spread the message. Shri. Asha Devi Aryanayakam helped in organising Bhoodan work in the province. She presided over the provincial workers' conference in July last. Sri Charubabu toured in Burdwan district and the maharaja of Burdwan offered 1000 Bighas of land as his first instalment.

KARNATAK

In Karnatak province Sri Babu Rao Kamath and a few friends toured in many villages and collected about 125 acres of land.

TAMIL NAD

Several district conferences and training camps were held in May. There were Yatras in many districts in June and July.

In Tirunelvely district Sri R. T. B. Subramania Nadar and Sri M. G. Venkateswaran are wholtime workers. Three more workers have been taken in the district. The batch is touring in the taluks of the district.

Ramnad is under two organisers. Sri. Dada Dharmadhikari inaugurated a yatra in May. The party collected over 500 acres of land. The southern taluks are covered by Sri T. D. Thirumalai and Sri K. M. Natarajan. A district Bhoodan Conference was held in Rajapalayam on 27th May, 1954, when Sri. Dada Dharmadhikari and Vimala Behn addressed. They also addressed the Madura District Bhoodan Conference on 28th May. Two Yatra parties covered four

taluks in Madura district in May and June.

In Tiruchirapally district there was a Taluk Bhoodan Conference at Karur. Sri. C. Muthuswami of Nochinagar is taking keen interest in organising the work in Karur taluk.

In Chengelpet district a Bhoodan workers' camp was run for 3 days by the end of May. This was opened by Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the Chief Minister of Madras. Sri Dada Dharmadhikari and Sri Vimala Behn spoke at the camp.

Regular walking tours are conducted taluk by taluk in the four districts of Tirunelvely, Ramnad, Madurai and Coimbatore. In Kovilpatty taluk of Tirunelvely district one batch led by Sathu Subramaniam, walking about 145 miles, covered 25 villages. This intensive Yatra did propaganda in Kadambur firka and finished the quota of 1954. In Madurai district 2 batches toured in Periyakulam and Kodaikkanal taluks. Periyakulam taluk quota was completed. Kodaikkanal is a hill area and two members of the group got malaria attack and so were admitted in the hospital. This is the first time Bhoodan message is spread in the interior villages of the hills. In Ramnad district two batches walked from village to village in Sivaganga and Aruppukkottai taluks.

In Tiruchy district, the provincial Bhoodan convener undertook a walking tour for 15 days in one firka. Uppiliyapuram completed its quota. All big and small villages have been covered. The convener and his batch conducted meetings in 56 villages. Nearly 30,000 people heard the message of Bhoodan. 15 subscribers were enrolled for "Sarvodaya" in one firka and nearly Rs. 250/- worth Bhoodan literature was sold. The workers in Chengelpet district conducted a yatra for a week.

	Acres	Dhan Paisas
Land collection upto June...	24,595-49	3741
Land collection in the month of July	507-98	232
Total	25,103-47	3973

TANJORE DISTRICT

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has been conducting Bhoodan Yatras in the villages of Tanjore district at various intervals under the guidance of Shri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer, Convenor of the District Bhoodan Committee. Many Congressmen, members of Praja-socialist Party and Khadi workers have been taking part in the yatras.

There were six yatras since February '54 in the taluks of Mayuram and Nannilam. The yatra parties devoted 60 days in all and covered about hundred villages in doing propaganda and collecting land. Since the last yatra of Sri. Shankarrao Deo in January 1954 about 50 acres of land have been received in this district.

There was a meeting of Bhoodan workers of Mayuram taluk at Mayuram on 4th July. The Editor, 'Sarvodaya' and the District Convenor gave a report of the work done till then and appealed for workers to visit villages where a very favourable atmosphere prevails. Besides fifty workers two members of the Madras Legislature offered to help.

Since the last visit of Sri Jaiprakash there was no meeting on Bhoodan at Kumbakonam which is a reputed educational centre in Tanjore district. Before commencing the yatra in the Kumbakonam taluk in August there was a public meeting at Kumbakonam town on 1st August. Dr. R. Mahalingam who convened the meeting presided. The convener, Sri. T. K. Srinivasa Iyer and the Editor of 'Sarvodaya' spoke on the Bhoodan Yagna and the Sarvodaya ideal. There was a representative gathering of all sections of people. At the end Shri. G. V. Venkatarama Iyer, President of

the local Bar Association who had some serious doubts about the Bhoodan movement expressed satisfaction at the way in which the speakers expounded the Bhoodan movement and its ideals.

There are over two thousand villages in the Tanjore district. The Editor of 'Sarvodaya' and the District Bhoodan Convenor have planned to cover all the villages carrying the message of Bhoodan.

KERALA

The Kerala Bhoodan Samithi has selected two villages to make them model Sarvodaya villages. One is the Chettimalayadi Gramam of Nedumangad taluk, another the Periyam village in Chirakal taluk of North Malabar. A Sarvodaya camp has been started on the 29th of August at Periyam where 900 acres of land for Bhoodan were already received. The trainees will begin the work of distributing this land among the landless people of the area, in September.

In Trivandram district a Bhoodan camp was conducted for 12 days at Kuzhithura. The trainees thereafter started on a propaganda tour visiting villages. In Qulion district a four days' camp was run from 16th to 20th August. In Calicut taluk four parties are now touring in four different firkas carrying the message of Bhoodan from village to village.

A Bhoodan workers' training camp was run at Pazhangal in Trichur district from 13th to 21st May last. The trainees later visited many villages and spread the message of Bhoodan. Besides, in many important places of the district, prominent Bhoodan workers addressed huge meetings when more than 500 people offered Srama-dan. The workers have earnestly taken up the work of organising the villages. Bhoodan Committees throughout the whole district. The

total land collected in Kerala so far is 20,000 acres.

Sri Jaiprakash Narayan will tour in Kerala for 17 days in connection with Bhoodan propaganda from September 17th to October 3rd, 1954.

KERALA BHOODAN PATRIKA

There are already a dozen Bhoodan Patrikas in the various provinces. In addition to the existing monthly "Sarvodaya" in Kerala a new Malayalam Weekly has been started under the Kerala Bhoodan Committee. Its editor is Sri Ikkanda Warriar, former Chief Minister of Cochin State and the present Convenor of Kerala Bhoodan Samiti. It is published from Trichur and its annual subscription is Rs. 3. The Kerala public will welcome this Weekly to keep in touch with the moving ideas and the progress of Vinobaji's revolutionary movement.

TO BHOODAN COMMITTEES

It is our intention to give a collection of reports about the progress of the Bhoodan Yagna all over India. The news that is given in Sarvodaya is meagre. We request all the provincial Bhoodan Committees to help us by sending brief reports of the progress of the actual work done in their provinces with special features, if any, for timely publication in 'Sarvodaya.'

Next Sarvodaya Sammelan

As Vinobaji will be touring in Orissa in March 1955, the next Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held in Orissa in March 1955.

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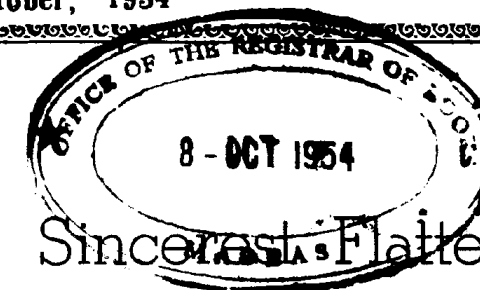
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Imitation - The Sincerest Flattery

★ MAHATMA GANDHI ★

The good that a man does is more often than not, better left unsaid. Imitation is the sincerest



flattery. I commend it, therefore, to the attention of all admirers. If it is my spinning they like, let them admire it by doing it themselves; if it is my regularity they appreciate, let them flatter me by being regular themselves. And if it is

my truthfulness and non-violence they treasure, let them show their appreciation by their conduct.

— 'YOUNG INDIA' 21st May, 1925

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SARVODAYA

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To Readers of Sarvodaya

With a view to intensify our Bhoodan activity in Tanjore District, known as the granary of Tamil Nad, we have the pleasure to inform our readers that it has been decided to completely shift the office of Sarvodaya Magazines and the Sarvodaya Prachuralayam to Tanjore from 1st October 1954.

The present office of the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya at Devji Colony, Tirupur, is therefore vacated from 1st Oct. '54.

We have to thank Sri D. O. Asher and his sons, Messers Pratap Brothers, for their spontaneous offer of a specially constructed building which could lodge the Prachuralaya during the last two years.

Our thanks are specially due to the Proprietor and the fellow-workers of the Kamala Press, Tirupur, for their ungrudging help and co-operation in the printing of the Tamil and English Sarvodaya Monthlies on the due dates.

Arrangements are being made to print the magazines at Tanjore from the next month.

As fresh permission has to be obtained from the district authorities of Tanjore some delay in publication of the next issue on the 1st of November may be inevitable. We assure our readers that all efforts will be made to publish the next issue with minimum delay.

Readers are requested to note the change of address and to address all correspondence and remittances to the new address as:

**Sarvodaya Prachuralayam,
19, Sivajinagar, TANJORE.**

When can the State Withers Away?

The Aga Khan, the spiritual head of the Ismaili Moslems, in a letter published in "London Times", on Feb. 5, 1948, discussed Mahatma Gandhi's views on non-violence, the theories of Karl Marx and Kropotkin and other significant questions concerning civilisation.

The Aga Khan wrote: "Some opinions expressed by the late Mahatma Gandhi on matters of general importance may interest the public, so I venture to report them.

"The Nawab of Bhopal and I had interviews with him in the spring of 1946 at Poona to find a formula that might satisfy both Congress and League, and after we had failed I had another interview with him on the question of Indians in South Africa.

"When it was over I asked him his opinion of Marx's philosophy. Gandhiji at once said that his own ideal was the same as Marx's i. e., 'that the State should wither away', but that he did not believe the desired end, the collapse of all Governments, could ever come by Marx's dialectic. On the contrary, the principles of non-violence and obedience to conscience once practised would inevitably make 'the State wither away'.

"Then he said that a society's civilisation should not be judged by its powers over the forces of nature, nor by the power of its literature and art, but by the gentleness and kindness of its members towards all living beings.

"He reminded me of Kropotkin's theories that primitive man hated bloodshed and cruelty and that if this were proved exact then there had been a growth of the power of evil.

"He also remarked that the ancient South American custom of human sacrifice, with the proud consent of the victim, was less degrading than mass murder by conscript armies maddened by a scientific propaganda of hate and lies.

"There was never any suggestion of other worldliness as the motive force to bring about a truly civilized society built on love and forbearance but that man's place in the universe was justified only if he obeyed the highest commands of conscience."—(Reuter)

Citizenship of the World

In reply to an invitation to leading personalities throughout the world to define what they thought would form the basis of a "World Charter of Human Rights", Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Julian Huxley, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation thus:

"As I am constantly on the move I never get my post in time." Gandhiji explained. "But for your letter to Pandit Nehru in which you referred to your letter to me, I might have missed your letter."

Regretting that he had no time to give Dr. Huxley a statement at length he desired, Gandhiji added: "But what is truer is that I am a poor reader of literature, past or present, much as I should like to read some of its gems.

"Living a stormy life since my early youth, I had no leisure to do the necessary reading."

Defining his view of human rights, Gandhiji said: "The very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world:

"From this one fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed.

"Every other right can be shown to be usurpation hardly worth fighting for."

From Indian Parliament, March, 1948.

Our Ancient Independent Village Community

— PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU —

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna conceives the village community as the ultimate owner of the land and its produce. The Sarvodaya ideal of making each village a self-contained Republic is not an impractical dream or idle Utopia. In fact it was a stark reality in the Indian villages as authentically corroborated by Sir Charles Metcalfe about a century ago. The following extract from Pandit Nehru's "Discovery of India" shows how the villages were independent small States by themselves forming the organic cells of our nation before the advent of the British Government which created the individual land-ownership for its own political domination over India. Bhoodan is for the revolutionary revivalism of the ancient Indian ideal of village communism.

The village community, which had so far been the basis of Indian economy, was disintegrated, losing both its economic and administrative functions. In 1830, Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest of British Officials in India, described these communities in words which have often been quoted:—

"The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves; and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself... is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

The destruction of village industries was a powerful blow to these communities. The balance between industry and agriculture was upset, the traditional division of labour was broken up, and numerous stray individuals could not be easily fitted into any group activity. A more direct blow came from the introduction of the landlord system, changing the whole conception of ownership of land. This conception had been one of communal ownership, not so much of the land as of the produce of the land. Possibly not fully appreciating this, but more pro-

bably taking the step deliberately for reasons of their own, the British governors, themselves representing the English landlord class, introduced something resembling the English system in India. At first they appointed revenue-farmers for short terms, that is, persons who were made responsible for the collection of the revenue or land tax and payment of it to the Government. Later these revenue-farmers developed into landlords. The village community was deprived of all control over the land and its produce; what had always been considered as the chief interest and concern of that community now became the private property of the newly created landowner. This led to the break-down of the joint life and corporate character of the community, and the co-operative system of services and functions began to disappear gradually.

The introduction of this type of property in land was not only a great economic change, but it went deeper and struck at the whole Indian conception of a co-operative group social structure. A new class, the owners of land, appeared; a class created by, and therefore to a large extent identified with the British Government. The break-up of the old system created new problems, and probably the beginnings of the new Hindu-Moslem problem can be traced to it.

The landlord system was first introduced in Bengal and Bihar where big land-owners were created under the system known as the Permanent Settlement. It was later realized that this was not advantageous to the State as the land revenue had been fixed and could not be enhanced. Fresh settlements in other parts of India were therefore made for a period only and enhancements in revenue took place from time to time. In some provinces a kind of peasant proprietorship was established. The extreme rigour applied to the collection of revenue resulted especially in Bengal, in the ruin of the landed gentry, and new people from the monied and business classes took their place. Thus Bengal became a province predominantly of Hindu landlords while their tenants, though both Hindu and Moslem, were chiefly the latter.

Big land-owners were created by the British after their own English pattern,

chiefly because it was far easier to deal with a few individuals than with a vast peasantry. The object was to collect as much money in the shape of revenue and as speedily as possible. If an owner failed at the stipulated time he was immediately pushed out and another took his place. It was also considered necessary to create a class whose interests were identified with the British. The fear of revolt filled the minds of British officials in India and they referred to this repeatedly in their papers. Governor General Lord William Bentinck said in 1829:-

"If security was wanting against extensive popular tumult or revolution, I should say that the Permanent Settlement, though a failure in many other respects, has this great advantage at least, of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuance of British Dominion and having complete command over the mass of the people."

VINOBAJI'S 60TH BIRTHDAY

"On this holy occasion of your birthday, Palamu presents a new village named "Vinoba-gram" consisting of 15 families. All land will be cultivated collectively on the basis of equality. Settlers will live as one big family and have resolved to make the village self-sufficient in all needs. Kindly accept this humble offer and oblige."

(The above is the greeting sent by Sri Parasunath Sarma, the convenor of the Palamu district Bhoodan Samithi (Bihar) to Acharya Vinoba, on his birthday on the 11th September '54 when he completed his 59th year and entered into the 60th)

Vinobaji has already received 62 full villages all over India so far in his Bhoodan Yagna.

"Yes, it is birthday today. We are, all, distinct from our bodies, just like the resident, from the house. This truth must be grasped. Never do we celebrate

the birthday of the house. We only make use of it. We keep it neat and tidy. Could we learn to behave with the body likewise, how smooth and pleasant will life become?"

(The above is Vinobaji's response in reply to the greetings offered by a distinguished lady-worker on his birthday on 11-9-'54).

"Today our Baba steps into his sixtieth year. On this occasion we offer a double prayer to the Almighty. First, may He grant him a full life, as our shastras say, of 125 years to guide us on our path. Secondly, may He give us wisdom, strength and courage to count no sacrifice too great for the "non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with village industries as its mainstay."

(The above are the Prayer-greetings offered by the members of Vinobaji's Yatra party just after the morning prayer at his camp on his birthday on 11-9-'54.)

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yatra in Bihar

— OUR WORK AFTER BHOODAN —

Acharya Vinoba Bhave reached the village Hansa, about four miles from Samastipur, this morning. In his post-prayer address he requested the workers to be serious and earnest about the work. He told them that before the advent of freedom they used to go to jails and remain there for several months, sometimes for several years. So also they should imagine themselves to be in jail until the end of this year and apply themselves single-mindedly to Bhoodan work. After land re-distribution, we would have to revive the village industries, reorganise village education and justice and the work for Gram Raj by establishing new values, discarding the old ones like 'dowry' in marriage and money-worship.

BHOODAN A GOD-INSPIRED MOVEMENT

Referring to land-evictions, Vinobaji observed that they were not due to mere heartlessness in the evicting land-holders but to the fact that they were overpowered by fear. They are quite confused and do not know what laws and regulations are likely to be enacted. "I want to assure the land-holders," said he, "you need not be afraid of your own Government. When you have made it, it cannot pass laws against your will. There is nothing to be afraid of it. But you may, if at all, be afraid of Bhoodan. That amounts to fearing God for, Bhoodan is at His inspiration. If you are afraid of Bhoodan, where will you find shelter on this earth? So please cast off all fear and stop evictions from land." He asked the land-holders to offer the vacated land as gift for Bhoodan and earmark it for distribution to the peasant who had been working upon it before

they were evicted. Thus the land-holders would get the privilege of 'Dan' and also gain the sympathy of the poor. Vinoba regretted that some zamindars were threatening Bhoodan workers interested in evictions. Some of them had gone to the length of dubbing the workers as Communists and got them involved under objectionable Acts. "This is bad", said Vinobaji. "The workers have to work in the field with a fearless and large heart. If he is guilty or the evicted peasant is guilty nobody will defend them. But the worker must feel that there is some definite moral sanction behind him. The landholders should also know that there is some definite moral strength behind the Bhoodan workers. But this would be possible only when the Bhoodan Yagna Committees take up the land-eviction work as their own. They must get eviction cases investigated on their own behalf through responsible and honest persons. They must approach the land-holders with a request for human justice. But it is quite possible that in twenty out of a hundred cases they may not succeed in getting justice. In such cases they should approach lawyers of integrity and request them to fight the poor man's cause free of any charge, i. e., request them for offer of Buddhi-dan. Also they must contact Government officials and show them the actual spot from where the peasant has been evicted and thus impress upon them the truth of their cause. The Bhoodan Committees have to do this work with patience and sympathy. The workers should also feel themselves as servants of the people, both the rich and the poor. Their selfless labour of love is bound to be fruitful."

APPEAL TO SMALL LANDHOLDERS

Vinobaji continued that the small land-holders must not hesitate to offer their donations for, they were the backbone of the movement. If they accepted the idea that all land in the village belonged to the village as such, the so-called rich would follow suit. Among the rich there were two kinds of persons: those with large heart and those with large mind. The former offered their land in donation for the mere asking. The latter were of very calculative nature and made their donations only after they saw that when the rest had given their share. There was no sense in keeping their own land with them. The British depart-

ed from India for, they were of a large mind and had seen that any continued stay in India would seriously endanger their economic interests. Thus sooner, rather than later, no land-holder would be able to keep himself aloof from this movement of the masses. He concluded with an appeal to the workers, "If you stick to your work with faith and vision, it will create a tremendous moral strength. That would produce its own effect upon the Government and, of course, upon those who are evicting the innocent people from their lands. It will smoothen the position and pave the way for real liberty and peace."

Camp: HANSA, 14-8-'54

The Seventh Year of Freedom

Crossing the river Buri Gandak early morning and covering a distance of about eighteen miles by boat, Acharya Vinoba Bhave reached the village Singhia (in Dalsinghsarai Thana) this morning. On account of the floods, he has reduced the strength of his party as also the luggage going with it. Reaching the village at eleven o'clock, the Acharya went round it, met the people and studied their condition. In spite of the floods the attendance in the evening prayer meeting was quite large, about ten thousand, including womenfolk and all of them listened to the Acharya with rapt attention and in pin-drop silence.

CALAMITIES, A BLESSING

In his post-prayer address, Vinobaji expressed his extreme pleasure at the opportunity God gave him to be present in their midst that day. He said that calamities are a blessing in disguise. They teach us to sympathise with each other, to soften our hearts and help each other. "Some people maintain," he observed "that on such occasions Government should be asked to come for help.

But I want to tell you that when calamity befalls village after village, the people of the village itself must help each other. One must give what one has. I want you to donate your *sampatti* (wealth) for the sake of those poorer than you. Those who have land must offer land, while those who have neither *sampatti* nor land, they can offer *Shram-dan* (labour-gift). If you could grasp the truth that one is authorised to eat only after sharing with others, it would be alright. Should you accept this and all of you come forward with one-sixth of your *Sampatti*, all troubles in the village can be easily solved."

THE DUTY OF BUSINESSMEN

Acharya Vinoba expressed his pleasure that there were businessmen also in this village. He asked them to open their heart and give. They would thus earn respect and goodwill. On the other hand, if they would exploit such occasions for their selfish ends, they would lose esteem and go low in the eyes of the people. That would be against religion. The donation of one-sixth was no obligation on anybody but is one's own duty, keeping up to one's *Dharma* and

obliging one's own self. "If you lose," said Vinobaji, "the grain-harvest on account of the floods, you must earn the love-harvest. Let grain decrease, but love must increase. If both decrease, then God alone can help us."

THE REAL SWARAJ

Vinobaji continued, "It is Fifteenth August today. Seven years ago we won our freedom or Swarajya. We should take a vow today to make our Swarajya stronger and deeper. Every village must get Swarajya. How will it be possible? Only when every village turns into a family. Calamity means occasion to act according to the dictates of religion. If we become more religious in conduct our Swarajya is also strengthened. Religion does not consist in going to the Ganga and having a dip. If it were the case, the fishes who are always in the Ganga would all get 'Swarga' or heaven. Religion consists in having a dip in the Ganga of

love, *Prem-Ganga*. Religion develops only when brother helps brother and one serves the *Narayan* as manifest in the lowliest and the lost, in the heart of every creature. So doing our Swarajya will grow firm, immovable and impregnable. It is why I have come to you to tell you about true religion."

The Acharya asked those present to make it a point to donate one-sixth for the society i. e., for their village. That would bring happiness to them as also to the village. Later, he told the land-holders not to evict the landless poor from their land and appealed to them to donate the vacated land for Bhoodan. Finally, he called upon the workers to be alert and active and go from home to home to get *dan-potras* filled up.

After the meeting, two Jeevandans were announced, one of them, Sri Ram Lakhan Singh of Ghatauna village being an old worker.

Camp: SINGHIA, 15-8-'54

★

The Lesson of the Recent Floods

AGRICULTURE AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

After spending fifteen days while touring on foot in the flood-devasted parts of Dalsinghsarai, Samastipur, Purnea, Singhia and Varisnagar Thanas of Darbhanga District, Acharya Vinoba Bhave reached Veersinghpur this morning. Addressing his post-prayer meeting he observed, "The misery of Bihar has received country-wide publicity. The State and Central Government would do what they can. But I submit that when such God-made calamities visit us, we must learn to forget petty interests. We must now work on the basis that the whole village is one family. In fact, God sends such calamities to awaken us to our true being and to the fact that we cannot survive in small sects or shells.

Unless you work unitedly, you can't make proper use of the help coming in your village from outside. Nor can you meet the ravage of diseases that set in after the floods. And I want to tell you that our real problem lies not in excess of rain or in shortage of it, but in the ruination of our village industries. Why should a dignified man accept outside aid gratis? The terrible reality is that people in the flood areas are sitting idle. They know no craft. They have no work on their damaged fields. Had we followed Gandhiji and carried on spinning, you could have spun on the charkha even now and obtained cereals in exchange. Besides, in a vast country like India, the peasant cannot survive by relying on agriculture alone. Village-industries are very indispensable for our existence."

Acharya continued, "But our Central Agriculture Minister says that, as there is excess of food in India, the problem is how to dispose it off. But for Ceylon, he is getting no customers. It is elementary knowledge that a country must have food grains for atleast two years in reserve. If there be ample food in the country, let it go to the peasant. But he cannot get it because he cannot purchase it. His purchasing power is almost nil. Hence you should all resolve to prepare your cloth yourself and raise your purchasing capacity. If village-industries flourish, people would have cereals in the stocks lasting for two years and more."

GIVE ME FLOOD-LAID LAND

He went on, "People tell me that there can be no more Bhoodan in flood affected parts. I think just the contrary. The floods prove positively that land belongs to Gopal. You can give me all water-laid land. So far I was asking for one-sixth, but now I demand the whole land of the villages. Let the land be owned by the village. In that case, the village would care for its people as

a whole and all aid coming from outside would go to the village and then reach the needy to the required extent. Otherwise, at present, when conflicts and rivalries dominate the village, very often the deserving do not get aid while it goes to those who can do without it. Unless the people do not live as members of one common family called village, there is no way out. That is the explicit lesson of this flood. So please donate the whole villages. If the workers go to the people with love and explain the mission sincerely, they would meet with happy response. Already 50 villages have been donated."

The Acharya later gave some precautions which must be observed in the use of boiled water for drinking purpose, avoiding dirty vegetable, bazaar sweets, and keeping the villages clean. In the end he exhorted them to begin spinning and donate their entire land for Bhoodan.

Camp: Veerasinghpur—25-8-1954.

(From the reports received from Shri. Suresh Ramabhai, who is with Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yatra in Darbhanga Dt.)

Khadi Hundis in Charkha Jayanti

The Government of India have decided to place on sale at all head and sub-post offices, Khadi Hundis from September 23 to December. These Hundis which are in the denominations of Rs. 2, 5, 10, 25, 50, and 100 will be sold just like the Postal Orders.

These hundis redeemable on or before March 31 can be used for the purchase of only khadi certified by the Sarva Seva Sangh, from any recognised sales depots at any place, and not for any other purpose.

The Hundis sold at the face value noted on them by the Post offices will bear the words "Post Office," to distinguish them from those sold through other agencies which bear the name of the State.

These Khadi Hundis printed by the Security Press of the Union Government at Nasik on hand-made paper with serial numbers are of the size of the respective currency notes and bear symbols of cottage industries.

Vinobaji's Appeal to Flood-Stricken Bihar

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

Camp: Narham, Darbhanga—17-8-'54.

Leaving Samartha early at five o'clock, Acharya Vinoba and party reached the village at about eight o'clock after a journey of three hours by boat. They encamped at the local English High School. Addressing the crowded prayer meeting, Acharya Vinoba observed that God sent calamities in order that we might examine ourselves from within and take to service of man. If this body is not utilised for human service, it is as little worth as animal body. This is why the Shastras say that human birth is rarely obtained. It is only when a man who can render service to others, consumes himself for the sake of others.

Acharya Vinoba continued, "Crops have been destroyed. On such occasions businessmen generally raise the rates. This is simply sinful. Business is the Dharma of the Vaishyas. Theirs is not to take advantage of the misery of the people and to exploit them. Businessman is also a servant of the society. Such earning of money is contrary to religion. Next, though villages as a whole have been affected yet some have lost all, some have lost less and some have not lost at all. Those who have suffered less must help those who have suffered more.

I want you to donate one-sixth of what you have — of grain or wealth or land. Mine is a call of Dharma. This will generate mutual love and fellow-feeling. By giving me one-sixth, the poor will obtain relief while the rich will obtain something of far greater value in spiritual satisfaction, Atma-Samadhan."

Vinobaji advised the people to look downwards rather than upwards as at present. Today, one having a thousand rupees looks towards the one having a lakh and envies another having a crore and so on. Thus the social structure is

sought to be built on rivalry, jealousy and envy. On the other hand, if they looked downwards, and one having but one piece of bread looked towards him who had none and shared the same with him it would create happiness. It should be our responsibility to act according to our Dharma and give to others.

Coming to Bhodan, Vinobaji remarked, "I want one-sixth of the land you have. Somebody said that land is very dear in these parts. It goes upto Rs. 4,000 per acre. Well, I say please dig a hole, place a sum Rs. 4,000 in it, cover it with earth and allow it to remain under the rain and sun for four months and let us see what harvest it yields! It is fantastic to evaluate land in terms of money. The latter is printed at Nasik and is lifeless, Jarh, while the former is alive and full of life, Chetan. You cannot compare four thousand dead bodies against, say, even one living body. As Tilak Maharaj said that Swaraj is my birth-right, so also I say that land is the birth-right of the tiller of the soil."

Then he referred to land-ejectments and asked the evictors to donate the vacated land for Bhoodan. "If not," said Vinobaji, "you will lose the goodwill of the people. And at any rate, you will have to pay in the form of death-duty after death. So why not give now and earn the blessings of others? Otherwise, people will clamour for your death, the earlier the better. Can there be greater curse to a man than the fact that his death should be awaited by others? What a calamity that in the India of Raja Harsha and others in an India where kings and monarchs abandoned their kingdoms and empires like a piece of straw and took to the life of the hermit, should become so selfish and narrow-minded as not to realise our duty at this critical juncture! I pray you to give and give bounteously."

VINOBA AND GANDHI

Vinobaji is truly hailed as the spiritual successor to the Mahatma. An interesting booklet "Gandhi and Vinoba" by Babu Birendranath Guha has just come to our hands. Two valuable letters between Vinobaji and Gandhiji as early as in 1918 are translated from Mahadev Desai's Jail Diary in Hindi. They reveal how Vinobaji was perfecting himself to become the fittest instrument of God for carrying on Gandhiji's mission of non-violent revolution with all his blessings.

Vinobaji's Letter To Gandhiji

Puja Bapuji,

10-2-1918.

Owing to illness I left Ashram a year ago. It was fixed that I should return to Ashram after a stay of two or three months at Wai. But a year has gone by and I am still away. And that has possibly caused speculation as to if I would return to Ashram or I am living at all. I confess, I am wholly to blame for that. I wrote casually a letter or two to Mama (Fadke). I told him that if an occasion for Satyagraha came, he should please inform me and I would return to Ashram immediately, no other considerations weighing with me. Otherwise I would stay out yet a while to complete what had kept me away so long. If any one has taken it that I have left the Ashram, here again I am in the fault. For I do scarcely write to anybody. I have to make it unmistakably plain that the Ashram has an abiding place in my heart. It would be no exaggeration to say that I am made for it. Naturally the question arises, why then have I been away from it so long.

"When I was ten years old I pledged that I would remain a *Brahmachari* to the service of my country. I got admitted then into a high school. The Gita attracted me. But father insisted that I must have French for my second language. My love for the Gita did not lag for that. And I began to learn Sanskrit by myself. I was determined to study the Vedantas, and other branches

of philosophy. I joined the Ashram with your permission. But just at that time a rare opportunity for studying the Vedantas came in my way. Narayan Shastri Mahratta, a Brahmachari all his life, taught students the Vedantas and other Shastras at Wai. I cherished long a desire to learn the Upanishad of him. And that kept me at Wai longer than I gave it. I give you an account of what I have done during these months.

"The lure that tied me to Wai is stated below, with the work along with reading:

"I have studied (1) the Upanishads, (2) the Gita (3) Brahma-Sutra. (4) Manu-Smriti (5) Patanjali-Yogashastra. Besides, I have read (1) Nyaya Shastra, (2) Vaishe-shikasutra and (3) Yajnavalkya-Smriti. I have no more desire. What remains to be studied I shall study by myself.

"Now to the second object of my visit to Wai, the recouping of health. I began with walking 10 to 15 miles a day. Then to walking I added grinding of corn—six to eight seers of it. At present walking and *Suryanamaskar*—three hundred of it—constitute my exercise. They between them have restored me to health.

About Diet:

"For the first six months I took salt. I gave it up then. Spices I avoided altogether. I decided to go without them. I have begun taking milk. A series of experiments have gone to show that one

cannot do without it for long. I have still a mind to give it up, if it be found possible to. I lived on plantains, milk and orange for a month. I felt the weaker for it. My meal now consists of:

"Milk 1½ seers (60 Tolas), Bhakri 2 (20 Tolas), plantains 4—5, and orange 1 (when available).

"After I have returned to Ashram, I shall fix my diet in consultation with you. I have no craving for anything just for the taste. I feel, however, the diet specified above is much too rich a diet. The daily expense works out roughly as below:

Plantains and Orange	Rs. 0-1-0
Jawar	" 0-0-6
Milk	" 0-1-3

Total Rs	0-2-9

THE WORK DONE BY ME

1. Took classes on the Gita. There were six students. Taught the text with annotation. No fees were charged.

2. Taught six chapters of Jnaneshwari to four students.

3. Gave lessons in the (nine) Upanishads to two students.

4. I do not know Hindi well. Yet I read out Hindi newspapers to students. And I had them read by the students themselves.

5. Had two students in my English class.

6. Travelled on foot nearly 400 miles, visiting such historic forts as Rajgarh, Sinhagarh, and Torangarh.

7. While travelling I never missed giving discourses on the Gita. Fifty of them I have so far delivered. I shall go to Ashram by way of Bombay. This stage I do on foot. The next I do by train. A young man of twenty-five is clinging to me in my travels. His desire

is to learn the Gita from me. I reach Ashram on the first of Chaitra at the latest.

8. I have started at Wai an institution named 'Vidyarthi Mandal'. It has a reading room attached to it. I ran a corn-grinding class in order to finance it. I and fifteen others did the grinding. We ground for such of those who use to go to mills for grinding. One pice for two seers was the rate. The proceeds went to the reading room. Some boys of well-to-do families joined us in the work. Wai is a place wedded to old ways. Add to that the fact that we were, all Brahmin boys, and students at of high schools. We were, therefore, taken for downright fools. Yet the class went on for two months. And four hundred books were added to the reading room.

9. I have done much to acquaint people with what the Satyagraha Ashram stands for.

10. I have ten to fifteen friends in Baroda eager to serve the country. That induced me to start there an institution three years ago. Propagation of the mother tongue was the programme taken up. I went to attend its anniversary—anniversary here means stock-taking of the year past and fixing up programme of work for the year to come. I proposed at the meeting that we should work for the spread of Hindi. I hope the institution will take up the work and help on this programme of yours.

How my conduct as an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram has been remains to be told. And I tell that before I conclude.

Aswad Vrata (Vow not to eat for palate)

Reference to this has been made above under the diet.

Aparigraha:

A platter (of wood), a cup, a Lota (Ashram property), a dhoti, a blanket and some books, well, these are all the possessions I have. I have discarded

shirt, coat, cap etc. I cover the body nowadays with the loose end of the dhoti. I use handloom fabric.

The question of *Swadeshi* and *Videshi* (country-made and foreign) does not arise at all, not withstanding the wide interpretation given to it by you in your Madras speech.

Saty, Ahimsa and Brahmacharya:

To the best of my knowledge I have observed them strictly.

What else may I say? Will He make me a fit instrument of His service? This one desire dominates my thought even in my dreams. I can confidently say that my conduct has been quite in keeping with the rules (except one) observed in the Ashram. In other words I am of the Ashram. I am so made. The

★ Gandhiji's Reply to Vinoba

Having read the letter Bapu exclaimed:

"The disciple has excelled the Guru. He is a Bhim, a veritable Bhim (Hercules)!"

And next morning he wrote to Vinoba:

"I don't know what epithet to use in respect of you. Your love and character overwhelm me. I am not competent to judge you. You have tried yourself and I accept your judgement as mine. I accept the position of father you have asked me to. You have come very near fulfilling my expectations of you. I hold that a truthful father produces a more truthful son than himself. A true son is he who carries forward the father's work. If the father be truthful, resolute and kind, the son inherits these qualities in a more pronounced degree. I see you have done so. I feel, they have come to you through no efforts of mine. I, therefore, accept the position of father you have offered me, as a gift of love. And I shall try to deserve it. If I prove a Hiranyakasipu, you must prove a Prahlad.

exception spoken of relates to preparing my meals (Bhakri) myself. I tried, but constant travel left me no choice.

"If Satyagraha comes about (reference is obviously to the possibility of Railway Satyagraha) I return immediately, otherwise on the date mentioned without fail.

"Have there been meanwhile any changes in the Ashram? How many students are there in the school? What is about the contemplated national institution? Need I say that I would be eagerly expecting to know if my diet needs changing. Vinoba earnestly presses for—he who regards himself as your son—entreats of you a reply in your own hand.

"I leave this village in two or three days.

Vinobake Pranam.

"You are right. You have scrupulously kept the Ashram observances even out of it. I never had a doubt that you would return. Mama (Fadke) read out to me what was intended for me. God give you long life. Let him make of you an instrument of service to Hind, that is my prayer.

"Your diet requires no changes to be made. You must not give up milk yet. On the contrary, if necessary, the quantity should be increased.

"Railway Satyagraha is not yet to come. But informed propaganda to that end is necessary. It may be necessary to offer Satyagraha in Kheda district. I am at present constantly on the move. Leaving for Delhi in a day or two.

"More when you come. All expect you eagerly.

Bapuki ashiroad (Blessings of Bapu)

Bapu exclaimed later on, "A very great man. I have ever felt that my relation with Maharashtrians and Madras has always been good. Just now there is none here from Madras. But no Maharashtrians have ever disappointed me. Vinoba has excelled them all."

Economic Pre-Requisites For Peace

— J. C. KUMARAPPA —

Paper agreements and appeals have little effect in bringing about lasting peace. The seed of war and international tension lies largely in the field of economics. So if we want to deal effectively with war we must study the present day methods of production, distribution and consumption. War is the end result of the friction generated in the daily life of every one of us, and is not the result of the evil doings of one or two outstanding world figures. If anything, such world figures are but the victims of our greed to benefit from the weak position of our neighbours.

COST TO THE PRODUCER

In the so called "underdeveloped" countries the producer of primary products rarely gets a square deal. Every producer is entitled to have his upkeep included in the price of the finished product. If anything less is recovered for the producer from the consumer's price there results violence through that exploitation. This multiplied results in dissatisfaction and wars.

In India, the landless labourers are starving because the prices of raw materials do not provide for their adequate maintenance. If they did, the prices would rise. Are we, as consumers, prepared to pay honestly for what we get?

PRICE REGULATION

Prices to be fair should be regulated by the producers and others concerned. For this purpose at present there is no adequate organisation, with the consequence that what is due to the primary producer, who is the weakest number on the line, is cut down to a minimum.

DISSEMINATION OF COSTING DATA

Today the consumer does not know what constituent items he is paying for

in the price. He knows of a "fixed" price. This he pays and fully believes that he has discharged his duty honestly. If only the consumer knows that the price he is paying is not fair but is too low to give an adequate return to the producer, he himself will probably not be at peace. It is therefore our duty to make available to all concerned, full information as to the spread of the cost of an article.

If, for example, the smoker knew that the tobacco he smokes is produced under conditions which lead to the starvation of other people his conscience will not allow him to patronise that brand of tobacco. We must bring this moral force into play in the economic sector.

EMPLOYMENT

Every raw material presents opportunities of employment. The export of raw materials, therefore, deprives the locality producing the raw material of the possible employment. For this reason as a rule the people of the locality must work on the raw materials available and should be paid adequately. Then there will be no "underdeveloped" countries, for every country will engage itself in producing all the goods it needs that can be made out of its own raw materials, and exchange its surplus for other articles it cannot otherwise obtain.

To work out this programme we have to educate buyers, middlemen and the producers; we should organise the movement of goods rationally, and set up a strong machinery for the fixing of prices. Before undertaking all this we ourselves should be willing to make the necessary sacrifices. If we are not prepared to do so it is no use just shouting for world peace.

INTER-NATIONAL TRADE IN SURPLUS ONLY

When goods are produced they should first be available to the producing country and only the surplus left over should be free for export to other countries.

CONCLUSION

Hence we see that a great deal of our effort to obtain freedom from world tension lies in recasting our economic organisation. 1. The raw material producer must be given sufficient to maintain himself on a reasonable standard of living. 2. Prices must be fixed with such as the base and the raw material producer must have a voice in fixing the prices of his produce. 3. Raw materials must be converted into consumer goods where the raw materials are produced, thus providing further opportunities of employment for the people of the locality. 4. The consumer must be educated to realise his duties towards

the producer, and for this purpose he should be supplied authentic information about the component parts of the price of articles, and 5. most international trade must be in surpluses.

Economic security and fair play is the foundation of goodwill. They alone will dispel suspicion, hatred and jealousy which disturb the peace of the world. Therefore to bring about world peace we have to find ways and means of liquidating the so called "underdeveloped countries" and be prepared to share the good things of the world equitably. This will make a big call on the industrialised countries. Are they prepared to make this sacrifice? If not, all our efforts towards peace will be short lived.

Summary of a speech delivered at the Economic Section of the International Peace Conference at Stockholm on 21st June, 1954.

— From "Gram Udyog Patrika"—August '54

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THE DATE AND THE PALMYRA

C. Rajagopalachariar

"Everything in the world can be used well or misused and prostituted. The date and the palmyra trees are gifts of God to man. We can use them well even as we misused them and made intoxicating toddy out of them. The numerous good uses to which we can put the leaves of all the palm trees are well-known. Old palmyra trees are very good timber. The jaggery made from the date and palmyra trees is an excellent energy-giving article of diet, in many respects preferred by doctors and others who know, to white sugar. The value of fermented toddy in the shape of income is not a reality but the mere product of a taxation measure. In itself it is worthless. Jaggery is all food and if we increase the production and the use of palm jaggery, we can get all the sugar that we require from these trees which look after themselves and then we can use more of good irrigated land for producing rice without putting it as we now do under sugarcane cultivation to the detriment of rice-production."

This country was faced with shortage of food and everybody wanted rice and they spent crores on producing rice. At present the rice field is being converted into sugar plantations. For that reason good valuable land which would produce rice, was being converted into cane-land. If people take to date palm gur for diet, to that extent they would save the land now used for sugarcane cultivation for rice cultivation and that is the economics of palm jaggery.

INDIA'S SOUL IS ASTIR

— SWAMI ANAND —

[The following is an extract from a letter written to an American friend in reply to his query. He is deeply interested in Gandhiji, and is also conducting a journal to promote international understanding and goodwill.]

Bhoodan is the crowning conception for fulfilling Gandhiji's life-work. Nothing hitherto achieved or attempted in the constructive field of Gandhian planning by Indian leaders can compare with Bhoodan. It has gripped the imagination of the millions and moves them without effort. For it is in tune with the genius of the race.

India's soul is astir indeed. And her millions have come to know of it, as if by instinct. The Moscovite is discomfited. The Red slogan of class-conflict and hatred may succeed with a few thousand industrial workers in cities; it shall not succeed with the millions. Even the demagogue politician 'the licensed high-priest of democracy', is finding his vocation escaping him. He finds the atmosphere surcharged with BHOODAN, bows low and humbly takes up the tune—that he may not lose caste with his clients. But the folks, humble that they are, know 'the tares among the wheat' and will make no mistake.]

"By far the greatest experiment in the Gandhian way of tackling the countrywide economic and social problem in India today is the Bhoodan (Land-Gifts) movement. It is an attempt to usher in economic and social equality by calling upon owners of land (also property) to relinquish it and share it with the landless "have-nots" of the community on a voluntary basis and without recourse to legislation, which may follow in order to regularise what has already been accomplished.

"The Movement has been initiated by Sri Vinoba Bhave, the foremost surviving disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. Originally an unorthodox monk steeped in Hindu lore, he has made a reverential study of world religions and their systems of ethics. Through years of intensive self-

discipline and manual bread-labour he has slowly developed into a saint almost as tall in moral and spiritual stature as the Mahatma himself. His ultimate aim is Reconstruction of Man through applied non-violence in human relations, and doing away with all inequalities, economic or social, the world over. The Bhoodan or Land-Gifts Campaign in India is its local expression.

"India, like America, is an agricultural country, over 80% of her 360,000,000 people having to subsist on land. Ours is thus an agricultural economy mainly. Vinobaji, therefore, has been calling upon all landowners in the country to share land voluntarily with the landless in every village without compulsion from society or State, and by turning their villages into self-reliant, self-governing communes to establish the millennium.

"In the three years since the launching of the Movement, Vinobaji has succeeded in securing over 33,00,000 acres from 3,00,000 donors, besides cash, implements and draught animals, which are being distributed among the landless. His target is to secure 50 million acres by way of these voluntary gifts before the year 1957 is out. His principal lieutenant in the campaign is Shri J. P. Narain, the great socialist leader of India, who is holding out a fair promise of becoming St. Paul of the New Faith.

"The message is being delivered by the saint himself walking from village to village, holding prayer meetings, calling upon the "haves" to recognise the "sixth brother" and welcome him in the "joint family" with honour and status by conceding him land as his birthright. The millions who listen to his words and

witness these walking tours see in him Gandhi resurrected, having come back in their midst once more to fulfil his interrupted life-mission of reinstalling the "disinherited of the earth."

"Thousands of social workers engaged in various constructive services of the Gandhian Programme have caught the spark of the New Faith and are carrying the flame to every nook and corner of India. At a recent convention held at Bodh-Gaya, the hallowed spot of Buddha's Enlightenment, and attended by the tallest in the land in the spirit of a pilgrimage, over 500 seasoned workers of both sexes responded to Shri Narain's call and solemnly pledged themselves to dedicate their lives to the great cause of man's reconstruction, by raising a class-free, State-free society on the foundations of non-violence. Their number has increased considerably since.

"These harbingers, in their turn, walk the villages 'carrying neither scrip, nor shoes, nor yet staves' chanting hymns prayer and of hope, assuring the millions of of the millennium being at hand.

"It is a unique phenomenon — these walking tours of the New Gospellers. The village folks, — both masters and men, the exploiters as well as the exploited, — hail them as apostles of the millennium. Without much persuasion and

as if they were waiting simply to be approached, the "haves" part with their lands. They give with a joyous heart. They vie with one another. Often they give their all. The land gift is often accompanied by seed, implements and livestock, even stores and provision for the duration till the beneficiary is able to raise his "own" crop and harvest it.

"While many big Zamindars owning vast acreage have bowed willingly, divesting themselves of a thousand or a hundred thousand acres apiece, the great bulk of the 3,00,000 donors hitherto registered are humble working folk holding a few acres or less each. Whole villages have come forward, donating every inch within their bounds and turning into co-operating fraternities. India's soul is astir. And her millions have come to know of it.

"The Movement with its ideology is generating an unprecedented climate of goodwill and understanding throughout the country, — a revolution in human values discarding all violence, exploitation and inequalities on the part of the individual, society or State, — a revolution which may in its ultimate results react powerfully on the strained relationships among the nations of the world, to their lasting benefit."



Bhoodan and the New Revolution

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

What has transpired during the last seven years in our country testifies to the grim fact that the British departure from India was not due solely to the assimilation of the non-violent philosophy by her people. That the same has not brought about any revolution in our outlook and conduct also goes without saying. For, do not the same socio-

economic, even political, values hold the field today as they did during the British rule? Physical labour is at discount still and a high salaried one has little to do with manual work. Land, the common mother, unto which we must all return, continues to be a marketable commodity and money is worshipped as 'uber alles'. Besides, armed strength and legal might

are hailed to provide a panacea for our manifold ills and evils. Yet, every passing day makes it clear that without a basic change in the standing values, India's teeming millions cannot come into their own. But how to bring about that change, or how to generate a force stronger than that of arms or law, or how to make the masses feel that the country is theirs — that is the burning problem. Manifestly, the task is beyond the domain of political parties which, either are bent on keeping power (if they have it) or to capture it (if they have not), fall in the one and same class of power-devotion, since power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. In the person of Acharya Vinoba Bhave we have a genius who offers us a key with which we can open the locks at the various gateways and establish the kingdom we choose.

The object of the Bhoodan Yagna movement is to keep away from 'power' and create Jan-Shakti or the power self-reliance of the people, a strength which, being different from legal might and opposed to armed force would be superior to them both. Call it Jan-Shakti, moral force, love-force or soul power, its medium is love, not the love enjoying empty lip-service but love accompanied by wholesome sacrifice. And as an initial expression of the same, Vinoba calls forth for a change in land-ownership from the hands of an individual to that of the village or society, declaring that 'All land belongs to Him.' Land-redistribution being a minor part of it, the real purpose is to raise land to the pedestal of one of the five elements, and to provide every tiller with it to the required extent. In other words, it implies that he who eats must perform bodily labour and that manual work is as important and elevating, if not more, as any other. Again, 'All land belongs to Him', is but a corollary of the more significant and conspicuous theorem, 'All property belongs to Him', immortalized by Tulasidas in the words "Sampatti sab Raghupati ki Ahi".

What we have belongs to the society. What we are is due to the society. Society, therefore, is the virtual owner of what is with us and we can only act as trustees on its behalf. Whence Vinoba's call for Sampattidan Yagna for which he expects every citizen to offer something from his or her share for the sake of the less privileged and the underdog. Enjoining upon man to give before he takes, it not only 'recaptures the social order as the family writ large', but re-introduces religion or *Dharma* as a vital part of our being. Thus Vinoba imparts sacrifice or non-accumulation. He condemns accumulation as a serious crime as thieving, and preaches non-accumulation as a social character turning it into a collective virtue. What is good for the home must be good for the larger home of humanity. If love is a virtue fit for practice in a family, it must be a nobler virtue fitter for practice for the entire human family. In the new order, the great men would not be those who own a big house or a large bank balance but those who have a big heart prepared for every kind of sacrifice.

Vinoba defines the new process as a 'non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with village industries as its mainstay.' Thus there is not only a change of values in the new revolution, but also a change in the very technique of revolution itself. Rather than providing 'power' to a group or class or clique or party in place of the present incumbent in office, it seeks to cut at the root of 'power' itself by decentralising it to the utmost and arming the general masses with a really vital and moral strength as to render the centralisation of power almost impossible. It thereby visualises the establishment of a homogenous and 'Shasan-mukta' (State free) society, in which all, as fellow-members of a Samya-yogi or equalitarian society, would work and play and eat and enjoy together. May we, the youth of India, see the new light and work for this new revolution? ★

Intellectuals and Bread Labour

RADHA BENODE MUKHERJEE

Two persons—one male and the other female — got down from the noon train at the Palani railway station. They were black in complexion, of high stature, wore small pieces of dirty loin-clothes and had each a basket over their heads. The baskets contained implements required both for cultivation of land and for masonry works. Their appearance showed that they were having robust health as their naked skins were found lolling beneath their shoulder arms. From their talk it was quite convincing that they did not get through any school curriculum and that they were living in abject poverty. We come across such people in many ways and this kind of sight has become common to us.

Side by side also we come across with people neatly dressed with a wrist watch tied round their left wrist, hair decently combed and shoes neatly polished.

These scenes naturally lead one to think what constitutes this gulf of difference between people and why it has become a fashion of the day to look down upon the former kind of people.

The recorded history of mankind upto the middle of the twentieth century has never witnessed a period which made conditions favourable for all human beings to live in peace and in amity. In all periods of human history there was always a deficiency which may be termed as 'Non-recognition.' The question of non-recognition was not only confined to selected persons or a group of persons but was also launched against a whole set of community and sometimes against people believing in particular religious faiths. The so-called 'Golden Age of Pericles'

was neither golden nor miraculous as it was the explicit sanction of the Greek States that slaves should not be allowed to live on a par with the full-fledged citizens of Greece. The internal history of the Roman Empire was in bulk a long drawn-out incessant and sanguine struggle between the favoured and the neglected classes, between the Plebians and the Patricians. The merciless persecutions and the condemnation to death under the garbs of Inquisition, Ex-communication and Interdiction by the Catholic religion for the sake of increasing its number of adherents and exterminating the out-laws, are too well-known to the readers of history to mention. The personal likes and dislikes of the monarchs had had their culminating effects on the differentiation among peoples. The king of Prussia favoured and recruited only tall men in his regiment irrespective of their nationality.

Philanthropists hoped against hopes that after bitter trials and experimentations such subjective anomalies dividing man and humanity into bits would gradually disappear bringing in their train to judge and treat human beings as human beings only. H. G. Wells, the noted historian and astute philanthropist, predicted that progress would come like a thief and all would be well. For the sake of progress psychologists, psychiatrists, philosophers, saints and politicians, in fact, many people with knowledge on different aspects governing human lives devoted their lives and put forward their findings as correct remedies. Out came a thunderous voice: 'Knowledge is Power.' He said, "It is not an opinion to be held... but a work to be done; and I...am labouring to lay the foundation not of any sect

or doctrine of ability and power, and that the former is inferior to the latter. He even went to the extent of securing large-scale financial help from the British King James, for setting up an institution which would maintain experts of all branches of knowledge with a chairman fully conversed with all the branches of knowledge. The aim was, in fact, a co-ordination, a peace rather than a friction and frittering away energies by accusing one branch of knowledge against another. Obviously this utilitarian idea of Bacon lacked what was and is still lacking. Our span of life is short and the creation of a man with profound knowledge on all branches of knowledge is still a delusion to mankind. The result has been that each branch of knowledge is claiming its experiments as the ideal tonic and superior to others. Even within the same branch of knowledge a great deal of hubbub is straining many souls.

It takes us by surprise: Why in spite of so much "thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis" we have been still exhibiting the same differentiation as before, albeit under different names. There was a time when the black races near the Mediterranean and Persian coasts dominated the white races and how is it that the descendants of the same black races are now held by the present white races as 'savages, brutes and uncivilised.' Once Hitler's claim of the superiority of the German races was obnoxious even to the other white races and at present the Americans have assumed the position of the Germans. Each propounds each one's own invented theory on civilization and each claims each one's theory superior to others. The world has become a mess, a chaos and not a cosmos as some would dare to advocate.

Reverting to the particular persons stated in the beginning a conception has been growing apace among the intellectuals (although they form very few in number) in India that manual and mental labours are like water-tight compartments.

The Biblical wisdom that 'in the sweat of the brow shalt thou eat the bread' has no consideration for the intellectuals.

When Mahatma Gandhi said that "we should from our very childhood have the idea impressed upon our minds that we are all scavengers, and the easiest way of doing so is for everyone who has realised this to commence bread labour as a scavenger." He expressed it from his thorough personal knowledge about the mental attitude of our intellectuals.

When the poet sang:

"Honour and shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honour lies."

he told from his experience of people belonging not to a particular state, but of the whole intellectuals living throughout the length and breadth of the world.

It is not that the world can go without the intellectuals. In fact, many intellectuals have been the sole cause for many an advancement in our activities in life. But what constitutes vice is their attitude towards life. Gandhiji has recorded that vices are more prevalent among them than among those who live from hand to mouth.

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TO READERS

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VINOBA BHAVE THE SAINT

— TAYA ZINKIN —

The following is the concluding portion of the article by Mr. Taya Zinkin, the *Manchester Guardian's* Correspondent in India on the Bhoodan Movement and Vinoba Bhave. This extract is taken from the *Singapore Standard* dated 6th August, 1954.

At dawn I take the train which snails its way towards Bhave, who is 80 miles distant. It stops eventually at a crossing; then, an ekka—a horse cart hanging from two wheels. Our bones are thoroughly ground together as we hop over ruts, drive into river-beds, cut across paddy fields. We arrive in time for lunch.

Bhave is not visible, he works. Gandhi's grand daughter, Sumitra greets us — energetic, cheerful a chic tomboy, amusing like her grandfather, vital like her grandmother, not weighted down by her illustrious heritage.

SILENT MEETING

At 6 p. m. Bhave comes out for the prayer meeting. Never before in my experience of India had a meeting been silent. There is a pindrop silence in the small courtyard where perhaps two hundred villagers squat. Babies do not whine, dogs have forgotten to bark. One can hear the sunset.

After prayers Bhave speaks gently: violence is bad, love is good. "If you tell me you cannot give land because you already have seven sons and only a small holding, I will answer: I am your eighth son, I have come to take my rightful share."

Smallpox-pitted faces intent under wet towels and bulky turbans. A petrol lamp. The spreading shadows. A bunch of stars shoot by Bhave has his cupful of curds, talks with Sumitra, goes to sleep.

Meanwhile, as if by magic 3,200 acres of land have been given to him by fourteen donors. We drag our aching bones to our sleeping place; two men discuss. "What of your Bhoodan? All men are not equal: this is against nature," the sub-inspector of police, handsome swashbuckler with a flared moustache, asks.

Gopi Sen replies: "We must try. Bhoodan is what we make it; I am only a peasant, but Baba knows."

The moon rises over the hilltops, dusting the scorched earth with glitter; the guard and the disciple argue as if they are in Galilee.

The next day began at 3 a. m. We have to walk nine miles before sunrise. Bhave in front, slimmer, older, in the dangling light of the petrol lamp, hardly touches the earth in a race with his numbered days. "Time is on my side, therefore I cannot lose". The grey dust of Bihar sticks to his brown ankles as if the earth itself moved with him. Sixteen to twenty miles is his average, but he is unwell, so we only go nine miles.

After a five miles' race across country I give in. I lie on the edge of a well, watching ants creep, listening to the water trickle. When a rattle-trap jeep comes to pick me up I feel sorry. There had been so much peace everywhere, within and without. Peace which must have emanated from Bhave, so complete that nothing matters but the knowledge that it exists.

My mind stands before me, bared of its vulgarities, motives, make-believes, stripped naked by truth. Bhave acts as a catalyst.

That evening a landlord bared his conscience in front of Bhave's bed: "I am a poor man, I have already given 250 acres of land, I have many sons and they have many children, how can I give more? I would like to give, but I must think of them. What must I do?"

Bhave was asleep — a small clump of brown on a white sheet, hardly bigger than my small son. A catalyst, refusing himself, yet the cause. The Chief Minister of Bombay once said that he had experienced 'absolute peace and total absence of desire' in the presence of a very holy man. So it is in Bhave's.

BETTER THAN SPEECH

Since Bhave was beaten up by priests for taking untouchables into a temple he is slightly deaf and questions must be written. Of my seventeen questions only one matters. "Why is it that I have no desire to speak with you, or stay with you, yet that I feel at peace and have no curiosity left. Does it make sense?"

This is his answer, "Talking is the least part of things. We feel. We love. We meditate. Talking should be used, to fraternise. Your question is not senseless. Silence is better than speech. It works wonders."

The third day I hovered around him for hours through a meeting of workers where a landlord who had already given 2,000 acres last year, announced that he would give another 2,000 and keep only 30 acres for himself and his family; through a public meeting where he thundered: "God will ask you: did Baba come to your village? Did he tell you to give freedom to your wives? Have you done so? I came twenty

months ago and your women are still in gaol" (there is strict *pardah* in parts of Bihar).

Then through the announcement that he had received 4,820 acres—excluding the 2,000 of the landlord—from 37 donors; through his evening meal; and all along he refused himself to me. He does not get involved with individuals. As he told the prayer meeting, "We must all solve our problems ourselves."

The fourth day the heat is unbearable. After lunch Santa wept softly, I swallowed a bottle of salt tablets, Vishnu could not type, and Sumitra cried in her sleep. My torch fell out of my pocket, burning. I thought it was a short-circuit: it was the heat concentrated in the metal casing. Bhave seemed beyond the world. He dictated to Tia the whole afternoon, yet this morning he had run for nine miles and ended by crossing a river waist deep in water while we followed in canoe.

The last mile to the village he was far ahead of us, followed by small children flying home-made flags and singing songs: formidable crusaders of love, an old man and children, getting land for the poor.

Could Bhave be effective outside India? The answer is Yes: His being a scholar, dark-skinned, Gandhian, is all irrelevant. Bhave is a saint and saints are universal.

VINOBA AND HIS MISSION

By SURESH RAMABHAI

With Foreword by

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

and Introduction by

SHRI JAIPRAKASH NARAYAN

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Bhoodan Distribution in Tamil Nad

By SRI KAMARAJ, (Madras Chief Minister) and SRI SHANKARRAO DEO

The little village Ukkadai in Tanjore district, Tamilnad, situated some 14 miles off from the Tanjore town, put on a festive appearance on the 19th September. The sixty acres of land—best double-crop paddy fields—donated by the rich, yet simple and unassuming land-owner, Sri Appavoo Thevar, were to be distributed to the landless cultivators on the day. Sri Kamaraja Nadar, the Chief Minister of Madras State, was to perform the formal handing over of the documents to these landless tillers, in the presence of Sri Shankar Rao Deo who had received the Dana-Patra from the donor in January last during his Bhoodan Yatra.

This was the second time in Tamil Nad, a public function was organised to distribute land to the landless, under the Bhoodan movement. The first function took place in Coimbatore District when Sri C. Rajagopalachari, then the Chief Minister, distributed nearly 250 acres of dry lands donated by the Pattayagarar of Palayakottai.

Bhoodan workers of the district were all gathered there. The chief minister was coming and so all the officials of the district were in attendance.

Inhabitants of that village and also of the neighbouring ones gathered in large numbers. The bare-bodied children with garlands in their hands, headed by the elders and youths of the village, adorned in their characteristic simple loin clothes, rolled up above their knees, and accompanied by their womenfolk dressed in coloured sarees, came and squatted on the open meeting ground to partake in the function.

SRI KAMARAJ'S SPEECH

The function began at four in the evening. Sri Nadar got up and said a

few words appealing to the other big land-lords present there, to emulate the example of Sri Appavoo Thevar and go in advance of the law that the State may one day or other pass. He stressed the superior value and dignity of voluntary surrender of a portion of the lands with them to the compulsory divestment through the force of law.

Proceeding, the Chief Minister said, the idea of distribution of land had been in the minds of people as well as of those who run the Government for a long time. They would bring legislation in this regard. However, he would advise the big mirasdars and landowners not to wait till the legislation, but to come forward, here and now, to donate lands to the landless poor. This noble gesture on the part of the moneyed classes was sure to create a very favourable climate and ere long they could solve all their problems smoothly with the co-operation of all. The value of anything given of one's own accord was definitely immensely greater than that which was forcibly taken away.

Sri Kamaraj Nadar made an appreciative reference to Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who had launched the Bhoodan Yagna. This new technique left no bitterness or ill-will in anyone and the Government desired to solve all their problems in this way without violence and bloodshed. The movement had met with good response in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The Chief Minister expressed the hope that it would meet with greater success in Tamil Nad.

SHRI DEO'S SPEECH

Sri Shanker Rao Deo spoke a few words blessing the donees. He said that what he valued more was the faith, the devotion in the donor's mind and the simple

way he parted these extensive rich lands for the benefit of the landless. He added that a day would come sooner when the other land-lords in the district would keep only a little with them for their basic needs and part with all the rest to all the landless tillers around them.

He dwelt at length, on the efficacy of the quality of love, which, could achieve anything on earth. He pleaded for a society which would ensure perfect equality for all human beings irrespective of caste and social status.

DANA-PATRAS

The deeds for the lands to be distributed were all got ready. They were all complete documents with the full land-record details—the survey number, patta number, boundary descriptions and demarcations correctly prepared by the efforts of the donor himself through his able secretary and certified by the village officials in a way acceptable to all the villagers. There were sixty documents thus to be handed over to the sixty landless tillers. The roll call began. One by one the tillers with weather-beaten skin, their body bent down under the weight of age-long sufferings, walked up to the table where Sri Nadar stood with the donor Sri Appavoo Thevar by his side. With smiling faces they received the deeds, one after another. They held the papers in between their fingers, not knowing where and how to keep them! Some among them were even a bit confused and doubted whether they should take the papers to their homes or return them back to the minister who placed them in their hands. Paper is nothing to them. The glow of joy that the land had become theirs, was there in every face. In their lives this, of course, is the first occasion they touched a document like this. No wonder they were in a fix and almost bewildered.

One third among these cultivators who received lands, were Harijans and

all the rest, of the so called backward community. Mention has to be made of one among them, the lady who received it on behalf of her family.

Camera men were busy all the while with their light flashes and clicks to the utter amazement of the poor rustic villagers gathered around.

For the efficient manner in which the arrangements for the distribution were done, all credit goes to the District Bhoodan Organiser Sri. T. K. Srinivasa Iyer, the veteran leader and worker of the district during the last thirty years, since the days of Non-Co-operation and others.

Sri Thevar's family is one of the richest of the ancient families of the district. It is noted for its charity and hospitality to one and all. Sri Thevar's wife is very simple and loving in her life and ways and even a stranger who meets her for the first time, cannot but feel that she is the best and nearest relative ever anxious to serve. She did not attend the meeting though she was the real force behind the gift.

"Ammah, (Mother) blessed indeed is your family," remarked a lady friend who attended the function and met her immediately after. Quick came the reply from her: "Many acts of *Punya* our forefathers have done. May God give us the light to do more and more." The glow of real bhakti and tears of love were there in her eyes.

The Good of All

I do not believe in the "greatest good of the greatest number, nor can I agree that might is right. For human beings the object in view should be the good of all, with the weak being served first. We are not the weak men, but have still to cast away the nature of four-footed beasts."

Gandhiji

From the diary of Mahadev Desai - Page 221

15/11/52

44912

ALL INDIA BHOODAN

Received and Distributed upto 5th September, 1954

Province	Land received in acres		No. of Dan-Patras		Land Distributed in acres		No. of families		No. of Jeevan Dams	
	Current Month	Total	Current Month	Total	Current Month	Total	Current Month	Total	Current Month	Total
1. Bihar	3,500	21,02,500	7,000	2,36,374	111	1,492	76	838	154	685
2. Uttar Pradesh	10,442	5,16,387	96	14,703	13,027	59,693	4,064	19,039	—	75
3. Rajasthan	—	3,22,310	27	2,134	372	5,761	108	1,351	1	39
4. Hyderabad	1,887	1,02,760	17	3,743	2,972	17,585	564	3,639	2	9
5. Utkal	6,264	1,00,909	4,731	34,502	—	708	—	214	1	84
6. Madhya Pradesh	1,364	67,564	151	12,151	3,243	5,550	—	—	2	47
7. Madhya Bharath	—	62,412	—	5,377	—	—	—	—	1	22
8. Saurashtra	—	41,000	—	15,000	—	—	—	—	1	6
9. Gujarat	489	36,170	—	7,760	—	942	—	251	1	15
10. Tamilnad	—	25,104	—	3,973	—	256	—	55	1	18
11. Andhra	—	18,976	—	552	—	—	—	—	2	7
12. Kerala	—	17,000	—	1,200	—	—	—	—	—	23
13. Maharashtra	—	15,480	—	769	—	—	—	—	11	11
14. Punjab	199	9,520	20	2,041	—	—	—	—	9	17
15. Delhi	—	9,245	—	249	—	41	—	20	2	6
16. Vindhya Pradesh	164	5,305	26	1,003	92	244	30	104	9	9
17. Mysore	—	3,414	—	1,395	—	—	—	—	1	7
18. Bengal	1,319	4,634	152	2,090	12	12	10	10	1	22
19. Himachal Pradesh	—	1,900	—	66	—	—	—	—	—	3
20. Karnataka	246	2,180	—	239	—	—	—	—	—	8
21. Assam	—	1,692	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
22. Bombay City	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total...	25,874	34,66,462	12,220	3,45,321	19,829	92,523	4,852	25,521	179	1,120

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA, Office Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh.

THE LAND GIFT MISSION

BY POET RAGUNATH SINGH

(1)
Today the call of an ascetic
The call of the land,
The call which is of the meek,
And also of the country,
The call of the down-trodden and distressed

We will not neglect.
A success we will make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(2)
The dream of Bapu about
The Kingdom of Truth,
This Saint now walks to bring
It into reality.
March shall we after
The steps of this Saint.
A success will we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(3)
Today do the four corners resound
With the bells of violent revolution,
The sound of revolution through
The law, the sword and the blood.
We however, treading the path of
Compassion.
A success will we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(4)
Give through Love the gifts of land,
May through love the change
soon come.
Quenching the bitterness of the world
May for ever the peace return
We to men will give to drink
The nectar of peace,
A success will we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(5)
To him also who has no land,
Land is needed.
All need air, all need health.
Exploit now shall we not
The fate of any man,
A success will we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(6)
To ask for land
Is not to beg,
For he also has a right,
Who has no land.

And by giving land shall we
Fulfill our duty.
A success will we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(7)
Give the land, a new life
Is given to the world.
Give the land, a new life
Is given to man.
By giving the land shall we
Drive out the poison from the world.
A success shall we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(8)
We shall give land and,
Ask others to give.
Living ourselves we shall
Give to others life also.
By giving land, shall we bring
Heaven on the earth.
A success shall we make
Of Land Gift Mission.

(9)
May all have land
May all have a dwelling,
May all get food and clothing
And may all and each have work.
Always shall we seek
The welfare of all.
A success shall we make
Of Land Gift Mission!

(10)
Door to door, naked feet
For the poor he walks,
Who is he? Rama, Krishna?
Who sings the Gandhi-song?
For this Saint of Love
Shall we lose each and all,
A success shall we make
Of Land Gift Mission!

(11)
This is a new step
Towards Truth and Peace,
An effort truthful, this is
An auspicious omen.
Oh! countrymen! Stand up and rise!
Let us awaken the world.

A SUCCESS SHALL WE MAKE
OF THE LAND GIFT MISSION

Translated from HINDI.

By Sri Govind Das

Shri Shankarrao Deo's Bhoodan Tour in Tamilnad

Sri Shankarrao Deo toured for a week in Tamil Nad from 18th to 25th September for propaganda and collection of Bhoodan. On 18th Sept. he visited Tindivanam, Tirupapuliyur and Chidambaram in South Arcot Dt., and spoke at two public meetings and at a workers' meeting. During the previous one month there were Bhoodan Yatras in this area under the guidance of Sri A. Balakrishna Pillai in charge of Khadi work. As a result of the yatras and during Shri Deo's visit 52 persons from several places gave dana-patras for 123 acres 81 cents for Bhoodan.

On the 19th Sri Deo visited Valangiman, Narathangudi and Nidamangalam where nine gave Bhoodan of 20 acres. At Ukkadai he blessed those to whom Sri Appavoo Thevar's land-gift was distributed.

In the evening he met the leading men of Kumbakonam town. As the questions raised and Sri Deo's answers were interesting they are given below.

★

AT KUMBAKONAM

Shri Shankarrao Deo had a discussion with the leading members of the public in the Gopal Rao Library Hall, on the Bhoodan Movement.

Shri. C. S. Narayanaswamy Aiyer asked why they should press forward with the movement when the States were bringing forward legislation for land reform. Shri Deo replied that they wished to bring about by peaceful persuasion what the legislation would contemplate.

Sri S Mahalinga Aiyer said that the Bhoodan movement, with its huge organisation and propaganda machinery, itself constituted an indirect form of

coercion or compulsion. Sri Deo pointed out that the religious mutts had their own big organisations and the temples conducted festivals to attract people to their way of thinking and conduct. Just because they were organised, it could not be said that they exercised compulsion. A certain amount of moral persuasion or compulsion might be there, but the point to be noted is that there was no fear of consequences if they did not make any donations.

Replying to a question of Shri M. K. Vaidhyanatha Aiyer, Sri Deo said it had been computed roughly that there were one crore of agricultural workers and to satisfy their land hunger, they hoped to collect five crores of acres of land. The donee will be charged with the responsibility of production and could not alienate his land for a period of 10 years. The State will be the owner of all land and when a donee becomes old or incapacitated, he would have to part with his land, which will go to a more capable and younger man. The old man would be looked after by the village community. For this purpose it was proposed to set apart some lands in each village.

Sri Mahalinga Aiyer contended that there was really no land-hunger as such. What the people really had was the hunger for money, which was now ill-distributed. The need of the hour was not Bhoodan, but "money-dan," he said.

Shri Deo agreed with Shri R. Aravamutha Iyengar that there was need to give some capital also to the donee along with land. But land, being the primary source of production, had been taken up first. Proper redistribution in the other sectors of economy would follow.

★

Addressing a crowded meeting held in the Palace Gardens, under the presidency of His Holiness Arunachala Desika Swamigal of Kundrakudi, to celebrate Bharathi Day, Shri Deo explained the Basic principles of the Bhoodan movement. He said the tiller must be the owner of land and he must save enough to eat and to clothe himself. Instead of yielding to the State's pressure, it would augur well for the future if the landowners voluntarily gave away a portion of their land to help those who worked on it. That would work a psychological revolution and pave the way for a moral regeneration of society. They would be acting in consonance with the Tamil Poet Bharati's ideals if they followed Acharya Vinoba Bhave's movement. Bharati was not of Tamil Nad. only but he was a national poet, of whom every Indian could be proud.

His Holiness the Kunrakudi Swami urged the Tamilians to strive for the early realisation of Bharati's dreams.

On the 20th Sri Deo visited Kuttalam, Vaitheesvarankoil, Tiruvenkadu, Shiyali and Mayuram. He addressed meetings at three places. Sri Deo was the guest of Sri. T. M. Srinivasam Pillai at Tiruvenkadu. He has been taking keen interest in Bhoodan and he announced a total collection of 30 acres for Bhoodan at the meeting.

In the evening the mass meeting at Mayuram for which elaborate arrangements were made was a failure on account of heavy rains. Still the meeting was conducted inside a school.

Sri Deo after visiting Dindigul and other places in Madura District opened the Kadambur Sarvodaya Conference on 24th September.

About one thousand acres of land were received for Bhoodan during a week's tour of Sri Shankarrao Deo in Tamil Nad.

★

The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Conference

Tamil Nad had its first Sarvodaya Conference at Madura in June 1952. Shri Shankarrao Deo opened it and Shri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar presided. The Bhoodan work in Tamil Nad was inaugurated then. Though the target of 2 lakhs of acres is not realised, considerable progress has been made during these two years through the strenuous efforts of Sri S. Jaganathan, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Convener and other Bhoodan workers.

To give further fillip to Bhoodan work a second Sarvodaya Conference was convened in Kadambur availing of the presence of Shri Shankarrao Deo in Tamil Nad. The Conference was held in the village Kadambur in Tinnevely district on 24th and 25th Sep. '54. The credit of organising the Conference at such short notice goes to Shri S. Jagan-

nathan, Bhoodan Convener for Tamil Nad, Sri R. T. P. Subramania Nadar, Bhoodan organiser in Tinnevely Dt., Sri A. P. C. Veerabahu, Sri M. M. Subramaniam, Sri. M. G. Sankara Reddiar and Gramodaya Khadar Sangam of Kadambur.

Shri Shankarrao Deo opened the conference. Sri Vedaratnam Pillai, Sri S. R. Subramanian, of the Praja-Socialist Party, Sri A. Balakrishna Pillai, Representative of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Tamil Nad (for khadi) and Srimati Amrita Ramasubramaniam presided over the different sessions of the conference. There were about 750 Sarvodaya workers including about 250 khadi workers of the Charkha Sangh from all over Tamil Nad. About ten thousand from the neighbouring villages attended the conference.

SARVODAYA SAMAJ.

AIM AND PROGRAMME.

After the demise of Mahatma Gandhi the constructive workers met in a conference in March, 1948 at Sevagram, Wardha, and decided to form a free world organisation, known as the Sarvodaya Samaj. Yet it is not an organisation as generally understood with rules of membership, executive, office bearers and binding decisions. But it is a Samaj of free voluntary brotherhood with the simple obligation to themselves to strive towards the uplift of all in the world through truth and non-violence as the means. The following will give an idea of the objective and work of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

AIM

To strive towards a social order based on Truth and Non-Violence, in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no exploitation of any kind, offering full scope for the development of the individuals as well as groups.

BASIC PRINCIPLE

Insistence on the purity of the Means as that of the Ends.

PROGRAMME

For the achievement of the aim, the following programme will be followed:

1. Communal harmony (fellowship between followers of different faiths and sects).
2. Removal of untouchability.
3. Abolition of class distinctions.
4. Prohibition.
5. Promotion of khadi and other home industries.
6. Village sanitation.
7. Basic Education.
8. Equality of status and right for women.
9. Health and hygiene.
10. Development of provincial languages.
11. Removal of provincialism.
12. Propagation of Hindustani as the national language.
13. Economic equality.
14. Development of agriculture.
15. Organization of labour.
16. Welfare of aboriginals.
17. Organization of students.
18. Service of leprosy patients.
19. Relief-work.
20. Cow protection.
21. Naturopathy.
22. Other similar activities.

BROTHERHOOD

Whoever accepts the above Aim and the Basic Principle and endeavours to

follow them is eligible for the brotherhood of the Samaj. On sending his or her name and address to the Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj, Sevagram, Wardha, he or she will be registered as a "Sevak."

SARVODAYA DAY

The 30th January of every year when Gandhi passed away will be observed at all places as the Sarvodaya day.

SARVODAYA FAIRS

On 12th February, every year fairs will be organized at places where Gandhi's ashes were immersed.

SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

To facilitate mutual contact and exchange of views among the Sevaks, there will be an annual conference in March or April at some place in India.

FUNCTION

The deliberations of the Samaj will be of advisory nature and not mandatory in any way.

Specimen Registration Form

I accept the Aim and the Basic Principles of The Sarvodaya Samaj and will endeavour to follow them in my life. I request that my name be entered in the register as a Sevak of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Signature.

Full name Mr/Mrs/Miss.....

Age.....

Address.....

Educational & other qualifications.....

Detail of activities (to be appended separately).

Those who desire to have their names registered, are requested to send this specimen form filled up to the Secretary, The Sarvodaya Samaj, Buniyadhi Gang P. O., Gaya (India)

SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 4

DECEMBER 1954

No. 6

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The Religion of Non-violence.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *Rishis* and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as the violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For, *satyagraha* and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The *rishis*, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

(Selections from Gandhi—by
Nirmal Kumar Bose—page 142.)

THE TAMILNAD SARVODAYA CONFERENCE (Contd)

Constructive workers working in Khadi, Hindi Prachar, Kasthurba service, Harijan service, Sarvodaya publications etc., participated in the discussions.

It was suggested at the conference to constitute a Sarva Seva Sangh for Tamil Nad for co-ordinating the different constructive activities for working for the common ideal of Sarvodaya order of Society.

The remarkable success of the Sarvodaya Conference is an indication of the extent of propaganda done for Sarvodaya in Tamil Nad during the last few years.



Sri Jaiprakash Narain's Bhoodan Tour in Kerala

The Pro-socialist leader, Sri Jaiprakash Narain began his Bhoodan tour in Kerala on the 23rd September 1954. He started the yatra from Khangankad, the northernmost limit of north Malabar. There he addressed a huge meeting. Sri Ekkanda Varier, the convenor of the Kerala Bhoodan Samithi, announced a donation of 178 acres for the day. From there Sri Jaiprakash proceeded south, addressed meetings at Payyanur, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Tirur, Palaghat and many other important places and every where he was accorded rousing reception. On the 27th Sep. he completed his tour of the Malabar district. This district in the course of his tour offered 4263 acres in all. With the 2000 acres received already, the total contribution from Kerala till now has reached 24,263 acres.



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THE TAMILNAD KHADI WORKERS MEETING

There was a meeting of khadi workers of Tamil Nad at Tirupur on the 12th and 13th September when Sri A. W. Sahasrabudhe, Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh was present. There was a free discussion about the recent developments in the khadi work in Tamilnad and about the future policy.

Some of the staff offered Bhoodan to the extent of 18 acres while others offered a portion of their monthly salaries as Sampatti-dan.

During the last two months the workers of many Khadi Vastralayas are devoting their weekly holidays in doing propaganda in the neighbouring villages for Bhoodan and Sarvodaya.



TO SARVODAYA MANDALS

We would suggest the following programme:

1. A weekly meeting for study and discussion on the various aspects of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan Yagna ideology.

2. A small library of Sarvodaya literature. The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam will help in selecting the books.

3. A weekly programme of Community Spinning.

4. Arrange to sell Gandhian literature and Bhoodan booklets.

5. Participation in the Bhoodan Yatra Parties and helping in the collection of land-gifts.

PLEASE NOTE:

The Change of Address
From 1st October 1954

as

Sarvodaya Prachuralayam

19, Sivajinagar, — TANJORE.

SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

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LAND AND ALL PROPERTY IS HIS WHO WILL WORK IT.
UNFORTUNATELY THE WORKERS ARE OR HAVE BEEN KEPT
IGNORANT OF THIS SIMPLE FACT.

--Mahatma-- Harijan 2-1-37.

954
4-54

A

Monthly

Digest

for

Sarvodaya

&

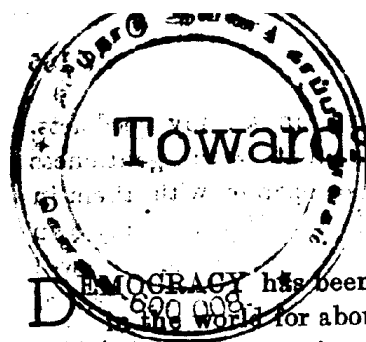
Bhoodan Yagna



ANNUAL
SUBS: Rs. 3.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, TANJORE.

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As. 4.



Towards A State-Free Society.

(VINOBHA)

DEMOCRACY has been on experiment in the world for about a century. It has been countenancing many conflicts with the several prevailing forms of Government.

With the advent of this new political thought many parties began to appear on the scene. Differences began to arise among the thinkers on the one hand and the statesmen on the other, as regards the ideological approach as well as actual working. Ideological difference is of course a healthy sign of life and it is welcome. But if such differences lead to party differences and divisions, the workers will become less concerned with the ideal and more concerned with the party organisation, its set-up, discipline and propaganda. This has resulted in a great deal of fuss and furore in the political field throughout the world.

One need not worry much about this sad state of political affairs if the field is narrow and circumscribed. Today it has become so extensive that it has begun to encroach and engulf all aspects of human life in society. In such a large field where rivalry exists, not merely in the different ideological approaches, but also in the conflicting attitudes, practices and procedures, the evolution and progress of human mind will get arrested and hampered.

Hence my attempt is to create a band of Sevaks (workers) which will not have any party label. It will be above all sects, parties, isms, conventions and practices. It will be an assembly of pure, impartial and free-thinking individuals who will serve people as man to man. You may

call them a set of workers, or an assembly of self-less servants, or even an association of ascetics; my attempt is in this direction alone.

In every country there are people who are known as 'humanitarians'. They feel for their fellow-men. Moved by kindness they take a compassionate attitude on those who suffer and serve them in order to give relief. But they do not think deeply about all aspects of life. They keep apart from politics and social science. Mere sympathetic and humanitarian considerations are the motive force in them. Humanitarian work is indeed high and good. It is beneficial to society and helpful in elevating the human mind. Therefore it is quite welcome.

But I will not be satisfied with mere humanitarian service. The band of workers I have in view will engage themselves not only in humanitarian service, but will think of all aspects of human life and serve mankind in all walks of life. They will yearn and work to transform the politics of the State into the politics of the people. They will endeavour to remove all the bitterness that is there today in society and establish the peoples' justice. In short, they will have a clear understanding that their Dharma enjoins them not only to do philanthropic work but to serve mankind as a whole in all walks of life. They will place before the people the defects and vices that they notice in the different parties and among the officials of the State. They will welcome and respect whatever is good in them. All their efforts will be directed to obliterate all party differences and to establish a society

transcending all party affiliations and labels. This is not a new State policy; neither do I desire to name it as such for the State itself will get merged in the general society. What we call now 'the State' will get so decentralized that in the end it will ultimately wither away.

This process of decentralization shall begin from even today. The centralized power will get distributed by degrees which in turn will enter and permeate into every individual with the result the ruling authority will vest in the hands of every one. Each individual will then himself become the State as well as the subject. The ruler and the ruled will have met and merged in the individual. 'I am my own governor, and I am my own servant. Every one else will try to point out my defects and mistakes; still they will all

co-operate with me in all my good acts. I too will point out with gentleness their errors and co-operate with them in all their good actions. Yet I am my own master and my own servant; and they will be their own masters and servants. All of us are brothers, colleagues and friends. All of us are born for the same end. This does not mean that there shall not be any difference in our points of view. It means that there should be unity of heart though not unity at intellectual level.

The power to feel is equal in all. It pertains to the heart. Such virtues as generosity, renunciation, sacrifice, kindness, love, friendship can all be there in equal degrees in all hearts. Equal faith in all these, every one should have and that will bring in the heart unity.

(Free rendering from Hindi.)



THE BASIC EDUCATION.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD.

Addressing the 10th All-India Basic Education Conference at Sanosra on November 13th, 1954, President Rajendra Prasad indicated the directions in which the present system of education should be changed radically in favour of Basic Education as conceived by Gandhiji.

MY own view is that unless fundamental changes are made in the current system, the sad state of affairs that we see to-day will become sadder. The feeling of discontent among the educated and utter dissatisfaction with life will continue to grow. I would, therefore, urge that all those concerned with the education of children—our educationists, the universities, the governing bodies of colleges and schools and Education Ministers—to give not only theoretical consideration to this problem, but to do something practical to

change the present system of education. Unless this is done the problem would become more and more complicated,

There is a wide-spread demand for educational facilities in the country now. In 1911-12, when Burma and Pakistan were also parts of India, there were 186 universities and colleges in India, as compared with 537 in 1948-49, though Burma and Pakistan had separated, leaving India smaller in area and population. The number of secondary schools in 1911-12 was

6,370 whereas the corresponding figure for 1948-49 was 14,342. Again, while in 1911-12 the total number of students studying for the Intermediate, B. A. and B. Sc. was 31,974, the number of M. A. and M. Sc. students alone in 1948-49 went up to 2,14,677, out of whom 23,058 were girls. As many as 62,495 students graduated from Indian universities in 1951-52. In the years, which followed, this number went up still higher. One result of this spread of education was that lots of educated people found themselves unemployed, a large majority of them averse to taking up their parental occupations.

According to Gandhiji, as far as I understood him, there are two basic merits in this new system. Firstly, education in it is imparted not merely through books, but through some kind of practical work so that the knowledge which children acquire is not the result of mere memorising but of actual experience. He thought, and some of the leading educationists were at one with him, that knowledge acquired in this way created a sort of consciousness, efficiency and a feeling of self-reliance, all of which should come handy to one at the time of actual struggle, in life. The other merit, according to Gandhiji, in this system is that it brings education for all within the pale of practical possibility, because the handicrafts on which children would be working would bring some return in terms of money, which would go, at least in part, to meet the expenses of their education. He was convinced that unless young scholars made this contribution towards their own education, universal education in India would never be possible.

Educationists had admitted the utility of the new system but considered the

children's contribution towards their education as not only impossible but undesirable. Our experience, on the other hand has demonstrated both the utility as well as the practicability of the system.

It is a pity that the new system has not received the encouragement which it deserved and which could have been given to it after the achievement of Independence.

As far as I can say, the reason is that although the utility of the new system has been proved, our faith in the old system of education remains unshaken. That is also why most of those who are engaged in the work of education have not given much thought to the new system. All that I can say is that even to-day the new system has not gone beyond the experimental stage. Our Government has not decided to popularise it as a part of its Constructive Programme, let alone doing anything practical for it. I know that in the various conferences we have had so far, resolutions have been adopted in favour of it and the Government agreed that the new system should be adopted, but actually it had not been done. Our experience in the sphere of Primary and Secondary Education has been successful and we can confidently recommend the new system to our countrymen for these two stages. I cannot say the same in respect of higher education in view of the inadequacy of our experience.

I am very happy that the Talimi Sangh has been carrying on its work undeterred by difficulties and that whatever is being done by it is of great value for the country.



A Peoples' Plan for Villages.

VINOBA

THE poor men of the village Kamtaul of Darbhanga District presented to Vinobaji a letter which reads as follows:

"We, the poor people of this area, want that in lieu of free rations which are being distributed to us, we must be given work to do."

Referring to this Acharya Vinoba said in his post-prayer address, "This letter signifies the nobleness of our great heritage. Our ancestors had taught us that nobody should eat without doing work. Our people followed this in practice. But gradually they forgot this lesson and began to live upon the labour of others, and did not hesitate to accept free rations. But the poor people do hesitate and I am glad they demand work. But it must be clearly understood as to who should give them work. I learn that old and used clothes are being sent by the rich to the flood affected area by way of relief. But they—the rich people of Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi who always come forward offering charity—do not want that *Charkha* should run in every home, and that the consumption of mill cloth should decrease. They are anxious that their mills *should work* and their cloth *sold*, part of which they want to give in charity. They do want to oblige the poor but do not give them their due right. They want to keep the poor deprived of their birth-right. *It is the natural right of the poor* that they should not be deprived of their own occupations. But those who offer only relief want the poor to produce the raw material for them and to purchase their finished goods. They are not prepared to let the poor stand on their own feet. Such charity is not true charity. It is like

throwing crumbs before a beggar. The poor are equal citizens with the rich. But the rich people want the poor to work on their farms and factories on their own terms. They want to treat them as bullocks. But I submit that they are men and they should be treated as such."

"May I ask you whether you would like to work as bullocks or as men. You must hold meetings in your villages and pass resolutions declaring that the Indian peasant cannot survive on the basis of agriculture alone and that you would use only village-made goods and boycott mill products. As a Hindu abstains from beef and a Muslim from pork, howsoever cheap they might be, so also you must resolve to abstain from mill cloth. Unless you produce your own cloth, so also Gur and oil etc., there is no hope for you. Mahatma Gandhi said it long ago. More than six years have gone since he passed away. Yet we have not given a practical shape to his suggestions. The Government did a lot of planning, but it resulted in more unemployment. Well, it may go on as it likes. But it would realise the significance of the Mahatma's immortal message without delay.

"You say that Bihar is Gandhiji's province. But I find that almost all of you are putting on mill cloth. I regard you all as naked. I wonder what prevents you from preparing your own cloth. The English have gone but their system continues. That is why our people know nothing to supplement agriculture. Of course, they can break stones for road making. And what are these roads for? To carry on loot—to dump mill products in the village market and to take away

the raw produce from there. So you are digging your own grave. I appeal to you to become self-reliant and self-sufficient. You must turn the raw materials produced in your villages into finished goods and consume it in your homes."

"Redistribute the land in the village on family basis and prepare finished goods in the village itself. Let you all take a vow

not to use mill-made goods. Make use of the brain that God has given you and respect the lesson taught by the Mahatma. This will bring you all peace and happiness."

(FROM SRI SURESH RAMABHAI'S REPORT.)

(Adapted from the original in Hindi.)
19th Sep. 1954.



Sarvodaya - The Rule of All.

VINOBA

THERE are several powers working in the world today. Among them is the power of the sword which has now taken the shape of the Atom and Hydrogen bombs. The power is the same; only its form has been magnified to a staggering degree. The old small form won't serve anymore. Even the stars and the moon are rendered insignificant with the arrival of the sun. When man wielded sword he had some command over it. But in the face of these new stupendous forms, he has become the victim instead. Therefore, we cannot rely on it any more, for we cannot control it at our will. If we teach our children to obey the rod they will carry out the behest of those who can threaten them. Consequently, they will succumb to the Atom bomb. On the other hand, if they are taught to turn into practice what they actually follow and to develop the soul force in them they would be able to face all devils and bombs. If we oppress others we are sure to be oppressed by others."

"Another power is that of money. These days money can purchase one man or kill another. Some, by mistake, believe

that money fulfils religion. They regard money synonymous with *Lakshmi*. The truth is just the reverse. *Lakshmi* symbolises productive labour power. While money exploits life, *Lakshmi* preserves it. As we require labour power to face money, we require soul-power to face the Atom-bomb.

"The third power is that of the intellect which can be utilised both for good and evil. If we use it for evil we reduce our strength and endanger peace. But if we make use of it with love, distribute *Lakshmi* with love and face violence with love, we can raise our strength. The power of love is there in all, old or young, weak or strong. The power of sword, money or intellect is only with a few but that of love is with all. For, every body is trained in the school of love ever since birth. The schools of today are not open to all. But everybody attends the God-designed school of love. There is universal education of love. If we utilise the power of love we can establish the rule of all, i. e., *Sarvodaya*".

"Take, for example, Russia. There is not the rule of people there, for the powers

they resort to, are those of sword, money and intellect (half evil and half good). In America, there is said to be democracy which is, in fact, not there. All power rests in the hands of a few. The military man is there at the top and with his few advisers, he runs the whole administration. Thus there is no country where peoples' rule is a reality. The reason is that nowhere has been employed such a power as is universal and all-accessible. People ask me: how long would you go on asking for gifts? I say: how long would you go on trying the sword which has been there for the last ten thousand years but peace is nowhere visible? When you will realise that it is only the power of love which should be employed henceforth, you will not ask the question. Only then you will understand the significance of Bhoodan Yagna.

Intellect, money and sword have been tried long, long enough. But now both the experience of history and the development of science teach us that power of love alone should be employed in our activities, and dealings. I strongly hold to this view and submit that through love-power alone we can do anything successfully. Bhoodan Yagna is based on love-power and seeks to develop it. Bhoodan also offers the way to self realisation. But the condition is that there should be no conceit or pride in us. We have to be eternally on our guard."

(LAUKAHI, DARBHANGA DISTRICT.)

4th Oct. 1954.

(FROM SRI SURESH RAMABHAI'S REPORT)

(Adapted from the original in Hindi.)



A Revolution in Social Life.

SRI SURESH RAMABHAI

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE reached the village Koriapatti in Tribeniganj thana in Saharsa district this morning. Addressing the post prayer meeting he observed that history bore witness to the fact that man was continuously progressing and changing old habits. His psychology was also undergoing a consistent change for the better. His heart was also changing. He added, "Bhoodan Yagna seeks to change the heart to transform life. It does not consist in merely offering a few acres of land, but in bringing about fundamental changes in the behaviour of man in the society. It calls on him to cast off the feeling of 'my - mine' and 'thy - thine'. The saints of yore also stressed upon this idea. But what happened was that those who practised it were cut off from the society. They did a lot of penance and

sacrifice. But few as they were, those who had given up all attachment, '*the mamata-rahit*' became a class by themselves. Thus there came into being two classes in the society, viz., '*mamata-rahit*' and '*mamata-yukt*' i. e., those who had cast off attachment and those who had not. The former commanded social esteem but their support and maintenance was carried on by the latter. Thus no change could be effected in the life of man as such. Whence the social order was also left untouched. It is clear, therefore, that when I insist on an abandonment of the feeling of 'my - mine' and 'thy - thine' it is not a mere echo of the past. What is significant is that nobody is to quit from the society. They have to cast off attachment and yet remain in the society. Bhagvan Krishna in the Gita, asked Arjuna

to fight with detachment. Gita does not at all encourage the two classes, viz., those who work with attachment and those with detachment. Gita preaches a uniform life with balance and non-attachment. The time has now come to shape life in such a pattern. We have to build up 'mamata-rahit' cum - vyavaharic' (detached and practical) life. We have to work for a life far better and more comfortable than the one at present."

Acharyaji went on, "The need for utterly selfless souls is as great to-day as ever. But they have to face their ordeal in the society itself. Suppose there is an ounce of curd. In case it is left untouched, it will get rotten. But if it is added to milk, the latter also turns into curd. So also when some people lead a selfless life outside the bounds of the society, they include some hypocrites too, far worse than the ordinary house-holder. Hence the experiment of selfless life is to be conducted within the society. Non-possession would be the guiding star. Productive physical labour would be the order of the day. Every house would be a bank and everybody would pride in giving rather than in taking. All this is to be built up on the basis of 'Vyapak-Vairagya' (extended stoicism).

'In the capitalist society', human virtues like capital came to be privately owned. Stoicism was associated with the *Sadhu*, truth with the *Rishi* and non-violence with the *Yogi*. There was ownership in the domain of virtues. Now this ownership has also to be cast off and these qualities are to be made the property of the whole society. What does the Brahmin do? He will bathe fifty times and yet not touch others. He won't tolerate filth

but never cleans it. He has owned the virtue of cleanliness but refuses to clean. What about the *Kshatriyas*? They will protect but not equip others so as to protect themselves. Thus we find the unfortunate spectacle of capitalization of human virtues in a capitalistic order. None cared to build up the whole society on these virtues. This is, however, the task to be done now."

The Acharya further remarked "For this task must come forward people who offer their life for the cause. From every village must come two or three or more people inspired with this spirit and plunge themselves to build up the society. The whole society is to be turned into one of *Jivan danies*. Therein everybody would live and work, not for the sake of self but for that of the society. To-day, it is just the reverse. The real servants go unacknowledged while those who draw huge salaries Rupees a thousand or more are regarded as servants and as members of services. We have Govt. services military service etc. So also bus-service. Those who depend on others are hailed as servants while those who stand on their own feet not so. All this has to be changed, root and branch. The *Gita* would then be the "book of the people. At present the penal code occupies that position. Today few are '*parmarthi*' or philanthropic people while the rest, large in number, are greedy and worthless. This is capitalistic distinction, which must needs be eliminated. Could you grasp this truth and live it in practice, you will be able to usher in a revolution in the shortest possible time. Mere slipshod work from without is no revolution."

(Adapted from the original in Hindi.)
18th Oct. 1954.



Yarn Offering and Sarvodaya.

VINOBAJI'S APPEAL.

THE more I reflect over the idea of Sutanjali the more I realize the tremendous power which lies hidden in this programme, as also the huge effort which would be needed to promote its spread among our people.

Outwardly, it appears to be the most ordinary thing to offer—just one hank of yarn to the country in a year. But it must be of the donor's own hand-spun yarn and the yarn must be of good quality. Besides, it has to be secured from every man and every year. When these conditions are taken into account and their implications understood, we begin to see the almost infinite scope for work which it will provide to us once it gets into stride.

The idea came to be adopted first at Shivrapalli where it was decided that as a small beginning we should collect two and a half lakh hanks from all over the country. It has taken us three years to fulfil that modest decision. In the first year only one lakh hanks were collected; in the second, one and half lakh; and this year two and a half lakh. It is a matter of satisfaction that albeit after three years we could fulfil our resolve. We have now to go ahead. I feel that 30 lakh hanks of yarn at the rate of one hank per hundred persons could well be taken to be the proper target now.

A friend told me that it was doubtful if there were such a large number of spinners in the country. To which another replied that there must be because in the 1930 movement TAKLI had entered every village. The first one replied, that was long ago. Now we must take it that we would be required to teach spinning to the people in order to obtain so many hanks. ★

It is clear that spinning will have to be taught to our people under any circumstances. Without spinning, the Indian Kisan shall not survive. To take an instance, I am at present touring the flood-stricken parts of Bihar. The question which forces itself on one's attention is, what work can help them to tide over their suffering? Charkha is the only and the inevitable answer to this question. Again, the Kisan has no work for the whole year—he remains absolutely unemployed for some months. What are we going to do about it? I had therefore said to the Government (I do not ordinarily ask anything of the Government; I place my demand before the society which includes the Government) that everyone—be he a villager or a city-dweller—must be taught spinning as a national discipline.

To resume, besides teaching spinning we will also have to plan for approaching all. Approaching all so as to educate them in our views and work is a task which is as important for the success of Bhoodan as in this case. It is so big that no organisation can accomplish it. It can be accomplished only through faith and dedication. For that we will need to seek co-operation from all.

All people working in the various constructive work institutions, in which I include also the workers in Gram-panchayats and the teachers in schools, must acquire proficiency in spinning and spin daily. I expect all of them to work for the spread of Sutanjali.

The offering of Sutanjali is a first step towards Sarvodaya.

(From Hindi.)

The War Resisters' International.

J. C. KUMARAPPA.

THE War Resisters' International held their triennial conference this year in Paris from the 29th July to the 2nd August. It dealt with various aspects of their work and considered their future programme. Here we shall content ourselves with just a summary of their proceedings in so far as it touched the Gandhian programme.

The conference was opened by Mr. A. J. Muste of the U. S. A. He pointed out that in the main the world was divided into two camps, both military, and bent on achieving peace by driving fear into the enemy. Both aimed at material welfare based on the well-being of their own nationals. From the economic point of view, one was communistic and the other largely capitalistic. Both of them thought that success could be attained only by overthrowing the other.

The large majority of the human family did not wish to align themselves with either of these parties but were earnestly seeking a third way to peace based, not on violence, fear and hatred, but on non-violence, co-operation and understanding. There was a growing demand for idealism, spiritual consideration and moral values. This way alone could lead us to lasting peace and progress while the other two would certainly end in annihilating all we cherished as civilisation.

Gandhiji showed us this third way based on love. He actually demonstrated its power in the field of politics by leading India to its liberation from the grip of the world's mightiest empire. The plan laid out by Gandhiji had yet to be worked out in all its detail on the economic and social

spheres. Might this not be the answer to the demand for the third camp?

Mr. Fenner Brockway followed up this thought with the details of Gandhiji's political programme and showed how Gandhiji was able to draw out strength even from the illiterate and apparently weak women and children.

Even now, though India had not adopted the Gandhian way fully, yet a great measure of the power and influence it wielded was in no small degree due to the strategy laid down by Gandhiji. Nehru was undoubtedly a great personality in himself, but it would not be denying any credit due to him if we attributed the power of his strength to his being the spokesman of the voiceless millions who followed Gandhiji and to India's striving for this third camp based on spiritual and moral values.

From what had happened in India, it would appear that industrial development was no longer what gave strength to a nation. A higher type of power could be developed by this third camp.

Leadership would hereafter lie with the food growing countries, for in the final analysis we must depend on food growers as we cannot eat nuts and bolts! Hence we must turn to this third camp for the attainment of Peace.

Already the young leadership in the various countries, which had hitherto been mere colonies of the industrially developed countries, was turning eagerly to this third way. In that alone lay the salvation of the world.

The main feature of the Gandhian programme was explained by Mr. Horace Alexander. He said that Mr. Fenner Brockway had rightly emphasised the crucial place occupied by the food growers. Gandhiji put all his weight on helping the primary producers. He wanted people to depend on their own efforts. In all relief measures sponsored by him he advocated self-help and self-confidence. He insisted on self-reliance for success. However much foreign aid might relieve the situation such help could not form a permanent feature in a nation's existence. The Charkha was for him primarily a symbol of self-reliance.

He did help industrial labour but only as part of his welfare scheme for all. He was mainly concerned with primary producers. This was demonstrated by his charka and Village Industries programme.

After his mortal life ended, Sri Vinoba Bhave, one of his close disciples, extended this third way of life to land, from which all life draw its sustenance. The Bhoodan Movement calling for voluntary gifts of land, was one of the revolutionary programmes based on the third way of life. It was gathering momentum at a rate bewildering in its immensity. It was reaching out to the millions who had remained unaffected till now. When all this non-violent power for peace was marshalled who could withstand it?

My task was to supplement the previous speakers and to show that Gandhiji's programme was made up of two integral parts. The first one was to build up and strengthen the individual and the organisation. The other was to get him to share his life with the less privileged.

The first part of it was sought to be achieved by the constructive programme of Khadi and Village Industries and Basic Education. The second found expression in Harijan uplift. One attains one's ful-

ness, not merely by developing oneself but by sharing one's life with one's fellow-men. It is this latter part of the Gandhian programme of sharing that is being worked out by Vinobaji today. Building without sharing lacks purpose, for as a matter of fact there can be no real building up of personality without sharing. When construction and sharing go thus together they generate to the full the power of non-violence. No technical force based on physical energy can overcome such a power, and it is along this way that our salvation and the peace of the world lie.

In certain quarters in the West there is much appreciation of the Bhoodan movement but the spirit of it remains untranslated into action as they have not yet found the counterpart of it in industrialised countries. They express their sympathy but have no land to donate. A programme like Bhoodan need not be copied in all its entirety. What is essential is to give vent to the spirit of sharing.

In the West, the machinery for sharing exists but it is brought into play from the wrong end and so has resulted in exploitation and violence. What is wanted is to adapt in such a way this machinery for sharing that it will generate non-violence.

This machinery for sharing as developed in the West has three parts. The first in the price mechanism, the second labour unions, and third, propaganda, advertisement and high pressure salesmanship. All these are now used to exploit and extract an undue share of material wealth for oneself. If this same machinery is put on the reverse gear it can be used for sharing in such a way as to promote non-violence and social harmony.

1 PRICE MECHANISM.

The middle men fix prices with a view to increasing customers. By larger

turnover and a low price they hope to increase their own gains. Consequently they cut down the share of the price that should go to the primary producer and leave him with hardly enough to support himself. In price fixing the producer of the raw materials should have a voice. His share should be calculated on the basis of what he requires to maintain himself and his family all through the year on a reasonable standard of living. A great many primary producers, like the landless in India, are starving. Such a situation cannot be tolerated in an equalitarian society and if left unremedied for a long time will end in violence.

If the price includes enough for the raw material producer and if this extra has to be paid by the consumer such price is bound to be high. So there will be fewer consumers involving a loss to middlemen. Consequently giving a due share to the raw material producer will entail a sacrifice on the part of both middlemen and consumers. This is the sharing that has to be accomplished through the price mechanism. At present, the less industrialised and under-developed countries are left at the mercy of highly industrialised countries and are being impoverished steadily. This situation also calls for justice and fairplay. Will the industrialised countries be prepared to part with their illgotten share?

2. LABOUR UNIONS

The function performed by labour unions to extract an increased share for labour, by collective bargaining, by organising strikes etc. is somewhat suicidal and is largely based on force and coercion. Such sharing should be brought about through voluntary means by mutual understanding and negotiation. Will the employers be reasonable enough to mete out justice and reduce their own share of profits?

3. PROPAGANDA, ADVERTISING AND SALESMANSHIP

At present various dubious methods are used in telling half truths and white lies to dupe the public, by advertising goods to be what they are not. Unwary customers are thus made to part with their purchasing power for unneeded goods or even for unwanted articles. Honesty has to be introduced in the place of high pressure salesmanship, and enslaving devices like the part payment system should be abandoned if customers are to live within their means. This calls for vigilance and proper education of the public and national workers. If the War Resisters' International can organise itself to serve the primary producer and the consumer by disseminating correct information regarding articles put out for sale, it will go a long way in introducing the spirit of Bhoodan in highly industrialised countries, the spirit namely of sharing equitably the gains of industry. To serve in this way we need character and courage. This work is bound to create opposition from vested interests at least in the beginning. Are we ready to face the situation and abide by the consequences in the interests of a great cause?

By these means we shall be filling up also the gap that exists in wealth and opportunities between the so called industrialised and the under-developed countries. Such a course will remove discontent and ease the tension which are the fruitful causes of war. It is only such fundamental reorganisation of our economic order that can bring in lasting peace. We cannot afford to lose time and effort on makeshift arrangements that will break down at the first approach of any stress or strain on the various component parties. This way is worth pursuing if we desire permanent peace. Are we prepared to pay the price?

(Grama Udyog Patrika)
Sep. 54.

Authority and Freedom in Ancient Asian World.

HU SHIH,

[President of the National Peking University, Peiping—(now of New York).]

We are indebted to the Columbia University for reproducing this extract from the book "MAN'S RIGHT TO KNOWLEDGE" an international symposium published in honour of the Bicentennial of the University. The Sarvodaya ideal of a State-Free-Society or philosophical anarchism is not a new one. It was preached and lived in Asia from the ancient times.

IN an age of frequent wars, economic barriers, heavy taxation, and conscript service, it is not surprising that Chinese political thinking should begin with a philosophical protest against too much government, an anarchistic war-cry against too much restriction and interference. This protest came from the philosopher Lao-tze, of the sixth century B. C., who cried out in indignation:

"Why are the people starving? Because those above them eat up too much tax-grains, that is why they are starving. Why are the people hard to rule? Because, those above them interfere too much. That is why they are hard to rule."

"There are more and more restrictions and taboos, but the people are becoming poorer than ever. More and more laws and ordinances are being promulgated, but there are more thieves and robbers than ever."

Therefore, says Lao-tze, let the rulers learn from "The Way of Heaven". "The Way of Heaven does nothing, yet there is nothing that remains undone". "All things become so of themselves: that is the Way of Heaven and of Nature, and that should be the way of Government". So sang the wise man of old:

"I do nothing, and the people will of themselves be transformed."

"I love quietude, and the people will of themselves go straight."

"I do not interfere, and the people will of themselves be prosperous."

Do nothing (*wu-wei*), therefore, is his theory of Government. "The best kind of Government," says he, "is one whose existence is barely noticed by the people. The next is one which is beloved and praised. The next is one which is feared. And the next is one which is despised".

So, twenty-five centuries ago, Lao-tze, was preaching the political theory that that government is best which governs least—a theory of non-interference, non-assertion, *laissez faire*.

This extremely negative political philosophy must be understood as a timely protest against too much government. And precisely because it was a timely protest of the age, it has had great influence over Chinese political thought and institutions throughout the centuries.

Confucius (551-479 B. C.), who once studied under Lao-tze, was a more practical thinker and made his great contribution to Chinese political development by his devotion to education. He was fond of describing himself as "one who is never satiated of learning and never tired of teaching men".

"Men," says Confucius, "are near to each other by nature: it is learning and practice that set them apart. Only the highest intelligence and the lowest stupidity cannot change." "With education, there will be no classes." That is his democratic philosophy of education based on the equal teachability of men.

The political significance of the educational movement led by Confucius and his school lies in the fact that they always conceived the objective of education as the cultivation of the individual for the service of society. In words of Confucius, it is "to cultivate one's self so that he may give peace and happiness to all the people."

As one who has a mission to give peace to the people the scholar "must carry himself with a sense of shame"; "he must not seek to live at the expense of degrading his human dignity; he may at times even sacrifice his life in order to preserve his dignity"

One of his great disciples has best expressed this ideal: "The scholar must needs be big-hearted and perseverant, for

his burden is heavy and his journey is long. Humanity is the burden he places on himself: isn't that a heavy burden? And death alone ends his toils: isn't that a long journey?"

Mencius, of the fourth century B. C., also often spoke of the scholar as having the moral responsibility of taking upon himself the burden of the world

Confucius did not propound any original political theory, but he founded an educational system which taught men the arts of self-cultivation and public service and the sense of social responsibility, so that in time they might help to bring about a peaceful revolution in the shape of active participation in government by a larger and larger number of qualified commoners.



Peace Through Politics of Brotherhood.

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

"WE are interested not only in our objectives, but in our methods, not only in what we achieve, but in how we achieve it. Through peaceful, constitutional processes we won our independence and integrated our country and we are now striving to raise the material standards of our people.

"Even if these methods are slow and cumbersome, we hope they will be speedy and effective. Even if we meet defeat in our attempt to replace force by persuasion, politics of power by politics of brotherhood, we are convinced that defeats will be only temporary, for goodness is rooted in the nature of things; kindness and love are as contagious as unkindness and hate.

"Our past traditions and our recent history demonstrate that lasting results are achieved by peaceful methods. We must not cut knots with a sword, but we must have patience to untie them.

"In this atomic age we feel it is foolish, if not dangerous, to fall short of patience and sense of proportion.

"No society is static; no law is unchanging; and no constitution is permanent. Given time and patience, radical changes may happen both in human nature and in systems of society which reflect human nature."

(From his address on 17-11-'54 to the U. S. Senate, Washington.)

Land is Indivisible.

WENDAL BULL

MANAS, the well known American Weekly has published an analytical article under the above title written by Mr. Wendal Bull in its issue dated July 21, 1954. The writer has advanced many arguments similar to those of Vinobaji for Bhoodan. He has enumerated '22 propositions as pertinent for a psychological revolution as a pre-requisite to adequate understanding of the economic aspect of our social organisations'. The article is presented here in a condensed and adapted form, so that those who are already familiar with the Bhoodan Yagna can easily follow. (Italics our own.)

ONE of the least understood aspects of commercial civilizations is the system of distributing wealth wherein the domination of mercenary and predatory principles is conceded by many. Obvious inefficiency and shamefully inequitable results in distribution are commonly charged to the account of human nature.

One's mind needs to be consciously liberated from certain habitual attitudes. I would propose a *psychological revolution* as a pre-requisite to adequate understanding of the economic aspect of our social organisation. The following propositions seem pertinent for this revolution in thinking.

Man the dominant concern.

If we aspire a *social organisation of the people, by the people and for the people*, then people and the quality of human relations must become our central concern in a new understanding of economics. Tradition says wealth is the chief object of concern in economics. But I cannot conscientiously accept it as it would then relegate men and their relations to an inconsequential phenomena.

Economics may be defined as pertaining to relations of men in their efforts to make a

living. Economics does not begin with the production of commodities. But it pertains to the arrangement for sharing them when two or more want the same thing at the same time.

Claims to Natural Resources equal.

All have indispensable and equal claims to Natural Resources. Men use the Earth in two ways: (a) by occupying for dwelling, for producing, for commerce and (b) by consuming parts of the mineral, vegetable and animal fruits of the Earth.

The primitive men have a tribal and communal economy by use of physical force to settle conflicting claims to these Natural Resources. This can be called pre-political economy.

Psychologically mature men will build a humanitarian economy which can be named as a post-political economy. It is the 'fallen' or 'lost' man, the *ego-centric man who built a political economy in which some rule and exploit others*.

When conflicting claims to Natural Resources are settled by agreement there will be a basis for a *post-political, a non-coercive, and a non-exploitative economy*. In such an economy order prevails not by

compulsive or punitive means but by consensus of agreement by all persons concerned.

Land invaluable and indivisible.

As access to land and consumption of parts thereof are *a priori* condition of existence, land is infinitely precious and invaluable. Hence it cannot be shared equally as valuables. There is a certain inchoate right to all of the fullness of the Earth. Therefore there can be no question of compensation in terms of valuables as precious land is invaluable.

The land cannot be equally divided among men; and there is no more need to think of such a division than there is to think of dividing the air or the sunshine. The land is therefore Indivisible; when human work is impressed upon land the result is a product of a commodity or improved land.

Not Law, but human acts to decide rights.

Equal rights to life cannot indeed be secured among men some of whom hold exclusive titles to the land, the elemental means of existence, while others have access only through payment of rent or taxes.

Social freedom cannot come in full unless the principle of equal rights is extended to amend our property system. The rights and responsibilities of ownership must originate in the human acts of producing human satisfactions. And not through fiat of law or governmental edict enforceable by courts or the military.

Men cannot rightfully assert the title to what men cannot produce.

Labour and not wealth, the real Capital.

Capital is itself composed of two factors, natural resources and human exertion. *It is not, as commonly taught, a*

third prime factor in the production of wealth.

When two or more share in the work for production the problem of distribution comes in the sharing of the results. Then there is the need for evaluation. Traditionally human work has been evaluated as if it were a commodity. This is a reflection of the *assumption that wealth rather than man is the dominant concern in economics.*

Human value to decide cost.

I propose that work be evaluated in terms of a *universally precious human value, a value which is involved as a human element of cost in every good and service produced and a similar value in every good and service consumed.*

As between the management and labour the measure of value fails in the evaluative process. It does not distinguish between human costs and benefits on the one hand and the appropriative power on the other hand. *Thus there is the efficient technique of mal-distribution.*

All productive work involves the expenditure of parts of the lifetime of the producer. Their free-time is limited to the extent of their living-time spent at work for others. There is an element of human cost common to all types of work. *A worker's freedom in the economy is directly contingent upon the living-time spent in working for others as compared with the measure of living-time that others spend in working for him.*

Throughout history, men have repeatedly lost the freedom gained by the efforts of their predecessors because material possessions and security seemed more precious than either the freedom won or the greater freedom attainable.

In the language of political economists, the word 'value' has four distinguishable meanings. They are, *Utility-value, Exchange-value, Exploitative-value and Market-value.*

The empowerment of the human will.

Each value gives an empowerment of the human will. Coal-ash, which has normally no value will have utility-value in empowering the man's will to walk across glare ice without slipping. Exchange-value helps the man to make a better-living and have more freedom by way of division of work and exchange of products than he could secure by his individual efforts.

One earns this kind of empowerment by working to satisfy another's wants through his special abilities. He in turn receives work done to him by others in different line. This exchange between individuals is equally true of families or communities.

Appropriative value, the power to lawful robbery.

There is the appropriative or exploitative-value, which empowers the man's will to take more work from others than he renders to them in return. *It is the power lawfully to rob. It is the empowerment of the man's will to freedom via*

depriving others of their freedom. Market-value is the power to command work-products of others by either one of two means or by their combination. The man's egotistical will acquires the appearance of superiority without due regard for the freedom of others.

The monetary medium we use is much more efficient as an instrument of deception and robbery than as an instrument of exchange.

In the economic practice of commercial civilization man's good will (his socio-centric will) suffers a defeat every time his ego-centric will is gratified.

Freedom and order not antipathic.

One of the philosophical consequences of the general use of a 'mercenary and equivocal standard of value in economics is the well-established idea that freedom and order are opposites. Freedom should be understood to be relative in nature, with equal freedom for all its highest degree. Order should be also understood to be the non-compulsory achievement of responsible men bent upon enhancing their mutual enjoyment of life, instead of upon maintaining a semblance of order to facilitate their exploitative ambitions. Then freedom and order will not appear to be antipathic.



Real Socialism.

Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: 'All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it.' Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State i. e. the People. That the land to-day does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it. —Gandhiji. *Harijan - 2-1-37.*

The Tenth All India Basic Education Conference.

THE 10th annual session of the Basic Education Conference was held at Sanosara, a few miles away from Bhavnagar in Saurashtra, from the 10th to the 15th November. Basic Education workers from all over the country attended the session. Besides, ministers of State Governments and prominent educationists from various parts of the country were present.

Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, inaugurated the convention of Basic Education delegate-workers on the 10th. Sri Nanabhai Bhatt (Director of the Lok Bharathi Gram University) Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates. The message of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to that Conference was read first. It reads as follows:

"Nai Talim faces big problems today. The form of Nai Talim undergoes changes with the progress of the implementation of non-violent revolution. It is, therefore necessary that Nai Talim should be dynamically new education from day to day. New education should prepare the society for Bhoodan and redistribution of land."

After the inauguration, the convention divided itself into several study groups like Pre-basic and Post-basic education.

On the 13th, the open session was formally inaugurated by the Union President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Rajen Babu in his address indicated the directions in which the present system of education should be changed. He described the sad plight of the educated people of the present day under the English system and analysed the merits of the Basic Education System. He urged all those concerned with the education of children to do something practical to change the existing system.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar, President of the Talimi Sangh, presided over this Session. In his address he appealed to protagonists of Basic Education to demand of the Government the introduction of Basic Education throughout the country for solving many of the socio-economic problems facing the nation to-day.

The following are some of the recommendations of the Conference:—

1. The village should be developed as a social, cultural and economic unit of India.
2. The entire educational programme and especially higher education should be based on this unit.
3. Only small scale cottage industries which are rich in educational possibilities and have place in the national economy, be introduced in basic schools whether in towns or villages.
4. The administration of basic education should be decentralized at the village level and should be responsible for planning and execution of educational programme in accordance to the social, economic and cultural needs of rural India and the available local resources.
5. The subjects for people's education (Loka Shikshan) should be those relating to the activities which enrich the life of the masses and lead towards the ideal of Sarvodaya such as Bhoodan, Khadi and Village industries, Village cleanliness, health, and prevention of injurious habits.
6. Post basic education should centre round such activities as would create balanced and harmonious self-reliant individuals and society.
7. Bhoodan is to be integrated into the educational programme in different stages through the institutions in the country.
8. Basic Education literature should be based on actual experience and should be of a high literary and artistic standard.

Hand-Pounding of Rice.

RICE is an important foodgrain, and is No. 1 cereal of India. It is the staple food of South and East India. For a few years we had a deficit production and rice prices rocketed high. In undivided India we were always importing rice to the tune of 1½ million tons annually, mainly from Burma. The import continues at a much lower level but we are always on the margin of an inadequate supply. It is therefore heartening to know that our production of rice is going up fairly fast and there will be a record production of 27.4 million tons this year. The yield almost equals the target of 27.2 million tons envisaged for 1955—56 in the Plan. Our total production in 1947—48 was a little above 21 million tons. The average yield per acre has risen from 700 lbs. per acre in 1950—51 to 800 lbs. this year.

But while the production side allays anxiety, the de-husking and processing side is rapidly deteriorating. On the average for India about 60 per cent of the total paddy processed is carried on through handpounding and 40 per cent by milling. The position is specially bad in 4 States. Saurashtra has 90 per cent milled rice, Madras 70 per cent, Bombay 70 per cent and Punjab 66 per cent. What causes apprehension is the general tendency all over India, where the proportion of milled rice is rising rapidly at the cost of handpounding. This tendency may be partly due to unfavourable price equations and money valuations of husking costs. But it is mainly due to the past and present policy of State Governments. The number of rice mills has rapidly increased since the last war and is due to the procurement policies adopted. All the rice procured was transported to big towns and sent to mills for husking before distribution to consumers. This was an easy method of securing large supplies of de-husked rice, without taking into consideration the heavier costs of transporting un-husked rice. But it was almost a criminal method of wasting the limited supplies of our staple food, besides creating serious unemployment in rural

areas. There are at present about 1400 rice mills which come under the Factories Act according to the 4th census of Indian Manufacturers 1949. The number in 1954 may be anywhere round 2000. The number of mills not registered is legion.

The problem of rice de-husking, to my mind, is a grave one for more than one reason. It is so as it seriously affects the supply and nutritive value of our cereal No. 1. It further accentuates the perennial problem of unemployment in rural areas. Lastly it is the acid test of Governments' policy with regard to rural uplift in general and village industries in particular. Experts are unanimous that hand-pounded rice is superior in every sense to milled rice. Unpolished or semi-polished rice is more nutritive than polished mill rice. The bran of hand pounded rice, if any, is excellent fodder. The husk separated from bran is good fuel if properly treated. Above all de-husking by hand yields 3 per cent more grain than milled rice. Milled rice injures the rice by polishing it, and mixes bran with husk which makes it unfit as fodder. Thus it is bad both for man and animal. The taste of the consumer is a matter of guess. Consumers are quite aware of the superiority of hand-husked rice, but in towns and now even in rural areas the taste for polished rice grows by feeding. Yet there are extensive rural areas, specially in North East India, where the taste has not yet been spoiled. But the position can be easily redeemed by firm action, for both the educated and illiterate know that hand-pounded rice is superior in every sense to milled rice. The public demand followed up by Government action in time can easily right the present wrong position.

This question is all the more pressing in some States which are deficit regions and depend on imports. They are Saurashtra, Bombay and specially Madras. I have returned from a fortnight's tour in Tamilnad and tried to meet some experts to help me to study the situation on the spot. It appeared to me that the rice situation

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there needs immediate attention. Undivided Madras State had an area of 10 million acres (out of 75 million acres) and produced more than 4 million tons (out of 24 million tons) in 1952-53. It has the largest number of rice mills and out of "the more important rice milling units" numbering nearly 3000, there are 1,038 in this State alone. Most of these are huller mills which are more injurious than sheller mills, as they polish the rice more and mix up bran with husk more and very much more than the pestle and mortar common in rural areas. At present 70 per cent of rice is milled and 30 per cent only hand-husked. It is well-known that the Madras diet is inferior to the North East and of course the North West diet of India. Most preparations sweet or savoury - are made of rice mixed with other edibles. The process of treating rice from beginning to end is a continuous process of ill-treating that favourite, including the throwing away of rice water after cooking. Paddy before going to mills is not par-boiled but sent raw. In spite of circulars by the Central Food Ministry, licenses are being given quite freely to new mills and additions made to old mills, most of them being of the huller sort. In fact, Madras has discovered a special device for spreading the mill mania. Small "hiring mills", with 20 to 30 H.P. costing less than Rs. 0,000 are planted in rice tracts, at the rate of one hiring mill per one village area of 5000 persons. Such a mill de-husks 20 to 30 maunds per hour. It used to deal with 200 to 300 mds. in the good old days of procurement, but now in these unfortunate days of comparative ease it works 2 to 3 hours only, for six months or more. A bag of paddy (1 mds.) is husked for as. 6 and the resulting bran can be sold as fuel at as. 8, with a net gain of as 2 per bag. And so there is a stream of villagers wending their way to the neighbouring hiring mill, with baskets and bags of paddy for de-husking. Often the license is taken for an electric dynamo or diesel engine for pumping water or pressing seeds, but is also used for husking rice on the sly. The disease spreads openly for want of public realisation of the peril to health and strength. The hand-pounding industry is the most wide-spread of

rural industries, giving partial employment to lacs of women. It is thus the most unorganised of village industries that is being ruined by the mill. On the other hand the mills have both money and influence in Government circles. Quite a number of legislators are owners or interested in these mills. It seems impossible for the Tamilnad Assembly to entertain a resolution for banning the huller and gradually the sheller mills. The hand-loom industry found its god-father in Rajaji, supported by well-organised Cooperative and more or less urban societies that could be vocal. The hand-pounding industry is a fatherless and motherless orphan, that has not even learnt to sigh or sob in the public. The Union Food Ministry in a recent announcement has appointed an Enquiry Committee on the recommendation of the Khadi Board. But before it sits, and reports and its recommendations are implemented, the mills will have made further criminal encroachments.

From the point of view of employment the position is sad for the country and almost tragic for the south. At present 60 per cent of the total paddy of India is hand-pounded. On the basis of 20 million tons of paddy being de-husked (after deductions for sowings, wastes etc.) the hand-pounding industry would account for nearly 12 million tons, at the rate of 2 tons of paddy processed per person working for 6 months in a year. This would provide partial employment to nearly 60 lacs of persons. If the entire quantity of paddy were hand-pounded, there would be work for another 40 lacs. So also the wage bill paid to hand-pounders would rise from say Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 80 crores. The "hiring huller mill" now processing 30 mds. of paddy per day could give work to 30 whole-timers at as 12 per diem. In a village of 3000 persons with about 900 adults, there would be full work for 150 and part-time work for 300 persons. And the South has only 30 per cent of paddy husked by hand, as against 95 per cent in Bihar, 88 per cent in Orissa, 87 per cent in West Bengal and 83 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. The Bihar Assembly even passed a comprehensive resolution on 29th July 1953 banning new mills, limiting

Thakkar Bapa.

T. N. JEGADISAN

LET me share with you a few thoughts about Thakkar Bapa whose birthday falls on 29th November 1954. For did not Bapu say as he alone can say, "Even the praise of Bapa is some little service of the down-trodden?"

What is the one quality that impressed one most in Bapa? I think most persons who have known Bapa would say: "His enormous and insatiable appetite for work". And that work of course was of the highest type - work on behalf of suffering humanity. Clear-eyed, high-souled, Bapa brought a concentration to his consecrated efforts unequalled in our times. Work never tired him. His appetite for work grew on what it fed. And his work included much that would be called by others "dry-as-dust". In fact, he brought to his tasks an official thoroughness that seemed to render them heavy and prosaic. But to him day-long labour spent in the most minute details was only an invigorating romance. After

hard toil of about ten hours he could still be fresh, joyous and vigorous. As Mahatma Gandhi said of him, his work is 'his sole satisfaction and recreation.'

What is the secret of this untiring joy in work? As far as this could be explained in a human sense, such joy in work comes out of spending oneself in great causes with singleness of purpose. Bapa saw the purpose of his life clearly and steadily; he saw it whole, not in fragments. He chose wisely the channels of activity through which he could fulfill the purpose of his life - which was nothing less or other than destroying the suffering of others. He went about his tasks with faith and optimism, with method and thoroughness. He had no weakening doubts, no wasting conflicts. Is it any wonder that he needed no other joy than the joy of work in noble causes? Would that such pure joy of dedicated service were less uncommon. ★

HAND-POUNDING OF RICE.

output of existing mills, levying a cess on rice mills, and purchasing Government supplies from hand-pounders only. It is upto the Union Food Ministry to issue immediate instructions to the Madras State to stop giving new licenses until the Enquiry Committee sends its report.

The Khadi Board which has prepared a programme for the development of hand-pounding of rice for 1954-55, is already giving a subsidy of as. 9 per maund of hand-pounded rice and is making arrangements for supply of standard quality of rice through co-operatives. But its attention should mainly be given to the improvement on implements and tools. In Madras, Dhenki and pestle is in use. It is a full-time work for Harijan men and women in the off-season. Some consider the mill as a relief from the drudgery of the heavy pestle, forgetting the unemployment it brings. Wanted a light and durable chakki, made of local stone, that

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will de-husk completely at one grind. The present chakki leaves 10 per cent to 15 per cent paddy unhusked, which requires tedious separation and re-dehusking. If taste requires, the chakki rice may then be slightly polished by the pestle and the bran used as fodder. So also a process is necessary for using husk as fuel in place of cow-dung or wood. The fuel situation is never easy in poor villages. Fortunately the mill winnower for separating husk from grain can be easily adapted to hand use. The research section of the Khadi Board has a technical problem before it that needs a prompt solution. I am of opinion that if there is one type of village industry that has the clearest case for preservation it is the food-processing industry, more specially the hand-pounding of rice. It is the one test of the efficiency of the Board, the bona-fides of the Government and the common sense of the consuming public. ★

The Romance of Bee-Culture at a Glance.

(S. R. NARAYANA AYYAR, ADVOCATE, COONOR.)

OUR world contains a vast number of flying creatures. Some are a nuisance and many are useful. The honey Bees are of the latter group. They have attracted the attention of man from ancient times. Bee-keeping though not in a modern way, is one of the oldest known occupations of mankind all over the world, because of the sweet food, which the winged creatures create, practically without any serious effort on the part of man. Further honey is the only food, which has a romantic makeup. Every bit of it comes from God's choicest creations—the flowers, which daily bask in the vitamin-giving rays of life-giving Sun and bathe in the pure morning dew. No other food can be equalled with this delicious and sweet food.

STINGS!

But people generally are afraid of the tiny Bees on account of their painful stings; but many are not aware that the use of the sting is suicidal to the Bee itself as, soon after its use, the angry Bee dies. Hence a Bee will sting another only in defence of its life and hoarded treasure. That is why it is said that the

"Successful Apiarist is he
Who cleverly outwits the Bee!"

To attain this ability, a Bee keeper must have patience, calmness, gentleness and ability to endure the stings. I feel that our women folk have all these qualities in greater degree than the males and hence they can become perfect Bee-Keepers, besides house-keepers. I may also point out that Bee stings are a protection against rheumatic attacks.

GOD'S FOOD.

The ancient people of all Nations have considered honey as "the food of the Gods". We use honey for doing *abishegam* in our temples and prepare with it *prasadam*s. Sri Valli gave honey to god Subramanya when the latter met her in the guise of an aged guest. Our Rishis, while meditating on the highest problems of life in lonely forests, maintained excellent health by

eating honey. To the new born babe it is the first food given by our mothers. Rajput ladies touch the new born baby's tongue with the tip of a sword smeared with honey, believing that it would make the child a hero in body, heart and mind. It is recorded that after Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, two merchants Tapusa and Bhallika offered Him rice cakes and honey. This was the first food, which our Bharata Mata's greatest son, who has spread his religion over vast areas of this world, ate since He attained Buddhahood. It is also recorded that the apostles gave honeycomb to Lord Jesus Christ when he met them after resurrection.

HONEY, A SIGN OF PROSPERITY.

Those of our country men, who go out of prohibition areas to have a taste of that prohibited liquor, can usefully try to get better results by taking pure honey. Our country used to be described as one flowing with milk and honey. But at present if there is one civilized country, where the vast majority of people daily do not take milk and honey, it is our own country. Yet our poets have often described our Motherland as one where rocks are cut asunder by the constant dripping of honey from natural hives in the trees. If there was so much honey, then the country must have been extremely prosperous in agriculture of every variety. For, to create a drop of honey the Bee has to visit about 120 flowers to gather nectar. It has been calculated by experts in America that bees before they can gather one pound of honey have to travel forty thousand miles in visiting flowers for gathering the nectar. Hence how many millions of flowers they have to visit before they can create so much honey as to break hardened rocks, can only be imagined.

USES OF HONEY.

Pure honey is a specific for colds, coughs, indigestion, constipation, asthma, weak hearts and high blood pressure. When one is mentally and physically tired, a cup of tepid water with a spoonful of honey will drive

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away that tired feeling immediately. That is why famous athletes use honey as one of their chief items of food. If our women will eat honey moderately and regularly, then it will give a natural brightness to their faces. If we use honey instead of white sugar, many ills of mankind will vanish. Bee culture will further help to make up the sugar shortage in our country, as honey can be substituted for sugar at much lesser cost. Honey is a ready antiseptic and if immediately applied to burns on any one, it alleviates pain. Apart from it honey Bees create wax which is used for waterproofing various materials in wars, and for making candles and other articles. Honey is an exceedingly healthy and valuable food, which immediately gets absorbed in the system. It is found from statistics that persons, who have taken to bee-keeping as their profession live longer than those of other occupations.

ONLY CULTURED HONEY.

But, all these encomiums are not for the honey in the market. That, often contains the essence of the pupa, eggs, and of undeveloped Bees. Often the bees are cruelly burnt before their food is robbed by man. But if we extract honey by modern methods, it will not only be pure but not even a single Bee need be harmed at all. Hence taking honey from modern Bee-hives is not at all *himsa*, as only the superfluous honey is removed. If we fail to extract it, the Bees become idle and swarm away seeking a new home and fresh pastures.

VAST SCOPE IN OUR MOTHERLAND.

In our Motherland Bees can be reared with success in numerous places. One need not necessarily grow specially flowers for Bees. If there is Bee-forage within half a mile radius of the hive, the Bees will fly to that area and bring back the nectar from the flowers to their homes and convert it into honey in their pouches and regurge it in the cells of the combs. As modern Bee-Keeping has not yet become popular amongst our people, tons of nectar from our forests, groves and fields are lost to us because we do not make use of the Bees. It is not yet understood that it is quite practicable to make Bee-Keeping a home industry. Every owner of a house

either in his compound or even in his window sill facing east, can keep at least a hive in suitable areas. With fifty rupees one can have a good Bee-box, Bee-suit, an uncapping knife, a smoker and an extractor. Then the beginner need only take the trouble to have a colony of bees, from a proper place. This outlay of Rs. 50 can be fully got back within two years. But if he keeps two hives spending another ten rupees for a box, he may get back his Rs. 60 even within one year.

PRIESTS OF FLOWERS.

Bees not only give us that sweet food but they act as Priests of flowers because they bring about their cross-pollination. It has been calculated that more than a hundred thousand plants would become extinct, if by some cruel bomb the Bees are destroyed and there are none to visit the plants. In America and Australia Bee-Keepers are paid for keeping their hives near fruit gardens when the plants are in bloom, so that the Bees may crosspollinate the flowers. On account of the nearness of the Bees, the fruit farmers have invariably reaped 25 to 30 per cent more fruits than others, who had not invited the help of the Bees.

WONDERFUL DIVISION OF LABOUR.

It is always a pleasure to watch the Bees and one completely forgets all the troubles of this world while observing the busy and joyous work of the tiny creatures. They teach us, the superior creations of God, a wonderful harmony and co-operative spirit. They divide their strenuous job in a most methodical way. From early dawn to night fall they by turns divide their busy work. A few thousands go out to gather nectar, a few hundreds for pollen, a less number for propolis, a lesser number for water, a few thousands after eating a lot of honey hang like a chain catching one another's legs to force out the wax from their bodies, and a few hundreds of engineer bees remove the wax and build those artistic combs. A section of the Bees mix honey and pollen and feed the young ones. Another small section act as nurses to the Bee-queen to feed her, as her Bee-Majesty will not eat of her own accord! Another small section acts as

sweepers and clean the hives and the cells of all dirt. A few amazon Bees stand guard at the entrance preventing thieves from other colonies entering into their hive. Each colony has a particular smell of its own and the guards can easily detect any outside Bee which may try to enter the hive. Then there will be a fight to the finish and the stranger would be killed or driven away. During the summer months when the day is hot, a few Bees will sit in front of the entrance in a line and would fan air into the hive to make it cooler. Yet no section of the hive feels that one work is superior and another inferior. They understand *Nishkama Karma*, the philosophy of work taught by Lord Sri Krishna, better than us!

HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN BEE.

The Queen Bee does literally no other duty except laying thousand to two thousand eggs a day during the honey gathering season. She is very wise as she will not at all lay eggs when there is not sufficient food in the hive for young ones. She can at will lay either a male or a female egg. They give every loving attention to her and when they see her they will all face her and move backwards but will never turn their backs on her. Only on one occasion they disobey and are disrespectful to her. It is when she out of jealousy wants to destroy the future queens, her own daughter princesses, even before they emerge from their cells. At that time, the Bees push the queen away and do not allow her to commit the destruction.

THE TYRANNY OF THE FEMALE BEES.

In certain seasons a few dozen male Bees—the Drones—are created. These can neither gather nectar nor defend the colony as they have no stings, nor do they do any other work except eating the honey and mating the princesses, only once and in that act, the Drone loses its life. Thus the Drone makes a supreme sacrifice of itself for its own race leaving the princess a widow and a queen, who thereafter is absolutely faithful to her dead lord but

strangely goes on laying eggs for four to five years till she becomes sterile and dies. When the mating season is over and when there are no Bee-Princesses to be fertilized, the worker-Bees, which all are virgins, chew the wings of the drones, their own brothers, and drive them out of the hives to die of cold and hunger.

A USEFUL SWADESHI COTTAGE INDUSTRY.

Bee-Keeping is a vast industry in America, Australia and in European countries bringing a lot of income to the people there. In America there are about 800000 Bee-Keepers and they get 100000 tons of marketable honey in a year. They further value at many millions of dollars the work of the bees in the pollination of fruit and other crops. But I can state confidently that there is a vast scope for modern Bee-Culture in our Motherland. If we teach the ordinary honey gatherer in our forests, who robs the honey in a crude and cruel way, the easy modern methods, even that will bring a lot of fairly pure honey into our market, and thus we can stop importation of honey from foreign countries.

EVERY ONE CAN HELP.

All of us can, without any serious discomfort to us put our shoulders to this industry and thus can serve our country. Those who can afford to buy cultured honey can do so from our own Bee-Keepers and use it not only as an item of their daily food but also serve it during festivals, ceremonies and marriages. All our hostels and hotels should be induced to use daily pure cultured honey. Our Richmen can help Bee-Keepers in their own locality, who are unable to find necessary money by giving them the necessary implements on condition that they return the amount by way of pure cultured honey. Those who cannot do this can grow flowers and plants, which are useful for Bees than those, which are not helpful to them. Others can read books on Bee-Culture and then they will not be as ignorant as a brother member of the Bar, who once asked me "Mr. Narayanan, Do you lock your Bees when you come to Court". ★

The All India Khadi & Village Industries Conference

THE All-India Conference of the State Khadi and Village Industries' Board and some constructive workers was held at Bona on 17th, 18th and 19th Nov. 1954. It was inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

The Conference recommended to the Government to accept economic development through self-employment as an integral part of their policy and to make it the basis of their Second Five Year Plan. It urged on the Government to provide a plan for full employment to the entire people through the development of the self-employment sector of national economy and to explore and utilise fully the capacity of khadi and village industries which were pre-eminently suited. An industry will be declared as a village industry if it is related to the basic needs of a family and a community and which is capable of being organised on the basis of self-employment. The Conference further recommended to the Government that this sector of national economy should be protected by well defined policies of reservation of spheres of production and control over the centralised heavy industries against competing with the village industries. The Government's policy should ensure full employment and prevent exploitation of any kind.

The conference recommended for the provision of adequate initial capital for the home industries and the development and supply for improved means of production. The use of electricity was accepted in principle for the home industries provided it would definitely help full employment and production and would not result in the exploitation of labour, of one individual or group by another in the community.

The Conference authorised the Chairman of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board to appoint a committee to help the Board in securing the approval of the Government of India and the Planning Commission for the resolution of the Conference.

A further subsidy of 2 Annas per rupee was recommended for stimulating the production in addition to the present subsidy of 3 Annas per rupee given to the consumer of khadi.

The Conference felt that as a first step, the immediate objective of the Second Five Year Plan should be to increase production through multi-purpose Co-operative Societies among the lower income groups of about 1000 families. The Conference felt that the Government should make earnest efforts to create a suitable climate of public opinion for full utilisation of the man-power and material of the nation and should seek to transform the present profiteering and acquisitive pattern of economy to that of a socially co-operative pattern for the realisation of a non-exploitative equalitarian society.

Shri B. G. Kher who presided over the concluding session complained that the Government of India and the State Governments did not give proper encouragement to village industries. He pointed that over 12 crores of people were unemployed in the country and that it was not enough to give them some financial aid. But attempts should be made for the all-round development of their human personality.

★ Adapted from - The Hindu - 22-11-'54.

The Sarva Seva Sangh Meeting.

THE Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh had its meeting at Sevagram from 25th to 28th November '54. Probably for about two years it had never a sitting at Sevagram. There were many important matters of principle and policy which came for consideration before the meeting. Some of those were discussed with Vinobaji at Islampur on the 1st of November when some of the prominent members of the Board and others met him. The preliminary discussion was helpful for finally formulating the policies at this meeting. The following is a summary of the subjects that were considered:

Some of the States had already passed legislative measures facilitating distribution of Bhoodan land. Some of them are still making the necessary enactments but one or two States have gone ahead in appointing their own committees for the distribution of lands. The Sarva Seva Sangh passed a resolution stating that the State Governments need not appoint their own committees for distribution as there are already existing committees appointed in consultation with Vinobaji for Bhoodan collection and distribution. The resolution hoped that the Government may help these committees in the distribution work by enacting necessary legislation that will facilitate their work.

The question of approving Ekambaranath Charka an improved multi-spindled mechanism which has been in experiment during the last two years, was considered. Whether the cloth made out of the yarn spun on this mechanism can be called khadi, was also a vital point for decision. There was a long discussion in its favour and also against it. It was finally decided that further experiments may be carried on to simplify the mechanism of the charka and to observe the advantages and disadvantages in actual working in a selected area. The Sangh will reconsider the matter after 5 or 6 months.

The khadi and the Village Industries' Board, was created in consultation and with the advice and co-operation of the Sarva Seva Sangh. The Khadi Board is only

an Advisory Board and the Government sanctions its schemes and executes them. But the Government has not accepted some of the principles and policies recommended by the Board in the matter of restricting and controlling the large scale industries which compete with Khadi and village crafts. As an instance it may be said that in the case of Rice mills which compete with hand-pounding of rice the Government did not accept the advice of the Board. On the other hand it is issuing more licenses to rice mills. Such differences in policies are considered as a serious matter for the Sangh.

The relationship between the Advisory Board and the Government will have to be further considered in the light of developments from time to time.

It was decided to hold the next Sammelan in Puri Jagannath in Orissa on 25th, 26th and 27th March and it is hoped that the usual railway concessions will be granted by the Railway Board as in the previous years to those who may visit the coming Sammelan.

On the last day the Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh explained the details of the Self-employment Scheme which was discussed at the recent Poona Conference of the Khadi and Village Industries' Board and constructive workers. Sri Barathanand who has taken a leading part in the preparation of the scheme said briefly that the Self-employment Scheme would result in a revolution of abolishing the twin factors of capital and labour and ultimately abolish wage-slavery. This scheme will be taken up for further consideration after some sample survey is made in certain areas in the light of the scheme.

To Foreign Subscribers.

Subscribers in foreign countries are requested to send their subscriptions through cheques or drafts on Banks or by postal money orders.

BHOODAN NEWS.

SRI JAIPRAKASH IN BOMBAY.

SHRJ Jaiprakash Narain addressed a number of meetings in the city of Bombay and its suburbs during the second week of November. There was spontaneous response everywhere. In all 318 Sampatti-dans were declared in these meetings to the total value of Rs. 13,920 per year. In addition 123 acres of land were offered for Bhoodan by six persons. 50 persons offered Shram-dan or physical labour for fixed hours every week.

In a Press conference on the 22nd Nov. at Bombay he announced some leading names of those who have offered Sampatti-dan from the Bombay business world, which include those of Shri J. R. D. Tata, Shri Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Shri Madan Mohan Ruia.

The Bombay Bhoodan Committee has now fixed a target of Sampatti-dans amounting to not less than Rs. 5 lakhs per year.

IN OTHER PROVINCES.

IN Madhya Pradesh two batches of more than 200 workers toured in over 500 villages from 11th September to 5th October. Over 1000 acres were received from the Adivasi population in Melghat taluk alone. There, in many villages, every family offered its share. Sri Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, the Governor, and Sant Thukodji addressed a conference of these workers at Nagpur. By the end of September a total of 80,131 acres was collected and 5790 acres were distributed. In Hyderabad a workers' camp was organised and run in a village in Karimnagar District. By the end of October Hyderabad State has collected 1,03,476 acres and distributed 19,259 acres. Bengal has so far collected 5,074 acres. Vinobaji has programmed to tour in Bengal for three weeks in January next. In Kerala, the South Malabar workers are busy collecting Bhoodan and Sutanjali to reach a target of 1000 acres before the next Sarvodaya Sammelan in March. Workers in North Malabar are active in organising the 'Sarvodaya model village' at Pariyaram.

Sri Sri Krishnadas Jaji addressed the Parliament members at Delhi on September 29th. 25 bighas of land were distributed in a village near Delhi.

A MESSAGE TO JEEVANDANIS.

DADA DHARMADHIKARI

[A message sent to the Jeevandanis of Kerala Training Camp at Trichur]

'JEEVAN DAN' connotes complete surrender of all talents, energies and time to the cause of the revolution based on Bhoo-Dan. It means both dedication and devotion, a consuming faith, a singleness and tenacity of purpose that will not be chilled by failures or defeated by false steps. A dedicated or consecrated life is essentially self-dependent. A Jeevan Dani will depend on none but God for his livelihood. He will start with the unflinching faith that if he lives for the people, the people will never forsake him. His love for the people will constitute his best guarantee and sustain him in the worst reverses.

Bhoo-dan is both an outlook and a technique. It is designed with a view to bring men together not for conflict, but for real and happy co-existence through effective and purposeful co-operation. That is the real significance of 'Dan'. It is not an act of charity. But it is only losing our nothingness in the All that connotes human society. We want to build a social order in which production and culture will go hand-in-hand, in which labour and leisure will be the sides of the same coin. In the social order for which 'Sarvodaya' stands, labour will not be monotonous, irksome or distasteful and leisure will not mean indolence. This is what is generally called a classless order of society.

We want new men who will build a new social order and we begin with ourselves. It shall be both our aspiration and our honest and constant endeavour to work with all our soul and all our might for bringing about this social order. I am sure that the Jeevan Danis of Kerala will agree that this is not only a glorious but also a notable adventure. I bid them God-Speed.

Two Immortal Jeevandanis.

THAKORE PYARELAL SINGH
SHRI Thakore Pyarelal Singh has led the way to Jeevandanis by actually laying down his life on last 20th October. He was the opposition leader in the Legislative Assembly in Madhya Pradesh and the leader of the Provincial Praja Socialist Party.

He totally identified himself with Bhoodan work and walked hundreds of miles in yatra in his 65th year collecting hundreds of acres of Bhoodan. Even when his physical condition was failing he persisted in continuing his walking tour towards Jabulpore.

On 20th October he walked 20 miles to Jabulpore, addressed the Bhoodan campers inspite of his physical breakdown and laid down his mortal frame after discharging all his duties for the day. He had a heart attack at 10-30 in the night and breathed his last with his head on the lap of Sri Dadhabhai Naik, the Bhoodan Convener of M. P.,

The high detachment to his own political party while doing Bhoodan work on a non-party plane, his sense of duty, unbreakable will power to drag on his failing body to the day's destination as per scheduled programme and to cheerfully face death will stand as a monumental example to those who have pledged themselves as Jeevandanis. Here is indeed the first hero who has fully justified his pledge of Jeevandani for this great Bhoodan Mission.

SHANTABHAI DHONGRE.

THERE is another tragic news about the sudden demise of Shrimathi Shantabhai Dhongre on 1st November on account of a fatal attack of cerebral malaria. Sri Shantabhai is the daughter of a high official of Akola. She had her university education. She was imbued with a high spirit of service and had dedicated herself to the Bhoodan mission. She acted as Vinobaji's secretary for some time in Bihar Yatra. After working strenuously in Bihar and Saurashtra she returned to Madhya Pradesh and joined the Bhoodan team under Sri Dadhabhai Naik, the Provincial Bhoodan Convener. She died young in her 25th year during her Bhoodan Yatra. The

death of this illustrious sister is an irreparable loss to the team of Bhoodan workers. Let her self-immolation inspire the educated boys and girls to dedicate their lives to the mission of Bhoodan.

Bhoodan Received and Distributed:

(Till 5th November, 1954)

RECEIVED:

No. of acres	...	35,57,574
" donors	...	3,58,121
" villages	...	63

DISTRIBUTED:

No. of acres	...	1,00,851
To no. of families	...	30,106

SAMPATTI-DAN:

No. of donors	...	555
Total amount	...	Rs. 1,89,722

These figures do not include last month's collections in Bihar as they have not yet reached the Office.

★

Sarvodaya for the West.

In our previous issue of Sarvodaya we had published the two interviews of Mr. David Hegget and Mr. Hallam Tennyson with Acharya Vinobaji. We regret for the omission of the name of Vinobaji in our introduction for the above two interviews.

Khadi-Gramodyog Journal.

With the growing volume of work done by the All-India Khadi & Village Industries Board (under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry) the Board has considered it necessary to publish a Monthly Journal "KHADI GRAMODYOG" from October '54. We welcome the Journal containing various articles on the khadi and Village Industries and detailed information about the funds spent by the Government from time to time.

7th Sarvodaya Sammelan.

The Seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held near Puri in Orissa Province on the 25th, 26th and 27th of March 1954.

The Sevaks are requested to register their names before the end of December 1954. Please apply for registration forms, to "The Secretary, Sarvodaya Sammelan, Post: Buniyad Gup, ... India.

Gandhian Sarvodaya Literature.

Gandhian Literature.

	RS.	AS.
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RS. AS.

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