

SARVODAYA

(with which "THE KHADI WORLD" is incorporated)

Vol. 4 JANUARY 1955 No. 7

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सेवाग्राम
वर्धा सी. पी.

سیواگرام
وردا سی. پی.

11 JAN 1955

Be truthful
gentle and
fearless.

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GOD'S PILGRIM. (MOHANDAS K. GANDHI.)

Pilgrim from God, he walked the dusty road
Of Life,—a wise and humble mendicant.
Straight to man's heart, as to a shrine he strode,
And on dry hopes, new faith blazed radiant;
Incredible dreams that love and truth could be
The audacious weapons that would set men free!
Now he is gone. We know strange joy unfolding
In our gloom. Like men who, stumbling through the night
Across a misty plain, look up beholding
White peaks soaring, sweeping up and out of sight,
We look toward him in trembling awe to see
The spiraling heights of man's capacity.

(Mrs. Allan A.) *Elizabeth Hunter.*

Whole No. 43.

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An Appeal to Readers.

The size of the SARVODAYA is slightly changed to make it more handy. We have also increased the number of pages.

We are thankful to the many readers in India and outside for their kind words of appreciation.

We would appeal to readers who are interested in wider circulation of this magazine to introduce this to their friends who are likely to become subscribers.

The pages can be further increased if there is substantial increase in the circulation.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM,
19, Sivaji Nagar,
TANJORE (S. INDIA).

SARVODAYA

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Vol. 4

JANUARY 1955

No. 7

TOWARDS A SARVODAYA ERA

SARVODAYA is the magical word coined by Mahatma Gandhi as a title for his paraphrase of Ruskin's "Unto This Last" in 1907.

'Sarvodaya' is the quint-essence of Gandhian philosophy of Truth and Non-Violence in all aspects of life—social, economic and political.

"Sarvodaya Samaj" is the creation of the wise elders of the Nation as the fittest memorial for the Mahatma when they met in a conference at Sevagram in March 1948.

'Sarvodaya Samaj' is a free fellowship of all those in the world whose creed is truth and non-violence and who endeavour to apply them in all spheres of life.

'Sarvodaya' is a negation of the economic doctrine of "greatest good of the largest number" which impliedly disregards the good of the rest.

'Sarvodaya' is a challenge to the doctrine of political democracy in its present limited application as the rule of the majority.

'Sarvodaya' stands for the welfare of all in economic life and

full rights of every one in political sphere.

'Sarvodaya' is on the lips of the millions in India as a result of the non-violent revolution of Bhoodan Yagna—The Land-Gift Movement—under the leadership of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

'Sarvodaya' has become the concept of a new socio-economic order in which the moral law of man will govern society and in which the State has the least to function.

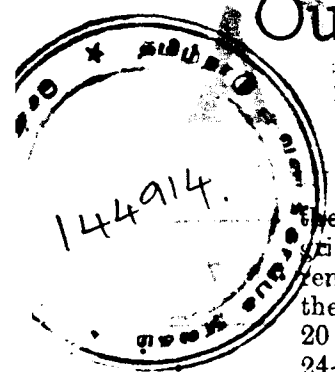
'Sarvodaya' is the cry of the humanity in all parts of the world expressed in different terms and ways.

This magazine 'Sarvodaya'—a small Monthly Digest—has been endeavouring during the last 42 months to introduce Gandhian philosophy and his work-programme through the words of the Mahatma, Vinobaji and others.

"The Sarvodaya" endeavours to reach all parts of the world with its message of love and truth.

On this New Year's Day, 'The Sarvodaya' rededicates itself to the cause for a new Era of Sarvodaya.

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Our Duty to the Villager.

Mahatma Gandhi

Exhibitions have become a common feature of the day. But the central purpose of educating the masses of the cause of their grinding poverty and appalling ignorance is often missed. Let us remind ourselves of the sacred duty of the town-dwellers towards the villagers in the ringing words of the Mahatma spoken about 20 years ago while opening the Exhibition at Indore on 24-10-1935.

YOU must have seen the Exhibition which untimely rain has unfortunately spoilt. It was organized in order to remind the city-dweller of his duty to the villager. We have been oblivious of it all these years, but we can ill afford to be so now. We may not know it, but it is certain that we are slowly perishing individually and as a nation. It is no use laying the blame at other people's door—the Government, the State, or the Zamindar. They are certainly responsible for our sorry plight, but we are no less responsible, and we had better bethink ourselves of our responsibility.

The reason why our average life-rate is deplorably low, the reason why we are getting more and more impoverished is that we have neglected our 700,000 villages. We have indeed thought of them but only to the extent of exploiting them. We read thrilling accounts of the 'glory that was Ind', and of the land that was flowing with milk and honey; but today it is a land of starving millions. We are sitting in this fine pandal under a blaze of electric lights, but we do not know that we

are burning these lights at the expense of the poor. We have no right to use the lights if we forget that we owe these to them.

TWO CIVILIZATIONS

There is a difference between the civilization of the East—the civilization of India—and that of the West. It is not generally realized wherein the difference lies. Our geography is different, our history is different, our ways of living are different. Our continent, though vast, is a speck on the globe, but it is the most thickly populated, barring China. Well, now, the economics and civilization of a country where the pressure of population on land is greatest are and must be different from those of a country where the pressure is least. Sparsely populated, America may have need of machinery. India may not need it at all. Where there are millions upon millions of units of idle labour it is no use thinking of labour-saving devices. If someone devised a machine which saved us the trouble of using our hands to eat, eating would cease to be a pleasure, it would become a

OUR DUTY TO THE VILLAGER

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torture. The reason of our poverty is the extinction of our industries and our consequent unemployment. Some years ago India's agricultural population was said to be 70 per cent. Today it is said to be 90 per cent. It does not mean that 90 per cent are agriculturists, but that, instead of 70 per cent who depended on land, 90 per cent are now driven to depend on land. In other words, whereas there were industries and crafts enough to feed the 20 per cent some time ago, these are no longer there and the people have thus been thrown on land. They thus steal their living, not because they want to, but because there is no more land.

Not that there is not enough land to feed our 35 crores. It is absurd to say that India is overpopulated and that the surplus population must die. I am sure that if all the land that is available was properly utilized and made to yield up to its capacity, it would surely maintain the whole population. Only we have got to be industrious and to make two blades of grass grow where one grows today.

THE REMEDY.

The remedy is to identify ourselves with the poor villager and to help him make the land yield its plenty, help him produce what we need, and confine ourselves to use what he produces, live as he lives, and persuade him to take to more rational ways of diet and living.

We eat mill-ground flour, and even the poor villager walks with a head-load of half a maund grain to

have it ground in the nearest flour-mill. Do you know that in spite of the plenty of foodstuffs we produce we import wheat from outside and we eat the 'superfine' flour from Australia? We will not use our hand-ground flour, and the poor villager also foolishly copies us. We thus turn wealth into waste, nectar into poison. For whole meal is the proper meal. Mill-ground flour is vitaminless flour mill-ground flour kept for days is not only not vitaminless, but poison. But we will not exert ourselves to produce flour which we must eat fresh every day, and will pay for less nutritious things and purchase ill-health in the bargain. This is not any abstruse economic truth, it is a fact which is daily happening before our eyes. The same is the case with rice and gur and oil. We will eat rice, polished of its substance, and eat less nutritious sugar and pay more for it than more nutritious gur. We have suffered the village oilman to be driven to extinction and we eat adulterated oils. We idolize the cow, but kill her by slow degrees. We eat honey and kill the honey bee, with the result that honey is such a rare commodity today that it is only available to a 'Mahatma' like me or to those who must have it from the physician as a vehicle for the drugs he prescribes. If we took the trouble of learning scientific and harmless bee-keeping, we should get it cheaper and our children would get out of it all the carbohydrates they need. In all our dietetics we mistake the shadow for the substance, preferring bone-white sugar to rich

brown *gur* and pale white bread to rich brown bran-bread.

We are said to be a nation of daily bathers. That we are, to be sure, but we are none the better for it. For we bathe with unclean water, we foul our tanks and rivers with filth and use that water for drinking and bath. We lawyers and degree-holders and doctors will not learn the elementary principles of sanitation and hygiene. We have not yet devised the most economic method of disposal of our evacuations and we turn our open healthy spaces into breeding-grounds of disease.

I implore you to throw off your inertia, to bestir yourselves to study these elementary facts and live more rational lives and learn how to turn waste into wealth. I have told you simple truths which we would soon realize and act up to if we threw off the inertia of ages. But we have shunned body-labour to the detriment of our brains, and thus rest content with the irrational ways of diet and living. Let us pull ourselves together and resolve to make our bodies and brains more active.

(From 'Harijan' - May 11, '35,



The Message of Sarvodaya.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave

ONCE we entrusted the entire State administration to individuals called kings. In these days we have taken to democracy wherein is reflected the rule of the majority. But this also seems to be insufficient now. Democracy must represent the will of one and all. Thus a new idea, known as *Sarvodaya*, is now before the people. *Sarvodaya* goes far ahead of the current notions of general democracy. It envisages a new social order in which minimum power rests at the centre while the village, at the lowest rung of the ladder, looks after all its affairs by itself.

In these days mere absence of war is regarded as peace. But peace really connotes absence of fear. There can be peace only when no part of the world is afraid of or exploited by any other part.

Sarvodaya, therefore, stresses upon the necessity of changing the

present socio-economic structure. Not that there was no love or kindness in the people so far. These qualities have always been there. But the society of today is not based on them. It is built on hoarding and rivalry and each is anxious for himself or herself alone. The trader earns money by robbing. Occasionally he does offer some charity to the poor. But he is not prepared to wipe off poverty. The rich are not prepared to live as one with the poor. *Sarvodaya* seeks to eradicate this difference altogether. It claims for all equal right. This is the foundation of *Sarvodaya* order of life.

Man has begun to realise this truth. He enacts the drama today which takes the real form tomorrow. Hence we welcome this step. What is required is that everybody should feel that he is equal to all, neither superior nor inferior,

17-11-'54.

Sarvodaya - Samaj.

THE CALL OF THE TIMES.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

PRESENTING flower garlands is a special trait of our country. Every flower, separate in itself, is connected with a thread. This symbolises the structure of our society. When flowers are in a bouquet they are tied together and the flowers have no freedom of their own. This represents a different social structure. Some sociologists maintain that individual freedom is meaningless and the individual, who comes here for a short stay, must submit his interests to those of the State formed on behalf of the society; but according to the *Samaj Shastra* (social science) of our country, individual must have faith in society and should be a *samaj pranayan* (sincere to the society) of his or her own accord; the individual must get every chance for his growth and thus social discipline will develop naturally. True, this thought has not been acted upon in a thorough manner. We should now give it a shape in accordance with the call of this age. That is *Sarvodaya Samaj*.

HOW TO ACHIEVE IT?

There are two ways: one through the power of the military and the large-scale mechanised industrialization and the other through love and self-reliance. If we choose the former we will have to maintain a huge army irrespective of the

interests of our masses and heavily equip it either with weapons made in the country, or imported from abroad as Pakistan has done. We have then to become the camp followers of America or Russia. But if we choose the latter course, we will build up a *Sahayogi, Swavalambi, a-virodhi* (Co-operative, self-sufficient and enemy-free) society where unity becomes the sole potent weapon. Should we import things from outside—more goods are being imported to our country today than in the pre-freedom period—we have to endanger our freedom and succumb to the outsiders' might. Our villages today produce raw materials, while finished goods reach them from cities or abroad. This results in a *Paradheen* (dependent) society where non-violence becomes an impossibility. A *Paradheen* society needs protection, and has to depend on armies and heavy expenditure.

CO-OPERATIVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

We have not become self-sufficient. Besides, there is no co-operation in us. Some of us call ourselves owners of land while others are denied any right over it. The labourer who goes to work on land tries to do as little work as possible. And the so-called master pays him as little as he can manage. The fault

is there in both. We have to change this situation and engender healthy co-operation between the two. For that the practice of hoarding has to be given up. Then only the hearts will come nearer. Hence the need for establishing a *Swavalambi*, *Sahayogi* and *Avirodhi* society. It will give new light to the world.

THE SPADE AND THE CHARKHA.

Today, Governments are feverishly raising their military strength. Should this craze for bigger armies and more fearful instruments continue the very existence of human society will be in jeopardy. There is an interesting story in Ramayana. While in Lanka, Hanuman met a she-demon who threatened to devour him. Hanuman grew up to twice her size. Then she magnified her own form by four times. They went on enlarging themselves until they grew sixteen times their original shapes. Then Hanuman thought of a device. He contracted himself into a very minute form and conquered his adversary. Similarly we have to ponder over whether we should also join the race with U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. and grow sixteen or 32 times. This is the age of science.

We should follow Hanuman and adopt the minute form, i. e., we should have the spade in one hand and the *Charka* in the other. We will then be self-sufficient in food and clothing as also in housing.

MIXED ECONOMY.

But we must not build houses like those in front (In front stood a school building which had bamboo and mud walls but was roofed by corrugated tin sheets). There is little sense in having those sheets for roofing. Under a thatched roof or a roof with the village-made tiles the boys would not have acquired less wisdom or knowledge. Our planners regard this as high wisdom. They call it mixed economy—the economy of mud and corrugated tin sheets.

In these days mixing or adulteration is very much in fashion in our country. You cannot get anything pure. We have, therefore, to decide, whether we should take to the course of hoarding and growing 16, 32, 64 or even 128 times or contract into a 'minute form'. If we choose the former we have to ape U. S. A. or U. S. S. R., barter away our freedom and accept slavery. 13—9 —'54

The Social Need for Vanaprastha

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE reached the village Manihari this morning. Addressing the post prayer meeting he observed, "At a certain period in life, both husband

and wife must give up the responsibility of the home, entrust the same to the grown-up children, live like brother and sister and take to a life of social service. If they do not do it, the

evolution of the soul becomes blocked. This religious duty, now rarely found, was taught by our ancestors. They called it '*Vanaprastha*'. The shastras advise them all who attain the grandfatherly status to abandon their homes and devote themselves to the education of the society. There is plenty of educational work in our country today. But good and experienced teachers are not available. In case we had *Vanaprastha* teachers—who have had profound experiences in the domain of trade or industry, administration of public affairs, political or social organisations, who have glorious attainments to their credit—they would impart such a training to our children and youth as none else could. If tomorrow some capable and experienced person relieves Pandit Nehru of his responsibilities and he takes to teaching children, then a first-hand knowledge of the deeds of bravery and achievements will make them great heroes. Suppose, for instance, Dr. Radhakrishnan were to become a free man to-morrow and take to public service—he is doing public service even today but if he does it as an absolutely free man with no burdens—it would create a new life in the villages. A new *Chaitanya* (glow) will shine out. Had Napoleon conducted a school during his last days, what great warriors he would have produced! Society progresses onward when people, after relinquishing their burden, take to extensive service. I have given instances of those who are busy in public work. If they were relieved of official responsibilities, they can do greater things. Be it as it may, if one elder

from every household were to entrust to the children, the responsibility of the home and come out for social service, we would get millions of public servants for work in our five lakhs of villages. All their intelligence and experience would be put to fair trial.

"After discharging his duties at various positions or posts, one should renounce them all at a certain stage and go to meet man as man and identify himself with others. Then will disappear the gulf which we find today between the leaders and the people and also the obstacles blocking our progress. It is an important thing deserving serious attention.

I will now give an instance of one far greater than any in modern India. I refer to Manu Maharaj. Tulasidas in his Ramayana, says that Manu ably ruled his kingdom and conducted the State affairs very well. But he felt that a continued stay on the throne would retard his growth. So he gave up everything. Tulasidas reminds us that he gave up the throne against the desire of all his kith and kin. He sought spiritual wisdom and attained it. Consequently, we had the incarnation of Ramachandra. This happens only when man cuts off all chains and merges himself into the Great Being. This largeness of heart, this non-attachment attitude has to be cultivated and developed by us. Our best men should dare to cut off the shell of limited responsibilities. Only then will our country rise up."

The Acharya continued, "I am not talking of *Sanyasa*. That is a much bigger thing and far more

advanced. I only plead for limitless activity in place of the limited one. When Ramachandra learnt of his coronation, he wondered why he was shown partiality, while all the four brothers had always been equally treated. Next day, when he learnt of his exile, his joy knew no bounds. Tulasidas says that Rama looked like a lordly elephant whose chains were removed. Rama felt that with his chains gone, he would be free to contact and serve the masses. And he did so for no less than fourteen years. When people ask me how long I would be on my feet, my reply is, 'I have the ideal of Ram before me.' When he went round for 14 years, what if I lose my life in the attempt? I should only pray that His shoes may be made out of my skin."

He concluded, "Like the ever flowing Ganga, we should ceaselessly

strive to serve the society. That Ganga is there in every heart. We have only to clear off the external coverings. Society has certain traits. Where is such society in our India? Merely living together does not make a society, even as they at the window of a railway booking office do not. They only clamour for their tickets without any consideration for others. We would have a society only when there is one heart. A thousand bodies and one heart would make a village. A thousand bodies and a thousand hearts characterise a jungle, not a human habitation. Millions of bodies and one heart would make the country. So let us wash off our malice and ill-will and be one at heart. Bhoodan Yagna is an endeavour in that direction."

19-11-'54

Students' Interview with Vinoba.

THE schools of Bihar have been very hospitable to Vinoba. Frequently they served as the venue of his camp for the day. Often the students and teachers met him and sought his guidance. When we were touring in the Kosi area, one day the students of Nepal, studying at the colleges of Path, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsha and Purnea, came to see him and spent half an hour with him. It is interesting to share this interview with the readers of Sarvodaya.

BHOODAN—THE BASE OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

At the outset they inquired of Vinoba whether Bhoodan Yagna would succeed in eradicating poverty from the country. Vinoba said, "Bhoodan alone cannot do it. Yet without Bhoodan it is impossible to achieve it. Bhoodan is the base. On that foundation the social structure is to be erected."

"Can economic equality be permanently established through Bhoodan?" next they inquired.

"Thereby you are expressing," observed Vinoba, "your opinion. Here too I agree. You cannot have economic equality through Bhoodan alone. At the same time, economic equality is impossible without Bhoodan. The raw materials produced in the villages must be turned into finished goods in the villages by the villagers themselves. And the villagers should use those finished products. Only those things that cannot be made by them in the village should come from outside. Every village must have its own arrangements for educating the children, to offer medical relief, to administer justice, etc. The scales of pay or wages must be almost the same to one and all. Otherwise, economic equality is impossible. You cannot reach Delhi while sitting in a train bound for Calcutta. Likewise, there cannot be any economic equality in India so long as the raw materials are taken away from the villages and mill-made and foreign goods are dumped in the village markets and the disparity in wages remains wide as it is today."

SAMYA YOGA.

Perhaps they did not fully grasp the significance of what Vinoba said. They therefore put in a strange query; "Do you believe in complete equality?" Vinoba smiled and said, "What does this question imply? What is complete equality? I do not believe in it? Do you think I believe in inequality or disparity which is there everywhere in our society today. Then why am I undertaking all this tour at all? The equality that I want is that which is called 'Samya Yoga'."

3

As these friends hailed from Nepal, they naturally wanted to know whether Vinoba would help them any way in case they started the Bhoodan Yagna movement in Nepal. Vinoba was happy at this question and remarked, "In these days no barriers can be set up against the flow of ideas. Should any country set up a wall, it would only hurt her own interests. None can stop ideas from spreading. The message of Bhoodan would reach every country. If you take up this work in Nepal, certainly you will have my support. It will exert its influence in other countries in proportion to its success in India. But I am not prepared to go to Nepal unless your Government invites me."

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICS.

The discussion took a serious turn when they posed a new question. "What do you think to be the difference between 'Darshan' (philosophy) and 'Rajniti' (politics)?" "Darshan is," replied Vinoba "exclusive and clear. On the other hand, Rajniti is a mixed thing. It is a compromise between the situation and the principles. There is the bad Rajniti and also the good Rajniti. The former simply exploits. Devoid of Darshan, it is all a-darshan. The good rajniti also does not consist of darshan alone. It is also a mixed one. You can call it applied darshan. Darshan is pure, clear and transparent. Rajniti is its practical application. Samya Yoga urges complete equality. Darshan is like the other shore; Rajniti acts as the connecting bridge. It will tell you how to get at the darshan. Rajniti joins present situation to

the *Darshan* ahead. What I call the *Lokaniti* is the *rajaniti* of Bhoodan Yagna.

This elucidation pleased the students very much. One of them, a philosophy student of the post Graduate class, then asked "Is *darshan* manifest or latent? What is the difference between *Kalpana* (Hypothesis) and *Darshan*?"

"What is clear and visible to us", Vinoba answered, "is *darshan*; what is latent or obscure is *annuman* (presumption). From smoke we presume the existence of fire. *Kalpana* is different from both *annuman* and *darshan*. It is beyond them. This morning, while on our way to this village we saw the Dhaulagiri mountains. Somebody remarked that it looked like Shankar Bhagavan's seat or *asan*. Now Shankar lives at Kailas. But who knows that it is his residence? *Kalpana* is what does not command full support of logic and *darshan*. But their slight basis coupled with immense faith gives rise to *Kalpana* which is sky faring."

STUDY OF SARVODAYA LITERATURE-

The time for evening prayer was drawing near. Then our friends had

their last straight question, "What can the students do for Bhoodan?" Vinoba suggested four things. First they should study Sarvodaya literature with an open mind. Books like Gandhiji's *Autobiography or Experiments with Truth* and *Mangal Prabhat*, Tulasidas's *Ramayan*, and Gita Pravachan must be thoroughly read and digested. He also advised them to go through regular journals like the *Bhoodan Yagna* and *Harijan* weeklies and the *Sarvodaya* monthly. The second one: they should do some productive physical labour every day. It must become a part of their daily life. Physical work like spinning, corn grinding, felling wood, utensil cleaning, soil turning, etc., can be done. Thirdly, they should contact the neighbouring villages, study their conditions and make a survey. Fourthly, they should behave courteous and gentle. "You must always be polite in tongue", concluded Vinoba. "No arrogance please. Compared to the villagers, you are supposed to be learned. But they are veterans indeed with an experience of several thousands of years. You have to be very human in your conduct towards them."

Let the Heart grow with the Brain

(VINOBA)

TODAY there is the Race for Armaments. Why? Which is the target? Animals? No. There was a time when man was afraid of them. But he became brave and conquered them. Now he is afraid of himself—his own species. Nations

live today in utter fear of each other. The Americans are afraid of the Russians and the Russians of the Americans. Before his own species man has thus become a coward.

Now what is to be done? Man flies in the air and travels in the

shortest time thousands of miles. He is no more confined to his little body. His brain has developed and has grown as wide as the world. But his heart has contracted and become small and narrow. He has introduced the system of passports and visas to move from place to place and country to country.

Aeroplanes etc. are not to be given up. Science should certainly develop and more and more knowledge has to be gained. But the heart must grow along with the brain. In ancient days our Rishies might not

have been in possession of so much of informations of the outside countries as we have today. But within them they saw the light shining in all. They saw the whole humanity in themselves and recognised all as their own. Their hearts were so large. But today the hearts within us have shrunk.

Man himself has brought this catastrophe. If he wants to survive, his heart must grow big. The very object of Bhoodan is for this.

Village Chapri (Bihar) - 23-11-54.

★ The Politics of Bhoodan.

(VINOBA)

From the point of view of public work, the people of India are in an elementary stage. There was a time when many workers came forward for public service. But now with the achievement of freedom, they believe that it has now to be done under the auspices of the Government and that there is neither any need nor scope for independent service through *Jan Shakti* (the self-reliance of the people). If the social workers cease to work on independent lines and do not contribute to the generation of *Jan shakti*, they would be sapping the very foundations of the State power. In democracy, the State cannot go ahead of the people independently. Take for instance, the problem of education. Intelligent and learned people have to create independent models of ideal educational institutions. Only then can the Government follow them and take any new step. In these days

everybody, from the President and the Prime Minister downwards, simply condemns the current system of education. How is it to be changed and by whom? These who follow the old pattern do not dare at anything new. They avoid a new line of thought. Therefore of all the institutions in our country, the universities are among the most orthodox and conservative. This learned fraternity is prepared for changing a comma here or a para there, but not for any basic alteration. If old education is to go, experiments of the new one must be carried on.

Some people imagine that Bhoodan has bid farewell to all politics. They ask me that if eminent personalities like Sri Jayaprakash Narayan give up politics, what will happen to the future? One of them went so far as to say that Sri Jayaprakash had taken to meditation and asceticism. They do not realise that

there is no aspect of public life that is not included in the 'non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with village industries as its mainstay'. Does it not include politics? In fact, this revolution seeks to root out the current politics altogether. These days bye-elections are in fashion. They are a mere replica of the Western pattern. Otherwise, I do not find any political wisdom in them. The Congress takes so much interest in them as if its citadel will fall down if it does not take part in it. The Praja-Socialist Party also behaves thoughtlessly. They do not feel that a five years' continuous work among the people is far more important and fruitful than these small fights in elections. In truth, both are power-mad. While one is the holder of power, the other is an aspirant for power. Elections seem to be at the centre of all their activities.

Just as the three tenses in Grammar past, present and future there are three periods in the grammar of these parties: Pre-election, election and post-election. There is no fourth and they are supremely unaware of the great *Ghost* of Time. They fail to grasp that strength lies not in politics but in *Samaj Shashtra* or social evolution. When Lokmanya Tilak was asked what portfolio he would take up after Swaraj, he replied, "I would like to be a professor of Mathematics or a student of the Vedas". So long as a country is not free, all energy must be concentrated on politics or in securing political power. But once freedom is attained, every effort must be

directed towards the achievement of Socio-economic revolution. Hence if you feel that strength lies merely in capturing the political power, I must say that you have missed the secret of Swarajya. You should, therefore, understand that those who offer life for the new Bhoodan Yagna-based-non-violent revolution in India, do not at all give up politics. They aim at breaking it up. What does the sun do? It does not fritter itself by shining among the various stars in the sky. It comes only to obliterate them out. Similarly, the Bhoodan movement seeks to wipe off the present party-differences and establish, what I call, *Loka-niti* or popular polity."

Pandit Nehru has recently observed that the picture of the future India before him is of the socialist variety. But our socialism would have to be different from that of the world, which is essentially constitutional. The socialists of Britain differ little from the conservatives there and both equally aspire for capturing the administrative machinery of the State. They do not work on the basis of independent *Jan Shakti*. This is possible only when the present values are replaced by new ones.

Hence Bhoodan is not a movement of charity or little love and kindness. It is one of 'Power of Love'. It, therefore, includes political affairs in their true sense and works at setting up *Loka Niti* after knocking out what is regarded as "politics" today. 12-9-'54.

[All these speeches of Vinobaji are adapted from the reports of Sri Suresh Ramabhai.]

GANDHI'S IDEAL OF Freedom and Happiness.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

The following is from the speech of the Rashtrapathi while unveiling Gandhiji's statue in Delhi on 11th October 1954. It is a clear exposition of Gandhiji's basic philosophy of freedom and happiness. It is not the material standard of external life that assures freedom and peace but it is the condition of one's own inner self which feels 'free of extraneous pressure or restraint or inhibition'. He defines clearly '*ahimsa* as the avoidable co-ercion and undue pressure on others'. The President stressed on the truth of '*Simple living and high thinking*', by practising which "Mahatma Gandhi could enjoy in his hut the happiness which an humble follower of his is unable to have even in palatial Rashtrapati Bhavan".

THE United States of America is looked upon as a rich and prosperous country. I have heard of an interesting proof of their prosperity. The U. S. A. with a population of about 17 crores has over 4.5 crores of motor cars, which means that if we take four people to be a family unit, every family there has more than one car. I am told ordinary workers and labourers in America go to their respective factories and return home after work in their own cars.

At the other end of the scale are many backward countries whose people do not get even two square meals a day and who are devoid of all amenities which are considered the source of happiness and prosperity today.

It seems to have been taken for granted that by acquiring certain material resources we can raise the standard of living of human beings. Following this principle, all the countries of the world are set upon acquiring and multiplying their resources.

REAL HAPPINESS.

It is no doubt right that a hungry man cannot think of praying. Mahatma Gandhi himself once said that the hungry man sees God only in the form of a bread. But even then we should think how far this kind of material prosperity can lead to real happiness. I have also heard that the countries which are known to be prosperous and resourceful are not blessed with mental peace, whereas, on the other hand, we find lot of poor people who excite our pity leading a happy and contented existence.

The truth is that the source of real happiness is in one's own inner self and not the outside world. We equate happiness with the world of external things and that is why there is a scramble for acquisition and accumulation of things. The fact is that these things are, at best, no more than means to achieve happiness and not happiness itself. One can experience happiness even without them. Apart from this, it is worthwhile considering what is real happiness.

I think real happiness or peace of mind means the complete freedom from extraneous pressure or restraint or inhibitions.

MINIMISING COERCION.

One basic fact which must be recognised is that any kind of inhibition or restraint is irksome. It ceases to be irksome only when it becomes something voluntarily accepted or adopted, which, in other words, means, when it ceases to be restraint or coercion. It is this absence of restraint or coercion from outside and voluntary adoption of any line of thought or action which brings real happiness. Any subtraction from complete freedom is loss of freedom to the extent and implies dependence on something else. Man as a member of society or even as an individual has long ceased to be fully free, if he ever was or can be free. All that can be aimed at or achieved is the reduction or minimization of this restraint or coercion and increasing to the maximum the freedom which man enjoys.

His material requirements can be satisfied, it is obvious, only by subjecting himself to some curtailment of this freedom. His mental satisfaction and possibly his spiritual aspiration become reduced in quantum and perhaps also in quality by the amount of material satisfaction which in the very nature of things implies restraint.

HIGHER STANDARDS.

What is generally termed progress has tended more and more to restrict man's freedom. In every

department of life and activity man has to submit more and more to external restraints and inhibitions. It follows that there must be consequential and proportionate diminution in the mental satisfaction and spiritual endeavour even though man may not feel that restraint or realise the ever-growing restraint being put on him from day-to-day. It is thus clear that real happiness lies in freedom from restraint which, in turn, implies man's capacity to carry on with as little dependence on others as possible. We cannot escape from the conclusion that what is generally called high standard of living has served to increase our dependence on others and to that extent has removed us further from real happiness.

We see in the world of today that distance between country and country has almost been annihilated and nations living far apart from one another have come closer so that if something happens at one place it has its repercussions far and wide. It does not hold good only of dreadful things like the war but also of beneficent activities.

PROGRESS AND FOOD.

One of the results of this progress has been that man is now dependent for his daily necessities of life on far off countries. An example will clarify the point. Many of us present here today have known the days when the railway system in India was not expanded to the present extent, when there were no cars or automobiles of any kind and when he had not even heard of the aeroplanes. At that time also food was as important as it is

today. Then every community depended for its food on itself and on the land which it cultivated. True, if there was failure of a crop on account of natural calamities like floods or drought, the community suffered. But otherwise it managed to live on what it produced and learnt in course of time the wisdom and the prudence to save food for emergencies.

On account of the improvement in the means of transport today foodgrains can be easily supplied from one part of the country to another. We saw recently that food had to be dropped by aeroplanes on areas which were rendered inaccessible by flood. All this sounds so nice, but we have to see whether this development has enhanced or restricted our freedom. My feeling is that by increasing such needs as he cannot fulfil himself, man has necessarily restricted his freedom.

TWO ASPECTS.

By giving the example of food imports, I have tried to show our dependence on other countries. That is not all. If far off Argentina, Canada or America has a bumper wheat crop, it results in the falling of wheat prices in India. Because of the improved means of transport the availability or otherwise of things does not depend on local conditions but on the overall world conditions. If food cannot be imported from other countries because of some natural calamity or as a result of outbreak of war, the needy countries will have to suffer untold misery.

We saw how during the last war people of even the neutral countries

had to suffer because of the restrictions on transport and import of certain articles from overseas. So, there are two aspects of this progress. If it promises plenty during peace times, it also threatens to release a rich harvest of sufferings and privations, in case communications are dislocated on account of hostilities.

CURTAILING FREEDOM.

It is necessary to remember that even if all of our requirements are satisfied, we are bartering our freedom for that satisfaction. For instance, whenever, there is illness in an epidemic form in the country, we have to depend on other countries to supply us with medicines. Similarly whenever there is a famine, others can save us from its dire consequences, but at the same time, if they like, they can also starve us by withholding the supply of foodgrains.

If the war breaks out today the belligerents need not resort to deadly weapons in order to kill others. They can do it equally effectively by disrupting the system of transport. Therefore, while on the one hand, we are endeavouring to raise the standard of living, those very efforts might result in curtailing of our freedom and self-dependence.

In spite of this all-round progress we have not yet reached a stage when we could produce an article in sufficient quantity so as to meet the requirements of all the people of the world. When we cannot say so about food, which tops the list of man's needs, it is no use talking about

other things which are produced in still lesser quantities. That is why the standard of living of all the countries is not uniformly high and presents an unpleasant contrast. Those who possess more are anxious to extort more and more from those who do not possess much. The result is naturally conflict between man and man and country and country. The fear of this conflict has become a nightmare for modern man.

DANGER OF HOARDING

While preaching truth and Ahimsa, Gandhiji also warned us against the dangerous temptation of acquisition and hoarding. He thought that hoarding was no better than theft. It is because of this tendency in man that conflicts arise.

He gave the first place to Ahimsa in his programme. In plain language, Ahimsa can be defined as the avoidable coercion and undue pressure on others. We cannot possibly escape conflicts if we go on increasing our needs of hoardable things. This conflict may be individual or collective. This can result only in

one thing, namely, putting pressure on others and for fulfilling our wishes placing others in difficulty.

It is, therefore, necessary to realize that what we have assumed as an axiomatic truth, namely, that increase in material prosperity also means the attainment of happiness, is neither quite correct, nor so self-evident. This assumption is true only up to a certain limit, and the more we transgress the more remote become our chances of being happy. This limit has to be fixed by man himself.

TRUE PROGRESS.

This is undoubtedly beset with countless difficulties, but I do think that it is not altogether impossible for man to achieve happiness without the usual paraphernalia which passes for man's every day necessities. This is exactly what is meant by the adage, 'simple living and high thinking'. It was by practising this truth that Mahatma Gandhi could enjoy in his hut the happiness which an humble follower of his is unable to have even in palatial Rashtrapati Bhavan.



Dedicate Your Talents to Service.

MAHATMA GANDHI

PUT your talents in the service of the country instead of converting them into £. s. d. If you are a medical man, there is disease enough in India to need all your medical skill. If you are a lawyer, there are differences and quarrels enough in India. Instead of fomenting more trouble, patch up those quarrels and stop litigation. If you are an engineer, build model houses suited to the means and needs of our people, and yet full of health and fresh air. There is nothing that you have learnt which cannot be turned to account.

From 'Selections from Gandhi'.—By N. K. Bose.

MAN MUST TRANSCEND MATERIALISM

Jaya Prakash Narain

IN days gone by men tried to be good, impelled by some higher moral force in which they believed; and goodness meant such things as truthfulness, honesty, kindness, chastity, unselfishness. Men felt that it was the highest moral duty to try to be good. Whether they succeeded in their trial, or whether they tried at all, was a different matter. The important point is that society provided every individual with the motive to be good: it was the command of religion, of God; it was necessary for one's highest growth, for self-realisation; it brought peace and supreme happiness; it brought salvation and freedom from births and deaths.

In present society, with the hold of religion gone, faith in God shaken, moral values discarded as dead-weights of the dark ages of history; in short, with materialism enthroned in men's hearts, are there any incentives to goodness left? Indeed, has the question any relevance at all to present facts, problems and ideals of human society?

I hold emphatically that no other question is more relevant to us today.

In spite of what may be broadly described as the materialist climate of present society, men everywhere are engaged, in their different ways, in creating a heaven upon earth—in remaking, refining, perfecting human society. These efforts, even the most idealistic and ambitious, such as Communism of its original conception, seem, however, to be shipwrecking on one obdurate rock—human baseness.

It is clearer today than ever that social reconstruction is impossible without human reconstruction. Society cannot be good unless individual men are good, and particularly those men who form the elite of society.

Here then is the crux of the modern problem. Men wish to create, if not an ideal, at least a good society. Modern science and technology make that task far easier than ever before. But men lack the tools with which to make themselves. And the ideals are forgotten, and they begin to fight for power, position, spoils, bringing down the whole edifice of the new society.

Therefore, the problem of human goodness is of supreme moment today. The individual asks today why should he be good. There is no God, no soul, no morality, no life hereafter, no cycle of birth and death. He is merely an organism of matter, fortuitously brought into being, and destined soon to dissolve into the infinite ocean of matter. He sees all around him evil succeed—corruption, profiteering, lying, deception, cruelty, power—politics, violence. He asks naturally why he should be virtuous. Our social norms of today and the materialist philosophy which rules the affairs of men answer back: he need not. The cleverer he is, the more gifted, the more courageously he practises the new amorality; and in the coils of this amorality the dreams and aspirations of human-kind become warped and twisted.

For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of the goddess—

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Dialectical Materialism—which seemed to me intellectually more satisfying than any other philosophy. But while the main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied, it has become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs man of the means to become truly human. In a material civilization man has no rational incentive to be good. It may be that in the kingdom of dialectical materialism, fear makes men conform, and the Party takes the place of God. But when that God himself turns vicious, to be vicious becomes an universal code.

I feel convinced, therefore, that man must go beyond the material to find the incentives to goodness. As a corollary, I feel further that the task of social reconstruction cannot succeed under the inspiration of a materialist philosophy.

It may be asked if any social conditioning is at all necessary for men to acquire goodness. Is not man essentially good? Are not most men in every society decent?

Yes and no.

Man is a socio-organic being: he is partly the product of "nature" and partly that of society. What man is by nature cannot be said with certainty. Indeed, the very concepts of good and bad are supernatural or super-organic. There is nothing good or bad in nature. Human nature, apart from the instincts of self and race preservation, is most likely of a neutral character which acquires moral tones in accordance with social conditioning.

It is true that in every society most men are decent and good. These men go through life without being called upon to make any vital moral judgments. Their routine of life runs within narrow circles, and custom and tradition answer for them the questions concerning right and wrong.

But, firstly, these harmless decent men are apt under social stimuli to turn suddenly wild and vicious.

Secondly, what is vital for the character of society, and for the direction of its growth, is not so much the character of the inert mass as that of the *élite*. It is the philosophy and action of this group of the select that determine the destinies of men. To the extent the *élite* becomes godless or amoral, to that extent evil overtakes the human race.

Let me hasten to remove a possible misunderstanding. I do not mean to suggest that all those who profess a philosophy of materialism are vicious nor that all non-materialists are good. But what I do assert is that there is no logic in materialism for the individual to endeavour deliberately to acquire and practise goodness. On the other hand, those who go beyond matter will find it difficult to justify non-good.

Non-materialism—I am using this negative phrase because I have no particular school in mind—by rejecting matter as the ultimate reality, immediately elevates the individual to a moral plane, and urges him, without reference to any objective outside of himself, to endeavour to realise his own true nature and fulfil the purpose of his being. This endeavour becomes the powerful motive force that drives him in its natural course to the good and the true. It will be seen as an important corollary of this that only when materialism is transcended does individual man come into his own and become an end in himself.

(We are indebted to the Book University Journal which had published from Freedom First—Sept. '52.)

Snatching Away the Straw.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

THE Central Ministry of Irrigation and Power had invited opinion as to the advisability or otherwise of the use of electricity in villages. We had already pointed out in our last July issue that the so called "Cheap Power" is in reality costing the Government a subsidy of about Rs. 7-15-0 per unit. This, in the main, benefits the industrialist in a capitalistic setup. We have to reckon our costs of benefits in a country like ours in terms of labour and human welfare. We are immediately concerned with feeding the people and not in producing material goods at all costs. Production in itself is not a goal. We have to take into consideration all the repercussions of our economic organisation in the social order.

The Damodar Valley Project itself is estimated to cost about Rs. 28 crores, and produce 2,00,000 K. W. of electric power per hour. This is calculated to work 29.2 crores of I. H. P. engines for 8 hours. This is equivalent to 8.0 lakhs pairs of bullocks or 80 lakhs of adult workers. Damodar Valley Project only represents 10 per cent of the scheme. Therefore the displacement of labour by the whole scheme will be 10 times greater than what is stated above. All this, in effect means bringing into existence a fresh lot of people putting out of work as many existing ones. If we can shoot them all down there would be less objection from

the humanitarian grounds as otherwise we shall have to starve them to death.

The recently conducted All India Survey of Working and Living conditions by the Union Labour Ministry reveals facts which ought to guide us, in this matter.

"Men agricultural labourers form 55 per cent of the total agricultural labourers in Rural India and they are underemployed or unemployed for a considerable part of the year. The survey shows that agricultural labour provides employment to men workers for 189 days in the year. They remain unemployed for 100 days and scrap up miscellaneous labour of non-agricultural character for 29 days."

We cannot afford to depress the wages any further. Our country is largely dependent on agricultural as an occupation. The effect of the introduction of electricity in rural parts will be to depress employment and impinge on the wage rates on the one side and on the other let the ones who have the capital get access to the existing water supply when electric pumps are used without augmenting the water supply as the shallow wells dry up. Thus the sum total of land under cultivation will be decreased while a few acres of the rich will be intensively cultivated. In the aggregate, the production of the country will be less. The survey shows that,

as it is, the average daily wage per adult male is Rs. 1-1-8 and female labour gets annas 10-8 in agricultural work i. e. about Rs. 104 per capita annual income. In all conscience, no family can exist on such wages even on a starvation level. They have no proper clothing or roof over their heads. If electricity is brought in at these subsidised rates we are virtually giving those starved mankind the quit order forthwith.

I am not pleading to have electricity out. When a drowning man is clutching at a straw as his last hope what is the proper action to take? Pull away the straw, counsel him better and then search for a better floatsam? No. That will guarantee drowning. First offer him a better substitute and then his hopes will revive. Electricity at this stage makes the man on the raft more secure and the struggling one sink deeper.

What many friends, even constructive workers, do not realise is that the charge for electricity to the consumer is not its cost but nominal rate fixed by the Government and

represents a subsidy out of Government funds which ultimately comes from the people. This whole question needs careful analysis if we are not to be landed into a quagmire of unemployment and poverty.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the solution lies in raising the level of subsoil water and stopping erosion on a wide scale. These measures will also check floods. Money will have to be spent but when it is spent in co-operation with the people it will go a long way. Electric generators are built largely out of imported machinery while canals, tanks and wells can be constructed providing work for the people and distributing wealth. At the same time we shall be moving towards a day when we shall be able to set them on their own feet. The first thing to do is to strengthen the agricultural sector. The electricity programme seeks to aid industry and in reality is aiding mass production. This is commencing at the wrong end.

(Gramodyog Patrika—
November 54.)

GANDHIJI ON MACHINERY.

Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India.

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Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human effort. The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths.

★

The supreme consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man.

Ten Days with Vinobaji.

LEE KLEISS

THIS may sound as strange as any science, fiction story, and therefore I would like to share it with you. Imagine yourself on an Indian train which resembles a streetcar with its wooden seats and open windows. We are headed for Pusa Road Station in the State of Bihar. At present this whole area has been badly affected by the floods. It almost seems as if the train proceeds across a lake. Only trees and the railway ramp are showing above the water. The train travels more and more slowly. Out of curiosity we opened the door to look out. The bridge had given way under the pressure of the flood waters. We are heading for a new emergency bridge. The engineer, to his neck in water, watches anxiously as our engine advances. The bridge holds, we are the first to cross. What a cheer from the work crew!

Somehow this seemed a fitting entrance into the territory in which Vinoba Bhave is walking. A journey into *No Man's Land*; for he believes that the land belongs to God, no one should possess it. We may use it as we use the rain that nourishes the soil, or as we use the air we breathe. We all have the need and the right to food, shelter, and clothing. In poverty-stricken India with its high percentage of unemployment this is a serious problem. Yet if every family possessed five acres of land, all the basic needs, food, shelter, and clothing would be solved. A peasant can grow his food,

find mud, stone, or bamboo to build his little hut, and grow cotton which he can spin and weave himself. If he owns his own land, he will care for it and nourish it so that it will give better and more produce. As a labourer he has no such concern for the soil.

Many articles, pamphlets, and books have been written about Vinoba Bhave, but come along with me now to meet him. I joined five girls from the social workers' training centre where I had been staying. At 7 A.M. we reached a little village where green arches of welcome have been constructed, and children and adults had already gathered. The children were practising songs and calls—"Mahatma Gandhiji — Jai, Santa Vinobaji—Jai", "Who will be landless in our village?—No one will be, no one will be." A jeep came through with a loudspeaker announcing Vinobaji's arrival in Hindi. The children lined up on one side, the adults on the other side of the road. After fifteen minutes we saw some twenty people approaching, Vinobaji leading by some inches. All were clothed in Indian style, in white home-spun cloth. The people cheered, and as the group passed us, quickly followed. I was caught in a swirl and a rush and could hardly get a good look until the afternoon prayer meeting.

Already at 3 P. M. people were assembled and squatting down on the

ground, and by 4 P. M. some 25 thousand had gathered. One of the members of the group adjusted the microphone and sang a song about this revolutionary movement. Someone else sang. There were announcements, "Please be seated, Do not smoke during the meeting" etc., and the calls were taught to the audience. At 4-45 Vinobaji arrived, stood on the platform while someone started the call, "Who will be landless in our village?" with the audience crying, "No one will be, no one will be!" Then he sat for the half hour of prayer sung by the group. As his speeches are in Hindi, I could not follow. He speaks about love—how we should love one another, help one another, and share one another's burdens. Everyone should earn his bread by his own brow, not by the labour of others. Everyone has the right to food, shelter and clothing. Just as God lets rain fall on the just and the unjust, and has given us air to breathe; so we should not deny anyone his basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. For this reason the landless peasant needs land. He asks, "Will you please give? Adopt me into your family and give me a share of land which I will give to the landless. As the average Indian family has five children, let me be the sixth and give me a sixth of your land."

During the speech, children rise and squirm, but there is silence. All try to listen. The two loudspeakers are certainly not enough. Children form half the audience, and what noise there is, comes from them. They are not prevented from coming and leaving during the meeting.

After the speech Vinobaji remains to autograph his discourses on the message of the Gita in Hindi. The Gita has often been called the Hindu equivalent of the Sermon on the Mount. In the meantime members of the group are circulating through the crowd with special papers to be filled by those who give land.

Back at his quarters, I asked for permission to walk along with group for ten days. It was granted. Next morning I joined the morning prayers at 3-30 A. M. and we are off on the march by 4-15. It is still dark. One man goes ahead with a lamp, and another walks besides Vinobaji with a lamp. The rest of us follow behind. The villages we pass are still asleep. Daylight has broken when we reach a large village in which there is an enthusiastic welcome. In the rush we are all but trampled. A friend in homespun sees me and tries to make a path for me. This is the East, and I could not help but wonder if there had not been similar occasion in Palestine. The heat, the dust, the rush of barefooted, scantily dressed villagers all adds to the atmosphere.

Soon after our arrival at the day's destination, we are all served our breakfast, Indian style on banana leaves. We girls, some twenty from the training centre had come along for one day, were given a little room. A rug was placed on the damp earth, and we entered. There was just barely enough place for all of us to lie down, but we were tired enough to sleep. Until the afternoon meeting time we slept, bathed and washed our clothes, ate lunch, talked and

slept again. It was very hot. Others were not so privileged as they had to prepare for the meeting, attend to the day's mail, etc. Again a two hour prayer and speech meeting attended by an enthusiastic crowd.

That night I slept crowded between the other girls. It was not safe to stretch, you might kick the person in the next layer, and to turn over was almost impossible. At any rate I could not fall down as I was already on the floor. Hot and sweaty, I was glad to hear the 3 A. M. rising bell. We attended prayers and were off on a good dirt road. Already before sunrise the exercise of walking made us sweat. (It would be ridiculous to call it perspiring!)

A woman stopped us on the road. The members of the party tried to put her off to one side, but Vinobaji wished to listen to her. She had been dispossessed. The landlord claimed the ground on which her house rested. She was out on the road in the rainy season with two children. Vinobaji sent a message with the villagers to bring the landlord to the afternoon meeting. Afterwards both tenant and landlord faced their itinerant judge. It took three hours to settle her and another woman's case. A third woman had come but the landlord had not appeared.

Early morning prayers and we are off. This time the road is not so pleasant. We are ferried across some water. It is still dark, so I cannot tell whether it is a river or just flood water. We wind our way along some field paths, but even though soon

have to take off our shoes and take to the water. We reach our destination at 7-30 A. M. Our new quarters are completely surrounded by water. We had to wade through two feet of water for nearly half a mile to reach them. Usually the quarters are in the local schools and often the school boys or scouts guard the place to protect us from the over-curious villagers that usually swarm about us. Even if we are in a room, they manage to open the shutters and to peep in. On this little island the water protected us a little. As usual local hospitality prepares and donates the food to the group.

The next day we are forced to take to the railway tracks, everything else is under water. Of the three trains which pass us, only one passenger recognizes Vinobaji and greets him. It was a sign of the indifference of the world outside. I had to recall the enthusiastic welcome in Jerusalem and the quick forgetfulness.

In a similar manner the remainder of my ten days were passed. When we had not walked very far, and it was cool enough, we went in little parties to the landlords directly requesting land. Other days gifts were taken only during the meeting. These varied in size from two to twentyfive thousand in attendance. It is not the big landlords that Vinobaji approaches. He asks of all since, if enough little people give, the moral atmosphere will change. It is not a material communistic revolution he wishes to create but a practical spiritual revolution. The

final goal resembles very much a universal system of intentional communities similar to the early Christian communities; small village communities living together in the spirit of love like large families with no ownership of land and the needs of all being equally satisfied. The final goal would do away with all need of government, but such a goal is not immediately realizable, therefore Vinobaji believes a real democratic government to be necessary and good. But the mere possession of the vote hardly means democracy. Though the goal is that land should be used in common, at present the land donated is to be distributed to individual families.

Though the main request at present is for land, for the total revolution many gifts are possible. Firstly came Bhoodan—gift of land, then Sampati Dan—gift of property

($\frac{1}{3}$ of one's income), Buddhi Dan—gift of professional skill and knowledge, shrama Dan—gift of work, and lastly there has developed Jivan Dan—gift of life. I spoke with one young man who has been asked "Come follow me". He could not for he has a mother and a sister to provide for and a growing law practice. Again and again I am reminded of the similarity of Christ's preaching and healing tour on foot through Palestine. Some part of the message, such as the homespun clothes, may not be directly applicable for us in the West, and even if we cannot accept that he is Saint Vinoba, he still challenges us to become real Christians for it is the same age old message of love, non-violence, devotion, and service that he preaches as he walks from village to village not knowing where he will rest his head at night.

[Miss Lee Kleiss was born in Europe, but left it for America during World War II. She joined the Columbia University in New York City, from where she took her D. Sc. degree in Chemistry. While as a student even, she was actively serving the poor in the slum areas in clearing and rebuilding their huts. She organised and led work camps. She took her residence while in the University in the negro area in the City. After she took the D. Sc. degree, she joined the S. C. I. work camps. She received practically no pay at all. In S. C. I. work camps in India and Pakistan she served for $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 years and at the end of her term she was attracted by Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna. She followed Vinobaji for ten days in September '54 wading through flood-stricken Bihar villages. This is a picturesque description of Vinobaji's pilgrimage for the landless.]



Sarvodaya Social Order.

N. S. Sivasubramaniam, M. A.

AFTER a long and weary struggle for freedom, we are now free, and our first duty is to consolidate our position. Are we at it as it should be? How are we progressing in this free State? The struggle for freedom was unique, for the technique of the struggle was not blood-shedding and bomb-throwing. The moral force of this nation's right to freedom persuaded the enslavers to relieve themselves of this unholy burden. Satyagraha which won us our freedom has been more than a revelation to the world. It has forced humanity to recognise the sway of the spirit and its superiority over physical forces. India was and is a great spiritual country, and this, its recent liberation, should reinforce its faith in the moral and spiritual values and ways as opposed to material values which are swaying the whole of humanity. The Saint Gandhi has won the greatest political fight, and we his beneficiaries express our gratefulness by honouring him as the Father of the Nation. He needed political freedom not as an end in itself but as a means to shape us into what we should be—the worthy heirs of the rich spiritual heritage of the country. As such he had his definite conception of the State and its limitations, and had pictured the socio-economic order.

there are not others wanting to envy them and to pull them down. These concerning themselves with politics are apparently out to secure public welfare. These with their professed loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi have considerably strayed away from him in this short space of six years. The philosophy of the Mahatma and his technique of work, accepted and adhered to when he was alive are being openly scoffed at now. The Government wing thinks of dynamic planning and achievement, while the opposition thinks of revolution and reconstruction. Gandhiji built up his ideology on the spiritual foundations of the country. Now the politicians are carried away by the material prosperity of the West, and they want to march ahead of them. They appreciate the economic structure of those countries, their political institutions, and their notions and ends of life and are earnestly trying to imitate them to perfection. They mind more the international regard and position, as more than the real prosperity of the country. Their glamour for materialism has made them forget the higher values of moral and spiritual aspects of life. They doubt that the moral force which won them their freedom will be effective enough to sustain them in their work of consolidation.

One wing of his disciples has assumed the control of the State. With the fight for freedom over,

Gandhiji has left us a clear picture of a regenerate India after liberation. Man should not be a mere

producer and consumer of things like animals and stop content at that level. Man with his thinking and spirit should never descend so low. The present emphasis on human needs has forced him to seek new techniques of production, in abundance and variety. Everyone in his eagerness to have more of these has forgotten the human society of which he is a member, and has brought in the law of the jungle to prevail—the mightier thriving at the cost of the weaker, and the rest of nature. The self-centered man—the sheer materialist—has caused so much confusion and disorder. Now more persons get less of their needs in spite of all this emphasis on materialism. With the abundance of the few and the utter poverty of the many, human society has started on a fratricidal war which is growing in dimensions and intensity day by day. A few snatch at what many should be having, and the many in their spite are trying to pull down the few. This fratricidal war—as is usual in conflicts—ultimately helps neither side. In the conflict they destroy the very things they snatch at, and themselves also. This over emphasis as well the cause of the political commotion within the country, is the cause of universal wars of destruction.

A successful internal revolution, or victory in an international war, are both ineffective as long as human values do not get proper recognition. Truly man wants food and clothing, but he wants something more to make him full and happy. Till the spiritual and moral bonds are recognised

and accepted there can be no peace or prosperity.

Gandhiji with his spiritual bent, and loyalty to the heritage of the country, did envisage the Indian Society in which man could reach his fullness, and he called that new state of Existence as the Sarvodaya order. It is a social order in which one and all are preserved well by human and moral values and relationships. The brother-hood of man and to an extent even the rest of creation is conceded, and man as the crowning glory of creation is to reveal his finer and higher nature. The animal needs and energy goad him to production and consumption, but his spiritual element lifts him up far above the rest of the creation. He has to labour, not shunning it or forcing others to do it. Means of production simple and helpful: the plough, the spade, the spinning wheel and land are all owned and used by him. These means are not to be conceded property values—values which enable the owners to snatch at the fruits of the labour of others. They are to help the facile and trained limbs of their owner in getting his needs of life, with a little effort. Man consumes what he produces, and when the production is in excess of his needs he gives them to others for love or in exchange for some other thing needed by him. The intricacies of modern production, rent, interest, profit and dividend are gone, and man finds himself as helping others, or being helped by them. The fatigue of labour, the dread of competition, the uncertainty of employment and food,

and the mutual antagonism of the one to the other all disappear in this simple process of production and consumption. The human interest in the neighbour, human kindness, sympathy, generosity, sacrifice all bring in a happy suspicion-less society, which is so inconsistent to modern notions of life.

The utter freedom and lack of complicated organisation leave man free to cultivate higher and nobler pleasures of the spirit, and to attain perfection. The modern complicated methods of property-owning, large-scale production, international trade, centralised administration have stunted the growth of man. He is now being considered to be a danger to be given any freedom, too dull to be entrusted with any initiative. This economic ordering has widened the scope and power of the political organisation, which is tending to assume omnipotence. The economic and the political institutions are so intertwined that by whatever name they go, whatever differences they might have, they go to strengthen each other and that at the cost of the individual. In professed democracies, production machinery—capital—and the political state are separate entities. In the communist order—which is against capitalism the state with the concentration of political and economic power in its hands crushes the individual. In both the methods of production are the same—large-scale and centralised—wherein the labourer does his bread labour, losing all initiative and becoming an automaton.

Sarvodaya has a simple method of decentralised production, where labour and fruits of labour go together without other's intervention, where the worker retains his initiative and remains free. A more natural and a more happy human life

is what is being aimed at as the goal of Sarvodaya. Simplicity has to drive away the complications and superfluities that are confounding man now. Human life will get proper recognition than now. No more man need be a slavish subject, or a mere factory hand, or a knave to be imposed upon by all those who can afford to do so. Modern institution with their materialist bias have made him more miserable and less happy, but have encircled him so tightly, without a way of escape. In the new order the sway of the institutions will disappear leaving the man free to work out his destiny. Normally the son of man will not aim at becoming the offspring of the beast. He will strive for the rich corporate life leading to fullness of himself and others.

This was in a way the basis of our social ordering in the days of our glorious past. A few black spots appeared here and there and developed in course of time and that weakened us. We fell an easy prey to the onslaughts of foreign powers and ideologies. The foreign political domination has gone, but their ideas of life seem to have taken deeper roots. We need not shun them simply because of their origin, but when we find that they have achieved only confusion and human misery, we have to cast them away and look to our past for enlightenment. The Father of the nation has left us a clear picture of what we should become, and the ways and the means for the same. They are simple and unostentatious, when compared to the dynamism and the revolutionism so vociferously proclaimed nowadays through mighty explosions and total destruction creating a new heaven on earth. And we can surely reconstruct ours into a higher human society, in the Sarvodaya way.



The Village that gave itself to God.

Evelyn Reynolds.

The small village of Mongroth has made history in being the first of the 94 villages which offered their entire land for the Bhoodan movement to Vinobaji. Later the men in Mongroth began to waver but the womenfolk swore by the sacred gifts made. The whole village has begun its daring experiment in planning under the village community as a whole. Here is a graphic description by the author in the New Statesman and Nation, London, dated September 15, 1954 of the various phases of the rebuilding of Mongroth towards Sarvodaya.

IN the United Provinces, even a famous village is difficult to find. For several hours, our jeep had been trundling along blurred paths through the treeless plain. Then, a river obstructed. "We have arrived," said Karanbhai, relieved. Seeing nothing, we waded through the shallows, climbed the steep red cliff on the other shore—and there we were, thrust into a reception fit for Rama: the six hundred villagers had turned out to a man and, a riot of drums and cymbals and conches at our heels, we were swept towards a lavishly draped chariot with twenty pairs of bullocks to draw us along the last mile of our journey.

They were used to welcoming guests. Before our arrival, they had had other visitors, from as far afield as Delhi—social workers, journalists, even a diplomat—for, having given all its lands to Vinoba Bhave, the village of Mangroth had made history. Or rather, it had re-emerged into history; for a hundred years ago it had been a town with a population of 20,000, but after some disaster in the Mutiny the town had faded out, leaving behind only a whitewashed fort, the residence of an old family of Zemindars, to gather around it the mud huts which had sprung up, irrepressibly, from the dead site.

Karanbhai, who was in charge of Vinoba's Bhoodan movement in the

United Provinces, gave an account of recent developments to our party of observers. The Mongroth story had begun in the fort: for Diwan Sahib, the Zemindar, had been canvassing land reforms in the village even before Bhoodan came into existence, and when Vinoba came to Mongroth, in 1952, to ask for land for the poor in the name of God, the ground had been prepared. After two days and nights of deliberation, the villagers, headed by Diwan Sahib, offered up all their lands to the Saint, and slogans were painted on the walls of the huts: "All land belongs to God," they ran, in large, tumbling letters, and: "Long live Saint Vinoba." The offering was accepted, the villagers signed the Gift Deeds distributed to them and sent them on to Vinoba and his workers, who had meanwhile resumed their pilgrimage.

But it remained a symbolic gesture for many months and things continued as before. A social worker from Wardha came to stay for a while, but the villagers were suspicious of the reform schemes whereby he tried to make them redeem their pledge, and, not liking him, did nothing. In fact, they were beginning to have second thoughts: what might ultimately be demanded of them? How were they going to live, and find money for their daughters' dowries? Were they really all landless now, as the villagers from the

neighbourhood maliciously suggested, not having themselves taken any generous risks? But while the men were arguing about the theory of the case, the women remained firm. "We have given our lands to a Saint," they said, "and we should certainly be punished if we revoked the gift."

And they prevailed. A year later, Karanbhai arrived at the village and, the tide of goodwill having mysteriously returned, things began to move. He had brought with him all the Gift Deeds offering to return them. When the offer was refused, he set the uneasy villagers to work as trustees of their own gift; presently, a Village Welfare Council was elected to decide, first of all, upon three alternatives of farming: collective, co-operative or individual. A compromise emerged. One-third of the villagers, including Diwan Sahib, joined in a fully fledged collective—Parivar, the Family, it was called—and those who had been landless were absorbed in it.

The rest chose individual farming, and previous holdings were slightly modified, to introduce as much equality as the villagers would accept.

On the day after our arrival, I went out into the sesame fields to see the Family at work. Bindraban, one of the last night's cart drivers, came to meet me, smiling. He had had no land before, and now he was well satisfied. Like all the other collective workers, he received no wages, but food and clothes were distributed as rations from the common pool. No work—no rations, of course, unless there was a good reason for being absent. The other day, one of the young men had stayed away. He had no shoes, he said, when questioned, and they provided him

with a pair. When he still did not attend work the next morning, they stopped his rations: within a day, he was back.

But where Bindraban's worries ended, those of the Village Council, deliberating in the Diwan's courtyard, began: they were only just finding out how many problems there were. They had decided to switch cultivation from sesame and other cash crops to foodgrains and to become self sufficient; but to do that they would need more water, and how were they going to find the 70,000 rupees for a tube well? Then, there was soil erosion: they had edged the steep gulleys at the back of the village with wooden pinths, linked by a fence of twigs until a hedge grew to hold the crumbling soil: but would it outlast the rains? Village industries were to be revived; they were making their own shoes now, sturdy things recalling a rhinoceros' muzzle—but how to work the handlooms so long discarded?

And there were other difficulties. Even with Vinoba as landlord and the village community as trustee, some of the holdings were much better than others, and the individual farmers were better off than the Family. The Diwan, a Tolstoyan patriarch of splendid bearing, was much grieved at this persistence of inequality, and he had suggested to the villagers that they should now take another plunge and share all their possessions in true communist fashion. "But they don't seem to like the idea," he said, sadly. "No", said Karanbhai, "we mustn't do too much at once. A little at a time." It was a gamble, and disconcerting rumours kept drifting in from the neighbouring villages. Nevertheless, Mongroth had earned its fame: it certainly was a most exceptional village.

Kerala Jeevandanis' Camp.

THERE was a great response from the educated young men and women of Kerala to the call for dedicated service for Bhoodan. Kerala has already reached the initial target in Bhoodan. The problem of the distribution of the donated land and the rehabilitation of the villagers through seasoned and trained workers is the urgent one that faces the Conventor and his colleagues there.

A Training Camp, to meet this need, was conducted at Kainur village near Trichur from 7th to 31st December '54. Kainur is situated on the slopes of the Western Ghats surrounded on the three sides by paddy fields and fruit gardens. About 80 workers from all over Kerala including twenty girls participated in the Camp.

They had to clear and level up and also to lay roads leading to the camp venue. They constructed a shed also up the hills for prayer hall and meeting. The trainees observed a daily hard routine of life attending to all work themselves.

The camp was opened on the 7th by Sri A. W. Sahasrabudhe who spoke on Bhoodan Yagna and cottage industries. Sri Ekkanda Varier, the Conventor of the Kerala Samithi, stayed in the camp to personally guide the trainees and Sri Rajamunal, an experienced Bhoodan worker was in charge of the daily management. The trainees went out to the villages daily to survey the village conditions and needs of the people. There were daily discourses on Sarvodaya philosophy and programme by experienced workers.

A couple of days' stay and chat with the inmates of the camp has given the impression that these young men and women are enthusiastic and serious about the work ahead. They are all anxious to learn

with a free mind the Sarvodaya plan of life and programme of work. Most of them are educated; some with communistic leanings, and a few with socialistic bias posed many questions in the daily discussions of the general assembly. This has offered them opportunities for an analytical and comparative study of the various isms of the day with the Sarvodaya ideology.



PANNAI ASRAM.

At a meeting of the Prabandh Samitee of the Sarva Seva Sangh held on the 28th November, 1954 at Sevagram the future use of Pannai Ashram was considered. It was felt that the purpose for which the Ashram was founded would be best served by organising research on the proper utilisation of land, buttressed with an adequate use of needed village industries to make a self-sufficient unit, and training land workers on the basis of Nai Talim. This will also go towards providing well equipped volunteers to take up the work on the land received under the Bhoodan Movement when that comes to be distributed.

To explore the possibilities and prepare and submit a scheme, a committee consisting of Sri E. W. Aryanayakam, Prof. Thakurdas Bang and Sri B. S. Deshpande was appointed.

This is a new field of constructive work opened up by the implications of the Bhoodan Movement. Young men and women who are anxious to dedicate their lives for the building up of the countryside should communicate with Sri E. W. Aryanayakam, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram P. O., Wardha District, M. P.

J. C. Kumarappa.

Andhra Constructive Workers' Conference.

ABOUT 70 members representing various Constructive Work Associations gathered in a conference on 2nd and 3rd December, 1954 at Sarvodaya Ashram, Tiruvur, (Kistna Dt.). Srimans Yerneni Subramanyam, Gaddam Sanyasi Rao, Goparaju Ramachandra Rao, R. K. Ramalinga Reddi, Unnava Rajagopal, Krishnayya, P. V. Raghavan, Ex. Minister. V. Kurmayya, N. Chelapati, P. Nagabhusanam, V. Veerabrahmam, Secretary of the Constructive Workers' Association, Sri Chitti Sundara Rao of Andhra Bhoodan Samiti and others attended.

Srikrishnadas Jajuji from Wardha, Sri Radhakrishna Bajaj and Sri Prabhakarji of Sevagram addressed the Conference on some important subjects. Sri Jajuji spoke as follows:—

Andhra is reputed as it has stood in the forefront of every movement and won the appreciation of Gandhiji. The constructive workers should not forget that their creed is Non-Violence and Truth. Vinobaji has just now taken up the constructive programme of Gandhiji and has polished it to suit to the present conditions. The Bhoodan Yagna movement, Sampattidan and Shrama-dan movements are aiming at bringing about a new social order which is Sarvodaya. The workers and the intellectuals should put in physical labour. The constructive workers should adopt in their life what they preach to others.

He appealed to give a portion of every one's income for Sampattidan, calculated at three pies per every rupee of income up to Rs. 50, and 6 pies per rupee of income up to Rs. 150 and three pies for every additional hundred of the income. He exhorted the audience that their duty lay in the millions of villages and not in the legislatures and other Government departments. He advised the constructive workers who

believe in Sarvodaya ideal not to participate in elections.

Sri Radhakrishna Bajaj spoke on cow protection.

Sri V. Veerabrahmam, Secretary, Andhra State Constructive Workers' Association read out the report of the Association which had been functioning since October 1953. Many institutions in Andhra doing various items of constructive programme have been affiliated.

Sri Chitti Sundara Rao, of Andhra Bhoodan Yagna Samiti read out the report about the work so far done. Up to the end of November 1954, 20,360 acres of land have been received. Rs. 2,171 of Sampattidan, Rs. 2,361 of Sadhan dan, nine houses and 5 bulls have also been received. Arrangements are also being made for the ensuing yatra of Vinobaji in Andhra. Some land has been distributed in Visaka district.

Sri Prabhakarji spoke on the duties of the constructive workers and appealed to them to offer and collect yarn for the Sarvodaya Mela Day on 12th February.

Sri U. Kesava Rao, Sanchalak, Hyderabad Bhoodan Samiti spoke on the publication of the Gandhian and Bhoodan literature and exhorted the workers to carry the Sarvodaya message to every house.

Sri Vallabhaswamy, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, advised the Andhra State Constructive Workers' Association to get affiliated to the Sarva Seva Sangh so that there may be a fellowship of Gandhian followers all over the country.

A committee was formed to publish Telugu literature on Bhoodan and Gandhian Constructive Work.

V. Veerabrahmam



Wilfred Wellock's "New Horizon".

A REVIEW BY K. SRINIVASAN, M. A.

Readers are familiar with Mr. Wilfred Wellock's Orchard Lea Papers strongly advocating Gandhian Way or the third way as an answer for all the present ills of the too much centralised and mechanised civilization challenging moral and spiritual values. "New Horizon" will be greatly welcomed by all those who are inspired with Sarvodaya idealism. This review is a spontaneous reaction of a scholar who felt attracted by the book. (Price Rs. 1-12-0 available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.)

Wilfred Wellock is a wellknown English Pacifist and an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi. The book "New Horizon" is a reprint of his Orchard-lea papers with an introduction by the author. It makes a powerful appeal to Westerners to develop a new outlook on world problems and warns that otherwise the third world war will come and envelope the world in destruction and ruin.

According to the author, Western civilisation is a product of the industrial revolution. Built on the use of power and machines "it has made the mistake of equating abundant life with abundant possessions and a high standard of living". This has led to a scramble for colonies, to a fight for markets and produced a vicious cycle of our production, in employment, economic break down, communism, counter revolution and finally war. "Western civilisation today is like a blind man who has been put on the wrong road. It has become so outward and unstable that growing fear is shaking its very foundations" (P. 23).

The time has come to cry a halt. The revolt of the under-developed nations of Asia and Africa against this economy of the industrial West is now in full swing. They are all trying to set up their industries and become self-sufficient. This is only legitimate. It should not and cannot be stopped by war hot or cold. Imperialism and colonialism can be sustained no longer. Communism thrives only on the failure of the capitalism to begin to build a self-sufficient agro-industrial economy

based on home needs and not on foreign markets. Such an effort might temporarily lower the Western standards of living, but it will not be very much because the present efforts for armaments could be utilised constructively.

Superficially the crisis is economical, but its roots are spiritual. Violence, aggression and war are inherent in our capitalist economy. To overcome this "action should be taken at three levels—the political, cultural and the personal" (P. 30). Our age requires a new pattern of life which takes into account the whole man. "Our need today is a simpler life, plainer living, deeper thinking and the substitution of a qualitative for a quantitative civilisation" (P. 25). "The international order of peace and world government for which we look in vain will not come by power from above, but by culture and enlightened personal and social action of the people" (P. 53). For this there must be a new education. Education today is largely directed by fear and a growing materialism. Instead "it should be for a living leading to a human wholeness through self-expression through working" (P. 70). This cannot be achieved in a machine age. We must revert to the day of small things done at home creatively. "It is not the pleasures of life that man needs but the satisfactions of creative living" (P. 80). When this is realised a new chapter will open for humanity to build a world full of peace and comfort and gay based on creative work, non-violence and non-exploitation.



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INDIA'S
MAHATMA GANDHI.

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I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice: an India in which there shall be no high class or low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs.

Women will enjoy the same rights as men.

Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

Basic Education for Free India

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



The soul-stirring speech of Pandit Nehru on Basic Education in the Avadi Session of the Congress on 23rd January '55 is perhaps his greatest contribution to the cause of Basic Education till now. Every one consumes something or other and it is the duty of every one to be an effective producer of something if he is not to be a burden on society. It is therefore the duty of the State and society to impart that education which will eminently make the citizen grow as an effective producer. Pandit Nehru's appeal rings with fervour and faith in the ideal of Basic Education which is the basis of the Sarvodaya pattern of Society in Free India. The resolution runs as follows:

The Congress calls upon all the State Governments to further as early as possible the policy of Basic Education so as to implement this policy in both rural and urban areas in a scientific and well-planned manner within a period of ten years."

LOOKING at it purely from the educational point of view any modern educationist is bound to accept the basic method of education. And yet unfortunately, to my great surprise, some educationists in our country have criticised this, and have said that this is a "throw-back" to some primitive state of education. I can only say that they have not taken the trouble to understand what basic education is; further they have not quite understood what India is aiming at to-day. The old style of education was originally started by the British 100 years ago with the particular purpose of getting a number of Indians trained to help them in the administration of the country in the lower ranks. It is true that since then, our education has progressed and it is also true that even under the old style of education India has produced some very fine specimens of humanity, who have become cultured men and women. But, that is no argument that it is a perfect type of education.

Opportunities for all

I think, given the opportunities, India ought to produce a vast number

of very high class persons, men and women. I have no doubt in my mind that given the opportunity India can produce hundreds of thousands of absolutely first class people in various branches of work and knowledge. But they do not have this opportunity.

I can tell you nothing pains me so much as when I see little children who are denied proper education. Sometimes they are denied food or clothing. But if our children to-day are denied that, what is our India of tomorrow going to be?

Free Education

It is the duty of the State to provide good education, and free education to every child in the country. But unfortunately, we could not do all these things quickly and suddenly because of our lack of resources, lack of finance, lack of trained personnel and lack of many things.

But we have to get going because after all, whatever the pattern of society we are looking forward to, it must produce trained human beings, not just those who can read and write but those whose character has been developed, whose mind has some

aspirations and whose hands can do something.

False Notion about Manual Labour

Unfortunately, in our country there is a tradition that manual labour is something bad and degrading and is meant only for the lower class of people.

I doubt, if any other thing had done more harm to India than this particularly fantastic notion that manual labour is meant for some lower classes and that the high class person should not move his hand and should only do what is called mental and intellectual work. That idea still persists. I can only describe it not only as a wrong idea, but as a pernicious idea. I do not think that any nation that thinks that way can really progress. Apart from everything else, from the point of view of even physical development, manual work is essential.

I claim to have good health and I am prepared to meet anybody of my age in most tests, physical or otherwise. If they want to run a hundred yards, I will run with them. If they want to swim I can swim with them. If they want to ride, I can race with them on "horse back". I have always attached a good deal of importance to the body. I have always had an acute dislike to illness or feebleness. I do not sympathise with illness. I want our people, young and old, to be healthy, strong and agile. I want them to become an A-1 nation because, individuals apart, I do not think we can really make much intellectual progress unless we give it a good physical background.

Physical Fitness

This type of education which will concern itself only with reading of

books, if I may say so, is incomplete. You may become a high class mathematician or a high class individual but you will find that you will be even a better mathematician if your body functions adequately and properly.

Therefore, it has become necessary in our country to lay the greatest stress on physical fitness. I do not like a person going about with a bent-back. I want them to be straight, and walk erect like a ramrod. I want them to be quick in walking - not loitering about as many of us do. You can take it from me, if your hands can do things, your minds can do much more.

We say that we require education for the purpose of achieving the national aims and social objectives of free India, and in particular, to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of our development plans. After all, we want to educate a person for something. What for? Well, perhaps, previously it was to secure a job in Government Service. Government Service is, of course, a honorable calling. There is nothing wrong about it. Certainly not in Free India: but, obviously, and naturally, only a small handful can get into it. The vast majority have to do something else. Of course, you can become a lawyer, even though I do not think it is very profitable from the national point of view for us to have too many lawyers.

Our Duty in Productive Labour

I want you, each one of you, to be productive, to produce something. You consume each one of you and you consume what society produces. Unless you produce at least what you consume, you are a burden on society. You are stealing other people's wealth.

You talk of rich men who live on other people's wealth. May be, you are right. Possibly, a rich man is performing, apart from his riches, an important role in his organising capacity, or he is doing something. But what about the person who is not rich and who produces nothing but lives on other people's production.

We want a society in which everybody is a producer in some way or other. Everybody is a consumer; he must be a producer also. If he is to be a producer, an effective producer, he must know his job well. For this he must learn.

We want everyone to be good at the particular job he does. And there are hundreds of thousands of ways of working. I do not particularise this work or that, but you must work in some field of activity and be a producer.

If that is our objective, then our whole training ideological, intellectual and physical must be aimed at that.

Training of Mind and Body

Now the whole concept of basic education is, as I understand it, that for a period of seven years, everybody in India, every boy and girl between the ages 7 and 14, must go through this course of basic training and that training must give every person an adequate background to do something. He may, at a later stage, go to higher studies—not necessarily degrees like B.A. or M.A. It will probably be studies in some technical or scientific institute, where he can go and specialise. But seven years of basic training will be common for all. It

will give some cultural attainment, character, capacity to work, that is, fitness to carry on manual activities, and intellectual ability. We want that kind of basic education through out.

But before that, I also want them to have a pre-basic training which I consider essential. The pre-basic training, according to my conception, will begin after the child is a year or two. It is of the highest importance, much more important than any training given afterwards because the child's character is largely formed in the first five or ten years.

The next step will, of course, be that the basic education should be fitted into it. After that, many will not seek additional training. They may become farmers, shop-keepers or artisans. There is no need for these people to go to college or university. But those who have the capacity, should go in for higher technical—scientific, medical or engineering—training. So the basic training and the other training should be dovetailed. At present, they are not.

So here is a subject of the highest importance, training of our youth, training of the mind, of body and hand.

State Governments

I hope and trust that our State Governments will take this up with speed and enthusiasm. Because, this is largely a question for State Governments. Of course, the Central Government come into the picture also, and they must play their part. Nevertheless, it is largely a question for State Governments and they must push it through.

VINOBAJI IN BIHAR.

SURESH RAMABHAI

Sri Suresh Ramabhai who has been following Vinobaji-yatra and reporting his speeches during the last few months, pictures here graphically some typical instances showing how Vinobaji has won the love of the masses and the land-holders of Bihar. The land-holders feel agitated when their dana-patras are not accepted by Vinobaji for various reasons. Some dana-patras are rejected as the offers are too small to the land owned by the donors or there are some local grievances against the donors. The donors argue and plead with tears of love till at last they yield to the just claims insisted by Vinobaji. Many spontaneously offer land after being inspired by Vinobaji's prayer-speeches or his 'Gita Pravachan'.

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE entered Bihar in his Bhoodan Yagna Mission on 14th September 1952. During these two years and three months he had been ceaselessly on his feet except when he was ill for some time at Chandil, observing his routine with almost a sun-like regularity. He has thus directly contacted about 5,000 villages of Bihar and more than half a crore of Bihar peasantries have listened to his message from his own lips. Perhaps no other Indian in this millenium has served Bihar in this fashion and conveyed the call of the age to the people with so much steadfast devotion and self-sought penance. Vinoba has called this tour of his, a 'Bhog-Yatra' (luxury journey). But only the future will reveal what a tremendous sacrifice it was. The coming generations may wonder how in this age of science and speed Vinoba 'kept company with the companionless among the poorest, the 'lowliest and the last'. Through out his Yatra, Vinoba has touched the very depths of the heart of Bihar. No statistics

can illustrate the measure of the same. In fact, its full significance will be realised several years, rather decades after. But an idea of it can be had from the many eventful happenings that came to pass in this tour especially during the last six months. They will show, as nothing else can, in how subtle and silent a manner has Vinoba's melodious symphony moved the chords of the heart of Bihar's loving and intelligent populace. For want of space, I would have to confine myself to about half a dozen cases to which I myself was a witness.

A ZAMINDAR'S DANAPATRA.

It was August end. Vinoba was touring the flood-ravaged parts of the Samastipur sub-division of Darbhanga district. We waded through water mostly on foot, taking a boat only when it was more than chest-deep. The floods this year surpassed all those in living memory. Yet the people faced them with courage and fortitude. One morning we were

going by boat to a village called Hathauri. On our way lay a small village. A rich zamindar of that place expressed his desire to offer some land in Bhoodan. We learnt that he was known to be very tyrannical and had recently evicted several poor families. He wanted to present his *dan-patra* (gift deed) in Vinoba's own hands. But as we had no programme to halt on our way, the landlord took his own boat, rushed up successfully to catch us. Leaping from his boat into ours, he submitted his *dan-patra* to Vinoba who told him, "I gather that the local people have some grievances against you. In that case how can I accept your *dan-patra*?" Denying the same the zamindar replied, "No, huzoor! This is all wrong. You can very well enquire."

"Now I am going to my camp. It is impossible to make any enquiry here on route. You please come to the camp. Your *dan patra* can be accepted only after investigations."

We reached Hathauri at about ten. No sooner did Vinoba come out of the boat than the said zamindar insisted on the acceptance of his *dan-patra*. Placing his hand on his shoulder, Vinoba observed, "I have already told you that certain enquiries have to be made in your case. Without that I am not in a position to take in your *dan patra*."

"I am willing to put up the whole case before you."

"I would like to hear the other side too. So both the parties may

come to me at half-past six in the evening."

The other party was also informed to the same effect. Throughout the day I frequently found the zamindar friend going up and down with a heavy heart and anxious face. I requested him to have patience and that he need not get so excited in the matter. At long last the sun set and clock struck 6-30 p. m. Both the parties came to Vinoba. At the very outset he declared, "This is no court of law in which one side complains against the other or falls foul of it. This is a meeting of love in which both sides must confess their faults."

"The objection against me", said the zamindar, "is entirely baseless."

"What is this?" interrupted Vinoba. "There is no use talking like that. I have just told you that you have come here not to blame but to confess."

But both the sides persisted in mutual mud-slinging. Vinoba expressed his helplessness to do anything. At last the tone of the meeting changed and both sides related what they had done. Vinoba gave them a very patient hearing. As something could be said for both the sides, he asked them to appoint one man as *Pancha** who would make inquiries at the actual site and carry out investigations in full and whose judgment should be binding on both.

* Arbitrator

The zamindar suggested a name and the other party agreed to it. The gentleman concerned was also present there. Vinoba turning to him said, "Now when both the parties are willing to have you as their *Pancha*, I have no objection. You have to go into this case thoroughly. Your decision would be acceptable to both. In case you come to the conclusion that this landlord friend has done no injustice, his *danpatra* would be accepted. Meanwhile you have to keep it safely with you."

Our friend handed over his *dan-patra* to the new *Pancha*, and heaved a sigh of relief. It appeared as if tons of load had been lifted off his head.

REJECTION OF DANA-PATRA.

This happened in the Second week of September. In a village in the Sitamarhi sub-division of Muzaffarpur district, with some hesitation a worker placed before Vinoba a *dan-patra* of 5 acres. The donor owned some 100 acres. He asked Vinoba his opinion on that *danpatra*. Vinoba scanned it. He then paused for a while. Next he asked for a pen. And on the back of the *danpatra*, he wrote:

"This dan falls far short of the land in possession of the owner. It is, therefore, refused. —Vinoba."

Vinoba handed over the *danpatra* to the worker. Quietly, he took it and sent it away back to the donor. A new sensation was caused in our

camp: Baba* has begun returning *danpatras* today.

Next day, two cultivators owning 15 acres each, donated one and a quarter acre. They personally came to our camp with their *dan patras*. In keeping with Vinoba's instructions, both the *danpatras* were regretfully refused. The worker told them, "You have a flourishing business. God's blessings are with you. From you we expect something substantial. So we cannot accept anything short of one-sixth." And he returned them their *danpatras*. They took it to heart and expressed a desire to see Vinoba personally. The appointment was fixed for 2 p. m.

Just as 2 p. m., both the brothers came to Vinoba. "Baba, we had", began the younger, "offered some humble gift. But we very much regret that it was not accepted. It has deeply pained us."

"It has pained me no less. But I tell you that if I accept your offer of love, people will call you a cheat or a thief. They will say that you cheated Baba by offering 1½ acres out of your 15. I don't want you to be ill-talked about. I am very particular in upholding everybody's dignity. It is better that they should not talk of you rather than that they should talk ill of you. I would ask you to ponder over the implications carefully and then come with an offer befitting your position."

* That is what we call Vinoba; 'Baba' in Marathi means father.

Silence reigned in the room. Both the brothers and the worker sat motionless. Breaking the silence, Vinoba remarked, "First let me know why did you, brothers, separate?"

They blushed. One of them murmured, "Differences cropped up in the household."

"I know this is frequently happening these days. But if you were one at heart, you could persuade your wives too. What is the use of breaking families like this?"

Their faces turned pale in anguish. They were on the point of shedding tears. There was a sadness in the air of the room.

Piercing it, Vinoba said to the elder brother, "How many are there in your family?"

"Three - my wife, my son aged 16 years and myself."

"Then I become the fourth. Accordingly I must get the fourth share. Would you be willing to have me as your brother in your home?"

Our friend bowed low, "Who can dare to refuse you? But *attachment* holds us fast. So please accept now what we have offered. More will follow later."

"I am only demanding my right. If you do not grant me admission in your home, how can I get it?"

So saying, Vinoba turned to the other brother, "And how are you?" "Alone."

"Then you and I become two brothers. I must, herefore, get half of your share."

Pointing towards the elder brother, the younger murmured, "I would only follow my brother."

"Very well. I do want both of you to become one. Then you give me one-sixth of the thirty acres with you."

Both of them were dumb-struck. Not one spoke. "I have", said Vinoba, "only made a just demand. Now you may do what you like."

"I have," said the elder, "offered one and a quarter acres. Have a quarter more."

Vinoba smiled, "It seems it is a vegetable market". All had a hearty laugh.

"What is this 'one and a quarter or one and a half'? Complete the one-sixth and obtain the blessings of *Janata-Janardan*", said the worker.

"Alright, take two acres", replied the elder. He put the *dan-patra* before Vinoba and seemed to get up.

Return it back to him, Vinoba remarked, "You appear to be a successful businessman. I don't want you to do anything below your dignity."

There was silence in the room. The worker appealed to them, "It is now a question of only half an acre more. Have courage to come forward." But they refused to budge. Their faces, however, were overcast with deep melancholy. They were plunged in profound sadness. Vinoba too sat straight with his eyes closed. Minutes passed like hours. Some time after, the elder one ejaculated,

"Baba! you are not accepting our gift. With what face can we go back to our home?" And with tearful eyes, he implored, "I beg of you to accept these two acres and save my prestige."

Vinoba sat motionless in his *samadhi*, "When you are so miserable," said the worker, "imagine the fate of those for whom misery is the perpetual badge."

Again, a calmness in the room. Then we heard the elder brother shriek. Tears were trickling down his eyes. Wiping them with a corner of his napkin, he feltered, "Bhagwan! Pray accept my one-sixth share."

Vinoba opened his eyes and said, "May God give you strength and inspire you to work for the poor."

Thus both of them filled in the *dan patra* of two and a half acres each and took leave of Vinoba.

A NEW CONVERT.

Vinoba was touring in the flood-affected part of the Madhubani subdivision of Darbhanga District. A friend with 40 acres of land offered six acres. Half an hour before the prayer time, he saw Vinoba and bowed low, "I have gone through your *Gita Pravachan*. That has moved me very much. Today I have donated about one sixth of my share". Vinoba, in acknowledgement, said, "Jai, Jai" (May you live long).

The prayer was held at 5-30 P. M. Then followed Vinoba's discourse. In

the course of his remarks, he observed, "*Dharma* stands on four pillars. One of them, faith, is quite strong in our country. Other three *prem* (love), *tyag* (sacrifice) and *shram* (physical work) have become very weak. Therefore irreligion is regarded as religion and misery stalked the country, despite the fact that both the Creator and His creation are very bountiful". He advised them to recognise true religion and live it.

After Vinoba reached his room, the same friend (who saw him in the afternoon) followed. With folded hands, he submitted, "I want some time if you could spare it".

"Come on, please", replied Vinoba. "You saw me in the noon."

"Yes, Baba, I did. Your prayer address has inspired me to offer more land. We are four in our family. You become the fifth. And I accept your right. Here are two acres more to complete eight."

With all reverence he presented the *dana-patra* to Vinoba. Accepting it with a smile, Vinoba remarked, "I am sure you now become a worker of mine. The faith which has moved you to offer this gift would enable you to obtain gifts from others indeed." The new convert bent low with humility, touched Vinoba's feet and took leave.

AN INTERESTING DISCUSSION.

It was in Saharsa district. We were at a small village in the Kosi area. Out of about 2,000 acres of land

in that village, about three-fourths belonged to two families, the rest only to others. Donations amounting to 60 acres were offered on behalf of the two rich families. In keeping with Vinoba's behest, that was returned. In the evening after the prayer, four young men from these two families approached Vinoba. While one of them was a graduate, another was a vakil, the third was a leading Congress worker and the fourth had Praja-Socialist leanings. They gave a written memorandum to Vinoba regretting the insult shown to their village by returning their gifts. Some Bhoodan workers were also present.

Vinoba began, "At the outset I must tell you that my work is not to discredit any one but to raise everybody's prestige. I do not want to run down anybody's honour or reputation. I am interested only in invoking love and in cementing hearts."

"We too want the same", the vakil put in. "But I am constrained to add that our *danpatra* was refused. I know cases where offers short of one-sixth have been accepted".

"Vakil Sahab, this is no court of law where you must argue against the opponent. This is a company of the faithful who give vent to their true feelings, and who are anxious to wash off all stains from their hearts. I can quote numberless instances when people have offered far more than one-sixth as also of those who have offered their all. Why should you imitate only cases of lower kind?

"My only submission is that our offer may please be accepted. More will follow later."

"I would urge upon you to grasp my point. I want you to take me in your house as a member on behalf of the *Daridra Narain*. If you are five brothers I should be considered as the sixth and given his share; if three, then the fourth; if seven, then the eighth; and if you are alone, then I must get the half. I do not count children for they grace every house. Mine is a religious demand".

The vakil became silent and seemed to be thinking within. But the graduate ejaculated, "Baba! We can't meet our own needs. Besides, there is the ever sharp sword of the Government hanging over-head."

Supporting him the vakil added, "They are going to fix ceilings. Who could then offer land in gift?"

"I know it very well", answered Vinoba, "And I also know that all your talents will be employed in sabotaging the proposed legislation. When I was in Telangana, the Government there was thinking of land enactments. It went on thinking. Meanwhile the landlords transferred their lands in the names of their various relatives. At long last the Act has now come fixing some 100 or 125 acres. In your Bihar, too, joint families are being disintegrated. Within two years, or by the time they pass the Act, all lands would go to the family-members. And the Act could be rendered futile".

"Do you mean to say that this legislation is in vain?"

"You know it far more than myself," said Vinoba with a laugh. He continued "I am afraid you did not appreciate the secret of my demand. I want to abolish the very ownership of land. To claim ownership of land is a heresy. It is against the will of God. I go from village to village to spread this message. As air, water, sky and light cannot be owned by anybody, so also land. Land would go only to the tiller, even as a book goes only to the reader. True that some of you will not be able to work on the field yourself. But, I give you time. Not much, only four or five years. During this period, you must prepare your children who could labour in the company of the children of the landless. But would you please tell me the reason of keeping any land when you can support yourself by legal practice?"

The vakil tried to evade the issue, "People have not yet quite understood."

And the Congressman joined him, "Even if we agree to part with land, the elders of the house do not. They have earned it by the sweat of their brow. How can they give it up now?"

"I would not go into the question how land has been acquired by your people. I need not rake up the past. It would not help you or me. But I would like to know your duty as a Congressman. Your State Congress passed a resolution for 32 lakhs of acres and also repeated it in a subsequent meeting. Do you feel that you must fulfil that resolution?"

"There are over so many resolutions", interrupted the socialist young man.

"I see!" spoke Vinoba in astonishment. "But it was you of the Praja Socialist Party who told me that I had taken up your work. Does it mean that you have abandoned it after my taking it up? You are a very strange lot. Your leader, Jayaprakash Narayan appealed for it. But you are such queer followers who forsake their own leader after giving him a push!" The whole assembly convulsed with laughter.

"Baba, this is not surprising at all," confessed the graduate, the youngest. "For your demand strikes first at one's own self."

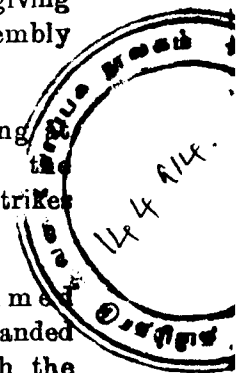
"You are right," exclaimed Vinoba. "Had it not been demanded to offer one's own share, both the Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists would have accepted the resolutions of their parties. This is the difference between my work and that of others".

The vakil seemed to be in a hurry to wind up the case, "Alright! You agree to our earnest offer. We shall complete one-sixth quota shortly".

"When you are willing to offer one-sixth, the earlier the better. Who knows when I would be able to come to your village again or see you!"

"For that matter, there is so much land lying waste. And we do not even know how much it is."

"Why don't you give me all that? It is waste for you but I can make use of it. My demand is: give me all the



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uncultivable land with you and out of the cultivable land I want my rightful share as a brother."

"Baba, what can you do with that uncultivable land?" asked the Congressman. "It is of no use—it is either river sand or barren."

"Please give me first. All is grist that comes to my mill. I will show you what I can do with it."

"We won't be able to keep it with us under the proposed enactment."

"And yet you do not part with it!"

In a low voice, the vakil murmured, "Its compensation....."

Vinoba heard it and uttered loudly, "Here you are! It is now that you have opened your heart. Your eye is on the compensation-money. This is what makes you stick on to that. I would rather ask you to donate me all compensation that you may get. Many have done like that."

"They must have been rich men," put in the Congressman. "We are not so well off. Nor the elders will permit us."

"Well, I won't say that. But I am sure that in offering your uncultivable land you lose little."

Silence followed. The four talked for a while in whispers. Then one of them in a feeble voice said, "Baba, we four are willing to offer the one-sixth of our share."

Vinoba laughed and inquired, "What is your '*ganit*' (arithmetic) or

measure? Is it that of the Patna University or that of Bihar?" This amazed everybody: What does it mean? One of them said, "May we know the two measures?"

"Some time ago I met a pleader with a diploma of the Patna University," said Vinoba. "He offered me one acre of land with the remarks: 'It is more than one-sixth'. I asked him to clarify. He explained, 'we have one hundred acres in our family. We are four brothers and our father is alive. So I get twenty acres out of this 100. Now I have three sons. They three and myself make four. Consequently my own share is divided into four. And only five acres fall to my lot. Obviously, one acre is more than one-sixth of the same!' This is the Patna '*ganit*'."

All burst into peals of laughter. Vinoba continued, "So one-sixth of 100 acres is one acre. So kindly let me know which '*ganit*' you follow."

The young graduate was very inquisitive, "Baba, tell us also the '*ganit*' of the Bihar University."

The Congressman silenced him. "What more do you want to hear from Baba? Give him what you want to give."

"We four offer", said the vakil, "one-sixth of the land due to us and our children. All of us will donate separately."

Humorously, Vinoba stated, "I wanted at least one-sixth of the whole family. But you have followed the Bihar University '*ganit*'. Now,

what about my share of the land with other members of the two families?"

"For that our fathers and uncles would meet", replied the Congressman. "All members of the families would sit and then decide what to do. Presently we have dispensed with one-sixth of our individual shares".

"As you please", remarked Vinoba. "I hope that you will prevail upon your elders and successfully persuade them to part with at least one-sixth of the family holdings. But what you give me now is, I am sure, all cultivable land."

This stirred the Socialist: "Now that we have accepted you as a brother, we give you your right. And when one gets a right, he must share both good and bad stuff."

Vinoba nodded in assent and said, "So I become your family member now. But I plead for justice. Won't you like your brother to stand on his feet like you? Naturally he must be made to share, besides land, all other things too. I am your weakest and youngest brother. Whence I have an extraordinary claim".

They all blushed at these words. The Congressman seemed to be struck aghast. He grinned: "Baba, you are continuously attaching more and more."

"Is there anything unfair in what I ask? Would you dare make merry, while your own brother is in a wretched condition? At any rate, I would expect you to make cultivable all the fallow land you give me".

All the four conceded to this demand.

More than an hour had passed. It was past eight. Vinoba turned to the workers who wanted to consult him on some points. And the four brothers took leave of Vinoba.

A MUSLIM'S OFFER OF LAND

Purnea District—Kishanganj Town. A Muslim Noble saw Vinoba in the morning. He had already donated 5,500 acres of land. He gave further 1,500 acres to Vinoba that day. "You have", said Vinoba, "offered all the uncultivated land with you. Now as my right, I demand one-sixth of your land under cultivation".

"I agree to your claim," spoke he very politely. "But in our Muslim families, our women have also their rights. And we are five brothers and two sisters".

"Then I become the eighth in your family", put in Vinoba — "and I want one-eighth."

"Very gladly so". And he signed the *danpatra* accordingly. Later he observed, "This mission of yours is in keeping with Islam which enjoins such gifts as duty. Your demand is a righteous one. God willing, the country would fulfil your demand".

THE NEW BHOODAN BHAJAN

In a village in the Katihar sub-division of Purnea district. We were

on our morning trek from the Navabganj Pokharia village to Kalyangaon. On our way the local people welcomed Vinoba with an original song:

"Sita Sita Ram Bolo! Radhe
Radhe Shyam Bolo!
Sab Koi Bhoomidan Deh Doh!
Sab Koi Sampattidan Deh Doh!"

(Let us recall the name of God. Let everyone of us offer Bhoodan and Sampattidan.)

This gladdened Vinoba's heart. Reaching the halt, he observed that we human beings were called upon to do only two things: recalling God's name and offering gifts. He advised them to sing this *bhajan* regularly. As one eats day after day, so also one must offer *Dan*. A few days after the said *bhajan* was sung in this form:

"Sita Sita Ram Bolo! Sab koi
Bhoomidan Deh Doh!
Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!
Sab koi Sampattidan Deh Doh!"

Associating Sita with Bhoodan and Radha with Sampattidan is very significant. The workers have now adopted this *bhajan*. I don't think that hymns to God and *Dan* are sung in this manner anywhere else in the country. That it was begun by the lay peasantry in a village in Bihar indicates to what depth the movement has penetrated into the heart of the people.

AN ADIVASI OFFERS TWICE.

We were at a village in the Adivasi area. The prayer was held as

usual at 5 p. m. It was followed by Vinoba's address in which he pointed out that his object was to abolish private ownership of land and transfer it all to the village. They must regard the whole village as their own home and live like a family. Everybody should work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need, just as in a family.

After Vinoba had left the dais, an old, tall Santhali approached a worker selling some Bhoodan literature near the dais. The Santhali told him that he wanted to offer $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land out of the ten acres he had in the hilly region. The worker began to fill in the *dan patra*. When the time came for signing it, the Santhali told him, "I have twelve acres more in the plains. May I offer two acres out of that too?"

"Why not? Rather you must".

"Then fill in the *dan patra* for that too. I would sign both of them simultaneously."

The worker did as desired. The Santhali gave his thumb impression on both the *dan patras*. And he walked back happy to his house.

ALL GREET WITH LAND.

We were at the village Boria. Vinoba was returning to his camp after the evening prayer. On the way, several Santhali people greeted him. And one of them said: "Baba Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Ham Zamin Denge! (Baba, take land! take land! We shall give it.)"

The Call of Sarvodaya in Our Crisis

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

This is a speech delivered by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India at the Christavashram, Manganam, Travancore, while inaugurating the Bhoodan-Mobile-Work-Squad Headquarters on the 4th January 1955.

THE Bhoodan and Sarvodaya have been intimately associated. Sarvodaya is an all-round awakening. Development of both means development in all aspects, not merely in one. It is the development in the political, economic, social, cultural and religious aspects. In the Upanishads the question raised is as to what constitutes the life eternal and the answer given is that it is the play of the vital organism, the satisfaction of mind and the tranquillity of spirit. These three together constitute life eternal; in other words, "Pranaramam", "Mana Anandam", and "Shanti-Samrudham". The play

of the vital organism, the 'Mana Anandam', and Shanti-abundance of peace of mind and spirit must be fully developed if any man can attain life eternal. This is true not merely for society but also for the individual. Each individual must not be lopsided but must develop an organic balance between mind, body and spirit. Sarvodaya stands for the all round development of our country and of the individuals — the members of our community. It is an ideal not merely for our country and for our individuals, but for the world itself.

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VINOBAJI IN BIHAR.

Vinoba folded his hands and stepped in. Then another Santhali stalwart came to him and spoke warmly, "Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Baba! Zamin lo! (Take land! Take land! Baba, Take land!)"

Vinoba then stayed for a while and stated, "Give! Give! I have come to take! Distribute all land! Finish this collecting business. Distribute and share as in a family". And he asked a worker to meet all these friends and fill in the *danpatras* of their offerings.

The above events speak for themselves. When Vinoba entered Bihar, his words were: 'I want land. Give me land.' On the eve of his departure, Bihar's sky echoes and

re-echoes with the words "Take land! Take land!" What more is required? Now it is for the workers to contact the masses from house to house and execute the task. Not workers, but I would prefer, *Yagna-doers*! Once the *Yagna-doers* take to their feet, land ownership in India would become a thing of the unhappy past. All land would belong to the village, while the 'field-ings' to the peasant (*kheti gaon ka, kheti kisan ki*). And if this can happen peacefully and smoothly, every other problem can be likewise solved by *Jan Shakti* (people's power) in this country in keeping with our genius. Doubtless, that would lead us to true Swaraj, to Gram-Raj and to Ram-Raj.



The attainment of our political independence is a step, an essential step and an indispensable step in the development of our State, of our society and of our human nature. But we cannot be satisfied with the mere attainment of political independence. Political independence gives the freedom to shape our destiny in the manner we determine and therefore we have to see to it that it is accompanied by social and economic gains. You again have a political democracy. If political democracy is to be sustained you will have to transform the present social, political and economic frame work.

You will ask a general question as to when a country goes down. So many countries have risen and fallen; so many civilizations have come into existence and gone. You will discover that the three conditions which bring down national fall are political disunity or national incoherence, the lack of economic opportunity and dishonest administration. Wherever revolution occurs you will find these things as the preceding elements. If you are nationally divided and if millions of people are starving, what is the use of talking of political freedom unless your political freedom is used for the purpose of effecting social and economic revolution. No good at all. It is essential that we praise our freedom and are proud of it. Everywhere democracy sets its roots in its own soil and shapes its future according to its opportunity. Here in our country we have won our independence by peaceful constitutional process. So the people who

have handed over the country to us are our friends to-day.

We hope that it will be possible for us to bring about a social and economic revolution in our country. It is essential for us to strive for the welfare of humanity by demonstrating to ourselves and to the world that by the acceptance of these principles it will be possible for us to achieve these aims. How are we going to bring about all these processes ethical or moral. Human being is a spark of the divine and is to be respected but our practice has belied this profession. No country in the world has been more vigorous in proclaiming these ideals. In Mahabharatha itself you will find that the human being is the visible expression of the invisible God, and that there is nothing higher than man on this earth.

In the villages you will find factional spirit, the question of personality subordinating the villagers' welfare to the interests of this or that group. We say that we live, most of us in the villages; 80 per cent of our population is rural in character and that 80 per cent is suffering so much destitution, disaster, deprivation of property which is essential for human life. That is a question which every one of us has to ask. Here we have a few people selfless in character, not caring for who gets credit, working for the purpose of introducing self-confidence among villages, self-help among them, and making them feel that it is possible for them to raise their status.

It is the spirit of co-operation that has to be introduced among village folk. Give them an idea of self confidence which will enable them to get all privileges that all others get. Betterment of road, housing, electricity etc. are the processes by which it will be possible for you to spread civilization to all these villages. An ideal awakening is essential in our villages.

The Bhoodan Movement, by asking rich landlords to part voluntarily with a portion of their land, to give their free and voluntary labour, to ask the rich to contribute some of their large income for the improvement of villagers, is going ahead in the way of solving the problem. These are things which help to bring about a psychological awakening among the masses in the villages. I do believe that the Bhoodan Movement is going to do all these and bring down heaven on earth. It is essential to produce the psychological climate wherein it is possible for Government to bring about agrarian reforms.

There is one other important thing which the Bhoodan movement is doing. It breaks down caste, communal and religious prejudices and brings people together to tackle those problems in large mindedness. Our Bhoodan movement also helps to bring up character and the co-operative spirit. If we are able to build the co-operative spirit, I have no doubt that it is possible to regenerate this country of ours, without resorting to hatred, and violence.

It is unfortunate that the progress of our country has been impeded by national incoherence, by internal divisions by each man considering that he belongs to one village or one particular community. These have been the factors which impeded our progress. If we survive today it is because of the ultimate values of religion, truth and love. Every generation of our country has produced some individuals who are able to live by those values. Nations which live well to-day become poor tomorrow. Vast empires to-day will lose them next day. What endures is the moral contributions they are able to make to human welfare. It is in the strength of these ideals that they are able to survive. But our disloyalty to these ideals, and our national divisions are the things that have brought about our difficulties. We have to remove these things which are not relevant to the practice of those great ideals.

A social revolution has to be brought about. In matters of religion too, what is needed is an awakening. We have had religion in this world for centuries—Hindu, Muslim and Christian, make no difference. We have had professions of religions, but so far as practice is concerned it is disloyal to the great professions. As I was travelling to-day from Ernakulam to Kottayam, I saw a large number of Crosses. What does the Cross indicate? Earthly defeat and spiritual victory. What do we practise? Earthly success and spiritual defeat. Is that right? Is that fair? Why do we call

ourselves religious? Do we become religious by merely going to temples and churches? We are not religious simply because we say that.

Religion means a complete transformation of illwill, malice, hatred, and greed towards any other human being. True religion means a complete inward change. Unless you repent and become like a little child by change of understanding, a complete change of your consciousness, you are not a man who is fit for the Kingdom of God. Change of consciousness means become regenerate, become renewed, and become reborn. Religion is the *second birth* from darkness and death to freedom of spirit and life eternal. Unless you are reborn in that sense of the term you are not a religious man. Encouraging factions, hatred etc. cannot be regarded as truly religious. Therefore what is necessarily to be done is to have such a change and not to compromise with those ideals even though you perish. Otherwise we cannot regard ourselves as religious.

Sarvodaya is not merely in politics and economics but in the whole outlook of the human being.

We are now facing a great crisis. We can make use of the atomic energy for killing one another on the one hand and on the other hand it can be used for the betterment of the nation. The crisis is what path you will choose—Brotherhood and friendship which make happiness—or will you choose the path of unfriendliness, greed and hatred which means universal death.

That is the crisis which is facing man. Unless you choose and act from a different basis there is no hope for us. Our future will be bleak indeed. You should get to a higher level. There is one invisible Church of God even though by historical existence we may happen to belong to this or that particular nation. The call of Sarvodaya is very relevant to our present context and I do hope that these beginnings will lead to a great upheaval. Let this Movement lead us to God's way.

(Adapted from "Arunodayam")



OUR NEW BHOODAN BOOKLETS.

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(A collection of speeches by
Acharya Vinoba Bhave.)

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SARVODAYA, TANJORE.

Vinobaji enters Bengal

CHARUCHANDRA BHANDARI

Appeal to Bengal

ADDRESSING the vast gathering assembled to attend his evening prayer, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who entered Bengal, walking on foot, on his Bhoodan Yagna mission this morning, expressed his happiness in coming to Bengal, the land of devotion and revolution. He said, "I value so much not the land that is given to me but the love and affection with which it is donated. This work implies a revolution in thought. Right thought has always been in this country the sheet anchor of our faith. Once a thought pervades the society, the later is transformed of its own accord. That is why in our ancient history, literature began with *Brahma Vidya* or divine knowledge. Then followed the evolution of India's social science. This is also found in modern Indian history. You know that of all parts of India, the British first occupied Bengal. In other countries alien domination is followed either by passive submission of the people or an armed revolt. But here they did neither. Then what did the great souls of Bengal do? They took to purification of thought and religion. Raja Ram Mohan taught us that Swaraj would follow religious and social reform. I know of no other country where people took to social reform after foreign control. The role of right thought in the growth of our country cannot be too much stressed."

"The people of Bengal do not go by the rule of three. Once a thought, a sentiment inspires them, they do things in no time. I am sure that if the Bhoodan ideal would be explained to the people, Bengal's work would be over in a day. This is a soil of ideas and so long as the ideas do not spread amongst them, you won't get any *dan* from them. No sooner they grasp the ideal than would they give with open heart. Therefore, Bengal fills me with enthusiasm. I have not come to ask for land gift or property gift. On the contrary, I have come to give you something. I want to convey to you the right ideal. But mere speeches won't do. When the urban people will see that the country side is blooming with life, they will begin to think. The Bhoodan Yagna revolution will be accomplished in the villages first. The cities will follow them.

"They say that there is not much land in Bengal. Is it more in Bihar? But my experience is different. When I was in Bihar I saw as much earth below as the sky above. So also I see in Bengal. I have therefore, no misgivings that I won't get one-sixth of Bengal's land. I tell you that the need for Bhoodan is very paramount in Bengal. In such condition as is here Bhoodan is inevitable. The concept of Samya Yoga is very appealing to the people here, is native to the genius of this soil. Let the Government

and experts think what they like; the people here will think in their own way."

"Several parties in Bengal show that the problem here is very serious and deep. In case that problem is not solved here by love, more parties would grow. I claim that Bhoodan will eliminate Bengal's party differences and raise her political strength. I want you to study Bhoodan literature. Mine is to abolish the ownership of land and transfer it to the village as a whole. Not bits of land I want, but village as a whole."

(—Saltora, Bankura,—1-1-1955)

The Exploitation of Villages by Cities

ADDRESSING the post prayer meeting at Pavra this evening, Acharya Vinoba Bhave remarked that a visit to the Pavra village in the day has left a deep impression upon them. Its tremendous poverty, specially in the Harijan community, was deplorable beyond words. The Harijans did not even own the little piece of land on which they had built their houses. Instead, they had to offer **begar* for twelve days in a year. It was but essential that these little bits of land should go to them. He also referred to the visit of zamindars who saw him in the noon. When they told him that communism was a growing menace in Bengal, he replied that that was not true. He said, "Communists are no problem. I do not regard them as enemies. I regard them as my

* free-labour.

friends and I always tell them how to solve the problem of India's poverty by love. Thus the real problem of Bengal is utter poverty. That is our enemy. And that must be vigorously attacked.

"You must think over it. Calcutta is a big city of West Bengal, with a population of about 60 lakhs, one-fourth of West Bengal's. Compare it with London with a population of about one crore, one-sixth of England's. But whereas London has grown big by attracting the wealth of the whole world, Calcutta is built up on the exploitation of the countryside of West Bengal, northern and north-eastern India. About twelve years ago lakhs of people came to Calcutta and died of starvation. Thousands live there on foot-paths. These are impossible in London. Calcutta, therefore, is not a blessing but curse for Bengal. Not only our villages are exploited there, cows are also mercilessly killed. Thus hosts of evils or sins are committed in Calcutta which has thus become big. But it can do penance for its sins. Whence I ask land from landholders and wealth from the wealthy. I do have a claim on Calcutta's wealth for the sake of the poor who would be getting Bhoodan lands. It is for the village people to come forward, offer one-sixth of their land and wipe out landlessness from Bengal villages. I want you to distribute what you have with those who have not. If you want to increase your happiness and lessen your misery, there is one panacea: 'distribute'. Once you grasp this message of love, it would render Bengal strong."

"The condition of Bengal resembles that of a house on fire. We are all sitting here on the edge of a volcano. The moment you realise this truth you would take to your feet like myself. I am sure that if all public workers of Bengal, or of India, give up all their engagements and devote themselves exclusively to Bhoodan for six months, the land problem would be solved in six months, even as four months of rainfall in a year serves the entire soil of the country and keeps it ever in good condition. If lakhs of people can donate land in Bihar and about a hundred villages can be donated in

toto in Orissa, why not in Bengal? Even in Bengal, two villages of Bankura district have been offered in Bhoodan. This is not a small thing. The land there would now be owned by the village community as a whole. In other words, the most advanced principles of modern economy would be put into practical application. If this is possible in these two villages of Bengal why not in all others? I want you to realise the significance of the advancing revolution in India. Please adopt it as your own and you can change the face of Bengal.

(Pabra—Bankura—2-1-1955)



VINOBA AND HIS MISSION

N. S. VARADACHARI

This is a review appearing in "The Hindu" dated 26-12-'54, of the book "Vinoba and His Mission" by Sri Suresh Ramabhai published by the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh — (300 pages — Price Rs. 3-8-0 — available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.)

CLOSE on Mahatma Gandhi follows Vinoba Bhave. Mahatma Gandhi led a political movement, all the time sublimating it with the noble ideal of selfless service. The success of the movement lay not so much in the redemption from political slavery it brought, but in the amazing way it turned the mass of the people to ennobling moral values. And now Vinoba Bhave reverts to the same theme, though in a different way, throw his own uniquely fashioned movement of Bhoodan. At once scholar and saint, Vinoba spearheads the movement for social transformation through appeals for selfless action.

Suresh Ramabhai, the author of the book under review, has made

proper use of the present time to let the public know all about the Bhoodan movement and its leader. Spotlessly pure and serene, Vinoba Bhave leads the entire community of Sarvodaya workers, struggling to establish a peaceful economic and social revolution. A legitimate sequel to political independence, Bhoodan is the first step in the march towards a truly welfare State. Bhoodan is not land redistribution, as it may ostensibly appear from the name. It is the extension of the fields of Sarvodaya in the pleasing climate of goodwill and peace. Land gifts are but a small part of the movement. In the words of the author, it aims "at the rediscovery of the dormant quality of man and make the same a social force with wide wings." The message of

Bhoodan is delivered as Vinoba marches on pilgrimage from village to village and preaches the doctrine of work without attachment and gifts without conditions. The urge to make every man realise his full stature remains the back-ground in this arduous Yagna. Land for the landless is a necessary phase in the present and so Bhoodan emphasises the idea that all land belongs to society and must be shared by those who work on land. When the movement began all its phases were not apparent but as the targets were fixed and work progressed with missionary zeal bringing in its train unexpected response, all aspects of social work stood pictured in its ever-widening appeal. Bhoodan, Sampathidan and Jivandan all aim at one supreme purpose, a society based on non-exploitation and truth. Rich and poor alike have in this Yagna their offerings to place. Those who have land, give land; those who have incomes part with them when they have no land. Those who give do so voluntarily and those who receive take it with equal grace pledging themselves to hard, honest work.

Little is known of Vinoba's childhood except that we are told the saint in him appeared from his early days. Fond of meditation and studies, Vinoba shut himself away from the world concentrating on the principal teachings of the scripture of our land. Lives of the Maharashtrian poets and generally the literature of ancient India constituted his favourite studies. The Gita and the Upanishads became part of his daily fare. His scholarship was profound. His knowledge of Sanskrit is wide and so is his devotion to the great teachings recorded therein. He deems it his duty to study all languages in India including two at least of those South Indian. He has made it his life mission to imbibe the Upanishadic ideal.

It would be no exaggeration to say that even if Mahatma Gandhi had not come across his path and influenced his life, Vinoba would have been the saint that he is, with a mission of his own to expound.

In his tour of Telengana where he saw the Communists had implanted the ideas of a class struggle, it occurred to him in a flash that land was at the bottom of all questions. From that day, land for the landless became his quest, and phenomenal progress has since been made in this particular field. Aiming at an ambitious target of five crores of acres for the landless within five years, Bhoodan has yielded 35 lakhs of acres. An almost unbelievable result and now the movement has grown country-wide though in Bihar, U. P. and Orissa it has reached impressive heights. In Orissa, whole villages have been donated, the movement holding unrivalled promise. The book furnishes a truthful yet impressive descriptive account of Bhoodan activity in the various States. 'Those who do not donate land to-day will do it to-morrow' is the line of faith that animates the band of growing workers. Every day sees the wonder of many competing to do their bit in this sacrificial race to lift those who are helpless. Instead of driving them to desperation and revolt, the movement curbs the rising tempo of anger among the landless and workless and brings the haves and have-nots into close and harmonious union. Ahead of legislation marches the campaign, clearing obstruction and preparing the ground.

The author being 'an insider' is able to give a true running picture of the movement as it grows from strength to strength with Vinoba's inspired statements illuminating the tract.



Big Industries versus Village Industries

RADHA BENODE MUKHERJEE

HOWEVER much one may decry about the use of man power in preference to machinery, there can be no gainsaying the fact that a fully mechanised country is suicidal. The world's most mechanised country gives a definite and wholesome answer. A report from America says, "An assembly line in a Ford factory produces as many engine blocks with 41 men as once required 117; in a new steel plant 6,500 workers produce the output of 11,000 men on older mills; one plant is making 90,000 electric light bulbs an hour, all day, every day of the week." The effect of this report can be found in the report published by the Census Bureau, U. S. A. where it says, ".....Unemployment in the U. S.—rose by 5,84,000 in February to a total of 36,71,000 compared with 17,88,000 in February last year—lowest since the Second World War and 46,84,000 in February, 1950 highest since the war."

If that be the condition of a country which boasts to be the richest and the proudest country in the world, what would be the case of a country like India whose policy on the sphere of large-scale industrialisation is at its infant stage? America has at least one consolation. With the passage of time it need not destroy the surplus quantity of raw materials which it destroys now-a-days in order to keep up the trend of prices

on a higher scale. In a country like India where squalor and poverty stalk in every phase of life, it is rather surprising to see that India should have embarked upon a plan similar to what America is in its present grip.

The present condition in India has more affinity with China than with any other country in the world. The rapid increase in population and an agricultural economy are the twin problems common to both the countries. China aimed at an economy based on the U. S. S. R pattern prior to her revolution but conditions obtaining in that country made it practically otherwise. That should be the case. Each country must evolve that type of policy which suits the best interests of that country and it is not understood why the fate of India should be otherwise.

The burning problems in India are mainly two: economic inequality and unemployment.

There is nothing difficult to chalk out a blueprint in which one can show how our huge unemployment problem can be solved within a period of 12 years and what the total amount would be required to make this 12-year scheme a success. The matter assumes a thorny one when one is called upon to solve the problem on a practical basis. The initiators of the first Five-Year Plan have admitted their failures in this

respect. Resting on the promotion of the mechanised sectors of our industries the number of the unemployed showed a sky-rocketing trend. Does this not show that a similar plan based on the large-scale industrialisation will also find the same fate? It should not be forgotten for a moment that the figures of unemployment shown by the Employment Exchanges do not even touch a fringe of the vast number of the unemployed and under-employed millions in India.

One day I had a talk with a so-called illiterate weaver. The running of cotton mills and the lack of sales of his hand-woven goods forced him to give up his profession.

"Sir, if you can stop the running of the cotton mills, or at least if you can stop the production of dhoties and sarees by these mills, the beggars whom you see day and night will be reduced by eighty per cent", said he.

"How much do you require to re-install yourself in your old profession?" I asked him.

"Rupees twenty, Sir," replied he.

It is indeed a great pity to look at this state of affairs. Rupees twenty in the form of capital do not only provide a man with an honest means of livelihood but also provide his family with a means of sustenance. On an average the same capital can provide five members in a family and make them happy. That is what every common man in India wants and that was the dream of the Father of the

Nation. He said that his dream will be realised if each man in India can get two square meals a day with a provision to cover his naked body. It is better to do this than to run amok after any Utopian Scheme. The poet is also content to remain a servant on earth than to be a king in heaven.

Side by side with the huge well-ventilated masonry buildings we have petty dilapidated huts sans windows. This striking disparity poses a problem which concerns us very much. India has just launched upon a plan to put the social pattern on an equalitarian model. Whether we should strike down the big masonry buildings and bring them on a level equal to the small huts as was done in Russia and to a great extent in China, or to raise the huts equal to the level of the big buildings as is supposed to be followed in the U. S. A., is a thing which we should do well to pause and ponder.

This immense gulf between the few of large-scale industries and the large number of cottage industries, and between the few number of the well placed persons in life and the millions of the unemployed have to be bridged if India has to avert a revolution violent in character. There is no use of giving alternative importances first to the development of the mechanised industries and then to show a soft corner for the revival of the cottage industries and again to show importance to the large scale industries. India needs a deliberate and constructive plan aiming at the welfare of her millions at the lowest level of subsistence.

The Fulfilment of the Jubilee

This is a quotation from the Bible given by Shri. S. Vedamuthu in his article for Tamil Sarvodaya with the above title. All land belongs to God as it is said here. The fulfilment of the Lord's Jubilee is a day of liberation and jubilation for the masses to whom the land is restored freely once in fifty years by those who have become accidentally the ~~errand~~ owners by some cause or other. The real fulfilment of the Jubilee seems to be evidently the full realisation of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna and all that it implies in the socio-economic structure in the name of the Lord.

AND the Lord Spake unto Moses in mount Sinai, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them, When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruits thereof; but in the seventh year shall be ~~a sabbath of solemn rest~~ a sabbath unto the Lord: thou shalt neither ~~sow~~ sow thy field, nor prune thy vine-yard. That which groweth of itself of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather: it shall be a year of solemn rest for the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be for food for you; for thee and for thy servant and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant and for thy stranger that sojourn with thee; and for thy cattle and for the beasts that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be for food.

And thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; And there shall be unto thee the days of seven sabbaths of years, even forty and nine years. Then shalt thou send abroad the loud trumpet on the tenth day of the seventh month; in the day of atonement shall ye send abroad the trumpet throughout all your land. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty through out the land unto all the inhabitants thereof:

it shall be a *jubile* unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family. A jubile shall that fiftieth year be unto you; ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather *the grapes* in it of the undressed vines. For it is a jubile; it shall be holy unto you: ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field. In this year of *jubile* ye shall return every man unto his possession. And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbour, or buy of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not wrong one another: according to the number of years after the *jubile* thou shalt buy of thy neighbour, and according unto the number of years of the crops he shall sell unto thee. According to the multitude of the years thou shalt increase the price thereof, and according to the fewness of the years thou shalt diminish the price of it; for the number of the crops doth he sell unto thee. And ye shall not wrong one another; but thou shalt fear thy God: for I am the Lord your God. Wherefore ye shall do my statutes, and keep my judgements and do them; and ye shall dwell in the land in safety. And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill, and dwell therein in safety. And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase: then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall

bring forth fruit for the three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat of the fruits, the old store; until the ninth year, until her fruits come in, ye shall eat the old store.

And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

If thy brother be waxen poor, and sell some of his possession, then shall his kinsman that is next unto him come, and shall redeem that which his brother hath sold. And if a man have no one to redeem it, and

he be waxen rich and find sufficient to redeem it; then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it; and he shall return unto his possession. But if he be not able to get it back for himself, then that which he hath sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubile: and in the jubile it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession.

(Verses 1 to 28—Chapter 25—Leviticus from THE HOLY BIBLE printed at The Cambridge University Press for the British and Foreign Bible Society: 1903.)



Chemical Manure or White Poison.

(GOVINDA REDDY, ASHRAM, SEVAGRAM.)

Gandhiji's Ashram at Sevagram has been adopting the principle of "Kanchan-Mukti" (freedom from the use of money) on the advice of Vinobaji during the last few years. Reddiji, the writer of this article is one of the inmates of the Ashram who maintain themselves with their own labour supplemented with public contributions in the form of yarn offerings received on Sarvodaya Mela on 12th February. Reddiji has specialised in agriculture and compost making. His article is based on the actual experiments in the Ashram.

THE Union Agriculture Ministry at Delhi has prepared important plans of development for the country. It has been estimated that in the sphere of agricultural development our needs for chemical fertilisers (inorganic manure) are 36 lakhs of tons. The present production is only 11 lakhs of tons. Thus there is a gap of 25 lakhs of tons (especially of Nitrogen), which has to be bridged. For

this purpose recommendations have been made to the Union Government for opening two new factories.

The human population of India is 35 crores and the cattle population about 22 crores. Assuming that they are 20 crores each, the following table shows the fertilising agents that we can get from these sources every year:—

	Nitrogen. Tons.	Phosphorous. Tons.	Potash. Tons.
Cattle—20 crores	8,01,66,234	2,67,85,714	3,75,00,000
Human population 20 crores	7,82,148	3,83,875	3,78,050
	8,09,48,382	2,71,69,589	3,78,78,050

Thus we find that crores of tons of fertilising agents are available in our country. Even then we are running after the production of chemical fertilisers. There are two reasons for the human and animal excreta not being properly utilised: (1) The disposal of human excreta and urine is done by a separate class of scavengers, while the disposal of cattle dung and urine is left in the hands of servants. For these reasons our country is suffering enormous losses.

Nowadays the propagation of chemical fertilisers is on the increase. Our experiments have shown that the use of chemical fertilisers does not give good results. Of course, to start with, chemical fertilisers will increase production, but in course of time, the quality and fertility of the soil goes down and the soil becomes disease-ridden. In the course of my extensive tour of the country for collection of agricultural implements, I happened to observe the agricultural operations in the various States and I have come to the conclusion that crores of acres of land never got manure at all. Government reports claim that by supplying 20–25 cartloads of compost manure and 700 lbs. of chemical fertilisers, production has been increased to 120 mds. per acre. This production has been achieved as a result of crop competitions. Those who take part in such competitions possess land varying from 50 acres to hundreds of acres and they get the prize money of Rs. 5,000 promised by the Government by showing a production of 120 mds. in one acre only, while in the rest of their land, the average production is not more than 10 mds. per acre. This shows how such crop competitions are leading the public astray.

We have, after some experiments, achieved some results which show the way for increasing our production by using organic (compost)

manure. In an acre of land, with a crop spacing of cotton 6"×6" and foodgrains 10"×10", if each plant produces 40 tolas (of cotton or foodgrains) the production per acre will be 60 mds. of cotton or 300 mds. of foodgrains. We have taken the average production as 40 tolas per plant, because we have actually got so much from a number of plants by our experiments. It is my belief that after 20 to 25 years' continuous experiments production per acre can be increased as shown above.

Three years' of our experiments have shown that we can get eight cartloads or 96 mds. of compost manure per year from one head of cattle and incidentally, for 20 crores of cattle-heads it works out to 160 crores of cartloads, which will supply about 13 crores of acres. We have 25 crores of acres of cultivable land and if we utilise properly the human as well as animal excreta we will be able to manure all our land within two years. This is possible only when we become scavengers and look after our cattle ourselves.

If our farmers want to avoid the evils of chemical fertilisers it is necessary that they should master all the processes connected with agriculture and adopt small-scale farming; then the Mother Earth will amply reward their efforts. We have a large number of constructive institutions in our country, and by undertaking co-operative farming and by a proper utilisation of cattle dung and urine, much can be achieved by these Institutions and the propagation of chemical fertilisers can be reduced. But our Institutions have a long way to travel on this road; still it will be good to be guarded against the use of chemical fertilisers in every possible way.



Rational Development of Small Industries

BY

T. N. BHASKAR,

Vice President, Delhi State Co-operative Federation.

THE recommendations of the International Planning Team which visited our country under the auspices of the Ford Foundation are for the development, modernisation and rationalisation of small industries and cottage industries. The team made very valuable suggestions which merit due consideration. No doubt the decision of the Government of India to establish four Regional Institutes of Technology for small industries to act as Service Agencies for improving the techniques of production and management, obtaining credit and finance, securing proper raw-materials, disposing off their products etc. is, besides being a worthy step of our National Government, essential for the development of the small industries and the country's economy.

But the crux of the problem is how we are going to bring about the development. Systems of production and distribution including development are essentially the same whether on a capitalistic basis or a co-operative basis. But the rationale, the inner spirit, in the two are wholly different.

The capitalistic system is based on ruthless individualism and division, tempered though, with human pity and sympathy and its inherent rapacity modified by the enlightened self-interest. But the nation has decided in favour of the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth and a Welfare State. Which system is capable of establishing this ideal? Capitalistic? Certainly not. Some can suggest Socialistic form can do it; but there neither the consumer nor the

producer does exercise any control over the State controlled enterprises. "The dignity of the individual" is the fourth important essential after the three necessities—food, clothing and shelter. They are all safeguarded in the co-operative system which rests on the principle that every individual identifies his interest and pleasures with those of others and follow the principle of "Live and Let Live"—the foundation of Peace. Here the measuring rod of usefulness of an individual member to the society is not the gold cornered or invested but services rendered for the production of essential economic goods to satisfy the necessities of life.

Transaction between a black-marketeer and a corrupt controller is also an act of co-operation. But by Co-operation we mean the act which produces happiness, peace and is in accordance with the principle of live and let live. It does not spread economic worry, religious or political bondage for any individual. In short the hurdles in the way of this Movement are not the hindrances of the hungry have-nots but the greed of the individuals who are well placed in life and can constitutionally own property in the shape of one or the other form. We cannot afford the delay of even an hour in establishing such a system. Co-operatives are the only high-road to Peace.

In any scheme of development of these industries the government should make an all out effort to find and train the people in every small scale industry. Only such people should be put as nuclei of the new societies. They should be its life

members and the societies in turn should give the members security against starvation when working or disabled and to their minors and widows, if dead. Such people will not be mad after hoarding but the establishment of new order.

The next important thing which we in India cannot ignore is the need to ensure full employment of the manpower. Our development schemes should not be such as always making and breaking. For example, the feasibility of popularising hand-driven Japanese oil-expellers to fill up the vacuum caused by the gradual extinction of the village Teli (Tel Ghani expeller). In fact, sometime ago, displaced persons were trained and given a cash loan and such a machine to enable them to earn their livelihood in the villages. But at the same time people who established power driven oil expellers in the villages were advanced loan by the State. This naturally crippled the persons

operating hand-driven machines. Therefore, we should demarcate the categories of industries which will be within the orbit of man-power or animal-power operated machines and those that come under power driven machines but semi-automatic machines and the third, the Key industries using mostly fully automatic machines. If free play is allowed for modernization the fully mechanised units can enter any section of any industry and throw many more people out of jobs and flood the markets with all types of consumer goods; but the non-employed people cannot be the consumers.

An Indian Team like the international team is badly needed to go through this survey and then set out to implement the recommendations of the international team, keeping in view the viability of the industry that is sought to be developed, as well.

★

BHOODAN RECEIVED AND DISTRIBUTED TILL 10TH JAN. 1955

Province.	Acres received.	No. of Dan Patras.	Acres distributed.	No. of families.
1. Bihar	22,32,475	2,86,420	1,909	1,388
2. Uttar Pradesh	5,16,819	15,522	66,990	22,381
3. Rajasthan	8,25,374	2,192	5,842	1,364
4. Hyderabad	1,03,706	3,815	21,027	4,559
5. Utkal	1,17,508	40,168	708	214
6. Madhya Pradesh	84,351	13,639	7,768	1,751
7. Madhya Bharath	62,412	5,377	...	...
8. Saurashtra	41,000	15,000	...	...
9. Gujarat	36,170	7,760	942	251
10. Tamil Nad	29,334	5,337	316	115
11. Andhra	20,361	672	...	...
12. Kerala	28,032	1,200	...	...
13. Maharashtra	23,095	769	63	...
14. Punjab	10,483	3,008	...	...
15. Delhi	9,245	249	85	22
16. Vindhya Pradesh	5,656	1,050	331	150
17. Mysore	5,169	2,107	...	...
18. Bengal	6,889	2,631	254	171
19. Himachal Pradesh	1,900	66	...	...
20. Karnatak	2,180	239	239	...
21. Assam	1,692	...	...	...
22. Bombay	123	6	...	...
	36,63,974	4,07,227	1,06,474	32,366

Vinobaji on "Sarvodaya" Concept

G. V. NARAYANAMURTI

Sarvodaya Shikshana Samithi, Mayasandra

(Collection of Vinobaji's sayings on various occasions from "Harijan".)

Neither the word nor the ideal of Sarvodaya is a new one. "May all be happy here." This desire is breathed by every religion, but it has not come into practice. The idea of Sarvodaya as preached by the Gita is to merge oneself in the good of all. This demands absolute faith in truth and non-violence. *

To be born a man is considered a rare privilege, which even the Gods aspire for. With the rare gift given to us, how can we be happy if we look to our selfish needs only and do not care for others? Sarvodaya means that we should have regard for the good of all. *

The meaning and implications of the word Sarvodaya might expand in course of time, but one of its meanings is quite clear. Human Society could not have been created for conflict between man and man, or clash of the interests of the one with those of another. *

Generally people desire their personal good. A few desire the good of their own people. But only the servants of God cannot subscribe to the politics of this or that party. Certainly theirs is not the politics which makes for disunity and dissipation of energy. *

Sarvodaya does not contain the short sighted politics of the power-seeking variety, because it does not make for Sarvodaya 'the well-being of all'. *

He alone sees who sees this, and rule by all does not mean voting rights for all, but a sincere co-operation emanating from the unity of hearts. *

Monarchy is gone; gone too is the aristocracy; democracy too is in the process of liquidation. The stage is now set for the good of all by all. The age is approaching when the truth 'One in all and all in one' will rule the world. *

If all worked for the prosperity of the villages they would find themselves working for a common goal and mutual benefit. This is the aim of Sarvodaya. *

Let us conquer our passions. Let us learn to make us cultivate affection for each other. Let us remember Him in happiness as well as in sorrow, and last but not least, let us join every action of ours with Him. It is only then that Sarvodaya can bear fruit; and nothing but Sarvodaya will bear fruit. *

THE REAL THIRD FORCE:-
The real opponent of communism is not capitalism functioning under the name of democracy, but the Sarvodaya of Gandhiji. The weaponless Sarvodaya can conquer its armed opponents' communism, capitalism, communalism with good will and without fear. This is the beauty of Sarvodaya. *

The Philosophy of Satyagraha is the Welfare of all, it is also called the Philosophy of Sarvodaya. *

We are not a party. If anything, we are a third power of Political phraseology, which some political minded people desire to bring about as the way out from being entangled in the American or the Russian block, but, the third power which is opposed to Violence — *himsa-shakti* and different from the power of the State, *Dhanda-Shakti*. *

Avadi Congress Resolution

VINOBAJI'S COMMENTS.

RESOLUTION ON SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

"In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a Socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth."

VINOBAJI'S COMMENTS

In an interview to the U. P. I. Vinobaji said that the Congress resolution advocating a socialist pattern of society without specifying the time by which it was to be attained "tends to be vague."

A resolution alone could not transform a country's economy to socialism—what was required was the sincerity of purpose.

For the establishment of socialism, the Planning Commission must be empowered to socialise economy. This implied that the present Indian Constitution had to be amended,

Emphasising the "immediate necessity" for amending the articles on private property in the Constitution, Vinobaji said that his movement, by implication, endeavoured to mobilise public opinion for such amendment.

The Bhoodan movement sought to create a mass psychology required for a "realistic approach towards the attainment of socialism and in that it supplements all movements for a socialistic society."

Asked whether capitalism, as it was in India today, would be a mute observer during the process of its liquidation, he said that by "obstructing the inevitable it cannot survive."

DIFFERENT CHARACTER

Here in India, he said, capitalism had a different character from that of other countries. He would not be surprised if Messrs. Birla, Tata and other big businessmen "offered themselves for evolving a socialist pattern in our society."

In spite of everything they were basically honest, he emphasised.

COLLECTIVE FARMING

Explaining the economy he envisaged, Acharya Bhavé said that he did not believe in collective farming, which had proved a failure. Gradual evolution of village co-operatives where ownership of land would vest in small village units would be the most suitable for India, he thought.

Co-operatives should not be imposed upon the villagers, but by experience they would "progressively realise the virtues of co-operation"

COMMUNISTS AND BHOODAN

Asked to give his opinion on the opposition criticism describing the

Bhoodan movement as a diversionary technique of the landlords, Vinobaji said that Communists, "spoilt by their dogmatic bias," could not believe that a classless society could be evolved through class harmony and not through imposed class conflicts.

Feeding on discontents, they wanted to precipitate a clash in society to achieve the classless society of their conception. "They are theorists, their theories never adapting themselves to the characteristic features of different countries,"

"Butter, our common objective, secured by peaceful means, would appear to them to be stones, and if by class-clash they secure stones they would consider them as butter," Acharya Bhave said.

He referred in this connection, to his experiences in Telangana. There he could secure without the least effort and with the help of only three workers about one lakh acres of land, whereas Communists, after much bloodshed, could snatch and distribute only 30,000 acres.

FOLLOWING THE FOOT-STEPS OF GANDHIJI.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave said at a prayer meeting at Mathani village in Balasore district that the country "gradually was nearing Bapu's ideals."

Referring to the Bhoodan Yagna, the Sampattidan Yagna, the Shramadan Yagna and Jeevandan initiated by him, he said that he had always felt that he was following the foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Congress, the greatest political organisation in the country, had now declared that it wanted to establish a socialistic pattern of society, Acharya Bhave said. Personally he would have very much liked to use the word "*samyayogi samaj*" instead of the socialistic pattern of society. That word connoted something different from "*samajwad*" and communism. "But I feel that its essence is included in the socialistic pattern for they have added non-violence to it. A non-violent socialistic pattern of society must be *samyayogi* society called *sarvodaya*."

Acharya Bhave said the phrase 'socialist pattern' of society raised misgivings in the minds of the people as to what place it would give to private sector. In reply it was pointed out that there would be enough scope for private enterprise. But the capitalists were rather afraid that the word socialism might result in some other picture.

(From Press Reports).



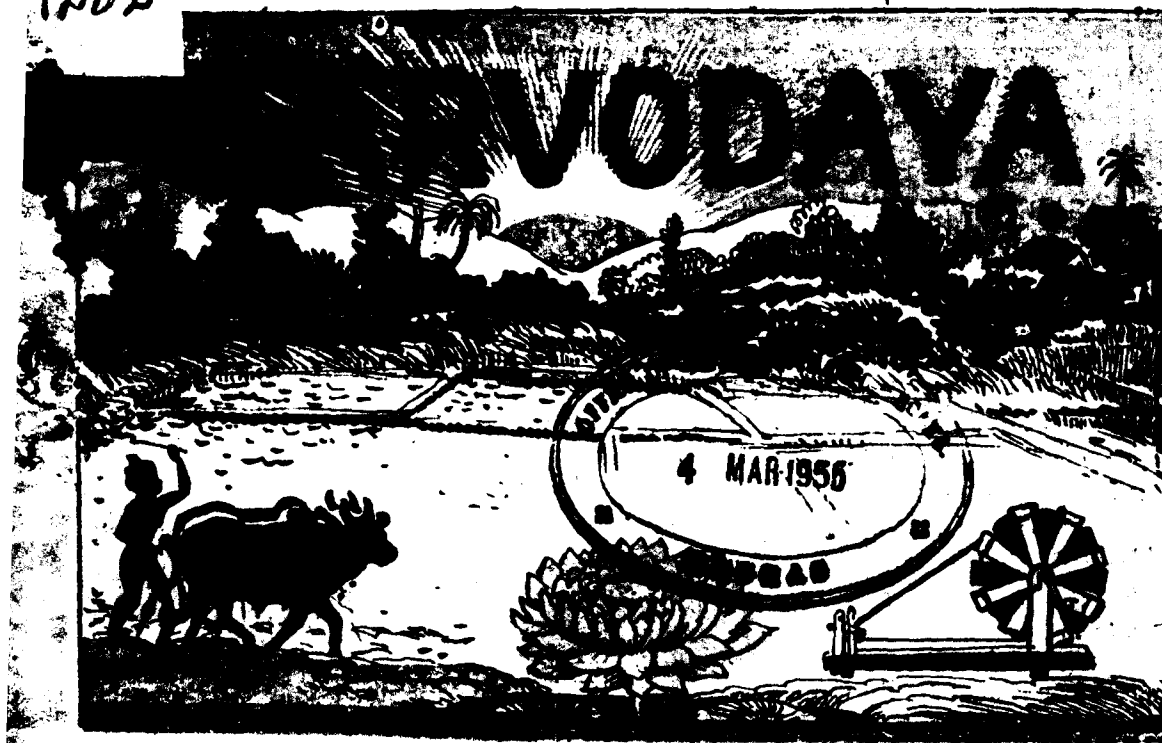
SARVODAYA SAMMELAN AT PURI.

Sri Vallabhsami, Secretary of the 7th Annual Sarvodaya Sammelan, which is going to be held from 25th to 27th March, '55 at Puri, (Orissa) informs that members of the Sarvodaya Samaj whose names have been duly enrolled before the 31st December, '54 should apply for Railway Concessions before the 15th February 1955 and remit the necessary lodging fee of Rs. 3 per head by Money Order in advance to his address-Buniadganj, Gaya (Bihar).



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THE TEACHING OF ISHOPANISHAD.

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The first mantra of Ishopanishad says that it is man's duty to surrender his all to God, in the first instance. There is nothing which he can call his own. Having made the surrender, man is to take out of it what he may require for his legitimate needs, but not a jot more. He must not covet what belongs to others

A perverse nature only can interpret the verse to mean that after making a ceremony of offering everything to God, one can indulge oneself in the good things of life to an unlimited extent. That would be a travesty of its true meaning..... If some gives me Rs. 25,000 and I spend it on my person, I am a robber and thief. I can use only enough for my bare needs. That would be the teaching of Ishopanishad.

MAHATMA GANDHI.

(Mahatma Vol. 7.)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

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 in July 1952.

The annual subscription is Rs. 18 or one dollar or 6 shillings. Subscriptions may be sent by Money Order or Postal Order.

Subscriptions from foreign countries should be sent through international bank or post office or as 15 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. 4 excluding 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. 4 each excluding postage.

Our Tamil Publications.

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has published over sixty books in Tamil and a series of cheap booklets on Bhoodan Yagna. Complete list will be sent on application.

Our office was transferred from Tirupur to Tanjore in October '54 and the change of address is given below.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, 19, Sivajinagar, TANJORE. (S. India).

Sarvodaya Study

Vinobaji says:

"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.

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

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

Applications for affiliation are to be addressed to the Editor, Sarvodaya 19, Sivajinagar, Tanjore, with an affiliation fee of Rs. 2 for each 'Study Circle', with full address and the names of its members.

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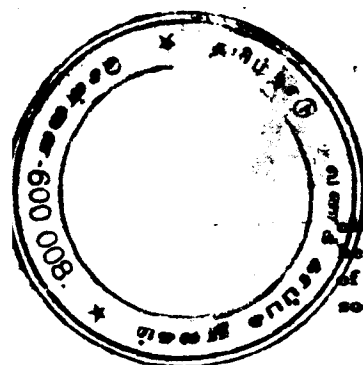
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VINOBAJI'S HEALTH

SANT VINOBA is having pain in his stomach. He had history of duodenal ulcer since 4 years. With regulation of diet he was free from symptoms for the last 2 years. Lately he had made some alterations in his usual routine diet as a result of which there has been a relapse of the symptoms of duodenal ulcer. He has been examined by doctors. There is pain in the stomach which is occurring at regular intervals when the stomach remains empty but relieved by taking a little milk. His general health shows no abnormality or deterioration. In spite of the pain he is having his walking tour in the country-side and giving his post-prayer discourses as usual. He is however advised to reduce the physical and mental strain to a minimum. There is no cause for anxiety and his condition is improving.



Gandhiji on Socialism

The Congress has now accepted the Socialist pattern of society as its objective. It would be interesting to know Gandhiji's mind on Socialism as he claimed himself to be a Socialist. The following are from the notes of the discussion that took place with Gandhiji and Sri M. R. Masani soon after the formulation of the Socialist programme in 1934.

Q. What is your attitude towards Socialism?

A. I call myself a Socialist. I love the very word, but I will not preach the same Socialism as most Socialists do.

Q. Are your objection to scientific Socialism as understood in the West, fundamental objections in principle, or are they only objections to its applications in India?

A. I do not know what scientific Socialism is. I have not read any books on it. But if the socialist programmes I have seen represented, I think, it is not applicable in that form to this country.

Q. Do you agree with the Socialist ideal of the Nationalisation of all the instruments of production, distribution and exchange?

A. I believe in the nationalisation of key and principal industries as is laid down in the resolution of the Karachi Congress. More than that I cannot at present visualise. Nor do I want all the means of production to be nationalised. Is even Rabindranath Tagore to be nationalised? These are day dreams.

Q. For the landlords, don't you think coercion is necessary?

A. You must convert both landlords and the landless. It is easier to

convert the former than the latter, for with landlords it is only a question of economic interest, whereas with the landless it is a matter of relation. It is no use getting angry with the landlords. They also deserve our pity, for it is the land that is eating them up. So many American millionaires have come to me and asked me how they can find happiness.

Q. Are you not talking in terms of individuals while Socialists think in terms of classes?

A. But what is after all a class? It is an aggregate of individuals. You cannot convert landlords and capitalists by violence but only by persuasion. We can tell them that they are entitled to amass wealth, but they cannot spend it in any manner they choose. They must become trustees of their own wealth. "You have the capacity to make money" I would tell them, "for that you will be allowed to take a commission for yourselves. But you must abandon unfair means." I would see by what means they amass wealth. If it is ill-gotten I would take it away. At the Round Table Conference I caused consternation to people like Sir Cowasji Jehangir by saying I would examine every title-deed of property.

Q. Is that not quite impracticable? How can you go through millions of cases of property holders?

A. I would take the cases of ten such landlords and capitalists as sample cases and if the decision was adverse the rest would relinquish their claims themselves.

Q. Don't you recognise the conflict of interest between the possessing and the exploited classes resulting in a class struggle?

A. To-day there is a conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker because the former dreams of profits of lakhs of rupees without giving anything to the worker. I would stop the capitalists from doing so. I have told them particularly in Ahmedabad, that they must regard the workers as partners. I say to them: "You bring your capital into the concern, they bring their only capital—their persons." When the Ahmedabad mill-owners came to me for a wage cut, I told them: "It is true you have a right to your interest, but first you must guarantee the men's wages."

Q. But Socialists deny the very right to draw interest.

A. But won't they reward brains?

Q. Are you contemplating the perpetuation of private enterprise and free competition or planned economy by the State?

A. I believe in private enterprise and also in planned production. If you have only State production, men will become moral and intellectual paupers. They will forget their responsibilities. I would therefore allow the capitalist and the zamindar to keep their factory and their land, but I would make them consider themselves trustees of their property.

Q. How will you do it?

A. By non-violence I would make them undergo a change of heart. It is possible to convert them.

Q. Will you adopt economic pressure as a means of conversion?

A. Yes, but it must be non-violent.

Q. Non-violent in the sense of not shedding blood?

A. Once Socialists accept non-violence, they must accept me as the expert on non-violence. But I believe in legislation. There is an element of coercion in it; but that cannot be helped.

(From the "Indian Parliament", March 1948).



TO READERS

The next issue of 'Sarvodaya' will be published on the 10th April '55 in view of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri on 25th, 26th & 27th March. We hope to include the proceedings of the Sammelan in the next issue.

The Twin Laws of Sarvodaya Life

VINOBA

THE proper rendering of *Unto This Last* would be *Antyodaya* (uplift of the Last) rather than *Sarvodaya*. Of course the last one's uplift is included in the uplift of all; but in emphasizing the last, the object is that work should begin from that end. I agree that the *Bhangi* (sweeper) should be our first concern. But the world *Sarvodaya* should stand; for it is not that all others have been uplifted and only the *Bhangi* remains. In this unfortunate world of ours, we are all fallen and every one needs to rise. The rich are fallen long since, and the poor have not risen at all. The result is that both need to be uplifted. In one of his hymns Tulsidas says, "Lord, Thou alone knowest the right method of Grace. Thou takest away the smallness of the small and the greatness of the great."

I had referred to *aparigraha* (non-possession) last year. Possessiveness has to be removed in the same way, as scavenging. The condition of our country demands it.

Conflict cannot be prevented otherwise. As long as the present miserable condition, namely, insufficient production of food of the country continues, ill feeling will grow between various sections of the people under one pretext or another.

If we want this to end for good, we must understand the necessity of the twin laws of right life, namely, physical labour (*Sharir-shrama*) and non-possession (*aparigraha*). Every one must take part in physical labour and put a limit to his possessions.

Possession takes various forms. Some hoard money; some hoard books. Some do not hoard for themselves, but allow themselves to do so for their institutions. It is like a man who will not kill for himself, but will do it in the name of a cause or for his country. In my opinion both possessions are equally bad and lead to inconsistency.

(From 'Sarvodaya')



SRI A. VAIDYANATHA IYER

THE death of Shri. A. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madurai at his 65th year on the 23rd Feb. at Madras has caused a great loss to the constructive workers in Tamil Nad, particularly in the field of Harijan and Khadi service. He was a tower of strength and inspiration to khadi workers. The growth and development of khadi work particularly in the southern districts is mostly due to his personal interest from the earliest days of 1920. We used to run to him for advice and lead whenever

khadi work was threatened with a crisis. He had a unique combination of a largeness of heart and the height of pure idealism with his readiness to throw himself into any service that was demanded of him. The very memory of the way of his life and selfless service will inspire us in striving for the completion of the mission of the freedom and happiness of the masses, which was the very breath of his life. Let us honour him by endeavouring to emulate him, though in our limited way.

AYAGOVHAR

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Vinoba's Yatra in Bengal.

BHAKTI KARMA AND GNANA

WHAT Vinoba said about Bhakti and Karma, in his post-prayer speech on the third of January in Bankura district, would perhaps be regarded as one of the most epoch-making pronouncements he ever made. With his deep insight and clear thinking he touched the very depths of the heart of Bengal and discovered the spot of the great malady from which the whole of India in general and Bengal in particular, were suffering for the last several hundred years. His views have evoked the curiosity of the people and aroused many to a new consciousness. The orthodox Vaishnavas too have not remained unaffected. We had a happy experience of the same at Visnupur where we reached on the 10th.

Money must flow

He said, "The work of servants like me is to give a social form to the great experiences met by divine souls in their life. In the capitalist society, capital lies centred. That could be helpful to the common man only when it was decentralised in every home. Likewise, an individual's samadhi clears one's path but the society can profit therefrom only when the samadhi attains a social character. You all know well that Sri Ramkrishna Paramahansa never touched gold. Once he happened to touch it by his hand. He felt as if he was stung by a scorpion. In other words, he regarded it sinful to collect or amass property and wealth. Hence he felt the agony. Wealth is called *Dravya* in Sanskrit. *Dravya* means one that flows. Wealth would be fruitful and inspiring only when it assumes the flow like that of *dravya*. Even a tank remains clear and transparent if its water continuously flows. In case the flow of the water stops,

Visnupur is a famous town of Bengal, being for several hundred years the capital of Malla Rajas of Eastern India. It is also a prominent centre of Vaishnava devotees and is known for its Dhrupada music. There are beautiful temples with a fine architectural work. It is also known for the great fact that about eighty years ago, Sri Ramkrishna came here and was blessed with the *Darshan* of *Radha Kall* near the Lalbagh tank and remained in a state of *samadhi* for a long time. It was just near this tank that the local people welcomed Vinoba that day. The *Shri-ganapati* Sri Gopeshwar Banerjee, the 80-year-old master-musician,

the tank is spoiled and becomes a source of disease. Similarly, if wealth is concentrated in one place it gives rise to poverty and misery to people all round. It must flow ceaselessly and then it will become as holy as the Ganges. I am trying through Bhoo-dan to eradicate social disparities and bring about redistribution of wealth and Laxmi. I, therefore, claim that the blessings of Ramkrishna would be with me in this work."

In the noon, the local Vaishnavas presented him an address in which they referred to his previous speeches on *Bhaktimarg* and desired to know whether Bhakti was insufficient for spiritual emancipation. The Vaishnavas, with their characteristic humility, made a request to Vinoba to throw light on the whole issue.

Man and God

In his evening address, Vinoba began by apologising for any distress caused to the Vaishnavas by what he had said during the last few days. "I want to assure you", he remarked "that I share your profound respect for Chaitannya Mahaprabhu. I am not even worthy of the dust of his sacred feet. Though I don't regard any individual as a perfect being, yet I have boundless reverence for Chaitannya Mahaprabhu. The devotees of Mohammed regard him as a perfect being, an ideal beyond which no further evolution of human fulfilment was possible. Likewise is the faith of the followers of Buddha and of Christ. Thus the devotees regard their prophets as perfect, almost an embodiment of God. I can understand such feeling in a disciple for

his master as also in a child for its mother. But I feel that what Islam has said on this point is impressive. It says that Mohammed was a man only who cannot be given the status of God. God is one and unique and no man can take his place. Mohammed was but his messenger. But the Guru cult in India led us to believe that gurus were thoroughly perfect and resembled God. This is the language of Bhakti while Islam speaks the language of *Vivek* (discrimination). I have also known some devotees of Gandhiji who regard him as perfect. I must confess that I am not prepared to regard any man as perfect. Nevertheless, as a disciple or as a Bhakta or as a son I can agree to look at my guru or master or mother, as symbol of perfection.

"With this background I want to submit that the current of Bhakti started by Chaitannya Mahaprabhu was holy like the sacred Ganga. But it is one thing to be a Ganga current, quite another to be the great ocean itself. The Ganga itself cannot claim to be the ocean. Therefore, every thought which comes to light in the world leads to the advancement of one or other aspect of life. It does not cover all the aspects. That the society required a Chaitannya even though it had known a Buddha, indicates that it is continuously developing onwards. Thus attempts are being made to carry one idea after another to the stage of perfection. No idea has reached that stage so far. We must have a scientist's attitude in this regard. Even the best of them feel that they only know a part of the whole. The same is true about

Atma-Anubhav or self-experience. There is no ground to suppose that more development is possible in that field. But I do believe that a particular individual with Bhakti as basis can reach the ultimate stage, even as does a river on entering the sea. I can therefore, accept that *Kirtan* alone would suffice for a particular individual. But in that case his life would consist of nothing except *Kirtan*. His eating, drinking, sleeping, etc., would be in the name of God and he would be devoid of all lust, passion or attachment and would see God in one and all. Such a soul is certainly blessed and we can have nothing but reverence for the same.

Gyan, Karma and Bhakti

"But when we take into account the uplift of the society as a whole, one idea or one quality alone won't suffice. Developing only one feature renders the society one-sided. I have said that mere intoxication with Bhakti and forgetting oneself completely in it does not make life perfect. It must find expression in solid work and in public service. I am saying nothing new. The Upanishads have said it already. They say that *Brahma-Gyani* is a perfect being. Nay they add—and this shows their subtle wisdom—that among the *Brahma-Gyans* the best is he who is active. In other words, Gyanayogi would be regarded as imperfect if his Gyan does not express itself in Karma-yoga. Mere Bhakti can be inactive and if it is devoid of Gyan it can be *Jadh* or inert too. If Gyan be devoid of Bhakti it can be dry and inactive. Now if you were to ask me whether

activity will suffice for salvation, my answer would certainly be 'No'. If there is no thirst for Bhakti or Gyan in an active man he may fall a prey to attachment and pride and his activity would remain incomplete. Witness modern Europe and America. There is enough of activity there. They utilise every second. They say time is money. Their activity is full of conceit or egoism because there is neither the humility of Bhakti nor the thirst for self-knowledge. Whence they talk of saving the whole world. Thus mere activity alone blocks development and makes life one-sided and defective. Had I been in Europe or America today I would be dilating upon the glory of Vaishnava dharma and *Atma-nista*. But as I am in a country where the current of Bhakti has been flowing for long and *Atma-gyan* has also developed to some extent, it is my duty to draw your attention to the drawback which I find rampant therein. This is the call of the hour.

Lord Gouranga

"I know what tremendous debt we owe to Chaitannya Mahaprabhu. At a time when casteism was at its height, self-indulgence was the order of the day, luxury was worshipped as goddess, differences between high and low were aggravating and Islam was on the offensive, at such a time he established equality in the name of Bhakti and saved the whole country, for which we would ever remain indebted to him. So we should hold fast to the virtues which he inculcated in us and develop those that are wanting in us. We must

build a higher and nobler edifice on the high and noble foundations laid by our ancestors. You know that the Geeta says 'Remember me and fight on!'. That is, Bhaktiyoga must be coupled with Karmayoga. The Geeta further says that Bhaktas are those who are very busy in Kirtan. And still further it says Bhaktas are those who constantly endeavour with very firm faith. If Narad were to question me and say: 'I do Kirtan, all along. Won't it suffice?'. I would bow down in reply: 'Of course, it is sufficient for you but only for you.' And I would also add: 'If you want all the society to do Kirtan you must add Karmayoga with it.' And I am sure that Narad would grant my request."

Kirtan and Karmayoga

Vinoba continued, "You will then find that when we deal with the life of the society as a whole we would have to blend many qualities. An intensive development of one quality alone may serve an individual's purpose but not that of the society. When people say that Kirtan will suffice I ask them why they require food. If taking food is necessary for a Kirtanist, why not giving

food to others too? I have seen such Kirtan-cantatas who sing and dance and even weep. Yet when I ask them for gifts, they decline! This is not only in India but in the Bhakti-circles all over the world. Kirtan has been recommended in Kali-yug. Kirtan in Sanskrit means inspiration to do. Kirtan is derived from Kirti or action. So Kirtan and Karmayoga must go together. Kirtan will inspire us to action. See how holy was the life of Chaitannya Mahaprabu! He went round the whole country and taught us to purify our hearts. Thus ceaselessly working, he merged into the Infinite Being. My humble opinion, therefore, is that the heritage or the wealth vouchsafed to us is great, yet it requires further transformation and improvement. This is my prayer. In the end, I would request you to go through the fifteenth chapter of my Geeta-Pravachan where I have dwelt at length on *Gyan add Karma and Bhakti*. I would specially appeal to the Vaishnavas to study it so that they may rise above this triple conflict. You are all *Narayanawarup* (living forms of Narayana) to me."



NAI TALIM - A WAY OF LIFE

In the evening at 5-30, Professors and Principals of Bankura and Vishnupur colleges came to see him. Vinoba asked them whether they agreed with what he said in his public speech that day. They nodded their heads. At this Vinoba observed, "If you have followed my idea, my work becomes easy. I would then ask you

to offer your share in Bhoodan, Sampattidan and Shramdan". Then followed some very interesting questions and answers. I would here give but a few of them.

One question was "How can basic education or Nai Talim be incorporated in our institutions?"

"Basic education cannot run" replied Vinoba, "unless basic values are changed. Today the headmaster is paid far more than the ordinary teacher. A manual labourer is paid far less than an intellectual. All these distinctions should go. I will tell you a story. Once a professor of Mathematics went for an evening pleasure trip on a boat. The boat was in mid-stream. The professor asked the boatman whether he knew History. The boatman replied in the negative, to which the professor remarked, 'One-fourth of your life is gone'. Then he asked him whether he knew Mathematics. Again the reply was in the negative, which evoked the professor to add, "Half of your life is gone." Meanwhile the storm grew furious. The boatman enquired of the professor whether the latter knew swimming. "No, not at all," was the learned man's reply. Then the boatman ejaculated, "Then, your whole life is going." What I mean to say is that it is cruel to evaluate physical

and intellectual labour in different terms. A change in the standing values is the paramount necessity. Nai Talim is not a mere system of education but a way of life."

What can we do?

"What can we do in furtherance of the Bhoodan cause?" they asked.

'You can do several things. Firstly, you can donate a sixth, eighth or tenth, or whatever possible from your monthly income in *Sampattidan*. Secondly, students and you together can offer some *Shramadan* as well. Thirdly, you must make a good study of Sarvodaya literature and encourage others also to go through the same. You can spend your holidays in a study of the neighbouring villages and in making their survey. Fourthly you can send me some of your good students or colleagues who may be willing to take up the Bhoodan cause in the field and their salaries to be met by your *Sampattidan*."

The Call of the Landless

"IS Bhoodan possible in other countries?" asked a young worker.

"Why not?" queried Vinoba.

"Where there is plenty of land, say, in the U. S. A. or the U. S. S. R., and everybody has got enough for his or her needs, there seems to be little scope for Bhoodan."

"But is Bhoodan Yagna confined to mere land distribution?"

"Of course, not. Still I am not clear about its application in foreign countries."

"There are many implications of it from the foreigner's point of view. I will give you four, the most salient ones. Firstly, relinquishment of individual ownership of land, property or wealth and surrendering the same to the society and accepting only that much as is granted by the

latter as a blessing. Secondly, discarding the use of arms for personal safety. Thirdly, belief in the equality of intellectual and manual labour and as an earnest of the same, to refuse to accept an allowance or salary higher than the income of a good craftsman. And fourthly, doing some productive physical labour everyday." After a pause Vinoba added, "Are not these four things possible everywhere?"

"Indeed so."

"If they act up to these four principles, the face of the world would be changed."

We had this interesting talk on the 13th January on our way to Chandrakona Road. As Vinoba reached the place, he was received in the classical Bengali style, three charming heralds going ahead, one sprinkling water, another sweeping the floor with a peacock-feather-broom and the third carrying *pradeep* in her hand. Then they presented him with floral gifts and *arti*. Vinoba suffered it all patiently and observed, "I must confess that such a welcome does not satisfy me, rather it raises misgivings. For I have not come here as an individual, but as a representative of the Daridra Narayan. I wonder whether these flowers etc. which are dedicated to a God's image, would please the Daridra Narayan too. The stone-made Narayan in the temples is already satiated. But the *Daridra Narayan* is far from pacified, rather He is persecuted. So flowers and leaves etc. are not sufficient to allay His agony. You must part with a share of your land and wealth. You give me one-sixth and I am satisfied.

That would satisfy *Daridra Narayan* too and He would bless you. The rich would then be happy as also the whole country. If the *Daridra Narayan* were to curse, the society can never be happy. But the *Daridra Narayan* here is of so peace-loving and forgiving nature that He has not yet uttered a word. But you must not tempt Him. There is a limit to peace and forgiveness. This is my appeal to you."

Work-centered Life

In his post-prayer address, Vinoba remarked, "We are all born of this earth, made of this earth and we all return unto this earth. But today the condition is so strange that while some people come in contact with this earth, others do not. Yet the latter call themselves owners of thousands of acres. Nay, they don't allow an inch of it to those who labour and sweat. God made earth for all, not for a few. Like air, water and sky, land should belong to all.

"I confess that there is within you some feeling of attachment which blocks your way. But I don't ask for much, only one-sixth. Won't you like the children of the poor to be bred and brought up like your own children? Besides, a donation of one acre out of six will do no harm to your crop. By the blessings of God, you would get a better harvest on the five acres than you got on six acres before. The donee will also work and produce something from the one acre, whence the production in the country would grow. The object before you should be to abolish private ownership in land and render

all land in the village as of the village."

Responsibility of Workers

At the request of Smt. Asha Devi Aryanayakam, Vinoba gave half an hour in the evening exclusively for the workers, which was to become a regular feature. Vinoba observed that after the departure of Gandhiji, people have the view that the Sarvodaya ideology was something nice but impractical. Bhoodan, however, had raised a new hope and confidence in the people. The responsibility of the workers was, therefore, very great. They should be ever vigilant and lead a transparent life in keeping with the ideals. He then laid down the broad principles which must be strictly adhered to in our lives. Firstly, 'we must think of and admire the good qualities of our companions; good qualities belong to the soul, while bad ones to the body. We should

gather goodness and acclaim it wherever we find it. Secondly, dignity of labour should not be lost sight of. Distinction between intellectual labour and manual work should be abolished from our own life. We must make our life work-centered and carry on productive labour regularly. Thirdly, there should be a continuity in our work. Daily we ought to renew our purpose and stir up ourselves to greater fervour. We should go on ceaselessly forward like the current of a river. Fourthly, we must develop a taste for reading and acquiring new knowledge. As food is required for the body, study and meditation are necessary for the mind and spirit. And fifthly, daily prayer should find an adequate place in our life. It is no mere appendix to our book of life but the very substance of it. It should not be conducted as a dull routine but as the most important duty leading to self-purification and joy.

Appeal to The Rich

ACHARYA BHAVE commended three things to his 'rich friends' all over the country with a fervent appeal to them to consent to them so that they would bear 'the standard of service to the nation.' They are:

1. They should renounce profit or interest hunting.
2. They should agree to make use of their property as trustees and declare before the country to that effect.

3. I would like them to donate one sixth of their income in *Sant-pattidan* as a symbol of love and as a token of their acceptance of the Sarvodaya idea, so that the poor and the landless can be helped immediately.

Their (the rich) fulfilling these three things would earn for them a great prestige.

Gandhiji very much hoped that the rich people of India would agree to hold their wealth as trustees.

I am also going round the country with the same faith. But there is not much time. This is the age of science requiring speedy action'.

Heart Purification

'I must add that heart purification is the main item in the Sarvodaya programme. This applies not only to the rich but also to the poor, the common man and all. I have, therefore, appealed for a share in the Sampattidan Yagna from everybody—rich, middle class or the poor. The more the big people come forward in this direction, the better is its influence on the people to feel enthusiastic about it.'

'Who is to launch the first step, the rich or the poor?' In answer I say the first step would be his who would receive the first blessings of God. I make no distinction between one man and another. This programme is for all, and I say its basis is conversion of heart.'

Had I not had a faith in heart conversion I could not have taken recourse to non-violence and would have drifted towards violence. If we take the name of non-violence without full faith in heart conversion we would grow weak and no moral power can be built up. So let us all, the rich, the middle class and the poor, make the sacred resolve to take up this work of Bhoodan, Sampattidan and Shramdan.'

About 36 lakhs of acres of land had been donated so far. Much of that land is such which would have to

be broken and water would also be required for it. If the capitalists take up this work, I am sure they would thereby earn the love and respect of the country by their noble deed. Also it would increase the faith of the world in non-violence.

To-day the whole world is terror-struck. The world resembles like a sick patient whose fever is going up, coming down at times. For such a patient there is no cure without resorting to love, faith and non-violence. If the big people of India identify themselves with the Sarvodaya cause they would save themselves, as also the country and the world.

Today, on Gandhiji's death anniversary, I make an earnest appeal of love to all friends to fulfil the trust that Gandhiji reposed in us. I believe that a special aspect of this movement would be revealed in Orissa. Little gifts of land would not now suffice. I want hundreds and thousands of workers to plunge into it heart and soul for, say, six months. Let us come out in our thousands to carry the message of God from house to house.

Gandhiji is witness to what we do. His eyes are upon us. If we accomplish the programme I have placed before you, it will very much satisfy his soul. I have no doubt about it. The proof of the satisfaction of his soul would be in the satisfaction of the soul of all of us.'

Appeal to Bengal

TODAY is my last day in this Bankura district. If I give so much time to every district of the country, it would take ten years for me to cover the three hundred districts. It is true that I spent a very long period in Bihar but that was an experiment in order to build up an atmosphere which has been accomplished. People talk now in terms of lakhs of acres. But I will not be satisfied until every landless gets land. Everybody must think out ways and means to relieve the misery of the poor. Bengal's extreme poverty requires an intensive drive for 'Bhoodan', 'Sampattidan', and 'Shramdan' here. I value not the amount of land received in Bihar but the number of Danpatras offered there. These amount to about 2,75,000. From every district of Bengal I demand one lakh of danpatras. Thus 13 lakhs of danpatras is the total demand from West Bengal. But to collect these thirteen lakhs even thirteen workers are not in the field. Hardly half a dozen are working

devotedly so far. There is no reason why Bengal cannot fulfil its quota if the required number of workers come forward."

In the noon some Zamindars came to see him. They pointed out that Communists were rather prominent in that region and were getting popular. Vinoba gave them a patient hearing and remarked that Communists would at least fight against the status quo and try to do some good to the people. This staggered the Zamindars and they asked Vinoba whether he supported them. Vinoba replied that the people could not be perpetually exploited and that if the Zamindars or others did not like to liquidate poverty Communists were bound to find quarter. He appealed to them to see the writing on the wall and contribute their share in 'Bhoodan Yajna' and secure the leadership of the society. He assured them that if they fearlessly came forward, the Communists would either join their fold or disappear.

Bengal since The Battle of Plassey

In his post-prayer address Vinoba made a clear analysis of the situation in Bengal from 1757 onwards. He remarked that with the victory in the battle of Plassey the English established their rule in Bengal and captured its trade. It produced both good and bad effects. The people of Bengal came in contact with the English literature and Western thoughts which led to religious and

social reform in Bengal. On the other hand, British commerce and administration together drained away Bengal's wealth which was thoroughly exploited and Bengal's artisans and craftsmen were gradually eliminated. Long before the beginning of the British rule in other parts of India, British domination in commerce and industry and in administration together with the glamour of English

literature dazzled the people of Bengal. Besides, the British established a Zamindari class and gave it full protection. "This gave" said Vinoba, "encouragement to class consciousness". Besides, the English educated intelligentsia was attracted to the Western revolutionary thought which had violence for its mainstay. Thus the idea of class conflict prospered here. I was, therefore, not surprised to learn that the youths of this place are moved by Communism. Nor, I must confess, it made me sad because an awakened mass is in every way better than a sleeping one. Now my task would be only to convert these young people to my view, which is a very simple and easy affair. I would tell them that the Zamindari organisation had flourished not because of our culture or civilization, but because of the protection offered by the British bayonet. It did not find roots in our soil. It has no spiritual backing.

Answer Communism with Bhoodan

"To these youths, partly excited and partly disillusioned, I want to convey that the class against which they are labouring so hard will never survive. But their shouting against it will give it a lease of life. If the rich or the 'haves' of India thrive, the attitude of the Communists would be held responsible for it. If they change their attitude and give the opportunity to the rich and the poor here to give vent to their generous nature, the rich class would disappear. If my Communist friends cast off their label and work as 'man' they will, like me, get entry into every house of the country. When I was in Telangana I told them so and appealed to them to come out in the open. Also I then told the official army that Communists were no beasts that could be hunted out by a gun. They are not 'sher' or lion but 'Chintashoor' (brave of thought), having the strength of an ideology and the support of a book and that they could not be wiped out by violence. The only way to tackle them is to tackle the

evil or misery which irritates them. We must effectively attack poverty and want. People try to reply the Communist in vain. I know that not words but action is the only answer to them. The ideology of the Communists must be faced by a positive ideology and sound action. If the rich people of Bengal take up the 'Bhoodan Yajna' movement and donate one-sixth of their property then the suspicion of the Communists will vanish. But if these people would avoid Bhoodan and hide away, I want to know where can they find a safe corner! If the rich are afraid of the Communists, of Government, of robbers and thieves and also of me, where and how shall they live? I, therefore, humbly appeal to the rich not to be afraid of me and liberally participate in the Bhoodan Yajna. They would then find that they need not be afraid of the Government, nor of robbers and thieves and the Communists too would wax eloquent at the uniqueness of our Indian culture."

Capitalism - The Father of Communism

"One meets several cases of rich men having Communist sons. I am not surprised at it. For, I have often said that it is the Capitalists who are the parents of Communists. This is a quarrel between the father and the son which would be mutually settled. I am, therefore, afraid of neither the Capitalists nor the Communists. In U. P. Communists gave me both 'manpatra' (Welcome address) and 'danpatra' (Land gift). They had observed in their address that though they had no faith in my method yet they would

change their opinion if it succeeded. I hope that the rich community would grasp the truth that here is a chance for it to earn the leadership of the society. If they take to the service of the poor they can do a lot. 'Bhoodan Yajna' is like a bridge to unite all. I want the people of Bankura to stand up and unitedly fulfil the Bhoodan quota of one lakh 'danpatras' and one lakh acres of land. As charity begins at home, let each of you give your share first and then carry this message from door to door."

Picture of The Sarvodaya Order

YOUR recent utterances in Bengal may rather lead our youths to indiscipline. This question was put to Vinoba by an old and well-placed landlord.

"I would very much welcome it", observed Vinoba.

"How will then life be possible?"

"The truth is that the old generation is not appreciating the call of the time and is sticking to old values which the new generation cannot and should not respect. Unless the old recognize the spirit of the age they would come in clash with the youth and both would suffer."

"When you say that old should give place to the young, will it not mislead the youth?"

"Certainly not. Why should not the older people renounce their household and entrust it to their children

and themselves take to public service? The old should set an example. But if they go on hankering after money they would ill-serve both the country and their home. In the Upanishads, the Gurus appeal to their disciples to notice only their (Gurus) virtues. But the situation is just the contrary to-day. Our teachers are rather self-indulgent. How can you blame the youths then? The Smriti declares that the Gurus should be punished for the fault of the student".

The old man was simply amazed. Watching his gesture, Vinoba continued, "What stops you from leading a pious life? How is it that the Government is not able to ban even bad films? Today in India, about 20 lakhs of people visit cinemas daily. Why don't you ask the Government to stop so degrading pictures? On the one hand, you spoil the youths in this

manner, while on the other, you will like them to grow virtuous. I believe that both the administrators and teachers are responsible for this misfortune. The fault of the students or of the youths, if any, is very small. Let the older people take the right lead and the young will simply follow".

Thus Vinoba impressed upon him the necessity of realising the gravity of the occasion and rising to its height.

British Zamindars

These talks were held at Garhbeta (Midnapore District) where we encamped on 12th January. After completing the tour of Bankura district, Vinoba now entered Midnapore. Garhbeta is one of the three headquarters of English landlords yet making hay in Bengal. It was a revelation to us that the British yet owned thousands of acres. We were told that with the abolition of Zamindari system from April 15th onwards, they will dispose off some of their lands atleast.

On reaching Garhbeta Vinoba observed, "Bhoodan Yagna" is of a revolutionary character, differing from the manifold activities of the political parties. They, at the best, can only do relief work, while Bhoodan aims at transforming the social structure. Once you grasp the truth, I am sure that the political parties would accept it and work unitedly. Ours is a big country meant to do big things. You have to spread all over the world the spirit of the non-violence built up here. You have, therefore, not to think with small hearts. I am told, that there

are many workers in Midnapore district. This is also an awakened district. May it serve as an example to other districts."

Machines and Sarvodaya

Some local Zamindars met Vinoba in the noon. Vinoba told them that he not only demanded their land and property but also their talent and intelligence. Then one of them raised the question whether machines would be there in the Sarvodaya order or not and whether there would be any place for cities in that order. Vinoba promised to deal with this question in his post-prayer speech.

Vinoba began his evening discourse with a picture of the Sarvodaya society and dispelled the illusion that Sarvodaya was against cities and machines and that it stood for asceticism and poverty. He said, that there would be a happy co-operation between the city and the village in the Sarvodaya order. At present villagers rushed to the cities in search of work and shelter because their crafts had collapsed and people had been rendered landless. They did not necessarily get the required shelter in cities but they lived somehow on pavement or uninhabitable cells, acquiring the evil urban habits of drinking, smoking cinema-going, gambling, etc. They got, if at all, a labourer's job whence the labour problem was getting acute in the cities. "Once Pandit Nehru ordered Kanpur slums to be burnt off", said he. "But when I went to Kanpur a year after, those slums were there and there was no appreciable change in the life of the labourers. Then I suggested

that as they could not be accommodated in the city, quarters must be built for them at about eight to ten miles from the city and arrangements be made for their free conveyance to and from their factory. But it was talked out as a costly proposal. So the condition remains as it was. We must, therefore, endeavour to stop the futile exodus to cities. They must get employment in the village itself.

"Today the situation is very painful. Raw material is produced in the village but the finished product is made in cities. And the city market continues to be dumped with foreign goods. In the Sarvodaya scheme of things, we would like the city people to manufacture those things which they import today and the village people in turn turn their raw materials into finished goods by themselves. This will contribute to the health and splendour of both cities and towns. Both will co-operate and the country would get strong."

Education

Vinoba stressed on the need of providing means of education too in the villages. The villages had produced great intellectuals and saints whose contribution in the building of the country was not less than that of the city-born. Hence there was a large scope for the development of the powers of the intellect and heart of the village. We must therefore direct our attention towards them. He went on to state, "There should be none without work. There should be plenty of food stuff in the villages. I want that every child or adult in

India should get a minimum of one seer of milk every day. Every child should be neat and innocent, and the villages be clean and beautiful. Sarvodaya seeks the uplift of all. It does not stand for austerity or other-worldliness. I want that all must get all good things equally. Of course I would like others to get first and myself in the end. But the modern worshippers of Lakshmi take care of themselves first and worry not a whit about others. My asceticism does not consist in decreasing Lakshmi but in providing it equally to all. Sarvodaya, therefore stands for the prosperity of both the cities and villages. I want city people to take to hard labour. Then they will be healthy and wealthy. Our Sriniketans will run in the villages and Sram-niketans in the cities. This does not mean that shram or labour is not required in villages. That goes on there already. I make no distinction between Shram (labour) and Sri (wealth). One yields another. But all this is possible only when land is re-distributed."

Dirty villages

Vinoba referred to the dirty condition of the villages which were like dung heaps. He said, "I feel that the movement of *Swacha Bharat* (or neat India) would have to be launched all over the country. If we make proper use of human excreta we will get good manure. To make our country attractive and beautiful is the second programme of Sarvodaya. Thirdly, Sarvodaya would work for drawing the learned people to the villages. At present they live in cities for the sake of money. But

I want there should be colleges and universities from village to village. I dream of the day when the village boy or girl will, while tending the cattle or weaving cloth, recite couplets from the Upanishads". He concluded, "I am an admirer of *Daridra Narain* but not of *Daridrya* or poverty. I want *Daridra Narayan* to be happy and prosperous. I want that all under the Sun should be devotees of God. And let us consecrate

Lakshmi and Saraswati in His service."

Some district officials of Midnapore saw Vinoba in the evening. Later some workers met him and discussed the condition of their district. Vinoba asked them not to dissipate their energy in little things but to resolve to do their best for changing the present order and establish economic freedom.

Why not India give a Lead?

1. "What form of Government do you wish to see in India, if not the Western Parliamentary pattern?" So asked at Bankura on the 8th Jan. an inquisitive English visitor, a member of the fair sex.

"The two basic features of the Government I envisage are: decentralised administration and unanimous decisions", replied Vinoba. "I don't care about the outward form of Government which will change with the circumstances. For example, a family with children has one pattern; later when the children grow old the pattern is changed but the homely touch remains the same."

This pleased our friend. She felt more homely and observed, "Is there not a sufficient public opinion for the non-violence in India to prevail upon the Government to disband the Army? Let India be the first country of the World to do it?"

"Unfortunately India is not today morally strong enough to take this step. I agree with you that India should be the first country to

do so. On account of the special type of our struggle for freedom, world does expect this leadership from her."

Vinoba paused for a while. The visitor nodded. Then he added, "I am trying to build up the Nation like that. There is not yet the required public opinion for it. But the Indian Government under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is trying to follow what Gandhiji taught us and which Panditji calls as "Co-existence". If this idea spreads it may be possible to disband the Army."

Our friend listened very attentively. Vinoba went on, "But why should not U. S. A. take the lead? She is a Christian nation, having young, people with good faith, ample land and resources, and a large heart. Nevertheless, if God wills it, India will come forward."

Then she wanted to know, "Do you think something like Bhoodan is applicable to every land so that young people—I mean conscientious objectors—can find some ground for constructive work?"

Vinoba smiled and said, "Pacifists will have to become non-violent activists. I think if England gives more attention to agriculture—at present the stress is on industry—it would very much raise herself up. And the conscientious objectors can take to voluntary poverty, "Take up the Cross. But I don't think it is proper for me to give any advice to the English people."

Answer to Communists

2. A worker's question was: 'Communists criticize us and hinder our progress. How to meet their criticism?' "No less a great man than Kabir," answered Vinoba, "has taught us that the elephant goes on with its own gait while the dogs bark. There is, therefore, no need to reply the communist friends. *Shastras* enjoin that we have four weapons: (i) *Maitri* (Friendship) to be happy in the happiness of others, (ii) *Karuna* (Compassion) to be miserable in the misery of others, (iii) *Anand* (Pleasure) to be pleased in the company of the virtuous and (iv) *Upeksha* (Indifference) to be indifferent about bad things. Thus with these four weapons we would be able to win over all. It was, therefore, fruitless to spend time in replying to others which would only diminish our strength. Let us go on working onward and our work will be our best reply. The *Shastras* say, 'the sweet smell of *Punya* or virtuous deeds comes even from a distance' Let us go on doing *Sat-karma* (Virtuous deeds) and the wind would help in spreading its smell. What is required, therefore, is to do our work with resolve and fearlessness."

3. Next a quaker couple from the United States was with Vinoba for about 20 minutes, the husband being a professor in an American University. "Do you hope" asked he, "to create a condition of spiritual consent that will enable the Indian Government to carry through a nation-wide land reform programme or do you hope to have such a national response to your campaign as to make such a land reform of the Government unnecessary?"

Institutional Religion

"I am trying for the latter and the least I expect is the former", was Vinoba's brief reply

Another interesting question was, 'what co-operation have you received from the highest Hindu religious circles in your movement?' Vinoba smiled and said, "Whom should I call the highest Hindu religious circles? Do you mean devout followers or Church people? Here you must distinguish between Church people and Christianity. You don't expect much from the Church. Likewise I do not expect much sympathy from those whose business is religion. Last year I got a sound thrashing when I entered the temple." We all laughed.

Professor enquired, "Was it from the higher circle?". Vinoba too laughed and said, "Yes, from the very highest".

Lastly the professor asked Vinoba whether he would send a word to the American Quakers.

Let them know that, I like their ideal of unanimity. I am trying to work on it in institutions here. I do not think that democracy working all

over the world in these days, i.e. the rule of majority, can save us. World's most intricate problems would have to be solved by unanimous consent of the people."

Real Propaganda begins with change in One's Life

4. Then came some Bankura youths including girls, who were interested in doing the Sarvodaya work in the district. They were anxious to do some propaganda work for Bhoodan and Sarvodaya. "Mere propaganda would be of little avail", pointed out Vinoba. "You will have to change your life accordingly. Propaganda becomes powerful only when there are devoted workers behind it. Hence the need is for transformation of life. Secondly I would advise you to be sturdy and hardworking to be able to face the inclemencies of the weather. You must do some manual labour every day. Thirdly, when you go among the people, do not go with

superior airs. You must feel that you are servants going to your masters, the people. Fourthly, you must learn some valuable work, like Soakpit making, so that you may impart some new knowledge to the villagers.

Start Friends' Circle

"Do you like an all India organisation to be set up for the same?"

"I am simply tired of them. There are already so many of such organisations in the country that one is fed up. I would rather suggest to you to open a local *Mitra Mandal* (Friends' circle) and go out for work.

"What part can the women play?" asked the sisters.

"They can do far more work than men can. They can go straight into the houses and carry the message. This movement is based on love which, you sisters are full of. You can, therefore, prove very effective."

Duty of Teachers

DURING Vinobaji's camp at Midnapore in West Bengal on the 16th January, teachers, both men and women, of all local educational institutions met Vinobaji in the evening.

Vinobaji began by thanking them for their courtesy and said, "you erect gates in my honour, decorate bazaars and homes and take so much trouble, but how is it that you do not offer me Bhoodan?"

"Ours is a very helpless situation" replied one teacher.

"When you are so much dejected, how can you do any good to the children whom you teach? Don't you realise it?"

"We ourselves want land."

"It appears you are short not only of land but also of brains. With the teachers lie the power to build

the country. But you seem to be well-satisfied, leading a pleasant life and running your household, with no urge to think of other things in India under Swaraj. The teachers have done good work both in the U. P. and Bihar. They have obtained land donations, worked for Vichar-prachar and helped in various ways".

"No contact has been established with the teachers here" grumbled one teacher.

"That is obvious. But you, as teachers, must yourself study the thought-currents working in the country. There is a SARVODAYA monthly (both Hindi and English), a Bhoodan weekly (both Hindi and Bengalee). You must go through this literature and make the ideas reach the people in the villages.

★

OUR EXHIBITIONS

J. G. KUMARAPPA

A couple of decades ago, when we were working in opposition to forces that were anti-national, it was necessary to bring to the fore the possibilities of village craftsmen and artisans supplying our need. With this end in view we organised Khadi and Village Industries Exhibitions from time to time, and especially during the sessions of the All India Congress. We took these exhibitions seriously and people poured into these in large numbers mainly to see what could be done in villages by their own efforts, with their own raw materials. This was a national education for independence. We also kept the expenses of such exhibitions within limits and often managed to obtain a surplus from the gate-money.

With the advent of independence, with easy access to finance, much of this has altered and the exhibitions are assuming the form of *melas* for the diversion and amusement of fashionable people in cities like Delhi, Poona or Madras. If we wish to function as we had done before, we must insist on catering to the villagers in definitely rural areas. It is no use showing ricksha-wallas how paper is being made by hand or lorry drivers how oil is being pressed by *ghanis* or mill hands how hand-ginning is done! It will only satisfy a curiosity, if not appear ludicrous. We are also pouring money like water down the gutter.

Each exhibition costs us lakhs to make it fit for our ministers to visit and bless them!

We should spend all this money and more also in real villages, among artisans, in simple cottages, in running industries that are up-to-date and which will supply the needs of the locality. The success or failure of our effort must be gauged by not what the ministers write in the visitors book, but by seeing how much of the useless imports have been stopped and what gains the villagers have made by their own efforts.

No window dressing would be to the purpose. The organisations should run, not for a week or a month, but throughout the whole year. These should be run by a permanent cadre of workers who should be experts in their own jobs. At present, with large salaries and so-called increase of standards and decrease in sacrifice the quality of work done is going down. In all national work "Sacrifice" must be an integral part. For staff of this high quality "market rates" are demeaning. They should receive only a living allowance and not a salary. Now that we have a semi-official body in the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, we hope these suggestions will be implemented.

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*, Feb. '55)

★

The Amber Spinning Frame

J. C. KUMARAPPA

SOME of our Charkha specialists have been giving a great deal of attention to the new type of spinning instrument evolved from the basis of a textile mill. Its production and working will enable an ordinary worker to employ himself profitably and it is felt that he can even compete with the mills.

I had the occasion to see a demonstration of this machine working. This innovation departs a great deal from our spinning wheel. Its policy, the economic set-up and the social utilization all differ very widely from the Charkha.

Spinning on the Charkha is not a commercial proposition, and under the British it has a definitely political significance and in days of calamities it was used for relief and charity. In the case of daily sacrificial spinning by individuals, who have dedicated themselves to the development of a non-violent economy, it plays a role of a *Yagna*, and for those who could not find a whole-time occupation it gave a subsidiary industry. In all of these the material production was not the only consideration and we had to provide an instrument for these purposes at the cheapest cost. The product itself did not enter the competitive market. It was mainly meant for personal use. But in case of relief and charity work the product was sold and the prices were regarded generally as contributions to charity rather than as a reflection of the market price. Of course in all hand work the prices have to be high to support the producer. It was more especially so in the case of the spinning wheel because of the various purposes it fulfilled.

In juxtaposition to this the Amber Spinning Frame represents very different objectives. It is definitely a whole time occupation. Its

production should have a market. The income from the sale of goods should be adequate to support the worker in comparative comfort. The considerations that guide us have no element of charity or sacrifice but are mainly commercial. It is only as an instrument of production for the market that it is useful. The only social policy is that of self-employment and its being non-exploitative. To this extent it may be regarded as part of a non-violent economy, and it serves the purpose of providing sufficient yarn for hand looms which are today playing the part of adjuncts to spinning mills.

It is, therefore, clear that the Charkha Sangh, which has as its main purpose the development and service of the individual, should not make the Amber Spinning Frame its channel of service. The old spinning wheel should still be its instrument. The Amber Spinning Frame should well become the instrument of the All India Khadi Board or be pushed forward by the Director of Industries. The Charkha Sangh has been charged with a mission which it can fulfil in full measure by attending to the various objectives described above in connection with the spinning wheel. It ought not to dissipate its energies on instruments like the Amber Spinning Frame which has other organizations and resources available to it.

Some of our constructive workers have forgotten their mission and are carried away by the glamour of material considerations attached to the Amber Spinning Frame. It has, therefore, become necessary to remind ourselves of the main purposes for which these organisations exist.

(From *Gram Udyog Patrika*,
Feb. 1955.)



Fear Haunted American Way of Life

WILFRED WELLOCK

This is a letter received from Mr. Wilfred Wellock from England written on the 15th February soon after his return from his recent American tour.

I am sorry for the long gap in our correspondence. My American tour was so absorbing that I had no time to write articles, but also, I found the condition of America so perplexing that I felt I could not write about it until I had had time to contemplate all I had seen. Trying to do this, on top of all the arrears in my work which I had to overtake, has occupied all my time. I have nearly finished my writing, my account of America and when complete I must think how to publish it. By the way, I have not seen 'Sarvodaya' for many months. July 1954 was the last.

Perhaps you would like to have the following statement for 'Sarvodaya'.

I have recently returned from a 3 months lecture tour in the U. S. A. I was invited to give my interpretation of present day values and trends, and to expound my views of these issues and on the remedies necessary to cure the ills of our time.

In accepting the invitation I had another object in mind also. I wanted an up-to-date view of American life, especially in view of the unconciliatory attitude towards the Soviet Powers under all circumstances. Since 1949, when I was last in America, that country's feeling (foreign) has been so reactionary and so obviously dominated by fear — the fear of Communism — that on occasion war appeared to be imminent. So the question which arose was what

should or could be done about it. Is America's unmitigated fear of Russia justified, or is it due to a misunderstanding of Russia, or inability, for some subtle reason, to see any justification whatever for the Russian or the Chinese Revolutions? However it seemed fairly clear to me that so long as America retained her present attitude of mind she was not fitted for world leadership.

In her conflict with Russia, the U. S. repeatedly put up against Communism her own way of life as if it were the ideal which all the world should copy. But as I happen to be very critical of the American way of life, — and of our own in a less degree — it occurred to me that a careful study of the American way of life might be worth while. This I have to some extent done, and what one soon becomes impressed with is her immense wealth and her high standards of material being, then her intense fear of Russia and her uncompromising policy towards Russia.

In 1949 I had the unique experience of spending 5 months in America, which has the highest living standard in the world — 20 times as high as those of India — and 3 months in India with nearly the lowest living standards in the world. But an interesting fact was that in India I found a spiritual quality that is lacking in the U. S. and indeed in any Western country. If India had the outlook of the Western Powers she would now be arming to the

teeth against Communist China but she is not doing that, and for the reason that she is putting her trust in faith as against fear and power. Most West European countries come between these two extremes, their faith falling short of that of India and their fear being less than that of America.

But why is America fear-ridden to the extent that she is undoubtedly is? This is the question I tried to answer during my recent visit. Not only are living standards high, that the advertisers are engaged to induce the people to buy them, so that when they have spent all their wages more by the system of weekly payments. The people thus incur considerable debt, then they begin to worry about what might happen to their possessions should there be a slump in trade and they could not keep up with their weekly payments. Fear thus haunts them daily and one fear invades another, first of Communism, then of war, and after that, of course, of the Hydrogen bomb: and so it goes on. After witnessing all this one longs for a slower, a simpler and more truthful way of life.

★ WALKS VINOBA BRAVE. ★

By POET SRI ARVIND

In the torn down huts of the masses,
Lights the Awakened light,
In the lanes and by-lanes of every village
Sings the enchanting hymn.
In the crores of people of Bharat
Comes new life
Slowly and slowly the frail society
Comes to light.
Crashing the cruelty, he defends humanity
And treading the path of fire,
Undergoes fiery ordeal himself,
Out to bury poverty and turn dust into gold.
Now he walks to grow food
On the desolate and neglected soil,
The Supreme devotee of Truth and Love
Equality and humanity
Asks for land-gifts abegging
Door to door.
Making way in Bharat
For the Ganges of Unity to flow,
He walks waving and waving the banner,
Of the Kingdom of God,
Why not in the lives of the farmers
A new change will come
When in the foot-prints of dear Bapu
Walks his beloved son.

(Translated into English from Hindi
by Govind Das.)

The Problem of the Backward Classes

KAKA KALELKAR

UNIVERSAL education and total employment are two major policies which are going to build a national solidarity which we had not known before. No doubt, saints of ancient and mediaeval times had preached this ideal of a "familyhood of all human beings". Saint Tukaram had demanded that man should have the same affection for his servants and maids that he had for his own children. Individuals sometimes accepted this corporate responsibility of a vast family, but they did not make any corporate effort. Many men gave alms, built dharmasalas and sometimes carried out famine relief operations, but they were all individual efforts. Castes, sometimes, recognised their duty of helping other castes, but that was only on certain occasions.

It is more than thirty years that the nation has recognised its collective duty of rendering social justice to the Harijans. Mahatmaji started the Harijan Sevak Sangh, an organisation of all the Savarnas, formed to atone for our sins of the past. This was followed by the Adim Jati Sevak Sangh. This institution also awakened the conscience of the nation to its duty towards the aborigines the Girijans, whom we had long neglected.

It is a peculiar phenomenon with us in India that some social prejudices have the backing of religious sentiments, with the result, that the

masses devotedly cling to them and find it difficult to realise the injustice and inhumanity behind certain objectionable customs and attitudes. But, when their conscience is activated and they are appealed to by men of religion in the name of human brotherhood, equity and social justice, they accept the plea and do not oppose efforts at social reform.

The Status of Women

Let us take the case of women. The condition of women in India for the past many centuries, could not be said to be satisfactory. As a fact, the world over, women have suffered in many ways with a patience which is of ten-times super-human. In other countries women have to struggle hard to secure a position of equality in all walks of life. But in India it was the men who were foremost in championing the cause of the fair sex. Women secured the right of pleading in courts, as lawyers without any opposition. They were admitted into Senates and Syndicates of Universities, without anybody thinking that it was an innovation. They became Presidents of the Congress as if it was not anything unusual for them to do so. In the struggle for independence, Gandhiji invited them to share the tribulations along with men. Women did so in large numbers, and as soon as Swaraj was established, women became not only Members of various Legislatures; but

they also became Governors, Ministers and Ambassadors. All this, women got without their making a claim for it.

The old religious and social order contemplated inequality of status. Each community was judged by the standard of ceremonial purity which it accepted and practised. This led to a sense of high and low, and the whole of society was arranged according to a hierarchy of social standards.

Respect for human Personality

The same nation has now discovered that 'respect for human personality and equality of all before God and religion' is the main basis of social existence and men and women are now coming forward with conviction and enthusiasm to transform society. We are therefore, ready to accept the ideal of Sarvodaya which is the same thing as Antyodaya. "Even unto this last" shall we do justice; and accept even the lowest as an equal and honoured brother in the family.

The constitution which the people of India have given to themselves, accepts the quadruple ideal of Liberty, Equality, Justice and Brotherhood, and since this is not merely a pious recital, the nation has decided to do full justice to the Harijans, the Girijans, the Strijans, and now, the Backward Classes, the Bahujans — the bulk of the nation that has all along been neglected.

Village Artisans as Basic Teachers

We are out to find employment for the millions in the cities, towns and villages. We are out to introduce Basic Education throughout the

country. This new education will rehabilitate all the worker and artisan classes, and occupational communities, and utilise their energies by training the village artisans as Basic teachers.

The drive is not merely economical. It is both educational and moral. It is also sociological and spiritual. The betterment of the condition of all the Backward Classes is a new urge which has been taken up by the nation as a whole. A good portion from amongst the advanced communities are feeling guilty of the past neglect and are foremost in arousing the conscience of the nation.

Man-power of the millions — our Asset

Backwardness is a weakness in the body politic which is going to affect the health and strength of the whole nation, and therefore, the whole nation has taken up the problem of backwardness. It is not in the interests of anybody to keep any section of the Indian humanity backward. The man-power, the brain-power and the working power of the teeming millions of India is our largest asset. We are determined, therefore, to cultivate this power to the highest pitch of efficiency and harmony. We are, therefore, striving our utmost to make amends for past neglect and help the Backward Classes to come up educationally and in every possible way.

It must be recognised that India is a poor country today, lacking in necessary capital for an all-round advancement. But capital is the product of natural resources and human labour. We are rich in both;

our natural resources are vast and our colossal man-power is, often times the envy and sometimes the concern, of many advanced nations. Let us therefore, strive to increase the efficiency of our man-power and let us organise them for constructive effort and the betterment of human conditions. The constructive ambition of India knows no limits. It is possible for us to utilise the full man-power of India in a constructive way. Once our masses are trained in technical education, coupled with cultural and spiritual growth, we will be able first to help ourselves, and then, in due time, to help our neighbours and the whole world.

The whole world is suffering as a result of the preaching, and practice, over the last two hundred years, of open competition and rivalry by the Western nations. They spread themselves over the whole world. The class-conflict which the Communist nations back upon and foster, is nothing but the corollary and enlargement of the open competition and *laissez faire* of the capitalist nations. What is wanted is co-operation, not in

terms of enlightened self-interest, but in terms of familyhood of the human race.

We shall tackle the problem of the Backward Classes in India in a spirit of brotherhood; there need be no conflict or bitterness. It is only thus that we can create a strong climate and a vast area of progress and harmony in our own country; and it is only on the strength of this internal harmony, brotherhood and progress, that we shall be able to spread the area of peace and goodwill throughout the world.

The problem of the Backward Classes, therefore, is a nation-wide problem, covering all aspects of human existence. We are thankful that the tackling of this colossal problem was reserved for our generation. If we are correct in our diagnosis and wise in our remedies, we shall be able to lay the foundations of a noble civilisation and culture which will last the longest and be a blessing to the whole of humanity

(Adapted from the Radio Talk on 24-1-55 from A. I. R., Delhi to whom we are indebted.) *

URINE — A GOOD MANURE

THE country can produce over 15 million tons of extra grain, if all human urine is utilised for manuring crops, according to agricultural scientists. Human urine is a very rich source of nitrogen, but no attempts are being made by farmers to conserve it for the crops.

Special designs of urinals are being recommended to farmers to serve the dual purpose of sanitation and conservation of the urine as manure.

The idea in the design of one of the commonly recommended urinals, is below-surface soaking of urine in a variety of materials. Commonly available absorbing material like soil, sand, ash, charcoal dust, sawdust, dry leaves paddy husk, spent tea leaves,

chopped straw, dry dung and waste paper are used. Bad smell is reduced to the minimum.

A drum type urinal can be easily put up. The drum is filled with any of these materials. The voided urine is conveyed from the mouth of the urinal through a tube buried six to nine inches deep inside the drum. When the entire material is thoroughly saturated with urine, it is removed and spread out in a thin layer to dry in the sun. Or better, dumped in a pit and covered with loose earth. The drum is filled again with fresh material.

(From the Farm News Release of Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi.)

An American Lady's Sampattidan

Our readers are familiar with Miss Lee Kleiss who gave her experiences in Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yatra in an article published in 'Sarvedaya' January 1955. The following is her letter addressed to the Secretary, Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya, offering one-seventh of her income as Sampattidan for the benefit of Indian peasants to whom Bhoodan land is being distributed.

DEAR FRIENDS,

LAST August I decided to extend a previous commitment with a group of American pacifists to India. This commitment is a voluntary contribution of 1/70 (one seventieth) of our income normally, and 1/7 (one seventh) in times of emergency in the pacifist movement. Mostly this means temporary support of the dependents of men who go to jail for conscience sake.

In my year in India, doing voluntary service (with Service Civil International founded by Pierre Ceresole) I saw that India is in a state of emergency. It is the Bhoodan workers that are making the most drastic and decided effort to meet this emergency. So it is to you that I would like to *Dan*; it is really not as I am making a new commitment, but extending a previous one. Your lack of knowledge of similar actions in America makes me believe a link like this might help you to feel that there is more than just newspaper interest among many Americans. Our problems and needs are different, our methods must also differ. We often look to your work for guidance and inspiration. Perhaps you too can draw strength from the knowledge that you in India are not alone.

I would very much like to have stayed with you for a few months or even a year, but a previous commitment to a teaching post here in Nigeria prevented me. Perhaps it is good, for I must seek for myself how I must answer to the new challenge and inspiration the ten days with you have given me.

Only once before have I been as deeply moved, and that was through my first contact with camps. It resulted in my helping with the organization of Week-end Work Camps in the slums of Harlem, New York. Young people did unpaid voluntary manual work with these poor families in an effort to repair these homes. In return they got a glimpse of the immense problem of poverty and injustice to human beings. For after 8 hours of working together these families stopped being mere statistical figures. My special end of the scheme was to contact the needy families and then to track down the landlords (owners of these slum houses) and to ask them to *give* the necessary repair materials. You see, I'm used to begging from landlords. But Works Camps cannot change society as radically as Bhoomidan which can make a tenant into an owner. But just as many forms of *Dan* are needed for the total revolution, each little

positive, constructive, non-violent "aggression" against our social evils does add towards the needed change. Exactly what my role will be for these two years here in Nigeria and later back in America, I cannot yet see.

Now down to the business end of the matter. I certainly have not been in Nigeria long enough to see how to spend this 1/7. When I do see some valuable schemes, there will be more money any way. It does not seem logical to store up this paper stuff for an eventual need when you are immediately ready to turn it into tools and oxen for the new land owners. So please forgive me for not administering my 1/7th myself. My present monthly income is £ 35 plus £ 12/10 expatriate allowance. As I have only drawn a salary since October, this adds up to 3/7 of £ 47/10 or £ 20/8.

A couple of weeks ago I sent a money order of 521 to you. Would you kindly acknowledge it so that

I may know that this is a safe way to send you the money. As I may not send more than £ 40 at one time, may I make my second payment in July?

The Education System here seems almost ideal in contrast to India. Perhaps England has learned and does not wish to repeat the same mistakes, or is it that the Nigerians have not been as removed from the land as some Indians. Though this is a Government Secondary School, it is expected that the boys will do all the major upkeep work, cut the weeds, gather and chop the fire-wood, take care of the school farm, etc. This year, starting in another week, the boys will be able to choose between carpentry, weaving or pottery as a craft skill. They may even build their own dispensary.

Egbado College,
ILORE NIGERIA,
West Africa.
20th January, '55.

Amitie
(Friendship)
LEE KLEISS

BOOKS RECEIVED

We acknowledge the following books:

THE UNITY OF BEING By Esme Wynne-Tyson: published by Andrew Dakers Ltd., London—price - 8 s. 6 d.

MAHABHARATSAR (A lucid statement in English of the fundamentals of the teaching of "Mahabharata" with a Bengali version in addition in brief)—By J. C. Gosh: published by P. K. Gosh, School of Chemical Technology, 4, Satyan Dutta Road, Calcutta 29—Price - Rs. 2/-

THIS IS LIFE ETERNAL By Esme Wynne-Tyson: Published by Rider And Company, London—price - 16 sh.

VINOBA OU LE NOUVEAU PELERINAGE By Lanza Del Vasto Paris, in French (Vinoba or the New Pilgrimage)

GANDHISM AND COMMUNISM By Ramswarup: published by Jyoti Prakasham, 5/47, W. E. A. New Delhi 5—Price - Annas 12.

WHERE ARE WE GOING? By J. B. Kripalani: published by Vigil Publishers Ltd., 54 Ganesh Chandra Avenue Calcutta 13—Price - Annas 6.

Work and Contemplation

DOUGLAS V. STEERE

IN these days we are beginning to recover some of the satisfactions that come from work with the hands and the body. More than 50 years ago Tolstoy, Ruskin and Morris warned men that the technical advances of science might rob them of the sense of integrity that comes with physical work, and that nature exacts a terrible toll both of mind and body from those who do not undertake the creative discipline of physical work.

The ancient Jewish law provided that every Jewish boy should be taught a trade. This was a wise provision; manual skill gives balance to the mind. It brings a deep satisfaction to the worker.

But is physical work good in itself? Does physical work of itself build people up, restore their integrity, quicken their self-respect? Work does these things only when it is set in a frame of meaning. Work without meaning debases men, destroys their spirit, and becomes intolerable. Dostoevsky wrote in "The House of the Dead" that "the way to crush and annihilate a human being completely would be to set him to do an absolutely senseless and useless thing".

Not in work alone, but in work done with reflection and understanding, man acts creatively and freely. "Man is primarily the contemplative animal. To be human and to be contemplative is one and the same thing". To learn and practise contemplation, to discover, to enlarge, to renew the purposes for which we work and the shape of our relationships with our fellow-workers — this is a central necessity for those who understand most deeply the nature of work.

Contemplation without work is empty and work without contemplation is blind. Without action thought can never ripen into truth. Work is love made visible, and only those who love can reach the greatness of contemplation. One should learn to work with contemplation, for then he becomes a fellow workman with God. Work reveals generosity, it reveals endurance, it reveals the capacity to co-operate, it reveals our common humanity. It breaks down barriers of age and class and race, and moulds men into a brotherhood. In such a community of work, contemplation becomes real.

The above is an extract sent by Sri Ramakishore Pashan, Wardha, from a pamphlet "Work and Contemplation" written for the Work Camp Movement by the author.



All India Bhoodan News

Vinobaji's tour in Bihar and Bengal

ON the 14th September, 1952 Vinobaji entered the province of Bihar on his Bhoodan tour. He toured there for 2½ years in 17 districts walking a total distance of 5547 miles, camping each day in one village. Due to illness and the subsequent rest required, he had to remain in one place for about 3½ months. On the 31st December, '54 he left Bihar for the Bengal Bhoodan tour.

During this period 2½ years, Vinobaji received about 19½ lakhs of acres of land for Bhoodan from about 2½ lakhs of donors. The total Bhoodan collected directly by the workers under the provincial Bhoodan samithi is over 2½ lakhs, bringing the total Bhoodan collection in Bihar by the time he left, to over 22½ lakhs of acres.

On the 1st January '55 Vinobaji began his tour in Bengal. Up to 25th Jan. he toured in Bengal and received 1852 acres of land from 1170 donors. Besides, a Sampattidan of about Rs. 1,500 annually was also promised by some.

On the 26th January Vinobaji entered the province of Utkal (Orissa). By that time Orissa had already collected over 1.28 lakhs of acres of land from over 42 thousand donors. More than 250 workers were already there in the field under the active guidance of Sri Gopa Babu and his wife Sri Rama Devi and the provincial Bhoodan Convenor Sri Sarat Chandra Maharana.

Vinobaji will reach Puri on the coming 20th March when the annual Sarvodaya Conference will be held there. After the Sammelan he will continue his tour in the Koraput district of Orissa.

Uttar Pradesh

The Provincial Government has offered for Bhoodan 1½ lakhs of acres of land in Mirzapur district. The majority of the population there, about 1½ lakhs, are 'Adivasies' (Hill-Tribes). The Government has also offered another 250 acres of land to establish a Vanavasi Asram with a view to encourage the development of cottage industries and Basic Education. Sri Karan Bhai, under the guidance of the Sarva Seva Sangh, will begin the work in right earnest.

Out of the 5.13 lakhs of acres of land received for Bhoodan so far from the people, about 70 thousand acres have already been distributed among 23,000 families.

Maharashtra

From 1st to 29th December last Sri Shanker Rao Deo toured in Tana District. He visited 135 villages and received 1895 acres of land. In addition to land he was offered over Rs. 5,000 towards Sampathidan, 4,000 days of labour-gift, one pump set, one well, three bulls and many ploughs. The 100 acres of land received from Adivasies, he distributed to the landless Adivasies of the locality.

Punjab

By the strenuous efforts of Sri Ganesh Satyabala and Sri Ganesh Lalji intense Bhoodan propaganda was done in the East Punjab. It has collected 11,000 acres till now. Sri Shanker Rao Deo undertook a walking tour in Hissar District in the 3rd week of January and received 674 biggas of land.

Madhyapradesh

In the last week of December last, a conference of all the workers of the province under the guidance of Sri Dada Bhai Naik, the provincial Bhoodan Convenor, was held in a village near Betul for three days. Sri Jaiprakash Narain, Sant Thukodji and many others addressed the workers. The conference has decided to concentrate more attention on distribution work. The province has so far collected 84,381 acres of land out of which a tenth has already been distributed to the landless peasants.

Kerala

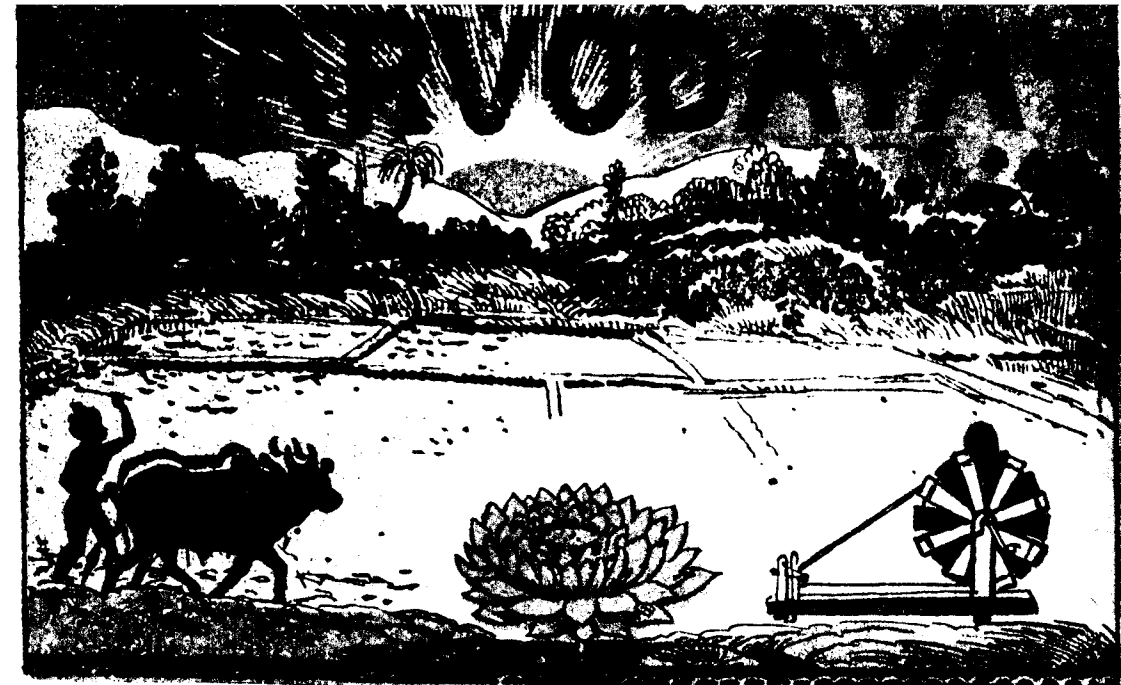
The annual Sarvodaya Mela in Kerala was held at Thirunavaya. 65 batches of 522 workers started from the different parts of the Cochin and Malabar areas, addressed meetings in the villages on the way and reached the mela place on the 11th Feb. A Sarvodaya Exhibition was organised at the place and it was a great success. In the mela 5029 hanks of yarn were offered towards suthanjali. 81.22 acres of land also were offered for Bhoodan. The workers of the southern part of Kerala went in batches on foot reaching Cape Comerin on the 12th where another mela was celebrated.

Tamil Nad

Sri K. Kamaraja Nadar, the Chief Minister, Madras, devoted two days on 11th and 12th February '55 during the Sarvodaya Paksha for Bhoodan distribution and for propaganda in Madura District.

Sri Ramjidas Iyer, the Zamindar of Kannivadi had already offered 600 acres during Sri Sankar Rao Deo's Yathra. A special function for distribution of part of the land was arranged on the 11th February at Sri Ramapuram near Dindigul by Sri Jagannathan, Convener, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee. 213 acres out of the land gift of 600 acres given by Sri Ramjidas Iyer, were distributed to 46 families. The Chief Minister visited a large number of interior villages in the district during the two days on 11th and 12th February.

In Athur Firka the students and teachers of the Training School of Gandhigram collected Bhoodan of 19 acres 63 cents for which the Danapathras were presented to Sri Kamaraj. In Bathlagundu Firka, Danapathras for 199 acres 23 cents besides bulls and agricultural implements collected during the Yathra by Sri Krishnammal Jagannathan and others were presented. At Kadamalaikundu Sri G. R. Govindarajulu of Messers P. S. G. & Sons, Coimbatore offered 1120 acres and 41 cents. Sri E. K. S. Palaniappa Chettiar offered 220 acres out of which 20 acres are wet land. In Usilampatti Firka and Valathur Firka Bhoodan workers who collected 163 acres 26 cents presented the danapatras to Sri Kamaraj. At Saptur the Zamindar of Perayur offered land gift for the third time. Dhanapathras were received for 113 acres 93 cents at Perayur. The Zamindar of Saptur gave 248 acres. During the two days' tour of Sri Kamaraj the total land gift received is 2876 acres 50 cents besides agricultural implements and bulls and Sampathidan from several persons. At most of the places public meetings were held and Sri Kamaraj addressed them explaining the significance of Bhoodan and appealing to the landlords to voluntarily offer lands for distribution to the poor. *



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"Believe me, I do not worry even for a moment. In fact, I hardly ever think in terms of five crores or ten crores of acres. After all, land gift movement is only a symbol. I have a faith within me that tells me that Sarvodaya Society may come into existence all over the world by 1957."

—ACHARYA VINOBA.



SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

THE PLEDGE FOR 18TH APRIL for The Non-violent Revolution of Bhoodan

It was on the 18th April 1951, that Vinobaji had the vision of the Bhoodan Yagna. This great national movement will be completing its fourth year on 18-4-1955. The Sarvodaya Sevakas at the Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan reiterated their pledge to complete the Bhoodan revolution by 1957. Years ago we took our pledge on 26th January for the political freedom. The Sarva Seva Sangh appeals now to the Nation to take the pledge of Bhoodan Yagna as the first step for economic freedom and for achieving the Sarvodaya Order of State-free Society, free from exploitation of any kind. The Sangh desires that the following Pledge be solemnly read and taken at the public meetings all over the country on 18th April 1955.

ON the 15th of August 1947, India attained its freedom under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. For the first time in the history of the world a country liberated itself through collective non-violence. Every citizen of India can legitimately take pride in this achievement. Even while the fight for political freedom was going on, the aspiration for economic freedom and equality has already taken deep root. This was natural. Our political freedom has but little meaning without economic freedom. Swaraj necessarily connotes the complete eradication of poverty and every trace of inequality. In Swaraj every citizen should feel that it is his or her own rule.

(Continued in the third cover page)

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AUROBINDO'S MESSAGE To Sarvodaya Sammelan, Puri.

"After all, for the greatest as for the smallest of us, our strength is not our own, but given to us for the game that has to be played, the work that we have to do. The strength may be found in us, but its present formation is not final, neither the formation of power nor the formation of weakness. At any moment the formation may change at any moment one sees, especially under pressure of yoga, weakness becoming capable suddenly or slowly the instrumental consciousness rising to a new state or developing from its latent powers. Above us, within us, around us, is All-Strength and it is that we have to rely on for our work, our development, our transforming change. If we proceed with faith in work in our instrumentality for the work in the Power that missions us, then in the very act of trial of facing and surmounting difficulties and failures the Strength will come and we shall find our capacity to contain as much as we need of All-Strength, of which we grow more and more perfect vessels."

Selected and sent by Mother
out of unpublished stray jottings.





Sarvodaya Order by 1957

VINOBA

Vinobaji's prayer speech at the conclusion of the Sarvodaya Sammelan on 27th March '55 at Puri, was the most inspiring and elevating. The Bhoodan yagna was lifted to its height. Bhoodan is not merely for the solution of the problem of the landless in the villages. Now every danapatra is symbolic of a vote for the peace of the world which is threatened with nuclear weapons. Vinobaji has appealed not only to India but to the entire world to strive for the realisation of the Sarvodaya Order of Society by 1957 which is the only answer to the present challenge of violence in the world. A summary of the speech is given here.

THE ALLPOWERFUL STATE

FROM the very early beginnings of human society love and hate had existed side by side.

In the early stages it was untrained violence that held the faith. Gradually man learnt to curb and limit his violence and the institution called the State came into existence. The formation of the State did limit violence up to a degree. The creation of the apparatus of Government created a new kind of law and order. Even Vedas had said that coercive power of the State was personification of Dharma. But gradually the State grew larger and became more powerful till it became an all-powerful State with the power of destroying the whole world with its military might based on nuclear weapons.

THE CHALLENGE OF VIOLENCE

Never in the human history had the man been so overpowered by fear as he is to-day. The Hydrogen bomb is the symbol of scientific progress and human servitude. Man is wondering how he could limit and tame the power of violence based on nuclear weapons. They were talking of putting a stop to the production of atomic missiles and weapons destroying those that are already in existence.

FREEDOM FROM COERCIVE STATE

It is an illusion to hope to limit or restrict or regulate the power of violence of the modern State. The only rational and sensible alternative is to understand that humanity can exist only when it turns its back on weapons and accepts the ideal of building up a society in which there is no coercive State. From years back I felt that it was a utopian ideal and would be realised only after a few thousand years but now I see that the world conditions have brought it so near that without its immediate realisation human civilisation cannot survive.

If you read the writing on the wall and understand the way human history is being shaped you will see that the whole force of history is behind you.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO NON-VIOLENCE

Violence cannot be limited. It can be ended. Destruction or creation of non-violent society are the only two alternatives. Those who have faith in humanity must have stout hearts and must have faith in the basic goodness of man. The very fact that you and I are talking of Bhoodan and going about all over the country collecting gifts shows that

God has a plan and he does not want the world to be destroyed.

THE VOICE OF GOD

The inspiration and forces behind the movement are not yours or mine. It is the force of some nature, history, God or whatever you choose to call it. I call it a divine inspiration.

The Satyayuga is at hand. The Kaliyuga is over. This is being realised by men and women all over the world. Brotherhood, equality and a non-violent society are the ideals that are moving millions in every country under the sun.

If an atom when activated can develop the strength to destroy the world, how much more powerful would the human atom be when it has the right intelligence.

THE NEW ERA OF SARVODAYA

A new era is opening up before us. India seems to be in the centre of the stage. The work of peace that our Prime Minister is doing in the international field, the Bhoodan Movement and all the ferment that is growing in people's minds only express the deep thirst of man to find a way of living together.

We have pledged ourselves to collect five crores acres of land by 1957. Many of you are worried and feel anxious thinking of our limited capacities. You ask yourselves, 'how can we achieve such a big target in the next two years?'

LAND-GIFT FOR WORLD-PEACE

Believe me, I do not worry even for a moment. In fact, I hardly ever think in terms of five crores or ten crores of acres. After all, land gift movement is only a symbol. I have

a faith within me that tells me that Sarvodaya society may come into existence all over the world by 1957.

When you go and ask for land donations you explain to everyone that you are taking land not only for solving the land problem of our country but for establishing real peace in the world. Do not bother about land gifts. Find out if you have real faith in creating a non-violent order. If you have that within you, your faith will be irresistible and your faith will shine.

CALL TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

If the movement would not grow then the fault is yours. It is lack of faith in a non-violent order that will make you weak. When Gandhiji lived, you could bury yourselves in your smaller tasks, whether it was khadi, basic education or the like. You live in your small spheres and are content to work like unknown warriors. But we are passing through a most critical period in the world and we have to put our shoulder to the wheel and concentrate all our energies on Bhoodan movement. I ask my colleagues not to tarry any further. Sands of time are running out. I wish some of you go back to your homes on foot and start shouting out the message you have heard here to every man and woman whom you meet.

We must be afire with the zeal of determination to create the nucleus to a real nonviolent society in India by 1957. Ours is an appeal to men and women all over the world who are trembling with fear of war and hunger for peace.

★

PURI SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan at Jagannathapuri in Orissa in the last week of March '55 is undoubtedly a land mark in our march towards the Sarvodaya Order of society. The Puri Sammelan was less spectacular but more solemn.

About 6000 Sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj from the different parts of India gathered at Puri. They stayed together in fellowship, following the ashram way of life from morning to evening. They reviewed the year's work and reiterated their faith and determination to move on for the fulfilment of the Land Revolution through Bhoodan by 1957.

The progress of the Bhoodan Yagna cannot be computed in terms of statistical data of acres. But it has to be assessed only by the inner current of this spiritual movement which has shaken the very foundations of social structure and the basic values. It has awakened the latent spiritual power in man to challenge the forces of violence of the world which threatens its total destruction.

Bhoodan Yagna has been raised to a great height in the context of the present crisis of the world. Bhoodan Yagna aims to meet the needs of the landless in villages. It has established the principle that all wealth including land should belong to society and

not to individuals. Bhoodan Yagna aims at Sarvodaya Order of Society or a State-free society. The Bhoodan Yagna has transcended its limited sphere of the village and has reached outer rings of the globe. Every dana-patra is a token vote for the World Peace. Vinobaji has made a prophetic assertion that the world would realise the Sarvodaya order of life, in 1957 if it has to survive himsa.

For this the land revolution of Bhoodan has to be fulfilled in 1957. The Sarva Seva Sangh has appealed to the Nation to concentrate on Bhoodan in the next two years.

We are passing through a most critical period and we have to devote all our strength and energy to the task in front. If the revolution does not succeed, the fault is ours. It is the lack of faith in the cause that makes us weak.

Let us go ahead with the fire of faith and courage and dedicate our all in this great national sacrifice for the peace of the world.

We could include in this issue only some of the speeches of the Sammelan for want of time and facilities. We hope to issue the next as a special number of the Sarvodaya Sammelan.



Bhoodan for World Peace

SARVA SEVA SANGH'S RESOLUTION

The Sarvodaya Sammelan (conference) at Jagannathapuri did not pass any resolution as such, according to the convention of the Sarvodaya Samaj. But the Sarva Seva Sangh placed a statement reflecting the determined will of the Sarvodaya Sevaks for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Revolution by 1957. The Sangh appeals to those who believe in Sarvodaya and non-violence to suspend all other activities and dedicate their service to Bhoodan Yagna for two years.

Bhoodan the People's Movement.

THE striking progress made by the Bhoodan Movement during the last four years has been widely recognised. The response from the people has been splendid wherever intensive work was done. Greater success would have followed if the movement were carried on more extensively in all the parts of the country. Thus it has undoubtedly become people's movement.

Non-violence in Action.

But our goal is still far off. We have already pledged ourselves to complete the land revolution by 1957. There are now only two years left before us. We are under a test and trial. The whole world is anxiously watching the onward march of the Bhoodan Yagna with great expectations. Non-violence in action is now under trial.

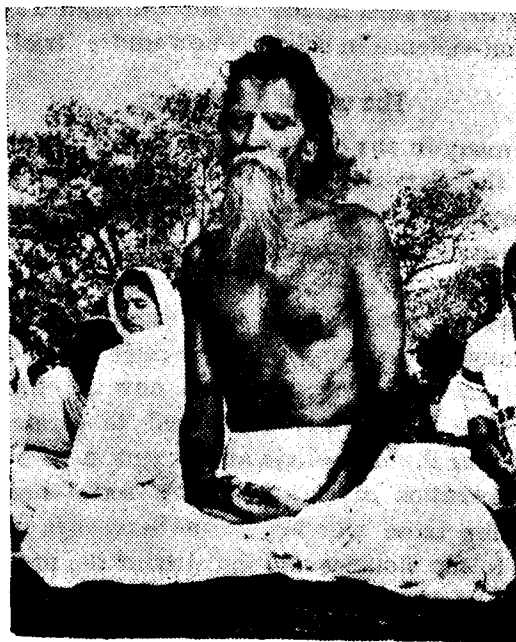
The call of Sarvodaya.

There are many in our country, both men and women, who have great faith in the Sarvodaya ideal. They are all scattered in the Government service, in various political parties, and in the field of multifarious constructive activities. They have, of course, extended their co-operation to the Bhoodan Yagna to some extent. Most of their time and energy are absorbed by the activities they are engaged in their own respective spheres. The service they do, is no doubt useful and good in their own way. But now the time has come for every one believing in the Sarvodaya ideal to seriously ponder and ask oneself whether the immediate and urgent need of the day is not the total transformation of the prevailing social order of the day. It is impossible for those who believe in Sarvodaya to be passively silent witnesses to the violence and injustice of the present social order and sit idle with compacency at the continuance of the status quo. The true transformation of society towards Sarvodaya ideal could come only with a total change in the basic ideas and human values.

Whatever change may happen in other respects Sarvodaya Order will be impossible without the change in the fundamentals. We have realised that no Government can bring about a change in the ideals and the values of life. It can be effected only by loving persuasion of the people through the message of Sarvodaya. The Bhoodan movement and its offshoots are but the symbols of the full Sarvodaya ideal in action.

Challenge to Non-violence.

The present age is a challenge to the faith in non-violence. Can the votaries of non-violence refuse to take this challenge? Our answer to this is already there in our pledge to reach our goal by 1957, and we had already declared that the challenge of the age can be met only through non-violence. At this juncture of a critical trial of non-violence in action the Sarva Seva Sangh appeals earnestly in all humility to every one who has faith in non-violence and Sarvodaya to suspend all the other activities and to dedicate all his or her time, energy and service for the Bhoodan Yagna for a period of two years.



Acharya Vinoba.

The Bhoodan Week-13th to 18th April

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

The following is an appeal issued by the President, Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, for implementing its resolution about the Bhoodan Week.

ABOUT six thousand Sarvodaya Sevaks gathered at the Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan on 25th, 26th & 27th March '55. They deliberated and discussed about the various problems that confront the world to-day and the land revolution in India through Bhoodan Yagna. The Sammelan reflected the growing conviction among the Sarvodaya Sevaks in Bhoodan as the only way for the realisation of the Sarvodaya Order—a state-free Society free from exploitation of any kind. The Sarva Seva Sangh therefore resolved to intensify and complete the Bhoodan Movement by 1957.

The Sangh has issued an appeal in its resolution to all those who have faith in non-violence and Sarvodaya to dedicate their service to this Bhoodan revolution for the next two years leaving all other activities.

The Sarva Seva Sangh decided at Puri to celebrate the Bhoodan Week from 13th April to 18th April, all over the country. 13th April, the last day of the National Week is ever memorable as the Jallianwala Bagh Day in the history of our fight for freedom. It was on 18th April 1951 that Vinobaji had the darshan of first Bhoodan at Pochampalli village in Hyderabad State. 18th April is therefore a sacred day of Land Revolution. The opening and closing dates of the Bhoodan Week thus

symbolise the political freedom which we have won leading to the economic freedom that is yet to come.

The Sarva Seva Sangh appeals to the people to conduct walking yatras throughout the villages carrying the message of Bhoodan Yagna. Let every nook and corner of India echo and re-echo the message of Bhoodan for Sarvodaya Order and for the Peace of the World. Let people of all parties unite together in this Bhoodan Week to make the celebration successful. We appeal to the members of local bodies, provincial legislatures and Parliament to fully participate in Bhoodan Yatras.

On 18th April public meetings will be held in all villages. The Sangh appeals to the villagers to take the Bhoodan Pledge at the public meetings. The Pledge (published in the cover pages of this Sarvodaya) has been approved by Vinobaji. The Sangh trusts that the people will do their duty by offering part of their land, money, talents, labour and time for this great national sacrifice for the Swaraj of the villages and Peace of the World.

With a view to do universal propaganda during the Bhoodan Week the Sangh suggests the following programme to be adopted.

Walking Yatras:

The parties conducting walking yatras in the villages should

endeavour to take the message to every house. As soon as the yatra party reaches a village it should go round the village in mass processions, clean the village, sell Bhoodan literature, and conduct mass prayers. By visiting each house they should try to obtain danapatras for gifts of land, money, labour etc.

Sarvodaya Literature:

The Yatra parties should do their best to enrol largest number of subscribers for the weekly and monthly Sarvodaya or Bhoodan magazines published in Hindi, provincial languages and in English. The parties are expected to carry on a campaign in the sale of literature on Bhoodan and Sarvodaya in every village.

School Children:

The Bhoodan Yatra parties can organise processions of children with

Bhoodan slogans, and arrange dramas, dialogues and folk-dances etc. centering round Bhoodan and Sarvodaya.

Duty of the educated:

The educated and professional class of people in towns, like lawyers, doctors, teachers and engineers etc. are requested to suspend all their normal work and to participate in this great National Land Revolution by offering part of their land, wealth, talents, labour and time.

Women:

It will be a more sacred duty of the women of India to take part in this Bhoodan movement of love and truth for the peace of the whole world by carrying this message from home to home.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Vinobaji.

Satyagraha and New Social Order

ACHARYA VINOBA

Vinobaji's inaugural speech on the 25th March '55 in the Seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri is an outstanding one which formed the basis and the object for the whole deliberations of the Sammelan. A brief summary of the speech is given here. The full version will appear in the next issue.

OUR ideal is to build up a society which does not need a coercive authority of the State. The Communists also believe that the State will ultimately wither away. But in the immediate present they are out to build a strong totalitarian State. There are others who feel it is an utopian idea which can never be brought to reality.

Man, as he is made, will always need some kind of a State. In a non-violent society, there is a minor place for the State. It may not disappear completely, but the chief thing is that in such a society, organisation based on service will have the most prominent place. I often wonder if an organisation like the Indian National Congress is really capable of ushering in a non-violent society.

Gandhiji's Loka Sevak Sangh

Elections have great prominence in Congress organisation and the body that is devoting most of the time in electioneering can hardly be the instrument for creating a new non-violent society. Not only this, it may prove a danger to the growth of non-violence. That is why the father of the nation had advised us to turn it into a Loka Sevak Sangh immediately after attaining freedom.

We realise the wisdom and foresight of his suggestion to-day. We are trying to fill up the vacuum by starting organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Small organisation devoted to social service existed even during the British rule and continues their work to-day. There are many such organisations in existence. But they are too small and scattered to provide a focal point for the expression of the non-violent will of the people.

There must be a broad-based organisation which has won the love of the people by its self-less service. Such an organisation alone will be able to take the power of the State. All parties will try to get the goodwill and support of such an organisation.

Congress - engrossed in elections

Unfortunately for us, such an organisation does not exist in the country at present. The Congress is completely obsessed and engrossed in elections. Probably it is natural and inevitable. There may be some justification for it. I do not want to go into it just now. I am only concerned with the fact that an organisation of this kind cannot be the instrument of creating a new society.

The Sarvodaya Samaj

Since the Congress failed to fulfil this great task, smaller men with limited capacities are compelled to come forward and create this nation-wide brotherhood of Sarvodaya Samaj, built on service. No one can run away with the idea that it is our intention to weaken any institution or organisation, political or otherwise. If they feel that they are wielding power by remaining in their posts they may continue to remain there. But they may realise soon that they do not wield power but would feel weak. They will surely come out and do so without delay. As long as there are parties built on differences of opinion, all of them must be well organised and strong. The good members of every party should try to give a minor place to election in the party work.

The One-Man One-Vote Democracy

I must confess that I fail to understand the meaning of the one-man one-vote in democracy. In formal democracy of this kind Pandit Nehru has one vote and his Chaprasi has one vote. No one will be able to convince me of the righteousness of such a procedure. It may be justified only on one ground. Only the Vedantin can justify it, for he believes that there is one *Atma* (Soul) in all. If we are out to change social values and build up a new society elections will never achieve it.

Official Definition of Ahimsa

Ahimsa was the life-breath of Mahatma Gandhi. Whatever he did he tested it on the touchstone of non-violence. Many of his lieutenants have taken on themselves the

responsibility of the Government. They try often to define non-violence. Thus there is to-day an official version of non-violence. Their conception of non-violence is, I think, too negative. To cause least inconvenience or ill-will seems to be their criterion of non-violence. This Fabian non-violence is a dangerous doctrine. It is possible to go slow in matters which are not clearly concerned with violence or non-violence. But if you are really serious about non-violence then there is no question of degrees, and gradual progression. It should be immediate, and wholehearted. It has to move with speed. I pray to God that people who really believe in non-violence will realise this.

Rajaji's call to America

Rajaji is a philosopher and a statesman, and he is also a master of words. He advised the President of the U. S. A. to discard the nuclear weapons unilaterally. The Americans are a learned people. Not only the rulers, but the voters are well educated. They consume 160 times more paper than we do. When Esinhowe listens to Rajaji's advice, the people of America will be disillusioned and displeased. I agree with what Rajaji has said. Individually he has probably the right to say so but I wonder if he can say as a representative of the nation.

Pakistan has entered into a pact with America and increased its army. Do we feel the courage of disbanding our violent forces because Pakistan is increasing its armed strength? Can America, in the face of this, listen to

a man who advised them to decrease their nuclear power? I submit we must create a strength and confidence in the nation to act. This can never happen as long as non-violence is gradual. Non-violence certainly does not mean the continuation of the status-quo.

The Positive Satyagraha

The word Satyagraha has incurred the odium of many. We are told by some that there is no room for Satyagraha in democracy. I can understand this dictum if democracy meant unanimity. But I fail to understand how Satyagraha can be banned in the present formal form of democracy. Satyagraha that we practised under Gandhiji was certainly not the ideal Satyagraha. It was conditioned by the circumstances of the time. It was too negative in its approach. It was the genius of Gandhiji to link up constructive work with Satyagraha and make it its precondition. But after freedom it cannot remain negative. Negative Satyagraha will not serve our purpose to-day.

The Technique of Bhoodan

We have a certain technique for Bhoodan work. Suppose our mission is not achieved by 1957. What next is the question often asked by the workers. I say, you can ask the question only when you have put in concentrated collective efforts first.

As long as we have not done so where is the justification for such a question? Our task therefore is to give every ounce of our energy to the task in hand. I have no doubt that if we work with our heart and soul

success would be ours. Bihar, Bengal and Utkal are eloquent testimony to my faith. All our scattered energies must be concentrated in our focal point. It is then only that we shall be able to take the necessary steps.

Appeal to People - the Masters of Legislators

With the coming of freedom our responsibilities have increased. We have to bear the responsibility to govern the country. I do not deny that. Those who have gone in for the elections and entered legislatures will mind the responsibilities of the Government. But those who want to bring about a radical change, should devote all their energy to Bhoodan. If we create a real public opinion and educate the people these will have much greater effect than the speeches in the legislatures. The key-men may remain in place of power but all the rest must no longer delay in acting. Their place is with the people.

There are several burning problems of the day and those in authority give their own replies for them. For every question whether it is banning cow-slaughter or replacement of the textile with khadi, their reply is foregone. They fling the slogan of public opinion at our face. They are right and it is for this that we must go to the public. The public are the real masters. You must give up approaching those who are the servants—the members of the legislatures. They have to obey their masters, the people.



Sarvodaya — A Positive Force

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

This is the summary of the speech made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, The President of the Republic of India, on 25th March '55 at the Seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan.

THE Indian National Congress is essentially a creation of the conditions, which prevailed in the country before Independence. In the long struggle for freedom the Congress was able to rally an overwhelmingly large number of people around it but the one and only objective which held them together was freeing India from foreign yoke at the earliest. Gandhiji who had a far keener and broader vision, envisaged the reconstruction of Indian society by practising the principles now embodied in the Sarvodaya movement. Gandhiji had immense influence over his followers. Yet it has to be admitted that a large number of his own associates did not see eye to eye with him.

The Application of Ahimsa

At that time our fight against the British Power served an effective cementing force to hold the people of different views together. The moment we became free, this uniting factor ceased to exist. Differences of opinion began to manifest themselves. We pay homage to the ideal of *ahimsa* and peace in principle. We have been honestly and sincerely doing our best to uphold this ideal, not only in Indian but also in the international affairs. Yet, it has to be admitted that the Government of free India has not yet been able to do without an army maintained at huge expense. Many of us who had a hand in formulating official policies realised the incongruity of upholding the principle of *ahimsa* and maintaining

an armed force. It is not an easy choice between the ideals of *ahimsa* and the modern army to meet the exigency of the present situation.

Our Dilemma

How long can we continue to remain in indecision? How long can we allow this dilemma to have the better of us? There is certainly a case for deeper probing and seeing things clearly whatever difficulties there may be. It is considered impossible to live up to such an ideal as that of *ahimsa*. It is also realised by many how utterly futile a country's army can be against heavy odds and the modern inventions of destruction. Let every thinking person pause and think and try to understand the ideals of Sarvodaya. The ideals mainly consist of giving whatever one can spare for the benefit of others, to find happiness in other's happiness and to cultivate internal discipline which shows the way to contentment and true happiness.

Sarvodaya — A Positive Force

Sarvodaya is not a negative force. It is out and out a positive force. It has the potentiality to change the whole phase of society for the betterment of mankind. It can also give the necessary strength and the power of belief to tide over mental crises and dilemmas in every day life. In fact Sarvodaya is a highly constructive way of thinking, lofty in conception, revolutionary in implication, and strictly practical in its application to human affairs at all levels.

Bhoodan for Freedom and Equality

JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

On the opening day of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri, Shri Jaiprakash made an impassioned appeal to all those who have the burning quest for a new Social Order of freedom and equality, to suspend all their other activities and concentrate on Bhoodan which will bring the real revolution. This is a summary of his Hindi speech.

MY critics may say I change my views and ideologies very often. It is true, I have changed. But I submit my burning quest for a social order based on freedom and equality has never changed. And I believe yet to day that Sarvodaya ideal alone can create such an order.

The Real Revolution

How are we going to realise the ideal, that is, how is the new order we dream of, is going to be realised? Some would probably say that since Gandhiji's disciples are running the Government, the new order would be best brought into existence by legislation. Such men look to Delhi for initiative and expect the magic wand of the Planning Commission to create a new order. I do not think there are many who subscribe to such a view. Legislation may bring about a change. But it will be only a change in a modified form. It cannot create change in values, which is the real revolution. Gandhiji taught us all these throughout his life. The Welfare State, which some of the parliamentary democracies of the West are trying to create, is again different from Sarvodaya ideal. Therefore they have to ask themselves the question as to how they are going to usher in the new order. If legislation is not the way, what is the proper way? 'Constructive programme'

would have been the answer, some years back. Did not Gandhiji say that the fulfilment of the constructive programme was the Swaraj. But we have seen that Khadi work and Basic Education which are carried on for twenty long years did not bring about social change to the extent as we desired. They might have given some relief to the people and might have been very useful to the needy, but they did not take us even a step nearer to our goal.

Most of us are afraid of asking ourselves this question because we have no answer to give. We like the vague and imaginary idea that it will somehow come into existence. 'When and how?' we do not know.

Disillusioned by Communist World

When I was studying in America I accepted Marxism as the way of creating a new world. But after looking at the Marxists' experiment over one-sixth of the globe I have been disillusioned. It has brought neither freedom nor equality.

The Mantra of Satyagraha

At the inception of the Bhoodan movement Vinobaji thought it would be a slow progress and would be something like a constructive programme. But when I saw Bhoodan movement from close quarters I began

to feel that it was probably the real movement that would create a socialist order of my dreams. At Bodh Gaya last year I decided to put aside all other activities and dedicate myself to the ideal of Sarvodaya.

I feel that Mahatma Gandhi has given to us a most potent weapon or technique to bring about a new social order. He has given us the *mantra* of Satyagraha. Satyagraha means changing people's scale of values and to make them truthful and fearless.

In Bhoodan movement land collection is really secondary. It is symbolic. The most significant thing is putting an end to the idea of ownership.

Do or Die Mission

We could have preached and written volumes on the stupidity of clinging to the institution of property but they could not have been very effective. To-day we have a programme of immediate action, like Salt Satyagraha. Bhoodan has wonderful potentiality, and is bound to grow progressively. I feel happy and enthusiastic at the very thought of the Bhoodan movement. It shows us that way. It will, I feel, definitely create a New Order.

We are living in a period of great crisis. Mankind is on the brink of a catastrophe. This is not the time to waste. I feel it is the question of "now or never". Therefore all of us who believe in Sarvodaya ideals must be determined. We have to do or die. There is no middle way. Bhoodan is not a new ritual. It is a new faith. This is why thirty-seven

lakhs of acres have been collected so far, and a province like Orissa has thrown up hundred and fifty villages wherein all land has been given for Bhoodan by all the land-holders. Such villages would be the foundation on which we have to raise the structure of the New order.

In Russia nearly two crores of the peasantry were liquidated in the process of collectivisation and even after that, the problem remains unsolved.

Faith and Action - our Watchwords

Violent and non-violent revolutions have only one thing in common. In both, people have one move and have one initiative. Revolution is not a hobby to be indulged in at leisure. Let us shake off lethargy and pull ourselves out of all complacency. Faith and action have to be our watchwords.

Suspend All Other Work

Gandhiji's technique to transform the society is a new one, but before he could actually change it he left us. But Vinobaji has taken it up. The programme that Vinobaji has placed before us is the twin i. e. *Vichar Parivarthan* and *Hridaya Parivarthan* transformation of mind and heart.

This is an age of economics. Everything depends upon the economics of the day. To solve the economic problems Vinoba has placed before us the various forms of *dans*. So I request you all to give serious thought to this. Let all workers give up all other work and concentrate on Bhoodan.

Bhoodan and Village Industries

JAIPRAHASH NARAIN

In his speech at Puri while opening the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition on 24-3-55, Sri Jaiprakash Narain stressed on the interdependence of Bhoodan Yagna and the village industries for total reconstruction of the villages and advocated the system of exchange and barter as the sound economics for the Self-sufficiency of villages.

THE village reconstruction is the foundation of Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan Yagna. The stronger the foundation, the better will be the super-structure. Without village reconstruction, even Bhoodan will be an impossible affair.

Bhoodan and Village Industries

The importance of the cottage industries is an old problem, but now it needs a new line of thought and approach in the present day society. The necessity of giving real shape and place to village reconstruction work has come to the forefront. Efforts in building cottage industries will be successful only in those villages where Bhoodan work is done well and where the movement is marching ahead.

Boycott outside Goods

We often feel the necessity of taking the help of legislation to build our ideal villages and for this we often agitate and our minds are also diverted towards that direction. Our friends have formed the Government but we are unable to get any support. It is therefore, natural to be disappointed. This angle of vision should be changed. We can get support from the Government, but to wait for such support will be something

like placing the cart before the horse, and by this we become weak. Before our voices reach the Government it should reach the people. The village folk should boycott foreign imported goods even before the Government ban them by legislation. This was stressed by us at Sevapuri Sammelan.

If we begin reconstruction work through public opinion we will go ahead towards the Sarvodaya Society and our strength will increase. Outer impediments will vanish as soon as our inner strength increases and this will help to build the society based on self-sufficiency.

Exchange and Barter

The village craftsmen generally sell their products in the market for money. But owing to want of purchasers most of the articles remain unsold. To solve this difficulty it is necessary to produce only such articles which can be sold in the village market itself. For instance, a weaver can make a napkin for a fisherman of the same village and can take in return fish for the same value. Then he need neither go outside his village for his livelihood nor have any fear of his articles remaining unsold. Money would not be required in such cases.

The Economics of Barter Appeal to Workers

Some people say that this is an old method of barter in goods. Indian economists do not appreciate this method, but European economists have fully realised the need of such a barter system. The American producers are making strenuous efforts to thrust their goods on European markets and to dominate over the European economy. To resist this, many European countries have organised Unions among themselves with a view to exchange and barter of goods produced by them.

Even if one, out of every 5,000 villages, is modelled on complete Sarvodaya ideals it is doubtful if the remaining villages will copy the same of their own accord. Unless strenuous and incessant efforts are made in every village by the workers, the ideal we aim at, cannot be fully realised. I appeal to all Sarvodaya workers to strive hard in building up the Sarvodaya Order of society free from exploitation of any kind.



UNILATERAL GOODNESS

The only way is what has been indisputably shown to be, the only right way in all matters of human conduct.

Do not do what is wrong because another does it. To imagine that deliberate sin could be a means to overcome another's sin is a fatal error. Sin will thrive if this fatal method of treating sin be followed. We shall all be soon and rapidly overwhelmed if we do not give up this method of meeting evil. Unilateral action is the only way..... Salvation consists in unilateral action, in courage and in the fundamental faith that good ultimately triumphs.

Indeed, the secret power of the good, that it will triumph if only we make no terms with evil but stand confident, is a secret of the human mind as remarkable and as important as the secret of the atom which has been so fatally explored. The mysterious energy of the good is worthy of as much attention, at least, as the mysterious energy of the atom. Alas, that science has bestowed all its attention on the one and not on the other!

Is it that we really speak lies and have no faith in our hearts such as we pretend? God forbid!

—C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

(From a letter published in "New York Times" on 26-12-54)

Non-Co-operation with Evil

British Journalist's Interview with Vinoba

SURESH RAMABHAI

“IN the past, wars and revolutions have been won by the side best organised. If your movement should, at any stage, provoke strong opposition, can you indicate how you would meet it?” This question was put to Vinoba by a thoughtful British journalist, a globe-trotter, who had also served in the last war.

Non-co-operation with Evil

“Well, everything depends on the attitude we take with regard to life as a whole”, replied Vinoba. “In case of opposition from some section, we would have to convert it to our side. If they are not ready to listen, the alternative would be not to co-operate with them in their evil motives and actions. They will then lose their force. We don't consider them as our enemies indeed. But we do distinguish goodness from evil. We must co-operate with goodness and offer non-cooperation with evil, non-cooperation inspired by compassion and love. Christ says, ‘Don't resist evil’. We add, ‘Don't resist evil with evil.’ Let us resist evil with goodness as light resists darkness. Power lies with light. There are no such people as bad people. We must create goodwill.”

The journalist seemed to be rather unconvinced. He proceeded, “Experience indicates that as long as greed exists, the greedy will try to exploit others and only law—whose sanction is force—can restrain them.

How do you think the greedy can be checked in a society based on non-violence?”

Greed and Money Economy

Vinoba smiled and asked, “As long as greed exists! How long will greed exist?” He looked towards the correspondent and waited for an answer. Getting none, Vinoba continued, “Greed will exist so long as you allow it to exist. It has no powers apart from us. If good men who lead the society adopt non-violence, things will be alright. And leaders would be good when they are unanimously chosen, not by majority. Should this kind of system follow, there will be no chance for greed to prosper. Surely, no man is greedy for the sake of mere greed. Because of the money economy, there is a craze for money. If we have such an order as will enable people do work and get what they need, greedy men will turn into good men.”

With his doubts cleared, our friend became more specific and thought aloud, “The creation in India of a classless, self-sufficient order based on non-violence would eventually depend for its survival on the creation of similar societies in the rest of the world.”

Unilateral Goodness

“No,” observed Vinoba. “I don't agree here. That my goodness should depend on that of others is

not necessary. I can go against the whole world if I follow my path, considering it the right one. One day or another, others would also follow it. What you say is like the communist stand. They say that communism in Russia or China alone is not sufficient or secure as long as the whole world is not converted. This is not what we think. We believe that even one man can stand against the whole world if he is on the right path."

"But men, collectively, are actuated purely by material motives and have no conscience," argued our friend. "How can Satyagraha be then applied in international relations?"

"Do you mean to say," observed Vinoba, "that good people turn into bad ones, when they come together?" After a pause he added, "How can it be? If two good persons combine, goodness would be doubled, would grow stronger. But the assumption that they would countenance evil is not correct. You may say that apart from individuals, Governments, armies etc. have no conscience. But why think of Government without men or of army without soldiers? There is, you know, something like a social conscience. It is formed out of the collective goodness of centuries. So I think your assumption is not correct."

The Vicious Circle

Turning to the second part of the question, Vinoba remarked, "Nations are very much afraid of each other these days. The U.S.A. feels that she is not strong, while the U.S.S.R.

thinks that U.S.A. is getting stronger. They live in fear. It is a vicious circle which has to be broken up. If either of these two powers or some other takes courage to destroy its arms with its own hands, that would pave the way for non-violence and give a lead to the world. I do hope that they would rally round to this path sooner rather than later."

"But how can," inquired our friend, "non-violence be the basis for life of such countries as depend on industry and commerce, which, in their turn, rest on exploitation, on greed and on competition?"

"There is no nation in the world which does not produce food. Every country can develop its agriculture. But why should industry and commerce depend on exploitation and competition? Industry means supplying things we don't have. Commerce means helping others. I don't think exploitation or competition should be necessarily their basis. My view is opposite. As I told you in the beginning, if the present economic structure is changed and money economy is replaced by, what I should say, human economy, things will be very much different. And we are working for the same through the Bhoodan Yagna programme."

The last question was, "How would India be able to retain her independence amidst forces seeking for world domination?"

"There is little to worry about it. One's effort should be towards growing better and helping others to do so. Even bad men coming together will have to shed their weakness

The Socialist Pattern in Education

E. W. ARYANAYAKAM

Secretary, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram.

THE Champaran district, where Gandhiji started the first Satyagraha Movement, was also chosen by the British Government, for the introduction of Basic Education in a compact area.

The late Shri Prajapathi Mishra took a deep interest in the work and owing to his efforts Bettiah state fully co-operated in giving land for the Basic schools. Under the guidance of Rashtrapathi Rajendra Prasad, Syt. Acharya Badri Nath Varma, Minister for Education, Bihar, and Shri Ram Saran Upadhyaya were associated with this experiment from the very start, and it owes much of its success to their continuous service. The success of the experiment has induced other States to adopt basic education, and the Government of India has

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in order to organise themselves. Don't you say that even thieves have morals?"

Our friend nodded in assent. Vinoba resumed, "Collective goodness will gradually increase. Unrestrained evil would be checked."

Summing up the whole, Vinoba observed, "Well, I put a poser before you: when good men will come together, goodness will increase; when bad men will come together badness will decrease."

Vinoba paused for a while and asked with a smile, "Isn't so?"

"Yes, indeed!" admitted our experienced visitor.

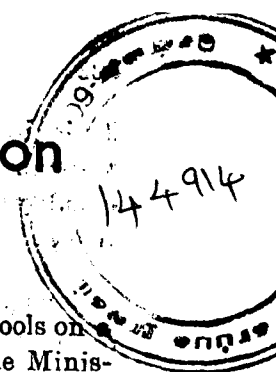
decided to introduce it in schools on a nation-wide scale. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, is anxious to see that this decision is carried out quickly in order to increase production and to meet the problem of unemployment. The time has now come to study carefully the results so far attained in Bihar, and to remove the difficulties which stand in the way of the efficient working of this new system of education.

Great expectations were entertained when work was started in this district. These fell under these three main heads, and the assessment of progress should follow these lines.

The leaders hoped to see:

1. A great development in the personality and efficiency of the teachers as a result of the new approach to their duties.
2. An all-round development of the children in craft skill, knowledge and character up to the Post-Basic standard.
3. Development and change in the village community as a result of the influence of the teacher and the school.

The main hindrances to the full implementation of Basic Education have been social and economic. The fundamental principle of this new system, which is based on love and truth, presupposes the elimination of all social and economic discrimination.



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It is based on co-operative service through productive work, and on equality of opportunity for all children irrespective of class, creed and caste.

The Avadi Congress Resolution on the Socialist Pattern of Society is very welcome. That is the pattern of Basic Education; it is based on socialist principles. In non-basic schools today the lowest paid teacher gets Rs. 30/- a month, whereas the highest paid educational officer gets about Rs. 3000/-. There are differences in pay and status between teachers in primary schools, middle schools, high schools and colleges. Education ought to be considered as one continuous whole. It is today divided into compartments according to grade and salaries. The Sarvodaya Plan removes all these differences; it gives to every teacher an equal opportunity to serve according to capacity and to be remunerated according to his needs. The socialist pattern of society should be worked out first and foremost in its application to the reconstruction of education. The school community of pupils and teachers should be a living example of the social order envisaged. The Constitution of India proclaims equality of opportunity, but in practice we have public schools subsidized by the State, for the children of rich parents, who can pay Rs. 100/- to Rs. 250/- per month in fees. Individuals may be free to give their children the type of education they wish. But now that the States have adopted Basic Education as their policy, why should they continue to support and provide funds for these public schools? By doing so they are

perpetuating the class system of education, which is against the principles of a Socialist Pattern of Society.

Land is essential for Basic Education. Children can work on the land and produce food for their own consumption. This will improve their general health. The malnutrition of school-going children exposes them to the risk of Tuberculosis and other diseases. Prevention is better than cure. Vinobaji has declared that the land belongs to 'Gopal', and not to any private individual. But the Constitution of India recognises the private ownership of land. So the voice raised by Vinobaji is anti-constitutional. The time may perhaps come for believers in Sarvodaya to break the law of private ownership. The common ownership of land for the common good would mean a revolution in the social and economic life of the country. This revolution can be achieved in peace through the efficient working of the Nai Talim. This is a great challenge to the Nai Talim teacher. Workers for peace have come to Sevagram to study the principles of Basic Education, so that peace can be achieved through the right education of the coming generation. Nai Talim has a great message for the world: it can offer a practical way towards world peace and the abolition of war.

(Extract from the Presidential address to the Bihar State Basic Teachers Conference at Mumarbagh, Dist. Champaran, on 26th February 1955.)



Vital Religion and The New Society

G. RAMACHANDRAN,

Director, Gandhigram (Madurai Dt.)

Vital Religion is an intensive realisation of the Truth and not an addition of truths. It is a spiritualised life here itself leading to Sarvodaya, the New Social Order. Shri. G. R. aptly describes 'Sarvodaya' as "the total uplift of the whole of society. Not only the oppressed and the suppressed but, in a sense even more the suppressor and the oppressor require to be lifted. No one will be liquidated and Sarvodaya offers peaceful transformation and a change of heart."

VITAL Religion is itself a difficult theme. So is the New Society. When the two are put together, I become uneasy in mind, wondering if I can do justice to such a subject.

What is Vital Religion? The Hindu will say it is Hinduism. The Christian will say the same and the Muslim also, with unquestionable conviction. The Hindu will quote the Gita in which Shri Krishna says "Come to me dedicating everything you hold dear to my service and I will give you eternal life". The Christian will quote Jesus, the Christ, saying "I am the truth, the way and the life". The Muslim has no doubt that Muhammed was the last of the Prophets and therefore Islam is the Vital Religion. The Buddhist will say the same of Buddhism. All these speak the truth and yet the truth of each one is not identical with the truth of the other. Is it then such a terribly difficult thing to say that no one holds the whole truth?

The Lesson of the Buddha

Let me give you two truths from two great religious traditions, the Buddhist and Christian traditions. I use the word tradition in the

broadest sense. Like Vinobaji the Buddha spread his message walking from village to village and his ministry lasted for more than 40 years. He always stopped in any shady grove near a village and his religion was sometimes even known as "The Religion of the Grove". Once during these wanderings there occurred the episode of a bereaved mother who came to the Buddha to implore that he should bring back to life her little child who had passed away. She was full of faith and full of hope and thought there was nothing the Master could not do. The Buddha looked at her with eyes full of compassion and remained silent for a while and then said to her, "Mother, go into the village and bring me a handful of oil seeds. But take care that you bring the oil seeds from a house where no one has died." The mother ran back into the village and went from house to house and every one was willing to give her a handful of oil seeds but on enquiry she found that there was not a single house in which some one had not died. So tired and broken-hearted she came back to the Master and fell at his feet. The Master then spoke to her explaining that where

there is birth, death will follow and no human being could escape from the latter. He asked her therefore not to sorrow over death but to accept it as inevitable and yet live in peace. And the story is that the woman enlightened by the Buddha became a follower of the Enlightened One.

The Miracle of Jesus

Now there is a story out of the Christian tradition in the New Testament. It relates to the death of Lazarus. The sisters of Lazarus implored Lord Jesus to bring Lazarus back to life and he asked them if they really believed that he could perform the miracle and they said unto him without hesitation that they had the faith he could do so. And so he spoke the word and gave the call and Lazarus who was dead came back to life.

Look at the two different ways in which the two great Masters dealt with death. The Buddha reasoned with the mother and the Christ challenged the faith of the sisters and both the mother and the sisters stood the test. Why should any one imagine or declare that these two truths contradict each other? On the contrary I see no conflict. These complement each other. Both are the truth but neither is the whole truth. Let me plead in all humility and earnestness that we do not close our minds to increasing apprehension of the whole truth by equating partial truth to the whole and sticking to it fanatically and thus closing and bolting our souls.

There is one thought which must make us all humble. We do not

know even the totality of the physical universe. The human mind cannot measure and fathom even the physical universe. How then can any religious tradition claim to know the totality of Godhood? Surely if the physical universe which is only a fraction of the spiritual reality of Godhood is beyond the mind of man, how much more immeasurable must be God. The utmost that any tradition can claim is that it knows a gleam of that Supreme Reality.

Intensive Realisation

What then is Vital Religion? All religions are vital but none is vital enough to take in the whole of the truth. We cannot even arrive at the whole truth by simply adding one truth to another. The process is not an arithmetical one. It is a process of assimilation and growth. Every truth must grow into the other and grow. Such growth is open to each of us if we are humble enough and truthful enough to accept without hesitation the radiant variety of religious experience. It is not merely a question of tolerance but one of deep understanding. Gandhiji, the great reconciler, taught us the truth that if each religion would purify itself and thus move upwards towards God then all religions will discover the harmony of all human striving inside the spirit of God. It is because this process of purification within each religion is at a stand-still that religions like political and economic systems come into conflict with each other. If therefore we must reach out to the utmost vital religious experience, then the challenge to each one of us in every religious tradition is to purify ourselves

and our own religious traditions. The Hinduism purified by the life, work and death of Gandhiji is a Hinduism which is at peace and in harmony with all the great religions of the world. I therefore plead again with all the strength in me that none of us in any religious tradition need go out in search of the impurities in other religions to advance our own. The truth of all truths may well be that no great religion can ever grow really at the cost of another. It is not easy to purify ourselves and our religions. There is so much to purify in Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism and Islam as they are functioning in the world to-day. What does not function is again religious theory but that theory is of no value unless tested in the functioning of it in the lives of men and women. Religion is therefore what is lived or not at all. In that light of the reality of religion, generations of us within each religion have the work of purification waiting for all of us. But we turn away from this tremendous responsibility and seek to evade the real issue by creating the fiction of conflict between the great religions and thus misleading the conscience of mankind. Out of the purification of our own selves and our religion will come the inescapable harmony of all religions. When that harmony is reached, every one of the world religions will be found strengthening each other and not one of them trying to weaken another. May that rich day come soon in the life of us all.

Sarvodaya Social Order

We must now turn for a moment to the New Society that must come

also. It is coming as surely as the love of God is great in the life of man. Purified religions working in harmony will have to play a great role in the making of the new Society. Such a Society also will have to be one founded on the purified spirit of man and not merely on a just redistribution of worldly goods and opportunities. The great lesson that has come to us from Gandhi is that even in the creation of pure and truthful political and economic systems we must employ only pure means. The religious outlook at its best and the purity of means in achieving great human ends are like twins. Gandhi gave the name of Sarvodaya to the new social order embodying a just peace and a peaceful justice. You can have justice without peace as in the Communist countries where periodical purges of the once faithful create terror and horror. But Gandhi wanted a social order enshrining double ideals of justice and peace from which alone can come true prosperity and well being of all mankind. Such an ideal he called Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya is the total uplift of the whole of society. Not only the oppressed and suppressed but, in a sense, even more the suppressor and the oppressor require to be uplifted. No one will be liquidated. Instead of liquidation, Sarvodaya offers peaceful transformation and a change of heart. After all nothing is more powerful in the whole world than a change of heart. Even the Communists who despised Gandhi's method of effecting a change of heart are continually seeking to change the hearts of the world through incessant spoken and written propaganda. In

fact Moscow is the greatest propaganda centre in the world. What do they want with all that propaganda except a change of heart from the Capitalistic pattern to the Socialist pattern of society?

The only alternative to Communism is Sarvodaya in India and perhaps in the whole world. The Nehru Government is only a half way house to Sarvodaya. Every Government that will succeed the Nehru Government will be closer and closer to Sarvodaya. That will be the historic process in our country. Have we not witnessed the spectacle of the leading Socialists of India headed by the great Jayaprakash Narayan turning away from all violent methods and joining the non-violent movement under Acharya Vinoba? That again is the history and the power of the Gandhian tradition. Sarvodaya will and must ultimately achieve that political and economic justice which the communist promises but which they defeat with their own evil methods of violence and secret terror. Acharya Vinoba points the way to such a consummation. Purified religions must take up the challenge of Communism and create the just and peaceful Social Order in their own better way. If they do not, religion

will be swept away as of no consequence in the making of the new history of man and evil times will come upon the world. It makes one's heart stand still when one looks at the picture of every orthodox religion aligning itself with political and religious reaction. The fanatics of every religion constitute the same religion of reaction all over the world. They may belong to different religions but in essence they are the same. That is why the creative spirit of religion must be released from the shackles of fanaticism and harnessed to the great task of creating a new society. In this great work Gandhi stands to-day before the conscience of all mankind and that in fellowship with all the other great prophets of the world.

I have only barely touched upon the difficult subject given to me. I can do no more within the time at my disposal. If I succeed in provoking thought and a real heart-search within those who are listening to me I shall be deeply grateful. I claim no finality for my brief thesis. But I place it before you to stimulate spiritual research.

(Abstract of a talk to the F. F. T. Branch in Madurai on 8th Feb. 55)

SWADESHI

To serve one's neighbour is to serve the world. Indeed it is the only way open to us of serving the world. One to whom the whole world is as his family should have the power of serving the universe without moving from his place. He can exercise this power only through service rendered to his neighbour. Tolstoy goes further and says that at present we are riding on other people's backs: it is enough only if we get down.

Gandhiji-Ashram Observances in Action.

Challenge to Spiritual Values

K. M. MUNSHI

MAN can never achieve anything great or noble – not even anything useful – unless he has learnt to translate, may be a little, the great values represented by the Restraints, 'yama', of which Truth and Non-violence are the axis; by the Regulations, 'niyama', of which high aspirations and self-discipline are the foundations.

Education is not worth its name, if the savage instincts of a young and growing mind is left free to revel in the orgies of the flesh which the cinema and the comics display, or, if such instincts remain untamed by ignoring classics, and particularly Sanskrit; by forgetting the spiritual heritage on which India's life is built; by scorning spiritual training in an unabashed arrogance to reconstruct the world by banishing God.

By a disregard of spiritual values and refusing to have faith in God, we lose sight of the total harmony of all things noble and gentle and high aspiring. By so doing the modern world has created the fearful problems of the Hydrogen Age.

In many spheres of life we see blatant materialism encouraging lower instincts; harnessing the loyalty of the ignorant, invoking in them a desire for sectional gains. In the result, we see the world riven by bitterness; nation set up against nation; labour against capital; party against party; class against class; caste against caste; one group against

another; each fighting for material benefit to the exclusion of the other. Grievances are not cured; they are only exploited. There are tensions but no harmony.

Uncontrolled by spiritual values, man seeks the triumph of materialism by creating dissatisfaction and undermining stability; by trying to dominate others; by enslaving them, by destroying first, freedom in life, and, finally, the freedom of the Spirit.

Unconsciously driven by these attempts people take to a mode of thinking which prefers imposed strength to free co-operation. They welcome regimentation to maintaining the dignity of man, so that his divine essence is completely forgotten.

We have to guard ourselves against two classes of men, who consciously or unconsciously are ranged against all that spiritual values stand for.

The first class consists of unbaked experts in physical and social sciences; not Einsteins and Du Nuyts, not Ramans and Krishnans who are humble and high aspiring in their search of truth; but those who speak in their name but without their humility, and who are convinced that the narrow limit of their ignorance is the farthest boundary of knowledge.

The second group – that of totalitarians – is far more dangerous. These are frightened at man's loyalty to spiritual values, and at his urge

towards higher aspirations. They see in them a menace to their cherished aim of establishing complete control over the thoughts and lives of man through the octopus of an all-powerful State so that man, losing his divine essence, should become completely insectified.

This is a challenge to the mission of India; to all that we stand for. Each of us in his own way, has to accept the challenge; and in this great struggle the Bhavan—tiny as it is—has to play its little part. But we can only do so if we acquire a ceaseless urge to understand and realise the objectives of the Bhavan. These objects, as you know are:

- (a) to accept the Moral Order as the over-arching law of life;

(From a Speech on Jan. 7, 1955 on the Bhavan's 17th Foundation Day.)

SPIRITUALISED POLITICS

If our *Sadhus, rishis, munis, maulvis, and padris* realized the bearing of politics on the condition of our peasants we would have Servants of India Societies in every village, the spirit of religion would assume such vast all-pervading proportions that the political system which has become odious would reform itself, India would again have its empire of religion as we know it had in the past, the bonds which hold India under subjection would be severed in an instant, and the ideal state of peace which an ancient seer had described would come into being where iron would not be used for forging swords but for forging ploughshares, and the lion and the lamb would be friends and live together in peace.

Gandhiji on Gokhale in "Gokhale—My Political Guru"

- (b) to assert and respect the dignity of man; and

- (b) to acquire a living faith in God.

We can only forget these fundamentals at our peril. India will cease to be India, if we do so.

For no higher truth was ever uttered than by the 'Bhagavat', when it says:

"My speech never goes in vain;
Nor does my mind ever to
untruth strays;

Nor do my activities in unrighteousness lapse—

So long—and only so long—as
Hari lives

In my anxious, devoted heart."

Decentralised Social Welfare

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM M. A.

ALL the talk and emphasis on social welfare and socialism makes one wonder whether for all these ages man has lived without any consciousness of social welfare. It is not so, for the very cause for the organisation of individuals into a society, has been to seek the welfare of the individual only through the welfare of the society.

The primitive society organised the religious authority to persuade all to 'easily fit into the whole, to attain their happiness, and the political authority to coerce the resisting. Morals and ethics were appreciated, and all these combined worked up for social welfare. The individual idiosyncrasy and perverseness was there dealt with by the coercive authority of the political state, but the religious and moral forces were more effective in bringing round all to appreciate the truth of the fact of the individual getting his utmost benefit in kindly co-operation with others. The cry of social welfare has been there all these ages, and all the good men have in their way striven to achieve it. But human nature being what it is, has allowed a few evil ones to thrive through the efforts of the good ones. Man's good ways are obvious, but man's evil has a thousand hide-outs and phantastic forms. So all the past effort has left us where we were, if not worse than before. Now politics in the forefront, brushes aside the other forces working on man, and tries to achieve social welfare with its coercive force.

The objective of socialism is good, but its only means to achieve it is its coercive power. The state as the jailor is out to correct the erring anti-social individuals in its jurisdiction. Now it is the most audible cry of this newly liberated nation of ours.

The primitive man had so much of the animal in him that he had to be checked and regulated, but we have advanced so wonderfully as to give the animal in man greater scope for its activities! Much that passes for civilization, has given the animal in man the ascendancy. Man's needs, man's ways of producing them, man getting away from nature, man trying to control nature, all have, instead of increasing social welfare, have brought greater misery to human society. So, seeking social welfare should begin with so much of undoing of what has been done. This is simple but a hard truth to realise.

The needs of the body and the spirit are there and they cannot be denied, but they should not be exaggerated as is being done now. It is the exaggeration specially of the bodily needs that goes by the name of civilization. It has prompted man to seek newer and newer ways of production at a greater pace, which have brought about this confusion. The rest of creation get on happily without the anxious care of the morrow, but man with his intelligence, finds himself consumed by that one anxiety. Primitive forefathers of ours were not as care-worn as we are now!

With the rest of creation man had his needs and he produced them with his labour and intelligence. In the primitive state a little labour got him all his needs, and for the rest of his time he was soaring in the realm of the spirit. He was above the rest of creation, not in wasting the beneficence of nature, not in the killing of others, not in fighting the others, but in giving up those animal traits which revelled in disturbing and destroying others. His spirit and intelligence fitted him into nature at its top and allowed him to be happy and contented. But civilization has changed all this. In a way it has tried to take away the finer aspects of the spirit of man. For, with a proper human spirit it will not be really difficult to appraise human needs, and to provide them to all in a required measure.

Progress and civilisation have only led to concentration and expansion of authority in all fields. Political authority is exercised by a few in the name of all. In democracy, where everyone has equal authority, the individual has become the humble doll to cast the ballot paper into the box never ruling but always being ruled by others. In the economic sphere the actual producer is a mere automaton in charge of revolving wheels of the big machine, and is being driven by the organiser. He produces plenty, but goes half starved. Many are the others who cannot even get so employed and have to starve. But the organisers of production are different, for they have all the ease and the benefit of production. We cry for social welfare, but we do not see how we are being denied that. It is this

concentration of authority and means of production that has been the cause of our misery. We perceive that economic concentration is causing us trouble.

The political authority even in a democracy is being exercised by an individual or a few at the top, and it is the concentration of power that has reduced the status and position of the individual. Now Socialism is out to suggest that economic authority should also be transferred to the politically powerful authority. Whether it be the state or the industry, the centralisation is the fault and not the individuals. Socialism does not see this, but suggests greater concentration and centralisation almost leading to Omnipotence of the Political state.

Has the man degenerated so much as not to be entrusted with his own welfare? If so, the political state—an individual or a few—with its coercive authority cannot equally look after social welfare. By themselves, the financier and the politician are good, but the concentrated power in their hands has to be watched and curbed. The only solution is in decentralisation of all production and political authority, and enabling the individual man to grow for himself in the human society. He cannot live apart from society, and opposed to it, for long.

SARVODAYA SPECIMEN COPY

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SARVODAYA — TANJORE.

Ravishankar Maharaj of Gujarat

SWAMI ANAND

Sri Ravishankar Maharaj is a walking institution by himself, the champion and servant of the lowliest and lost. He is enthroned in the hearts of all as a silent peaceful revolutionary in Gujarat. Gandhiji and Sardar Patel used to consult him whenever any major movement in Gujarat was started. Now Maharaj has taken up the Bhoodan work in Gujarat. He was honoured at the Puri Sammelan with the presidency over the three days' session. Here is a most interesting pen picture of the Maharaj.

AND then I saw the tallest among them—the Bhoodan Apostles.

He has risen from the earth and has been walking our earth barefooted for three score years and ten.

I met him in the early twenties when he used to walk five miles to run a village dame's errand or to post her letter; and when he carried on his shoulders enormous packages of odds and ends, ordered from the city by the humble folks and to be delivered to them at their hovels in half-a-dozen villages along his eighteen-mile return trek on foot,—love's labour all.

And I knew him when he fell under the spell of Gandhi, and for years busied himself with communities of thieves and robbers—who were a headache to State Governments and were treated as criminal tribes *en masse*—whom he reclaimed from crime. He fearlessly sought out robbers and dacoits and dangerous cut-throats, meeting them in open fields under starry nights, or under cover of standing crops, in order to speak to them of the path of true bravery and to wean them from evil. Or again, he would foot out fifty miles over night under pouring

rain, fording dangerous rivulets and swimming across big rivers in spate, so that redemption may come upon a convict in prison. High functionaries of Government marvelled at the miracles he worked in men and prostrated themselves before him.

Throughout the years of his Ministry in Gujarat, he has made men out of straw. No one has kept the count.

All his life he has lived and laboured among the lowly, among those that toil and sweat so that Mother Earth may bear the weight of the iniquities perpetrated upon her bosom.

Unlike the urbane Jaya Prakash Narayan—the St. Paul of the New Gospel—Ravishankar, or 'Maharaj' as he is known to every villager in Gujarat is a rustic, head to foot. He speaks the language of the peasant and the cowherd, and is innocent of English and of all things urban.

He carries neither scrip nor shoes nor staff in hand. He only runs to the succour of those in distress. He has been responsible for the sinking of hundreds of wells and deepening of village ponds in the

dry arid areas of North Gujarat, and for organizing scores of mass rallies for cataract operations done free by eminent surgeons for the benefit of poor villagers. Free kitchens were set up for them and their escorting relatives.

He would organize relief centres for the distressed during floods, famines and other calamities; he would manage mammoth cheap kitchens during national festivals such as the Congress sessions. During the years of India's struggle for independence, he would secure offers of lands and material help for satyagrahi resisters, whenever he happened to be unimprisoned himself; or, during the years of world-war scarcity, when the village profiteer sold salt at Rs. 15/- a maund, and when a match-box cost 5 annas to the poor, he would secure for them foodgrains, salt, fuel and match boxes at controlled rates.

During spells of communal frenzy when Ahmedabad — the capital city of Gujarat — indulged in orgies of mutual bloodshed and butchery, he was the one solitary figure moving fearlessly through deserted lanes (infested with lurking assassins) picking up the wounded and collecting the dead; or, carrying lorry-loads of decomposed stinking corpses to the burning ghats and himself cremate them.

When Bhoodan burst upon India's firmament, he had no difficulty in visualising its role in forging her destiny. He sought out the Risen One and returned dedicated.

It is this unsophisticated peasant who broadcasts to-day the New Gospel of Bhoodan in the villages of Gujarat. He has been heralding before vast multitudes the oncoming millennium: "Hark ye! the have-nots, the disinherited children of the Mother Earth, ye who labour and sweat, the millennium is round the corner. Gandhi is risen. He is moving in our midst, once again. Rejoice and be of good cheer. For know ye not, death does not come to the great — the God's chosen."

Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh. He speaks with the fervour of the prophets. His words of wit and wisdom — even like those of the great Ramakrishna — go straight to the heart and grip the listening multitudes. I saw him moving from village to village broadcasting the New Gospel of goodwill, of hope and cheer for those who suffer and grieve. I saw him among those who toil all day on lands not their own. I saw him in the midst of the lowly, these listening to his words sweet as nectar with rapt attention, their hearts big with hope and their faces beaming. I heard him calling upon every owner of land to part with a portion of his possessions so that his brother, the 'have-not', may share. With words full of sympathy and unflinching logic, he persuades them.

And behold! Men who quarrel and fight and break heads and kill for a tiny bit of land — aye, even over a cactus hedge or a tree, men who would not yield an inch without violence, are moved to their depths.

They stand up and give willingly. They part with their holdings, big and small by way of land gifts, and embrace their erstwhile bond-slaves as if they were blood brothers.

Here is a wealthy, young aristocrat surrendering his entire inheritance for the benefit of the 'have-nots', promising to live no better than they, and pledging himself to earn his daily bread by labouring on land; — and his gentle wife, an educated little lady, accomplished and refined, giving away every vestige of her jewellery, save the single auspicious symbol of her wifehood.

Then, the other landowner in the far-off interior who donates a humble little holding of four acres to a landless Harijan of the village. And, on being asked if he could think of reinforcing his donation with a further gift of any wherewithals to the beneficiary, he produces a modest little list of forty-three supplementaries to accompany the land gift! It consists not only of an ox and a cow but a year's feed for both and a shed to house them, and pots and pans to cook for man and beast, cash, implements and forty cart-loads of manure, aye, even five cart-loads of cactus to make the hedge and a thrashing floor muzzle for the ox!

And the humble vie with the well-to-do in rehabilitating the lowly. They make it their common concern to provide for the solitary landless widow with children to rear. A shy little peasant stands up and offers 1½ bighas of land keeping for himself 'an ample couple of bighas'. Another donates a portion of his meagre two-acre

holding, although he has twelve mouths to feed in the family. A skin-flayer donates his entire holding of 2 acre, saying his family can depend upon their day-wage earnings. "God has placed man's stomach midway between his hands and feet, Maharaj", says he, "if man will move them to good purpose, he shan't go hungry". His cousins sitting in a group a little distance away stand up and make a gift of two Kos. (leather-made water-lifts) as supplementaries for such beneficiaries as would need them for irrigation.

I do not cite solitary instances. The Bhoodan Movement is generating universal goodwill in place of class hatred and ill-will coming in the wake of violence or legislative compulsion. It generates among the privileged 'haves' a passion for the atonement of past iniquities and it generates among the 'have-nots' a sense of their dignity and status.

And in order to impress upon the labouring folks how they were the salt of the Earth, Maharaj would cite instances after instances, from the Book of Life, — of people whom he had seen and met, and striven to impress, and by whom he was himself impressed in turn.

Such a one was the haughty Parbhat who was once his prison-mate serving long years of penal servitude for culpable homicide but who would not hurt a fly now. He was a good citizen of Free India, gentle and meek, serving social causes and weaning village communities from drink, illiteracy and other social evils. He must eat only after sweating

physically and refuses to eat unearned bread even during his peregrinations for Bhoodan work. He starves himself for days. At home he would not use the pricking rod against his bullock, nor muzzle him on the threshing floor.

And he narrates the story of the widow of humble birth who gave away "for Good Acts" in charity all movable and immovable property left to her by her deceased husband, saying she 'should not eat of the unearned income' and points to her and her daughter's well-worked hands as the means that would earn them the daily bread. During a famine she would decline to accept the dole and would seek work for herself and her daughter as that was the 'dignified way' of living. That alone behove them.

Then the story of the good mason accepting the woman without legs for his wife, thinking no one would wed her, and the pair vying with each other all their life to make the other partner happy. How the good husband went to fetch water from the village well and to collect dry dung for fuel and did everything that called for movement. How the good wife strove ceaselessly to reciprocate; and how the good husband capped it all by carrying the cripple on his own shoulders to pilgrimage after pilgrimage.

And in order to impress upon his audiences how the slightest reluctance vitiated the best of gifts, he would narrate the parable of the milk-maid who offered milk to the monk on the roadside but while pouring it from the pail wanted, through sheer force of habit, to withhold the layer of

cream on it. And how the monk declined the gift saying that the shrinkage in goodwill rendered the offering unacceptable.

And he would narrate to his audience the story of the shepherdess midwife who, despite having children of her own to rear, reared nonetheless the orphaned children of mothers dying at child-birth. One such was the boy of the high-caste mother dying in her arms, and of the child's attachment for the foster-mother as he grew up; the father claiming possession of the boy on his attaining school-going age, and the boy resisting furiously and clinging to the foster-mother passionately. How his high-caste classmates would tease him at school calling him a goat-herd and how he would treat them all with wholesome disdain making straight for the shepherdess' house on the village outskirts after school hours in spite of the father's entreaties; how the good shepherdess, out of regard for the father's sentiment, would maintain a separate earthen-pot of drinking water for the boy and how the boy ignored the 'privilege' with impunity, insisting on drinking and eating with her and with every other member of the household. And Maharaj would conclude by drawing the inexorable moral how barriers of so called blood and social rank crumble before LOVE that alone exalteth.

Thus he goes from village to village walking and teaching and bringing good tidings to the sweating millions.

★

(To be continued.)



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CHALLENGE TO NON-VIOLENCE.

The present age is a challenge to the faith in non-violence. Can the votaries of non-violence refuse to take this challenge? Our answer to this is already there in our pledge to reach our goal by 1957, and we had already declared that the challenge of the age can be met only through non-violence. At this juncture of a critical trial of Non-violence in action the Sarva Seva Sangh appeals earnestly in all humility to every one who has faith in non-violence and Sarvodaya to suspend all the other activities and to dedicate all his or her time, energy and service for the Bhoodan Yagna for a period of two years.

(Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA

○ TANTJORE

SOUTH INDIA

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★ Sarvodaya Magazines and Literature ★

SARVODAYA (English Monthly)

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 in July 1952.

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Back numbers of Sarvodaya are available in bound volumes and each volume is priced at Rs. 4 excluding postage.

Sarvodayam (Tamil Monthly)

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam is also conducting a Tamil Sarvodaya, a monthly Digest, since August 1947. The annual subscription is Rs. 3. Bound volumes of previous years are available at Rs. 4 each excluding postage.

Our Tamil Publications.

The Sarvodaya Prachuralayam has published over fifty books in Tamil and a series of cheap booklets on Bhoodan Yagna. Complete list will be sent on application.

Others' Publications.

The Prachuralaya is stocking selected Gandhian Sarvodaya literature published by others for distribution. Each complete selected set of publications of the following with us will cost about Rs. 400 :—

Messers: Navjivan Publications, Ahmedabad, Hindustan, Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Akhila Bharatha Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha. Vora and Co., Ltd., Bombay, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, Khadi Pratisthan Calcutta etc.

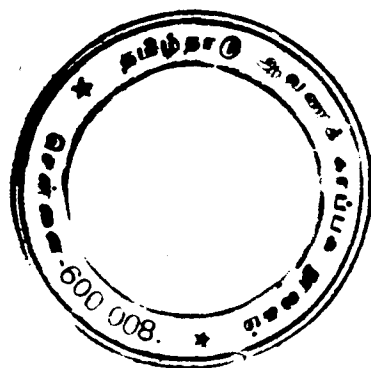
Our office was transferred from Tirupur to Tanjore in October '54 and the change of address is given below.

For full list of books and particulars

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYAM, TANJORE, S. INDIA



ACHARYA VINOBA



SARVODAYA

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TO READERS

The "Sarvodaya" is usually published on the 1st of every month. But owing to unavoidable circumstances the recent two issues had to be published on the 10th. The future numbers will be published on the 1st of the month as before.

Subscribers who do not get their copies regularly are requested to inform us quoting their subscription number.

C. Rajagopalachariar's Message on Bhoodan

The Bhoodan movement of Shri Vinoba is a call to revive faith in God, to revive the sense of unity among the people who live together in a village, to revive the spirit of compassion and of mutual help. It is not a political tactic or democratic strategy. We are one family. Let us work each as we can, that all may live and fulfil our noble purpose. Let us look after the little plot of land we have taken up. If we cannot do it well, let us give it to someone else who will do it well. The village is ours.

(On the occasion of the Bhoodan celebrations held on April 24th under the auspices of The National Youths' Association, Palghat.)

Tamil Nad Sarvodaya Sammelan

The third Tamil Nad Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held at Tiruturai-pundi in Tanjore District on 4th and 5th June 1955. Shri C. Rajagopalachariar has kindly agreed to preside over the Sammelan.

Towards Sarvodaya Social Order

ACHARYA VINOBA

The following is a fuller report of Vinobaji's inaugural speech on 25-3-'55 in the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri of which a brief summary was published in the previous issue of "Sarvodaya".

Every day as we look at the sky we see that its travellers, the birds, return to their nests in order to find their life and in order to rest. The Vedas say that all souls as they had their various lives performing various acts, fulfilling multifarious desires and suffering the inevitable consequences of their actions ultimately get tired and then meet again in one place to gather courage and enthusiasm, to find peace and to compare notes with each other to test the truth of their experiences.

'Where the Universe Becomes but One Nest'

After Gandhiji's departure from this world the Sarvodaya Sammelan has become a resort for rest and peace and shelter to persons who lived and had their being in and under that sky. It was very likely that our various non-violences would have clashed with each other, consciously or unconsciously, if we did not come together in this manner once in a year. I believe it is our great good fortune that we have found this nest—the Sarvodaya Samaj Sammelan. Here we are able to meet, consult each other and discuss our problems. Shri Shankarrao Deo has aptly compared our meetings to the meetings of the devotees of Lord who get together to sing His praises and to discuss the ways and understand the

difficulties of reaching him. Surely, we should not and cannot have reservations or concealments or feel distance among ourselves in the discussions that we hold here, nor should there be any passion or excitement about them. And if we happen to hold different views we should all together endeavour to so carry on our free discussions as to reach our goal in one stream even as all the rivers ultimately find their way to the ocean. So please do not feel that I am asking you to agree with me in the views I am going to place before you. Please take them as if I was expressing my thoughts aloud. We in the Sarvodaya Samaj should at least cultivate such an attitude of frankness, tolerance and non-insistence.

Some Government will remain

Most of us believe that ultimately there will not be any necessity to have government based on coercion or the power to punish. Even the communists recognize the futility of government based on force. But they also believe that at the present stage of man's development there should be strong centralized government so that they could destroy and abolish other unjust organizations. They propound that even as fire in consuming wood also consumes itself and cools itself off, the centralized power

of the State too will destroy other organized centres of injustice and power and would in the process liquidate itself and wither away. This, in very short, is the essence of their ideology about power and the State and we know that they have reduced their whole thinking into a science.

There are others who, too, believe in the necessity of at least a minimum of government. As the world is the manifestation of the interplay of the three qualities, *satva*, *raja*, and *tama*, they say, some government, however little, is inevitable for man.

But all people realize and feel in their innermost hearts that only a social order which has eschewed the use of force and punishment altogether will last. Our Samaj, the Sarvodaya Samaj, believes in this idea and works for that ideal. But we do concede that under the conditions of the present moment even in a non-violent social order a little government is essential.

Will not the Congress Come in the Way?

There will be no place for coercion or power in Sarvodaya. A Sarvodaya social order will give the place of honour to service, service of the people. When we think of our work from this point of view we begin to wonder if the Indian National Congress of today is not going to prove the greatest hindrance to the establishment of a system of life based on non-violence. The Congress is the biggest popular organization in the country. Its programme is elections, from elections to State power,

and of serving the people through State power secured by way of elections. I wonder, I ask myself, whether in a country where its greatest organization has its basis on elections, has based its programme for serving the people ultimately on elections, it will not come in the way of establishing a non-violent social order.

He who had the vision to see far ahead, and also those lesser persons who worked under him, all of them together had thought and wished the Congress organization which brought freedom to this country from dependence upon others or political slavery to convert itself into a Loka Sevak Sangh, an organization wedded to the service of the people. I have always felt and we have always wondered what great sense of vision, what expert intelligence people who had so desired had given proof of. It is now said and contemplated that the newly established Bharat Sevak Samaj will devote itself to the service of the people. But when the biggest organization of the country has set its heart on functioning through the power of the State the Bharat Sevak Samaj will not gain enough strength or capacity to serve the people. I believe it will always occupy, a less important, a secondary place.

Need of an Organization Devoted to the Service of the People

There is always a need for service in human society. Even in an order based on coercion or violence there is place for service. But in a non-violent social order the biggest organization will, in the nature of things, be devoted only to service, to serving the

people. The idea of a Loka Sevak Sangh visualized that barring certain very few fields of social life the rest of society, almost all the functioning of society would have absolutely no need for the coercive power of the State; service would have occupied the throne of sovereign authority as queen and power would have been its maid; the organization devoted to the service of the people would have had the authority of control over the instrument of power; indeed, elections would have been run only after that organization had sanctioned and blessed them.

That, however, was not to be. What has actually come about has been if not the reverse, at least against the idea. I will refrain from going into an analysis of the causes or reasons. Any way, I felt and believed at the time that if the organization which had proved itself so strong and capable were to confine itself and its programme to the field of elections only, the newly born State would possibly be safe. But this was a phenomenon as a consequence of which the way of non-violence was hemmed in by difficulties all round.

So, the need of building up a new organization has arisen. Let us build up an organization which is only for, and devoted to the service of the people, and which is the biggest of its kind. To build up such organization is a difficult task. Those on whose strength it will be sought to be built up are weak, are but small. Small men can surely build up small organization even though a Congress or even a super-Congress were to

come in their way. The responsibility is certainly very heavy but God willing even small persons with small strength will build it up. But the true responsibility lies with persons functioning in the political field and therefore let them help us. Whoever they are and wherever they are, and to whatever party they belong, let all of them come together and working from where they are today create such an organization, let them help to build up an organization devoted only to the service of the nation and which is also free from elections. I am not pleading for forming a new group; nor am I recommending such a course. For, I do not wish that the strength of any of these persons be undermined or destroyed till they have an illusion of it.

Limitations of Elections

Whatever importance be given to elections it has to be recognized that it is not a thing, it is not a process, it is not a mechanism which is going to strengthen society, or conduce to its progress. This elective process is a mechanism set up in a democracy. Democracy demands that everyone's opinion be sought and recorded. Everyone knows that such a scheme has certainly not been ordained by God so that we have to justify its existence on that account. In this man-made one-man-one-vote scheme Pandit Nehru has a right to one vote, and his *chaprasi* too has a right to one vote. No one is able to demonstrate to us the sense underlying such a scheme. I only feel that the principle of the equality of all souls underlying our *Vedanta* philosophy is being possibly propagated

thereby; and possibly also, we would be enabled to establish an equalitarian society thereby! Elections do not show any capacity to bring about a fundamental change or revolution in society. So, I say, whatever the change the elective process may be effecting in the practical affairs of society they can never effect a change in values. I would, therefore, plead with all those political persons who feel they are placed in positions of power to effect a fundamental change as a result of elections to leave them when they feel convinced that their attempt to bring about a change in values is failing.

The Urge for Non-violence should be Intensely Acute

The next point I would like to discuss before you is regarding Gandhiji's *ahimsa*. Some of us have gone to the government and others have remained outside or kept aloof. Government these days seem to interpret non-violence to mean as little of harrassment of society as is possible. We feel that this definition of *ahimsa* is very dangerous for non-violence and its progress. Such definition may aptly be applied to violence. When these friends in the government talk of an order based on a socialistic pattern and non-violence, both taken together cannot, to my mind, have any meaning but a Sarvodaya social order.

The Buddha has said: If we set about doing good slowly, evil sneaks itself into it at once and with force. The go-slow idea has meaning only so far as coercion or violence is concerned. Please do not apply it to

ahimsa. It has been said of old: I pray to God to bring home to all those who profess to follow Gandhiji that the urge for non-violence has to be intensely acute, that non-violence has by its very nature to be very speedy.

Rajaji has placed two or three valuable suggestions before the world. He is a philosopher and also an expert in statecraft. He is also a great craftsman in the art of wielding the power that is in language. He has pleaded with the Americans to cultivate goodness unilaterally. But all the people of America are learned. This learned people will find it difficult to understand this sane advice. They have handed to a man from the army all the atom bombs and all the hydrogen bombs and asked him to employ them on Formosa if he thought fit. This for them is a great dilemma indeed. How could they now heed the advice offered by Rajaji? But I would like to ask if even the people of the nation to which Rajaji himself belongs back up and enforce his suggestion. Are we, I ask, putting speed in *ahimsa*? I will answer my own question and say we are not. The language which defines non-violence as something which goes slow is very dangerous language and also very deceptive language.

Ahimsa will Gain Strength by Satyagraha

A third point. Many in this country are afraid of the word *satyagraha*. But this is wrong. In fact *satyagraha* is the refuge of this war-ridden world and it will surely prove itself the charmed word that will redeem it.

People very often repeat that *satyagraha* has no place in a democratic State. It is true there will be no room for free collective *satyagraha* in a social order where all decisions are taken with the consent of every one. There may be scope for cases of individual *satyagraha* but none for a collective one. But I will emphatically repeat that *satyagraha* will give strength to those who want to work for and by non-violence though the statement may appear novel. Though it is difficult to act only after gaining the consent of all, still we can go on attempting to do so.

The Fear and Attraction of Satyagraha

The definition of *satyagraha* has assumed a negative character; that is to say it has come to mean some movement for coercing people who differ from you to come round to your view of things. This is why some people are attracted towards it and some are equally afraid of it. With this sort of idea about *satyagraha* in view people pester me by asking now and then how long I was going to beg for land as I am doing. They tell me that they can show me various ways of violence to achieve my end but they wanted to know from me when I was going to release my potent instrument of non-violence, or whether I was going to use it at all.

Gandhiji was placed in circumstances under which he had to function negatively. But he had the genius which could endow constructive capacity even to his movements for the negation of certain things.

People very often used to ask him what relation his spinning wheel bore to the Englishman quitting India. So, we should not run away with the belief that the *satyagraha* movements of those days were the last word in the technique of *satyagraha*.

We ought to learn that the *satyagraha* which seeks to be effective in democracy will have to be more constructive and less in opposition to something or the other. It is entirely wrong to say that *satyagraha* has no room under a democratic order of Government. But we must train ourselves and get seasoned by applying our constructive way of work to the situation before us to the best of our capacity till the year 1957.

I have seen in Bihar how effective our method of work has proved. I see that here too. And surprisingly enough I saw it in Bengal also. If we applied ourselves to our task with all the strength and capacity we have, I venture to prophesy that we shall be able to see in Bihar the full picture of *bhoodan* in actual working. But if for want of applying our whole strength our aim was not fulfilled by 1957 we would have proved ourselves unfit for our task. But suppose our aim was not achieved in spite of our having applied ourselves to our task to the best of our ability. Then by doing so we shall cultivate the capacity to take a step ahead; we shall also have developed such capacity as will enable us to decide the nature of the next step; and we shall also surely be able to see our way clear to the next step in our endeavour.

Not Useful to Non-violence
 Some people say that when we have Swaraj we should not act only with some single aspect of life in view is not baseless; it has some substance in it. Why, the responsibility to act with the whole of social life in view is all the greater today. We, however, have to think and find out who it is that has shoved on the responsibility on our shoulders. The responsibility lies surely in the first place on those who have taken the people's vote in the elections and who are now administering the State as a consequence. One friend informed me how cows were being slaughtered in large numbers every day in the city of Calcutta. Then we are told that we have to make allowance for such daily slaughter if milk was to be supplied to the cities. But when we are asked to attend to these, no doubt, important questions, do those who ask us to solve them really suppose that we have nothing of our own to do? And are we to understand that in a scientifically perfected scheme, as it is claimed, for supplying milk to the cities cows have to be slaughtered every day? If every good thing has to be successfully demonstrated in Delhi before it can be accepted as such by governments, such procedure is not going to be of any use to non-violence to which we have pledged ourselves.

Not Good for the Nation

Some people remind us that the legislature is there to hear our grievances. But there, unfortunately our voice is represented under a whip! And are we to suppose that Govern-

ment has no ears for anything but what is in the legislature? What then shall we do? Why should we waste our words on the servants? Why not tell, what we have to, to the masters, the people whose servants those elected representative friends are? When we ask government to do something, to close down textile factories in the interest of Khadi we are told off by the reply that we do not know public opinion. That is why we approach those who can pull these representative friends up and ask the former to take notice and think seriously of these matters.

There are some others who complain that men of *satvik* temperament keep aloof from elections. They then ask as to what they could do to make such good people take part in elections. Some people ask our friends why the latter do not join the Congress. We should therefore also consider these questions and decide whether our joining the Congress would benefit us. We should also think and find out whether such a step though it may be of some advantage to some of us as individuals it will be of any advantage to the nation as a whole. My considered opinion is that it will be never of any advantage to the country.

No Insistence on Conformity but Freedom to Think

Friends, make up your minds to go and join where you see the good of the people. Even our friends in the government and the legislatures say the same thing. They propound that there should be an opposition for the success of democracy. But these

(Cont. last page 374.)

Concentrate on Bhoodan Revolution

JAI PRAKASH NARAIN

Shri Jai Prakash made a fervent appeal at Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan on 25-3-55 to all those of Sarvodaya faith, either in the Government service or constructive activities, to leave their work and concentrate for two years on Bhoodan Revolution. This is the full version of his Hindi Speech, a summary of which appeared in the previous number of "Sarvodaya".

I am a new comer to the Sarvodaya Samaj. As such, if I am impudent at some places, I would request you to pardon me. I feel that my sitting here and speaking to you is itself impudence. I would, however, like to present some problems before Sarvodaya thinkers. We all want to change the structure of our society. We would like to build up Sarvodaya Society as soon as possible. The problem is: how are we to build such a Sarvodaya Society in our country? If Gandhiji had been here he would have shown us the way. Under his leadership we all worked and fought for our independence. But ever since we achieved independence, Gandhiji's own disciples have constituted the Government of the country. Ever since then I have been thinking whether it is possible to build up a society of Gandhiji's conception, through law, through political power, through political leadership.

How can State build up Sarvodaya Society?

After independence the whole country looked towards Delhi. I do not know how many of you believe that building up of a Sarvodaya Society is possible through the State power. But, so far as I am concerned, I have more and more realised and I am now

convinced that the way of looking towards Delhi was not Gandhiji's way. There we find the prevalent practice of Democracy. There is the ruling party, there is the Opposition, there are elections, there is the rule by majority and all the rest of it. But the people have realised that through State power and legal methods we cannot build Sarvodaya society. May be the State Power can build up a Socialist society. It certainly cannot make real the conception of Sarvodaya on this earth.

Then the question remains: how is Sarvodaya society to be built up? Who will constitute the vanguard? What is the way? May be law will trail behind, but then who will be moving in the front?

Can Constructive work bring Revolution?

Till a few years ago we all used to swear by the constructive programme. After independence, constructive work went into the background. Constructive workers thought that they will move behind the Government and will carry on item like spinning, Nai Talim etc. But in his heart of hearts no constructive worker believed that through this method the society would be changed. Instances may be found of villages

where spinning and Nai Talim etc., were completely implemented. But that did not mean an iota of change in the social structure of the village. Naturally, therefore, there was confusion and disillusionment and the problem remains unsolved for the constructive workers today as before. The problem stands even today. Not that there have been no attempt to answer these questions. Viewpoints have been put forward. But the ideas are not yet clear. There are people in the administration also who fully subscribe to the Sarvodaya point of view. Even they, apparently, are not able to do much by way of building up Sarvodaya Society.

A New Society with Equality and Freedom

Thinking over all these questions, I have come to certain conclusions. I seek your permission to place them before you. I know that a number of friends say that Jai Prakash changes his views very quickly, that he has been doing that all his life, that nobody can say today what Jaiprakash will be tomorrow. I would certainly admit that my views have changed from time to time. But I must also confess that throughout, a fire has been continuously burning in my heart. I have always felt a great urge to change the present society which is based on injustice and exploitation. We will have to build up a new society where there will be equality and fullest freedom.

Disillusioned by Russian Revolution

I was in America 25 years ago. I became a Communist. I returned

from there as a full-fledged Communist. But, soon it became clear to me that the dream-world which I had built up in my conception was wrong. I felt that a great experiment launched in a very big country under the able leaders had come to naught. The methods followed in that one-sixth part of the Globe — I mean Russia — could not bring freedom and equality. I was not satisfied with what had come out of that experiment. Today the same conditions continue there. Till such time as a real revolution does not take place in Russia, there is no hope for the peoples of that country.

Growing Conviction in Sarvodaya

I realise that if along with Socialism we do not have democracy, we cannot achieve our object. I was always convinced and remain so, that there is no advance possible for human society till such time as every one does not have equality of opportunity. We have always desired that changes should come in, in our society as soon as possible. All these years this conviction was growing deeper within me that our object can be achieved only through Sarvodaya. That feeling was growing. But I was probing for the way, for the path, to reach the goal. And the path became increasingly clearer to me as the Bhoodan movement developed. So, finally at Bodh-Gaya I decided to leave politics and devote myself to this work. I feel that all people who believe in Sarvodaya ideals should take a similar course.

The position is very clear. If through State power we cannot build

Sarvodaya, is a non-violent revolution in our society is not possible through the administrative machinery, then what other alternative remains before us for building up a new society? Thinking and ever thinking over this question, I have arrived at some conclusions which I will place before you. I feel that the path of changing society in accordance with Mahatma's ideals is an entirely new one, which has hitherto not been attempted in the world. And working upon the premises laid down by the Father of the Nation, Vinobaji has successfully reduced it to a science. In his address this morning (25th March '55) Vinobaji has spoken a lot on that aspect.

Revolutionary Significance of Bhoodan

What can be the method of pushing forward the view-point of truth, and what can be the method of mass *Agraha* (insistence)? Vinobaji has placed before us his ideas on Bhoodan and Sampattidan which are meant only for pushing forward this conception. I feel that there is no path better than this. The basic question is not how much land we got in Bhoodan. The important thing is that this point of view is being more and more accepted that land belongs to society, that property belongs to no individual. Bhoodan and Sampattidan have a tremendous revolutionary significance because they non-violently make their way forward and the principles are being increasingly accepted by Indian society. No doubt our views can be propagated through pamphlets and

speeches. But, as long as this propaganda is not accompanied by actual movement which affects the lives of the people, till then no movement for social transformation can achieve a mass character.

Bhoodan - The Only Work

I am reminded of the Salt Satyagraha. When Gandhiji struck upon this novel method, there were many who pooh-poohed and laughed at it. But that small Salt Satyagraha transformed the entire Nation. Indian people, who were afraid of the mighty British Empire, got courage and became fearless. More or less the same role is being played to-day by the Bhoodan movement in transforming the society. As far as the question of transformation of Indian society is concerned, there are a lot of people who think well of the Bhoodan movement. I would tell them that if they think that Bhoodan is just one of the scores of other work being done in this country, then they have not fully understood its implications.

If you consider that Bhoodan is just one of the scores of other activities then nothing is going to materialize. Not that other activities are bad or unimportant. We will have to put all our energy into this Bhoodan work. We will have to jump into it with all our energies, just as in times of revolution. We have to bring about this revolution in the minds and thoughts in every one in all homes and villages of our motherland. We have to make every one realise that an economic revolution has to take place in our society. For the masses of our people economic factors

are the most dominant. That is why Vinobaji has taken up the economic issue with a view to change the society, and has been telling us how there exists a non-violent way of solving the economic problems.

Friends, after having given my deepest thought to the subject during the last four years, I gathered the necessary enthusiasm and courage to place these views before you. I would call upon all of you to leave every other activity and function, and jump into this great task of bringing about a non-violent revolution in our society.

This is a non-violent revolution with main emphasis on cottage industries, to be brought about through Bhoodan.

All Constructive work will follow Bhoodan

Nobody will dispute that to establish a non-violent society we should believe in non-violence. What is the significance of Bhoodan? Why has that been made the centre of all other activities? This question arises because we have realised that the old items of constructive programmes are not effective in bringing about a non-violent revolution. There are villages which have spun on Charkha regularly for the last 25 years but there has been no transformation in the set up of these villages. Those who spun might have got some cash, but there came no revolution in the village life. Nai Talim also has been implemented in some villages. It has failed to bring about any change in the people. The Bhoodan movement has been progressing during the last four years. We have received

over 35 lakhs of acres. In Orissa over 100 villages have been fully donated to the Bhoodan movement, which means that in these 100 villages at least the land revolution is complete. The inhabitants of these villages have given up their property rights over land.

Experience has shown, and will show, that to the extent the Bhoodan movement advances, to that extent all other constructive activities advance and the creative capacities of our masses will develop. Actually speaking, I visualise so many things to be done once Bhoodan movement is complete. But we have not enough workers to cope with the task.

The main idea is that we should bring about a revolution in people's thoughts. That is not likely to take place through enactments, through legislatures. We have at last got at a point where we can take a final stand and that is the idea of Bhoodan and Sampattidan. Here is an opportunity for everyone to take some part if he is willing to leave his property rights fully, or if he cannot do that, partly. Thus revolutionary ideas spread through the country.

Difference between Violent and Non-violent Revolution

There is a great difference between violent revolution and non-violent revolution. The latter is entirely dependent upon mobilising the sanction of the enlightened masses. In a scheme of non-violent revolution, greatest emphasis is upon changing the views of the people and their methods of behaviour in society. In a violent revolution it is the power

of the State, with all its vast appendages, which plays a decisive role. In the Soviet Union, after the revolution, big landlords fled away and the peasants occupied all the land left behind. But the values of human society did not change essentially. The question remained one of "my" property and "your" property. So, when the State took up the task of collectivising agriculture, which essentially meant renunciation of property rights by the masses of peasantry, then they had to pay a heavy price for the transformation. Nearly two crores of people had to be uprooted from their ancestral land and sent away to Siberia. What I would like to say is that a society of Sarvodaya conception will not come by sharpening the conflict of interests.

What do we see in Russia?

What do we see in Russia? Lenin had said that there would be no differences between the salaries of the officers and labourers. Today, in the Soviet Union the difference between the salary of the worker and that of the officer is 80 times. Lenin had said that after the revolution the State will wither away. But today we find that the State power in Russia has assumed gigantic proportions.

Sarvodaya Order and Welfare State

The conclusion is obvious. It is not possible to achieve any success through developing the power of the State. The real method lies in developing the power of the masses, and their moral strength. We have before us the slogan of Welfare State.

I would like the Sarvodaya workers to fully understand the various concepts which seem to be jumbled up in this much talked of Welfare State. It is a slow-moving conception of changing society into a Socialist one.

Leave all and dedicate for Bhoodan

But our Bhoodan movement is not merely one among the many other numerous activities. It is the *main work* today. Vinobaji first got the inspiration. He has become the means for the change. God has chosen him for this task. Whatever it may be, I must say that revolution cannot be accomplished by work at leisure. If we want revolution we will have to work with quick speed. That is why I say to those who are in the administration, and who in their heart of hearts believe in the Sarvodaya ideals, to leave the administration and join the movement and work actively in it. Similarly, I would call upon the constructive workers to lock up their shops for the present and to leave all other constructive activities and to jump straight into this movement,

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ECONOMICS OF SHARING

J. C. KUNARAPPA

(Speech delivered at the Sarvodaya Symposium at Paris on 27-3-55.)

In orthodox and in academic economics we read a great deal about production, distribution and consumption. But the more important aspect of economics that concerns Society as a whole is completely ignored. This is the essential aspect of Sharing wealth between the various members of Society. Economics of production may be of interest until the time the producer has charge of his goods. Distribution to a large extent is still on the commercial level. Even in regard to consumption, the producers and others are only concerned with the disposal of the articles produced. Generally speaking, there is no pattern of consumption formulated by a philosophy of life. Advertisements usually restrict themselves to the meritorious performance on the desirability of the goods produced. But the aspect of consumption which is to be consciously inculcated in the public is often ignored. And even during production and consumption the social aspects are forgotten. Therefore it is well for us to consider this much-neglected aspect of economics — Sharing — for a few moments.

Wages and Cost:

We shall have to tackle the deeper aspects of Sarvodaya which have not received the attention they should get from the academicians. John Ruskin, a British Philosopher,

attempted in a very limited way to draw out the social bearing of the various elements like wages, cost, price, values etc. through discussion centering on these in his essays published under the title, "Unto This Last". The title of this book itself is taken from a parable narrated by Jesus where He lays down the two fundamental ideas that work has to be found by Society for each individual and the needs of the individual worker must be taken care of irrespective of work itself, provided the work allotted is conscientiously carried out. Thus the separation of the work done from the wages paid leads to dealing with the fundamental problem of not viewing labour as a commodity. The whole of our Western economics to-day is built upon considering the purchase of labour as a commodity and taking it to be a part of the cost of raw materials themselves.

Parable of the Vineyard:

In this parable the lord of the Vineyard engages men to work in his Vineyard at different parts of the day and in the evening has all the workers paid the same rates as was agreed upon with the first batch. In this we see that the worker was given work at different times not because the workers were unwilling to work, but "No man had hired us", was the

reason given. Under those conditions the workers will be able to keep irrespective of the quantity of work done. Man is not a machine which works with a given amount of fuel for a given amount of work. This is the lesson drawn from this parable. That being so, the whole foundation of our present economic society, being based on dealing with labour as a commercial commodity, leads to violence. Therefore, in a Sarvodaya Society we have to reconsider the fundamental basis of our relations in the economic field. This records that man has a right to get his needs of life provided for him as long as he is prepared to utilise his time in the production of supplies needed by Society.

Parable of the Day of Judgement :

Similarly, the consumption pattern is also indicated in a parable which gives constructive worker and members of the Sarvodaya Society a programme of work in sharing life. This is also from a parable narrated by Jesus. He tells us at the last Judgement Day when God will separate the good from the bad he will recognise the services of those who had served him by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting those who were sick or in distress. God will regard these services rendered unto the least of these in need as service to Himself. This again is an indication that the fulfilment of our life lies in our sharing the good and the bad of human existence. Feeding the hungry may be taken as an indication of all that goes to fulfil the bodily requirements and clothing the naked will indicate the processing of raw

materials for meeting human needs and feeding the sick and visiting the needy will involve all that we can do to those who are not as well-placed in life as we are. This is a complete pattern of life laid down on principle.

We have to apply these principles to modern conditions. This calls for a spirit of Swadeshi that seeks to utilise the products of our fellow-citizens' labour, feeds him, clothes him and shares his life, giving employment in producing the goods and feeding the workers by consuming the products. Sarvodaya will include all this. It means sharing life with our fellow-men. When we use machine-made articles the machines have a share in our life, not our fellowmen.

Similarly when we hold more lands than we need in private possession we may be guilty of robbery in the same manner as when a person holds money in private possession in great abundance. As I have been stating land cannot be held in private ownership, whether in large or small pieces. It is not the extent that is objectionable, but the ownership itself. All land should belong to the community as a whole, and given for proper utilisation to the workers for short periods of time. During that time the workers will themselves be subject to constant checking up.

Incidentally, I may say that planning should be with a philosophy of life, more of a fore-thought than be directed to control our action. From this point of view even the fixing of targets leads to attachment to the end and may influence the means, which may not be advisable. Our foresight should take into

consideration the needs of the people, the type of food they eat, compared with the kind of nourishment they need in relation to the work they are called upon to do. These will lead us towards self-sufficiency and self-control while the present type of economics is based on the creation of new and unnecessary wants leading to self-indulgence, greed, jealousy, and violence.

Spirit of Sharing :

The spirit of Sharing will lead ultimately to peace—contentment and brotherhood, while the present attitude to economic activity leads us to violence which runs into seed finally in the form of Atom and Hydrogen bombs.

One of the essential features of Sarvodaya is its remarkable flexibility in the sharing of human life. As has been said in the very beginning, the Economics of Enterprise, as developed in the West, regards itself purely as a Science of Wealth and even the little that has been contributed by Philosophers, like John Ruskin, to bring in certain considerations of human values in the various mechanisms used by this system, such as, price mechanism, the working of demand and supply, and the functions of the middle men, all go to prove that the ultimate aim is efficiency of material wealth production. The race is to the fleetest, the back numbers get nothing out of such an economy. Sarvodaya as the name indicates should be the refuge of the weakest and the down-trodden. Therefore it calls for consideration,

sympathy and love from the stronger members of Society towards the less fortunate.

Life is Wealth :

This being so, in a Sarvodaya economy we would emphasise the human values in prices and cost rather than use them as guides in material production. John Ruskin proclaimed "Life is Wealth", while our economists will say "Material production is wealth."! The characteristic of the Capitalistic Economy is the self-gratification of indulgence and the pride of possession while the uniqueness of Sarvodaya lies in the doubling of joys by sharing our good things with others and halving our sorrows with the sympathy of our neighbours. This, of course, will mean a revolutionary outlook in economics. Are we prepared to change our approach towards material goods to strengthen our ties with our fellowmen? Unless this fundamental change is brought about by our changed attitude, it appears to me there will be no possibility of introducing any safety in the formidable situation that is now facing us with the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It seems Sarvodaya, with its sharing of life, is the only solution to material self-seeking with the consequent destruction of civilization. May we have the strength to meet the situation bravely!

Therefore what is wanted to-day is this spirit of Sharing as the basis of our daily life, not ostentatious and competitive whether we choose the violent way and court extinction or the non-violent way and choose Life and Peace.

Demonstration Centres

HAVING received generous donations of land, grave responsibilities devolve on us as to their utilization. Merely taking the land from private land owners with large holdings and splitting them up and giving them into the hands of a larger number of private owners does not in any way cure the present-day Agrarian problem. On the other hand the effect will probably be to enhance the intricacy of the situation. Because with the progress of time, the larger land-lords have gone through a natural discipline of responsibility and have developed a method of dealing with the land in their own light to give them a return, which the new private owners, urged mainly by the goading of poverty and greed for more purchasing power, are likely to be guided in their actions, purely by the demand for money rather than by their call on fulfilling social demands. We need a well-organised group of people to guide them.

Agrarian Colleges

THE call of Bhoodan and allied schemes has taken us by storm. We are finding it difficult to get properly trained volunteers to handle the situation. Gifts are coming in, in floods, while the channel is not quite ready to receive the stream. What we should have had prepared before the movement started was a cadre of men who would be trained and equipped with information and materials to enable them to handle the

We have to be clear as to our programme of land utilisation. This can be crystalised only through deep study enforced by properly regulated and directed Agrarian Colleges. In addition to these even from the very beginning, it would be well to have properly directed holdings in the form of ashrams which will demonstrate the manner in which we want the land tenures to be worked out. To this end we should organise model farms, based on our theories promulgated in the Agrarian Colleges working on the basis of Sarvodaya in a self-sufficient, self-controlled economy developing as far as practicable on the Sarvodaya lines. The Community in this model farm must be an example for the type of village republics we want for the whole of India. In fact, it should be such units that should develop our Non-violent democracy and serve the unitary basis for an All-India Sarvodaya Order.

situation masterfully. It serves no purpose to regret the past; but it is not too late to make amends.

There are plenty of volunteers to handle the situation, but they lack training and intellectual equipment for the task. To meet the requirements of the situation, we should form Agrarian Colleges in various parts of the country, which will offer two to three year courses regularly, and at least 6 to 9 months courses to

meet the present emergency. These courses will not emphasise the technique of agriculture, which should be taken care of by the various Agricultural Colleges. But the function of these Agrarian Colleges will be to offer training for those young people who come forward to bravely handle the agrarian situation.

Outline of Studies

One of the courses will attempt to study the Agrarian sector as it fits into human life as a whole. That is to say, the economic welfare of the people in providing their needs for their human existence and to meet the growing needs of modern life. It will be necessary to cover a bit of the past history, not only in our lands, but in foreign countries also, largely oriental, so that we also study allied situations. A certain amount of Occidental history of Feudalism and its tenancy could also be studied with advantage to give a little wider orientation. This will bring in the history of Feudal Europe, the Czarist Russia, China under the Manderins and throw a flood of light on the nomadic life in South Western Asia, in regard to the way the nomadic people and others met their requirements for shelter, food, clothing and other requirements. This could be well related to the philosophy of life especially with reference to the application of Truth and Non-violence.

Of course, all this will have the main problem presented to us as it relates to our own country. This will also bring before us the different types of tenures in our own land, the ancient village communities which

were evolved as an expression of Hindu Polity with the agriculturists as the centre and the Village Community as the background. On this were built up the Village Panchayats and the Village Republican Government. This will give the trainees the orientation necessary for their work. With this start they will be introduced to the various systems of land tenure - the Zamindari, the Ryotwari, Inamdari etc. - which were introduced under the British Regime and mixed up with the British Imperialistic motives. Here we shall find problems bristling with all forms of complications arising out of various ideologies being intricately entangled.

Thus having obtained a background of the World Peasant Situation, both in the past and the present, the students should be led into the Sarvodaya Solution for these problems. They should be shown how people's needs could be supplied adequately without further increasing their wants through commercial considerations, how land can be brought to produce more under the ownership of the village community, keeping in mind the needs of the community primarily. Land must be held in trust by the village community and leased out for a term of years, the extent varying according to the capacity of the tenant to handle the property to the best advantage as a trust on behalf of the village. The tenant should be subject to constant supervision and his work should be examined every season by using adequate standards of good husbandry obtaining elsewhere. The cultivation plan for a group of villages will

provide for the supply of commodities needed for all the individuals of that region. Not only will this plan provide for production of food, which would include all the main items necessary for a modern, balanced nutritive diet, but also for the production of the needed raw materials for our other requirements in modern life, such as, cloth, paper, leather, articles for building houses, means of communication etc. This will open out the fields for agro-industries.

In relation to agro-industries other village industries and crafts will find a place. In this way, we shall build up from the land itself the whole structure of society, which will govern itself by the organisation of its politico-economic structure. This will include a certain amount of knowledge of Sarvodaya Politics and its administration.

While we are putting up this constructive side of knowledge before the village workers, we should not shrink from the demolition work which should go hand in hand. Our Volunteers should understand that building a national economy primarily involves finding employment for our own people in producing goods that will supply all our needs. Conversely it would imply that bringing in foreign goods and supplies will militate against full employment in our own country. Therefore our effort should be to discourage foreign imports of manufactured goods and exports of our own raw materials that could be processed here.

Practical:

All this training will not be purely theoretical. We shall have to

engrain the trainees with the practical working of this programme. Every trainee in addition to his theoretical knowledge should be a fully equipped producer in one field or another. This indicates a wide field to be covered by our Agrarian Colleges. Without such equipment we shall be merely playing with the problems that we open up with the Bhoodan Movement that snatches away the land from a well-organised group of land-holders to an amateurish and purely idealistic group, which has no knowledge as to how to grapple with the problems placed before them. Without this preparation, to disturb a settled order while unprepared to properly organise the new set-up will lead us into turmoil from which it is difficult to foresee how we shall disentangle ourselves. I trust that persons grappling with the present day Agrarian problems will realise the immense responsibility undertaken and prepare an army of Bhoodan workers to meet the situation, opening up in their wake.



BHOODAN BOOKLETS.

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Sarvodaya Pracharalaya, Tanjore.

The Message of Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan

Demodardas Mundada

It was exactly four years ago, on the day of Rama Navami, that Vinobaji had embarked on his foot-journey to the Communist-ridden area in Telangana after the conclusion of the third Sarvodaya Sammelan at Shivarampalli. On the eve of his departure he had paid homage to Ram, not the son of mortal Dasarath, the king of Ayodhya, but to Ram, the Omnipresent manifesting Himself through all beings and the whole universe. For Vinoba, the Darshan and the realisation was true and real as his own being.

Who then knew that this very faith and realisation would become the basic principle and the guiding factor of a great movement he was destined to conceive and conduct within not more than five scores of hours after he gave expression to his sentiments that evening? Nobody then knew what was in store for him. He himself did not know, as a matter of fact, whether it would be possible for him to return at all from the pilgrimage, for such was the condition in Telangana then. He had, therefore, like a true devotee, surrendered himself completely into the hands of God, and started with a few followers with the determination to do or die. But we have seen the hand of God in that expedition, which has since proved historic and a blessing and a hope to humanity.

It was by mere accident that even this time, as before, the departure from Puri, after the conclusion of the Seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan, fell on the same auspicious Rama Navami day. Although this made no difference so far as the Messenger of the Mission was concerned to whom every day was as good as Rama-Navami, one could easily read in his serene eyes, the increased faith in the all pervading Supreme residing in human hearts. For this faith has evoked such universal response in the past four years.

It was for this reason that he was never tired of acknowledging the Lord's mercy so broadly manifested to him during this tour. Instead of counting on the support of a selected few he had given a call to one and all, young and old, rich and poor, for he knew that the sincerity in his heart would but find the same response from all quarters; nay, he did not make a secret of the fact that his intensity was but the echo of the unexpressed wishes of the millions of his country-men, in whose hearts the mission had raised a new hope. Also he knew it was the urge of not one or two, but it was the force of nature, history or God, whatever one chose to call, that was at work. He had, therefore, no doubt in his mind regarding the successful application of this dynamic principle on a universal level and hoped to see the

rise of Sarvodaya on the horizon of the world by 1957. He was all the more convinced of its feasibility, because the growth of science, which knew no retracing, would force humanity either for self-destruction or for self-realisation. Would man become an instrument for self-destruction? No, he would not. He will, therefore, abandon the wrong path and embrace total non-violence. That is why he made the prophecy that 1957 will see the dawn of Sarvodaya all over the world.

Let us therefore, join this mission now with this background in mind, so that we may be quite clear about the universal nature of our mission and may not lack the strength and faith evinced in his soft but forceful words.

Vinobaji was not unaware of the various problems that faced the Bhoodan workers all over. He has been keeping in constant touch with situation through correspondence and personal contacts with workers from every corner of the country throughout the year. And he had given a full day's hearing to speeches delivered by workers and leaders who attended the conference. But in his very first address to a small gathering of the members of the Sarva Seva Sangh, on the 22nd of March, while he gave a glimpse of his last year's experiences and of his sweet memories of the beloved Bihar and the devoted Bengal as also of saintly and revolutionary Orissa, he took his colleagues into confidence and acquainted them with the fire that was burning in his heart. He knew that his yatra had

caused not a little anxiety about his health in the minds of his friends all over India. He had trekked through floods with the possibility of being lost any moment in the wells under the floods. The relapse in the pain of the duodenal ulcer demanded immediate cancellation of his tour at least for a few days. But nothing in the world could deter him. "The pain is in the stomach. What is the fault in the legs? Let not the legs, therefore, suffer for the disorder in the stomach. If they could walk, let them do so." Continuing he said, "I know the anxiety of my friends about my health. I do not want to increase it. On the contrary I want to relieve them all of it. But instead of first letting the body fall (ill) and then die, I prefer to let it first die and then fall. Let it rest in the lap of the Lord while it is engaged in conducting His Mission."

While every word was penetrating deep in the hearts of his listeners and preparing them for more serious decisions than they had contemplated, his sermon proceeded uninterrupted. He did not fail to refer to the various problems that faced the workers. There was the problem of prohibition, the problem of education, Khadi production, cattle-breeding and the apathy of the Government and the contradiction in its precepts and practices concerning all these matters. But he pertinently remarked, "Are we to think of the omissions and commissions on the part of the Government? May we not then ourselves become the Government? Why all this talk of *Shashan-mukta Samaj*? Therefore, instead,

of distracting our minds in vainly discussing the different problems here, let us leave that job to a Mandal or Committee, which will do that work for us from day to day and let us, one and all, wherever we are, resort to concentrated, united and simultaneous action. And if, in spite of all our efforts, we are unable to achieve our desired goal within the fixed hour, we shall be in a better position for self-introspection and to search for the causes of our partial success or failure. Let it not be said that we failed because we could not mobilize our energies and did not take concentrated and timely action."

This unambiguously worded prelude guided many further talks and only those problems arose for discussion, which would not hinder effective progress in the desired direction.

A series of decisions began to clear the clouds on many matters. Three executive members of the Sarva Seva Sangh had been devoting a lot of their time and energy to the work of the Khadi Board. It was more than a year now that they themselves were restless and wanted to come out for Bhoodan. Some of them had already tendered their resignations. But for the most sincere persuasion by the President of the Board during the previous meeting held in last November, they would have come out by now. But this time there was no choice. Some enthusiasts, who undoubtedly were faithfully following the words of Vinobaji, raised the pertinent

question: "Did you not approve the schemes of the Khadi Board? And yourself said that the work should multiply all over the country more and more. It was hence that we had increased our field of activities. Will not this new lead create confusion in the minds of the workers now? You should throw more light on this"

Although he laughed, promptly came the reply: "I never meant that those, who could effectively contribute for Bhoodan should go and get entrapped in activities like those of the Khadi Board. So far as the giving of advice is concerned, not only the members but the whole machinery of the Sarva Seva Sangh will be at the disposal of the Board."

But he did not hesitate to clarify that he would not mind even if the increased work was to be curtailed or a check was needed on the extension of the Khadi activities. For, to him, if Bhoodan succeeded, Khadi would increase by leaps and bounds. As a matter of fact, the work had received a great fillip in provinces where Bhoodan was more active. The experience, therefore, demanded a country-wide expansion of Bhoodan activities rather than Khadi Board's activities.

And the three members resigned and came out. And what would happen to our various educational institutions run on Gandhian lines? But what would happen if there were no educational institutions at all? Did these existing institutions, all combined, Gandhian, Government and otherwise, cover the whole field and reach all

those who needed education? Was not there some provision in Dame Nature's administration? Did not millions even today receive training in their homes at the hands of their parents? Our institutions therefore had to transform themselves and so change their programme as to respond to the demand of the times.

There was a suggestion to close all the basic schools as it was often done during the Satyagraha movements. But then the situation was different because the Government did not permit our activities and forced us to close them. Now it is easy to adjust our activities to suit our programme. It was, therefore, decided to make all basic education Bhoodan-based. Our institutions should be able to directly and actively help in promoting speedy progress of Bhoodan and training workers for that cause. Wherever our workers found it impossible to take this line of action, they would either close the work or leave it. Nothing short of Bhoodan was thinkable. And Shri Ashadevi, who never fails to rise to the occasion, did so this time also and declared that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, in future, would undoubtedly be Bhoodan-based, and the workers would retire from their institutional work when it was found helpless to be effective.

There was a discussion on the need of an immediate follow-up by way of a constructive programme in villages where lands have been distributed. It was also strongly pleaded that such constructive programme should be co-operative-based so that

local leadership may develop in every village and delay in providing means such as bullocks, seeds, etc. may be avoided. Many more lakhs of acres would be distributed in the next few months which in addition would fetch still more new lands which will again demand prompt and new distribution. And distribution without facilities for cultivation and plans for further constructive activities would be meaningless and is sure to cause frustration. What was the solution? Could we afford to neglect all this?

Vinobaji's reply on this issue was neither unexpected nor surprising. He said, "I have begun to think as the Communists do. Like them I also feel that our revolution would be sabotaged if we distract our limited energies from revolutionary activities to constructive ones. Let the revolution be first accomplished. Everybody will then be free to do as much constructive work as he or she may desire." He, however, did not leave the matter there. During his talks with the Congress President, he impressed upon the latter's mind the need of extending the activities of the Community Projects to the villages, where land was being distributed. He had convinced the Congress President about the necessity of giving the first priority to Khadi and Village Industries programme in these villages. Let the Sarva Seva Sangh do some model work in those villages, which have donated all their lands. These could, for the time being, serve as examples for the rest of India!"

In this way, one after another, all difficulties were solved, providing the necessary background for the historic resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh, which called upon the countrymen to come forward for the Bhoodan movement. Sarvodaya workers, wherever they may be, in institutions, private or otherwise, in the State Assemblies or in the Parliament, have to effectively carry on Bhoodan work or to resign. A pledge to be taken on the 18th of April, the day of the first Bhoodan, the day of the Mazdoor's Liberation as Vinobaji calls it, was also issued together with a detailed programme which touched all sections of society.

After the resolution was read out to the conference and was cheered aloud, not without the realisation of the grave implications it involved, workers from all provinces, individually and collectively, came to Vinobaji for further advice and guidance. The universally loved Shri Ravishankar Maharaj, the President of the conference, and "the tallest among us", came to Vinobaji and in his most innocent and child-like manner besought permission to undertake only foot-journey and not to use any conveyance during the coming two years. Vinobaji gladly agreed and explained to the workers the significance of the Maharaj's decision and exhorted them to fully avail of his tour.

Annasahab Sahasrabuddhe, the able Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh and one of the unknown heroes of the August revolt, who is to-day

connected with numerous constructive institutions in the country, wanted to be relieved not only of the responsibilities to those institutions but also of the secretaryship of the Sangh itself. And although his last request was not accepted, though it was understandable, he was gladly encouraged to sever connections with all other institutions. But he did not forget to point out that the Sangh also should look out for a proper person to relieve him in the future.

The secretary of a Gandhian institution devoted to the cause of women's education, had requested Vinobaji to lend the services of two important members of the Sangh for the sake of collecting funds for that institution. Only a few months' services were sought. And promptly came the reply: "Lock up the institution as you did in 1942 and spread out in the villages for Bhoodan. There the teachers and students will not only help the speedy achievement of the revolution but will be able to find all the necessary atmosphere for the training of the body, mind and spirit."

And there was the newly founded Samanvaya Ashram, one of whose functions was to help the local Gramodaya Samiti to carry on constructive work in all the one hundred and fifty villages of Bodh-gaya. Would they proceed with their work or cry a halt? There were already four centres covering some villages and the new plan contemplated six more, making the total ten to cover during the next year as wide a field as possible. But no more energy was to be

diverted in that direction. They had only to maintain the work that was already started and the rest of the energy was to be channelised in accordance with the new decision. *Swachha Bodhgaya* work, however, was to continue in Bodhgaya town, as it is a centre of international culture.

Last but not the least came the question of Sevagram Ashram. Shri Reddy during the last two years had demonstrated what a single-handed experiment in this small holding could achieve. He had already produced 25 to 30 maunds of Jawar per acre and had the ambition and confidence to show hundred maunds in the same area during the coming two years. There were other activities and experiments carried on in the Ashram. But these considerations could not stand in the way of fulfilling the demand of the times. What did Bapu do in 1932? Did he not disband the Sabarmati Ashram transforming every individual associate into a mobile Ashram? So let it be even now. The Ashram will serve as a light-house as it used to do and the inmates with the exception of those, who are physically unfit, should spread themselves in the villages and carry on Bhoodan work.

I have made no mention of friends who have either already resigned or were shortly going to leave their respective State Assemblies, the Parliament and even the ministry. They may be small in number but they are sure to serve as leaven, and in non-violent movement

it is not the quantity but the quality that counts.

Friends, who came with doubts in their minds and wanted to know the ways and means to intensify the movement in the coming two years, went back with increased energy, enthusiasm and confidence to put in the last effort to achieve the goal before 1957.

Thus concluded the seventh session of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri. The session, because of the lead it gave to the nation through its pledge as well as its programme for socio-economic freedom, reminded us of the eventful Congress Session held at Lahore where on the bank of the Ravi we pledged ourselves to freedom, and also of the Bombay Session where we declared our freedom. Thus the session proved not only historic in its character but unique and unprecedented in its nature.



TO READERS

Readers interested in the wider circulation of Sarvodaya are requested to introduce the magazine to their friends and send us their addresses to enable us to contact them through post.

SARVODAYA, TANJORE.
S. India.

Ravishankar Maharaj of Gujrat

SWAMI ANAND

This is the concluding part of the article published in the April number of "Sarvodaya" sent by Swami Anand under the title. "The Tallest Among Them". Shri Ravishankar Vyas, popularly and lovingly known as 'Maharaj' or the family-priest that he was to certain communities, is today one of the foremost social workers of Gujrat. For nearly forty years he has worked for the welfare of the backward people in Gujrat by fighting injustice, building schools and Ashrams, digging wells, or securing relief for the distressed during natural calamities and by reclaiming habitual criminals from crime. As one who moves with the Time Spirit Maharaj has now dedicated himself to Bhoodan Work. This was written in interpretation after his recent visit to Maharaj in the remote villages of north Gujrat.

AND he would speak of continuing iniquities: of the stone-breakers of Pata Dungri walking six miles to and fro to toil on black stone under the blazing sun in order to earn a paltry wage of six to ten annas a day and often returning home disappointed and weary of heart for having been unable to finish the day's task which entitled one to the full wage, while the proud overseer or official riding a bicycle or a jeep earned anything between three to fifteen rupees a day for bossing and shouting and sauntering about.

Or again he would speak to the village folks of the evils bred by the modern city with its centralised industries built on the blood and ruination of disintegrating village life and economy; of city-slums, smoke, drunkenness, movies and gambling dens; of strikes, lock-outs, civil commotions and other social distempers.

And before the literate newspaper-reading folks he would often speak of the so called modern civilization, and its accursed set of values based on a money economy which

did not discriminate between the genuine and the fake, the essential and the non-essential among the ingredients of human happiness and growth; tinsel values that measured progress by the amount of soap a nation consumed, or by the leisure she could secure from productive manual labour so that she may devote it to night-clubs and gambling dens; values which destroyed without compunction steamer-loads of food-stocks in order to maintain price-levels; or spent billions upon billions of dollars on piling up armaments while millions of human beings in the world went hungry and were groaning under penury and want. And he would warn his so called educated listeners against the dangers of hailing a money economy that made men sorrowful and apprehensive when Mother Earth yielded more and prices abated.

Before every congregation he would invariably refer to the twin evils of tea-drinking and smoking and to the terrible drain it meant on the slender incomes of the villages. And he would exhort his audiences to rid themselves of the curse.

Some of them from the listening multitude once asked why he did not go to the big ones in the cities, to those rolling in wealth, owners of vast fortunes and of thousands of acres apiece? They did not favour Bhoo-dan and were bitter. They criticised and ridiculed the Movement.

"So did the white Gods of Simla and New Delhi in olden time", he replies, "when Mahatma Gandhi made his Salt March to Dandi Coast. But before they reached home from their clubs the climate of the country from Kashmir to the Cape had changed, as if under a magic wand, and the mighty stood aghast, overwhelmed."

“And lo! After a time of stress and strain the mighty ones approached to the Mahatma and begged of him to appoint a date on which they could quit India bag and baggage!

“And behold! under another decree of the same Time Spirit, six hundred and odd little monarchs in this land, who thought of themselves as so many Gullivers, woke one morning to find themselves as Lillipotians. Their tinsel crowns had disappeared overnight.

"These property-owners" he continues, "will similarly wake up one morning to find their lands and their Lakshmi (wealth) leaving them without ado. For know ye, friends! the Goddess of wealth does not stay with those who imprison her. She will not brook strangulation."

"No, my brethren! neither you nor I need to go to them, to move

concern ourselves, with moving the masses, with the shifting of little particles of sand in the river-bed till the floods are induced, and you will not need to dynamite the precipices and the boulders on the banks. They will give way. The Titan shall fall of his own weight.

"And know ye not," asks he, "when the month of May arrives, and when the scorching sun welds heaven and earth together in a blaze of heat, mango trees throughout the length and breadth of the country do ripen within a week and start falling of their own accord? You do not need to pick them. And behold! those that were sour yesterday will have turned the sweetest overnight.

“Come friends! Let us not doubt and wriggle, but work in faith with Time Spirit, the spirit of the age. Faith creates and forges, not the material. We are frail, but when God Almighty ordains, He need not pick and choose His material. For Him a blade of grass is good enough with which to build a Taj or a Qutub Minar, aye, even Mount Meru. Let us be His instrument.

“Come ye! the disinherited of the earth, ye! who have laboured under age-long iniquities! Grieve not under the weight of your sorrows. Harbour no evil within you, but rejoice and hail this New Gospel of Goodwill.

VERILY VERILY, I SAY
UNTO YOU, THE HOLLOW
SHALL BE FILLED AND THE
MIGHTY MOUNTAINS THEM-
SELVES WILL MELT TO BE

LEVELLED LOW. VILLAGES OF BIRTH AND STATE SHALL END. HARK! DELIVERANCE IS COMING. I HEAR HER FOOTSTEPS.

"And I feel myself blessed that I bring to you these good tidings from the One in whom Gandhi dwells, the Risen One, who has returned to the care of his flocks; he who is far greater than me and whose sandals I am not worthy to carry.

“Blessed are ye, friends! that he should have risen in this your generation to fulfil once more the Law and the Prophets; to fulfil the Great Promise made in the Song Celestial. And thrice blessed indeed is the posterity you will leave behind you. For they shall carry this Gospel to the four corners of our earth, this Gospel of Goodwill and of loving one’s neighbour and of sharing with him one’s good things and one’s possessions. This alone is the balm, friends!

As I listened, the words soaked into me. He has neither doubt in his soul nor trepidation in his voice. He has the vision of the oncoming millennium as in a mirror. He is indeed in the line of John the Baptist or Ramkrishna's apostles.

And on the day of parting, while I bowed to take leave and was fumbling for words, he took me in his arms and said: "Good-bye, and may God bless you with a fresh span of youth, as He has done unto me. I was on the verge of dotage. I was feeling its edge. I now feel thirty years younger!"*

[* No translation in Indian or other languages
permitted without a reference to the
author.]

REAL SWARAJ

I do, however, agree that politics will not save us, and that some thing must happen simultaneously in the minds (or souls) of many of us if our civilisation is to be saved at all. I agree that for us, as well as for Indians, Swaraj must be an individual as well as a political experience. It must come to us as something that fills us with a power to deny fear. Today our fears are hurling us towards our destruction. Fear breeds counter-fear; it causes us to huddle together under this or that dictator, to cry out for protection or for an aggression which is the self-assertiveness of panic. If there were no fear, the might of dictators would melt in an hour, and 'democracies' would turn democratic in the twinkling of an eye. There would be no rulers and no ruled: no bullies and no victims. We should be civilised peoples, masters of ourselves, and strong enough to make ourselves without peril the masters of nature.

C. D. H. COLE,
(On Gandhiji's 'Hind Swaraj' in
'Aryan Path'—Sept. 1938)

LEVELLED LOW.

VILEGES OF BIRTH AND STATE
SHALL END. HARK! DELIV-
ERANCE IS COMING. I HEAR
HER FOOTSTEPS.

miracle of bringing peace to our
prostrate world, and of easing today
the overstrained relations between
man and man.

All India Bhoodan.

BHOODAN RECEIVED AND DISTRIBUTED TILL 25TH MARCH 1955.

Province.	Acres received.	No. of Dan Patras.	Acres distributed.	No. of families.
1. Bihar ...	22,42,222	2,88,165	15,000	8,812
2. Uttar Pradesh ...	5,22,206	17,590	87,897	26,777
3. Rajasthan ...	1,28,464	57,814	945	105
4. Utkal ...	8,45,816	4,058	7,762	1,511
5. Hyderabad ...	1,58,033	3,878	30,488	6,542
6. Madhya Pradesh ...	85,666	17,367	21,720	4,005
7. Madhya Bharath ...	51,987	5,014	811	...
8. Saurashtra ...	41,000	15,000	1,500	...
9. Gujarat ...	87,578	8,426	8,235	1,011
10. Tamil Nad ...	32,467	5,865	530	161
11. Andhra ...	21,411	692	16	38
12. Kerala ...	28,113	1,200	...	...
13. Maharashtra ...	28,000	4,500	1,001	...
14. Punjab ...	11,421	2,615	75	16
15. Delhi ...	9,245	249	90	25
16. Bengal ...	9,308	4,307	921	740
17. Mysore ...	5,962	2,422	...	...
18. Vindhya Pradesh ...	5,684	1,103	645	253
19. Karnatak ...	2,803	538	...	...
20. Himachal Pradesh ...	2,025	66	...	...
21. Assam ...	1,950	...	...	...
22. Bombay ...	123	6	...	...
	37,71,779	4,40,875	1,72,136	49,996

Sampattidana-patra

Jivandanis

Villages wholly offered as Bhoodan

... No. 1,480

... " 1,756

... " 112

Gaya, }
15-4-55 }

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh.

Equal Freedom The key?

WENDAL BULL (Nazareth, Pa., U. S. A.)

We are indebted to the writer for this thought-provoking article for the magazine which he is evidently reading with interest. Our readers may remember his article 'Land Indivisible' published in 'Sarvodaya' December 1954.

"Lord, Thou takest a way the smallness of the small and the greatness of the great."

THIS truth, like all other truth, must for ever remain but a promise until men give it expression through their behavior. The Lord has no hands but the hands of men, no voice but the man's. Truth has waited long for men to waken. The time has come for a fuller understanding and expression of it.

Surrounded by the extreme greed, possessiveness, ambitions, and fears of men - seeing the evils flowing therefrom - our great teachers have taught that non-possession, fearless and loving generosity was the corrective. But is any extreme condition ever corrected by the institution of its opposite extreme?

It seems to me that the will of our Lord might more quickly and more surely be approached by asking of men not what is possible only to saints. Let us ask men not to give up their self-importance altogether, but rather to go half-way. Let us ask them to grant equal self-importance to each other man. Let us teach men how to practise the equal social importance of every man.

Equality of manliness is needed the world over. The rich and the poor, the studious and the foolish, all need to lift themselves up in manliness. The highest degree of manliness for all is equal manliness for all.

Throughout history man's inhumanity to man seems to have been

increasing. The unmanliness predominant in the noisiest world powers now has reached such a height that all life on Earth is said to be in grave danger of extinction in case war ensues between them. An inconceivably tremendous task lies before those who would reverse the trend of increasing degradation.

Each one of us unwittingly subverts his manfulness every day. In the business of making a living we all ignore our responsibility to revere and cherish manhood. Our proper sensitivity is utterly corrupted by our daily use of a means of evaluating goods and services which is barbaric. In using a material commodity standard of value we ignore the fact that in each business transaction we give more or less of associational freedom than we receive in trade. Manliness calls for equity in trade. Equity requires meticulous care where we are traditionally ignorant. In our disregard of relative human freedom as it passes to and fro in trade (continually accumulating in the hands of the powerful, of course) we daily promote at its elemental roots the erosion of manliness. Manliness cherishes freedom. Equal freedom for all is our high responsibility.

In order to revive manliness from its death-bed, in order to restore that mutuality of freedom which was latent in man before civilizations were born, it is necessary to develop first concepts of human worth and of

possessions which are appropriate to mutual respect. As wholesome concepts are developed, a certain delicacy of feeling for mutuality of freedom among men needs to be cultivated. The practices which can grow up in the midst of evil and transform it will follow in due time after right feeling and right thinking become somewhat general among the people. This paper is limited to a few thoughts on work and possessions.

To work is to exercise brain and brawn in whatever proportions upon natural resources (either in the raw or refined) for the satisfaction of human wants (our own or others' wants). To produce a commodity or to perform a service for sale is to work in behalf of the purchaser. Work that satisfies the consumer of it is honourable whether it be 99% brawn or 99% brain work. The "lowest" form of manual labor cannot be done without the exercise of some mentality. The "highest" form of executive management cannot be performed without the exercise of some muscle power. In all cases to work is to yield one's freedom in favour of certain other satisfactions.

Every man is born endowed with a bank account as it were. One's life expectancy duration at any time is the credit balance in this bank account. By nature one is free to dispose of his life-time as he sees fit. Only human institutions restrict this pristine freedom of each one of us. My plea is for throwing off the yokes of institutions which have outlived their usefulness long ago. Freedom

is our most desirable property. We should cherish it above all other private possessions because it was given us by the Lord. The most precious heritage we might leave for our children is a social heritage of equal freedom established in the customs and laws of our people.

In the performance of "manual" work a person spends no more of his bank account of freedom than in the performance of "creative" work or "administrative" work, and no less. Regardless of his station, the cost of a man's work, stated in humane terms, is the duration of his freedom which he has spent in performing the work. The only adequate recompense for work sold is an equal measure of the purchaser's, or another's, freedom devoted to work which satisfies the seller. The smallness of the small and the greatness of the great will be removed on Earth as it is in Heaven when men will adopt freedom as their most precious possession and standard of value.

Possessiveness is not the sin it was thought to be. Attached to the wrong things, possessiveness destroys manliness. Attached to equal freedom, possessiveness will foster manhood. Set up equal associational freedom as the pearl of great price and we can let each man be as jealous as he will of his share in it. Exhortations to non-possession are good, but will never equalize opportunities. A picture of equal freedom as the most desirable possession can in time transform aspirations into worthier models, thus functioning as a key to successful Sarvodaya.

★ EVICTION OF PEASANTS ★

While the Bhoodan Yagna is progressing in the country for free distribution of land to the landless, some of the landlords are said to be evicting their tenants from the land that they have been cultivating. The Sarva Seva Sangh has taken notice of this serious situation and has recently passed a resolution appealing for good sense, justice and fairness.

THE Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh notes with deep concern and pain that the actual tillers and the bataidars (produce-sharing cultivators) are being evicted from the land in several parts of the country during the recent past. Bare justice demands that the actual tiller should have complete and continuous right to the use of the land in his possession and no one else can have any right to share the fruits of his own labour. Besides it is against the spirit of the age to evict the actual tillers from their land just at a time when a countrywide movement in the form of the great Bhoodan Yagna is in rapid progress for restoration of land to all the landless peasants.

As long as the existing land tenure is not radically changed, land-ownership and crop-sharing are likely to exist in some form or other. A number of State Governments have felt the need to make special protective laws and have taken steps to enact them. Out of sheer fear and

greed the landlords seek to evict the peasants who in turn are trying to stick on to the land they have been tilling. A crisis or conflict like this cannot be solved by legislation alone. Whatever be the legal position, social justice and equity demand that the sons of the soil should have equal right to Mother Earth even as the children have their equal place in their mother's heart.

The Provincial Bhoodan Samitis should therefore bestir themselves and make efforts, in co-operation with the various political parties and the public concerned, to establish a relationship of mutual trust and good-will between the landowners and tillers, consistent with the ideals behind the Bhoodan movement. The Bihar Provincial Bhoodan Samiti has moved in this direction. The Sarva Seva Sangh hopes that the landowners will respect this basic right of the crop-sharing tillers. If they fail, the latter will have to stick on to their right through all peaceful means and face the trial.

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★ SEVAGRAM ASHRAM ★

THE Sevagram Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi, started in April 1936, was closed at midnight on 18th April 1955, after nearly nineteen years of existence. The inmates of the Ashram took a decision to leave it and dedicate themselves to Bhoodan Yagna.

We are reminded of Mahatmaji's decision to disband the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati in 1933, when he said :

"The disbandment of the Ashram would mean that every inmate of it would constitute a Walking Ashram, carrying with him or her the responsibility for realising the Ashram ideal, no matter where situated whether in prison or outside."

The inmates of the Ashram have now decided, under the leadership of Vinobaji, to become verily the walking ashrams to carry the message of Bhoodan Yagna.

This solemn and spontaneous decision to close the Ashram has immensely pleased Vinobaji who has addressed the following letter to Sri Chimanlalji.

"It fills me with pleasure to know that you welcome the idea of closing the Ashram as an offering for Bhoodan Yagna. Let it be closed on the 18th April. You and Sri Anantharam will move for the present to the hospital nearby. Sri Anantaram will be of some service to you. Bapu's hut can be locked and the key be given to Sri Chhaghanlal Bhai. The Serva Seva Sangh will decide later about the arrangements for the Ashram. Visitors to Bapu-Kutir can see it from outside. Thus they will get inspiration to devote themselves to Bhoodan Yagna. I hope that Sri Chhaghanlal Bhai will keep the key with him for some time at my behest. Today he is, perhaps, the only oldest companion of Bapu living."

The inmates of the Ashram have divided themselves into two groups for Bhoodan Yatra. One group with Sri Prabhakarji will tour in Andhra and then proceed to Rameswaram. The other group will carry on Bhoodan work in Madhya Pradesh.

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(Contd. from page 345) TOWARDS SARVODAYA SOCIAL ORDER

fear there would be danger if it was either too weak or too strong. The servants of the people with *satvic* temperament should gather courage to change the very quality of these elections. We may take part in them, or keep aloof from them but we should from now on be strong enough to make ourselves felt regarding them. Today we feel we have fallen a prey to some sort of infatuation. But we have friends in all the organizations of the country. I do not insist that they should all think and feel as we do. But they should freely think for themselves. We do not wish that the

strength of any organization be undermined. But I would like to ask every one if our remaining weak was going to benefit them.

Suppose Vinoba joined Congress. What I believe, however, is that there are good men in the Congress as also in the Praja Socialist Party. Our joining the Congress, therefore, is not going to benefit the nation. Let us clearly understand that all the ideologies that are prevalent in the country should not weaken in strength. I would appeal to all of you to think over and consider the things I have placed before you. —From "Harijan"



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POTENTIALITY OF BHOODAN.

People from all parts of the world have begun to take interest in Bhoodan movement. Neither do I write about it in English nor do I correspond with foreigners. Still the news of the movement has spread all over the world. The world sees some rays of hope in it.

No one wants war, still the race for armaments is going on unabated. The world is pining for a way out of this mire. It feels that Bhoodan might show the way for the peaceful solution of the ills of the world. What we have achieved is not big. Even the little we have achieved has created a hope in the world of a potential power in our movement for peace.

—VINOBA.

(From the address to A. I. C. C. at Berhampur.)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

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The 'Sarvodaya' completes its fourth year with this number.

Many thinkers outside India have evinced keen interest in the message of Sarvodaya. Some of them have even contributed articles specially for 'Sarvodaya' for which we are thankful.

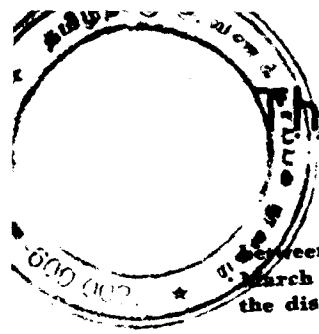
The index will indicate the policy and the ideal that guide us in the choice of subjects. We would welcome brief articles which will fit in with the objective and scope of this small Digest.

We would specially invite the Bhoodan conveners and organisers to send us brief reports of their yatras with special features, in English to enable us to publish them in a condensed form every month.

As the Bhoodan Yagna movement is widely growing with its comprehensive programmes and ideological implications, the need for a weekly journal in English to supplement this 'Sarvodaya' Digest, to actively guide and publish current activities from week to week, is felt now. We are glad to say that the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is considering this matter.

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The Technique of Non-violence

MAHATMA GANDHI.

This is from an interesting report by Mahadev Desai of an interview between Prof. Mays, a Negro gentleman, and Gandhiji at Sevagram in March 1937. Gandhiji expounds here the technique of non-violence and the discipline required for it.

"I have no doubt in my mind about the superiority of non-violence," said Prof. Mays. "But the thing that bothers me is about its exercise on a large scale, the difficulty of so disciplining the mass mind on the point of love. It is easier to discipline individuals. What should be the strategy when they break out? Do we retreat or do we go on?"

"I have had that experience," said Gandhiji, "in the course of our movement here. People do not gain the training by preaching. Non-violence cannot be preached. It has to be practised. The practice of violence can be taught to people by outward symbols. You shoot at boards, then at targets, then at beasts. Then you are passed as an expert in the art of destruction. The non-violent man has no outward weapon and, therefore, not only his speech but his action also seems ineffective. I may say all kinds of sweet words to you without meaning them. On the other hand I may have real love in me and yet my outward expression may be forbidding. Then outwardly my action in both cases may be the same and yet the effect may be different. For the effect of our action is often more potent when it is not patently known. Thus the unconscious effect you are making on

me I may never know. It is, nevertheless, infinitely greater than the conscious effect. In violence there is nothing invisible. Non-violence, on the other hand, is three-fourths invisible, and so the effect is in the inverse ratio to its invisibility. Non-violence, when it becomes active, travels with extraordinary velocity, and then it becomes a miracle. So the mass mind is affected first unconsciously, then consciously. When it becomes consciously affected there is demonstrable victory. In my own experience, when people seemed to be weakening there was no consciousness of defeat in me. Thus I was fuller of hope in the efficacy of non-violence after the renunciation of civil disobedience in 1922, and today I continue to be in the same hopeful mood. It is not a mere emotional thing. Supposing I saw no signs of dawn coming, I should not lose faith. Everything has to come in its proper time.

"I have discussions here with my co-workers about the scavenging work we are doing. 'Why can't we do it after Swaraj?' they say. 'We may do it better after Swaraj.' I say to them, 'No. The reform has to come today, it must not wait for Swaraj; in fact the right type of Swaraj will come only out of such work.' Now I cannot show you, as

perhaps I cannot show some of my co-workers, the connection between Swaraj and scavenging. If I have to win Swaraj non-violently, I must discipline my people. The maimed and the blind and the leprous cannot join the army of violence. There is also an age-limit for serving in the army. For a non-violent struggle there is no age-limit; the blind and the maimed and the bed-ridden may serve, and not only men but women also. When the spirit of non-violence pervades the people and actually begins to work, its effect is visible to all.

"But now comes your poser. There are people, you say, who do not believe in non-violence as you do. Are you to sit quiet? The friends ask: 'If not now, when will you act?' I say in reply: 'I may not succeed in my lifetime, but my faith that victory can only come through non-violence is stronger than ever.'

When I spoke on the cult of the spinning wheel at Faizpur, a newspaper correspondent imputed astuteness to me. Nothing could be farther from my mind. When I came to Sevagram I was told the people might not co-operate and might even boycott me. I said: 'That may be. But this is the way non-violence works. 'If I go to a village which is still farther off, the experiment may work better. This thing has come in my search after the technique of non-violence. And each day that passes makes my faith brighter. I have come here to bring that faith to fruition and to die in the process if that is God's will. Non-violence to be worth anything has to work in the face of hostile forces. But there may be action in inaction. And action may be worse than inaction.'

(Non-violence in Peace and War — Vol. I)



DEMOCRACY AND VIOLENCE

One thing is certain. If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent. It is blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

"Harijan" 12-11-1938

—Gandhiji.

Vinobaji's Appeal to the Congress

(Address to the A. I. C. C. members on 9th May at Berhampur)

The members of the All India Congress Committee had an opportunity of hearing Acharya Vinoba at the session held on 9th — 11th May '55, at Berhampur where Vinobaji was camping on his Bhoodan Yatra. This was the first time when he addressed the A. I. C. C. In his moving speech he traced the origin and dealt on fundamental principles and objectives of the movement and appealed to them to devote the next two years for Bhoodan which will not only solve the land problem but will undoubtedly pave the way for the peace of the world.

It gives me great pleasure to have had this unique opportunity of meeting you here. I am no believer in differences of caste, creed, language or party and to me everyone is a human being. Therefore I speak with friendly feelings to you one and all and I hope you will take it in the same spirit.

Fear Psychology

The world today is seriously ill. Sometimes its condition becomes grave and sometimes we see hopes of recovery. Great men of the world are anxious that it may not throw up a conflagration. They are engaged in serious efforts to prevent such a calamity. It gives us pleasure to see that here and there their efforts are attaining some success. But the malady of the world is something deep-rooted. It cannot be cured by mere external treatment. Such treatment may give some relief now and then. But we have to remove the root cause of the disease in order to effect a permanent cure.

This is an age of power. Science has placed in the hands of man great power, or rather, man has been thrown

in the hands of power. Power is controlling man and making him dance to its tune. This has led to a very serious situation. The whole of mankind is in the grip of a great fear. Perhaps this is the first time in history that fear psychology is pervading all over the world. Human progress now depends upon putting an end to this fear. We cannot seek asylum from this fear in the stockpiles of devastating weapons of war. Fearlessness cannot be achieved through the possession of weapons. The development of Ahimsa or soul force alone can lead man to fearlessness. One who fears cannot therefore be said to be non-violent. Man seeks the help of arms only in the absence of Ahimsa or soul force in him. This does not mean that if he abandons these arms he will become fearless. Fearlessness represents a state of mind which can be brought about only by a change in the way of man's thinking.

The Avadi Resolution

I was glad that the Avadi Congress Session passed a resolution on the socialistic pattern of society. What is the change that this resolution has brought about in the minds

and lives of Congressmen who adopted it? That will be the real test of their having accepted this resolution. Otherwise such high-sounding words carry no weight.

Unilateral Action

Our leaders as well as our people are aligned on the side of peace. Great men like Rajaji are appealing to the world to take a bold step. The question is whether our country is advancing in that direction. Are we creating that strength in our country which will lay the foundation for a non-violent society? Here again the test will be whether the people are self-governing and whether any noble ideals rule their minds. Today the countries of the world are suffering from mutual fear and suspicion. To root out this fear and suspicion, some country will have to take to unilateral action. Are we taking our country in that direction? If we can do that, even within the next ten years, we will have shown the way to the world and the moral power thus created will lead the world to peace.

The Two Alternatives

It is neither possible nor necessary to check the progress of Science. Science should only be put under the control of moral power. If that happens, there is no fear from the unbridled progress of Science. These are the only two alternatives before the world: either we allow Science to advance or we check it. If we are able to check it, a little violence will not be out of place. In the past even saintly persons used violence in the

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interest of the community. No harm resulted from it; on the other hand, it resulted in good, because the use of violence was very limited. Willy-nilly, Science is going to advance. If we root out violence, the advance of Science can be beneficial; otherwise it must lead to destruction.

India's position is such that only her moral strength can grow and not other forces. Either she develops her moral strength or she goes extinct. It is therefore I say that mere words cannot help us and we should bring about a change in the hearts of the people in their approach to various problems.

The Origin of the Movement

This question of change of heart had been occupying my mind since long and the idea of Bhoodan was the natural consequence of a long search. When I was working among the Meos near Delhi, the landless Harijans among the refugees asked for land. We discussed the matter with the authorities and the Punjab Government promised to give land. I even made a public declaration of this fact at a prayer meeting at Rajghat. Two months later the Punjab Government went back on their word on the plea that there was not sufficient land even for those who originally possessed land in Pakistan. The Government was inclined to maintain only the *status quo*. This pained me much, as it pained the Harijans as well as many others. The Harijans thought of offering satyagraha and sought my advice. I advised them against such a step and at the

same time expressed my inability to help them in any other way. This was agitating my mind and I was in search of a method by which the landless could be provided with land. When Telangana gave me the hint, I took it up and started the Bhoodan movement.

Land for the Landless

The land problem is a basic problem not only for India but also for many Asian countries and if we can solve it in a peaceful manner, our non-violent strength will grow. The redistribution of land brings in its wake many other problems - economic and otherwise - for which I have been looking for solutions. But seeking a solution to the land problem is not my only objective. I am more concerned with the non-violent technique that comes into play in this movement and I do not want this technique to slip away through my fingers. If this method can create faith in Ahimsa, I think it will have a great effect on the world.

I do not want you to view this movement from the narrow outlook of party or personal interest but from a real spirit of service. I am asking for only one-sixth of the land for the present. This is not a big thing, which cannot be achieved within two years. If we put all our energy in this work and solve this problem within two years, the world will recognise the efficacy of Ahimsa. Our other problems also can be solved in a similar manner. I advise the constructive workers also to leave all their work and join this movement, because the success of this movement

will prepare the basis for all items of the constructive programme.

Bhoodan - A Vote for World Peace

I consider the offerings of land with a real understanding of the principles and philosophy of Bhoodan, as a vote for world peace. Some people pooch-pooch this idea and criticise me for linking Bhoodan with world peace. They recall what Gandhiji also said, that the Bihar earthquake was the result of the curse of untouchability, and point out that connecting Bhoodan to world peace is similar to connecting earthquake and untouchability. I do not want to go into the deeper significance of those words of Gandhiji, but wish to say in all humility that what I say is different.

Moral Power of India

India put up a non-violent fight for Independence and won it. This has raised the stature of India in the eyes of the world, and today her voice is listened to with great respect. It is India's moral strength that has had this effect. What other power can she boast of? She neither possesses the vast military strength nor the huge wealth which some of the big countries of the world possess. Even then if she can make her voice heard, it is because of her moral power. If we solve our problems in the same non-violent way, our moral strength will grow still more.

Potentiality of Bhoodan

People from all parts of the world have begun to take interest in Bhoodan movement. Neither do I write

about it in English nor do I correspond with foreigners. Still the news of the movement has spread all over the world. The world sees some rays of hope in it.

No one wants war. Still the race for armaments is going on unabated. The world is pining for a way out of this mire. It feels that Bhoodan might show the way for the peaceful solution of the ills of the world. What we have achieved is not big. Even the little we have achieved has created a hope in the world of a potential power in our movement for peace.

No Land-gift by compulsion

I have heard reports of compulsion and threats held out to landowners while approaching them for land. I do not want to collect land by such methods. There are other people who can adopt these methods and it is not necessary for us to wander on foot from village to village. Therefore I have publicly declared that if anybody holds out such threats or uses compulsion, people should refuse to part with their land. I do not want even a bit of land by such methods. We should approach the landowners with love. Whatever is given must be given with the full understanding of the philosophy behind Bhoodan. Then only it will have value.

Appeal to Congress

Every year I have been receiving invitations to attend the Congress Session. But I never attended; nor did I send any reply. This year too the same thing would have happened, had not somebody on his way to Avadi

met me. I took the hint and sent a letter to the Congress expressing a hope that it would some day come to my help. The Congress President said that I had every right and claim to demand help from you, though I am not in the Congress. This is the first time that I attend the A. I. C. C. meeting and how can I have any right to ask for your help? But everyone will have to accept that Truth and Justice demand it.

Moving incidents in Bhoodan

It is generally accepted that the present distribution of land in our country is unjust. In my opinion land must be free like air, water and sunlight, and everyone must have a right to it. There should be no private ownership of land. Wherever I go, this is what I tell the people. They seem to appreciate this point of view. I have not come across a single person who is opposed to this view. There may be some who may not part with their land immediately. But I have every hope that even they will give land, if not today, tomorrow. They cannot but give.

I remember here an incident which happened when we approached a Muslim landowner for land.

He said: "What is the principle underlying your demand for one-sixth of the land?"

I said to him: "I take it that ordinarily a family consists of five brothers and I consider myself as the sixth brother and demand my share on behalf of the landless."

He said: "It is true that we are five brothers, but according to our religion, daughters also are entitled

to share in the property, and we have two sisters."

Then I said: "If you are seven, brothers and sisters, consider me as the eighth member and give me my share."

He immediately gave away the one-eighth.

I relate this incident here only to show how generous-hearted our people are. Such experiences have melted even my stony heart and I have been changed into a soft-hearted man. The realisation comes upon one that India's heart is essentially pure and sound and in it lies our future hope and strength.

Appeal to Concentrate on Bhoodan

It is my earnest appeal to you to devote the next two years to this work, setting aside all other preoccupations. Some people ask me whether they should give up all other work completely. I would tell such persons to take the spirit of my advice and not go merely by the letter. This is my advice even to the constructive workers. I have myself done constructive work for over thirty years and I can tell them that unless we build a basis for our work, it is not going to succeed. Till today nobody interested himself in our work. People talked of Sarvodaya as an ideal impossible of achievement. But now it appears to them to be practicable even in the present day world and hopes have been created in their minds. I want the Congress to take up this work without any party spirit and carry it to success with the co-operation of all other parties.

Another point to which I wish to draw attention is the serious situation

created by evictions. We have made it a point in our movement to approach such landlords, explain to them the wrong they are doing, ask for land gifts from them, and rehabilitate the evicted peasants on such land. If the landlords do not respond, we will have to ask the peasants to stick on to their land, whatever be the consequences. This may result in sufferings to the peasants. Therefore I want the Congress to take up this question also as part of the Bhoodan campaign.

A very remarkable result of Bhoodan is that about 100 villages have been completely offered in Bhoodan. This will lead to a new way of life, in which nobody will enjoy what he possesses without first offering a portion of it to the community.

Government's Role

I have asked you to give two years to this work. It is not much. If anything is left undone at the end of this period, it will be done by the Government. In fact I do not want anything to be left incomplete. In that case I cannot consider the movement a complete success. I would like this problem to be solved through popular will alone. The Government will only give its seal of approval to the popular will. The Communists, while supporting this movement, suggest that I should bring pressure on the Government. If the Government has to complete the revolution, how can it be a triumphant end for the movement?

In the end I appeal to you all to devote your best attention to this work, so that the country can feel proud of a great achievement.

★ Guide for Jeevandan ★

(JAIPRAKASH NARAIN)

A NUMBER of questions have been raised regarding Jeevandan and some discussion has also taken place here. I wish to say something in that connection.

Jeevandan is one of the valuable achievements of our movement. Our hopes regarding the future of the movement are based on Jeevandan also. The Jeevandan movement, started at the Bodhgaya Conference, has since progressed well. We have not been able to explain to the people the exact significance of Jeevandan and therefore many are in the dark about it. If the meaning and objects of Jeevandan can be explained to the people, we will have thousands of Jeevandanis coming forward.

1. 'Jeevandan' means that one has decided to spend his life working for *'a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yagna and with village industries as its mainstay.'*

2. Jeevandanis belonging to political parties can, if they so desire, retain their ordinary membership but should not take any active part in their programme, especially elections. They can give their vote on political issues.

3. Jeevandanis engaged in other constructive work should either free themselves from such work and devote all their time to the Bhoodan move-

ment or reorientate their programme so as to make it an integral part of the Bhoodan revolution.

4. Jeevandanis must free themselves from their family responsibilities but, if occasion demands, can devote the minimum time required for such affairs.

5. Jeevandanis engaged in productive work in villages, like the peasants and labourers, are not expected to leave that work. They can do Bhoodan and connected work while engaged in such productive work.

6. If the Jeevandanis own any land or property, they should contribute their share to the movement and consider themselves as trustees of the rest.

7. They should accept only what is absolutely necessary for their living.

8. Jeevandanis should as far as possible lead a simple life.

9. They should habitually wear khaddar.

10. They should use as far as possible village products for their food.

11. Their wives and children should be induced to take to khaddar and Nai Talim.

12. They should as far as possible do physical work regularly.

13. Jeevandanis should not expect that any institution or individual will undertake the responsibility for their maintenance. Jeevandan is not a kind of occupation. Thousands of Jeevandanis are required. In every village there should be at least two or three Jeevandanis. So no individual or institution can undertake the responsibility for such a large number of people. It is only the community or the nation as a whole that can do so. The Jeevandanis should have the faith that when they offer their lives in the service of the community, the community will not forget them. They should expect no other assurance than this.

14. Bhoodan will take a revolutionary shape only when the people adopt its philosophy in their lives. For this purpose large number of Jeevandanis will be required.

Their organisation should be independent and wide-spread. Therefore it is desirable that Bhoodan ashrams should be opened in each small area, composing of the local Jeevandanis

and Bhoodan workers. These ashrams should be the centre for all Bhoodan activities, like collection and distribution of land, constructive work and other activities connected with Sarvodaya. Full time workers should make these camps their home. Their children should receive education in these centres. They should be the resting place for Bhoodan workers after a period of strenuous work. A family atmosphere should prevail in these camps.

15. The ashrams should have their own land for agricultural activities. Some village industries also should be included. All the inmates should do physical work and establish the Sarvodaya ideal in practice. Each centre should be self-sufficient and dependent upon its own physical labour and the contributions from the local people. For the present this is a preliminary plan. Later when the work progresses, there will be Jeevandanis in every village and their house itself will become the centre of all Sarvodaya activities.

(From a speech at Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan.)



NATURE'S DEBITS AND CREDITS

God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment, with the result that if any one appropriates more than he really needs, he reduces his neighbour to destitution. The starvation of people in several parts of the world is due to many of us seizing very much more than we need. We may utilize the gifts of nature just as we choose, but in her books the debits are always equal to the credits. There is no balance in either column.

(From "Ashram Observances in Action" by M. K. Gandhi—A recent publication of Navajivan Trust)

Materialism and Happiness

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

From a Speech unveiling a statue of Mahatma Gandhi at Puri on 21-3-'55.

IN India there is no dearth of statues. When we add to their numbers by erecting new ones, we must justify them by making an earnest effort to mould our lives according to the teachings of those whose memory we seek to perpetuate.

Mahatma Gandhi's teachings gave us practical guidance even in our present day affairs though India is changing at a rapid pace. Gandhiji felt unhappy during his first visit to Orissa 32 years ago at the plight of the famine stricken people here at that time.

Soon after attaining independence, the Government have started a crusade against poverty and hunger with their plans and projects. Important as these are to make every citizen get sufficient to eat and maintain a minimum standard of living, material progress should not be mistaken as the be-all and end-all of human life. If India makes that mistake and follows Western countries blindly, she would lose her individuality and be just like any other country.

Undoubtedly our people have a right to be happy and free from certain wants but in our effort to multiply our material resources, we must not lose sight of the fact that happiness is not altogether to be equated

with external resources. It has something to do with the inner self of man as well. If that were not so, why should there be so much unhappiness in some countries which are highly advanced materially and economically? The fact that the incidence of suicide and insanity is high in their countries proves beyond doubt that economic prosperity and happiness are not synonymous.

India must follow the middle path, strive for material prosperity and inculcate in her citizens the virtues of discipline of the self and high thinking. Without this internal discipline and training of the self, external circumstances however favourable may not yield the desired result.

(Eastern Times—Mar. 26th '55)

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S. India.

Buddha and the Modern World

SURESH RAMABHAI

THE world is richer today than ever before. Nor did it ever before command more pleasant means of life and comfort. All things can be had now in plenty. Yet the life of man was never so insecure as today. The blessings of science threaten to be a curse. All material progress or scientific advancement is failing to cope with the gravity of the situation and meet man's inner urge. The biggest intellects and mightiest potentates seem to be but show-boys incompetent to grapple with the fundamentals. The very existence of life and civilization is in jeopardy.

Man faces the question of to be or not to be. He wonders whether all this is worthwhile. And the pace of events impels him to arrive at the same conclusion which has been reached by the wisest men of the world who were greater geniuses than Galileo or Newton, greater warriors than Alexander or Wellington. The foremost among them is Buddha who declared the Eternal Law more than two and a half million years ago:—

"Never in this world can hatred be stilled by hatred, it will be stilled only by non-hatred — this is the Law Eternal."

In other words, never in this world can violence be overpowered by greater violence; it can be overpowered only by non-violence. Hatred and violence cannot but beget

more hatred and violence — a process which will culminate in the vanquishment of both the hater and the hated. Politicians and military experts endorse this truth. The British Labour leader Clement Attlee says, "War cannot be regulated like a football game. It cannot be humanised. It must be abolished. Delay increases the danger that some spark may set the world ablaze." Captain Lidell Hart, one of Britain's most eminent experts on war, holds, "Any war in the atomic age would lead to the destruction of all the nations concerned." This had also been foreseen by Einstein, the scientist-sage of the twentieth century. He was once asked, "The second world war was fought with atom-bomb, the third will be fought with hydrogen bomb, what will the fourth world war be fought with?" Straight came the answer, "With bows and arrows!"

The futility of war as an instrument of peace is, therefore, unquestioned. But the citadel of world peace will not be something airy; it must have a foundation to stand upon. There can be no peace in the world unless there is peace in every country of the world, in every province, in every district, and again in every village or town. To expect peace in the world without peace in the village or town is like expecting a tree without sowing its seed.

Continued in page 408

★ Satyagraha Versus Pravda ★

ESME WYNNE - TYSON (Sussex, England)

The following article is specially contributed for SARVODAYA by the writer. Two of her outstanding books are THE UNITY OF BEING and THIS IS LIFE ETERNAL. She writes that she is following Vinobaji's speeches 'with the very greatest admiration and closest agreement'. While sending this article the writer says, "it is sometimes difficult for people to maintain the true Gandhian sense of direction when confronted with the temporal advantages of materialistic science. SATYAGRAHA versus PRAVDA is, I feel, a phrase that will help to preserve the distinction between the two sorts of knowledge."

AN American scientist, Dr. Warren Weaver, answering the question: What is Science? in a popular periodical recently said it was "the activity whereby man gains understanding and control of nature." And few of his readers would query this statement; for it is not generally realized that throughout the ages from and before the days of Plato until about midway through the last century, the highest Science, or knowledge, was considered to be what we now think of as philosophy and religion while Dr. Weaver's experimental science was regarded as an altogether lower kind of knowledge, to Socrates, so much lower that he considered it could only be of interest to the youthful but not worth the attention of an adult man for whom the Science of Universals was the correct study.

This Science, Tolstoy, who was of the same opinion as Socrates, defined as "an investigation of the conditions enabling man to know the demands of the Supreme Will from whence he came, and how to apply those demands to life."

4

The Russian Seer, whose teachings had such an effect on Gandhiji, was appalled to find at the end of the last century that experimental science was becoming the be-all and end-all of the intellectuals of his time. He deplored the fact that in Russian society more than in any other in Europe "a superstition is prevalent and deeply rooted which considers that humanity for its welfare does not need the diffusion of true religious and moral knowledge, but only the study of experimental science, and that such science will satisfy all the spiritual demands of mankind."

If this were true of Czarist Russia how much more true is it of the present reign of scientific socialism of which experimental science has become the One True God from Whom all blessings flow!

Tolstoy pointed out that the ordinary working man, who laboured to keep people who spent their lives in study, wanted to learn from them things that really mattered to him, such as how to live, how to behave, how to treat his family, his neighbours, "how to restrain his passions

.....and much else. And what does our science say to him on such matters?" Tolstoy went on to ask. "It triumphantly tells him: how many miles it is from the earth to the sun; at what rate light travels through space.....of X rays and of similar things."

And when the working man demanded something more practical, he was told that in the future science would have solved all his problems. But the ordinary man is not concerned with the future; he wants to know how to live now. And it was just this knowledge that the thinkers of old were concerned with giving him. Moses who had studied the wisdom of Egypt in the Court of Pharaoh included five of the Egyptian commandments in his decalogue to regulate the conduct of men, and this product of social science still bases the laws of the civilised world.

The Hebrew lawgiver, like all the idealistic philosophers and seers of the past, being more realistic than the materialists, understood that the world could never be radically improved until the units whose thoughts and acts went to make up that world were themselves improved; until, in fact, mankind had evolved to a higher species, for as Mahatma Gandhi reminded us:

"In our present state we are, according to the Hindu Doctrine, only partly human; the lower part of us is still animal. Only the conquest of our lower instincts by love can slay the animal in us."

This point of view is totally reversed by the materialists in power

to-day who believe that the imperfection is in conditions and not in the present evolutionary state of man himself, and that therefore when the outer world is put right, mankind will automatically become better. Not that the modern scientist denies that human nature needs changing in one sense. Indeed he is gleefully bringing all his powers, his educational system, his psychiatry, his soul-engineering, his character-assassination to bear on just this aim, for the termitary life of a totalitarian state demands obedient worker-ants who will ungrudgingly give all their thought, energy and labours to utilitarian aims, and not men with individualities and ambitions of their own, filled with 'superstitious' beliefs of possessing immortal potentialities and the hope of self-perfectioning.

For the modern educator is concerned solely with the needs of the State and sees man only as a cell in the body corporate; while the seers of old saw him as a potential Ideal Citizen who, by his conduct, would eventually ensure the founding of an Ideal City - (The Land of Promise; the Kingdom of Righteousness; Yonder; The Kingdom of God, and so on). Their study of man was not of his outward form or the workings of his physical brain. It never occurred to them to attempt his alteration by physical manipulation such as frontal leuchotomy or brain-washing. They studied, instead, the ideal man as found among the world-teachers, seers and saints of the ages, and from this study came to understand the potentialities of mankind as a whole.

What they sought was not Pravda, the truth about the outward universe and physical man, but Satyagraha, the wisdom of the ages, embodied in the teachings and manifested in the lives of the great mystics and Founders of the world-faiths, and used in our age so triumphantly by Mahatma Gandhi, which alone could enable a man to transform himself from within. They saw that without acceptance of and obedience to the rules of conduct taught and exemplified by the men who had evolved to a higher species, there could be no evolution for the rest of mankind.

They were not concerned primarily with man as a worker but as a thinker since they knew that when he thought rightly he would act rightly. It was his attitude to life they sought to regulate, not his activities in that life. They aimed at taming and eventually eliminating the animal still remaining in man, and for this purpose they sought to replace his natural animalistic violence by compassionate love. Both Jesus Christ and Gotama the Buddha were known as Lords of Compassion. This was the keynote of the way of life they both taught; this was the great lesson humanity must learn if it were to be saved from its own violence. Mahatma Gandhi made Ahimsa the central pillar of his philosophy which was founded on the Satyagraha of an older and wiser world instead of the Pravda of the modernists.

The present state of humanity does not disprove the Ancient Wisdom; on the contrary it shows the terrible

consequences of the age-long rejection of the true means of evolution, and so confirms the correctness of the teachings of the Seers. It is through perpetual disobedience to those teachings, a refusal by individuals to be governed by the good laws, the continual use of violence in personal, national and international matters that has brought humanity to its present plight and given the materialists the opportunity to offer a short cut to the harmony and peace that even the most unruly and undisciplined elements of humanity inwardly desire.

But wisdom - Satyagraha - insists that any such promise is delusive; there is no short cut to the state of true and enduring harmony which must first be realized in the integrated spirit of the individual. Pravda offers the proletariat the goods of the whole world if they will abandon all belief in Satyagraha and be prepared to worship those goods as the highest value attainable, consecrating their whole lives to utilitarian aims. Satyagraha has always said that a man will be nothing bettered if he gains the whole world and its knowledge at the price of renouncing belief in his immortality, or, in more modern terms, his potentiality for evolving to a higher species. Pravda promises the eventual conquest of all external nature, postponing its technological heaven as surely as exoteric religion insists on teaching of a future spatial heavenly state instead of the Kingdom of God within. Satyagraha advocates the immediate realization of that Kingdom by means of a willingness to accept its laws.

The answer, then, to What is Science? must be "Knowledge"; but there are two kinds of knowledge: Pravda, the relative knowledge of the external world of *Maya* that has given us washing machines, radio, wonder drugs as a result of diabolical experimentation on animals, and the H. Bomb; Satyagraha, the eternal wisdom by which human nature can be put off for a more divine nature, that has given us men of the stature of Gautama and Jesus. Secular science and Divine Science, exemplified in the last century by the two archetype men: Lenin, who while doing nothing to improve his own hate-ridden nature, sought to change the world by violence technocracy and class-warfare, and Gandhiji who, through self-perfectioning and becoming ever more universally compassionate, proved to the world the efficacy of a policy of non-violence.

Which Leader will we follow? It is the same choice as of old: Christ or Barabbas. What will we acknowledge as Truth? Pravda or Satyagraha? We cannot have both and on our choice the future of humanity depends.



"EVICTION MUST STOP FOR EVER"

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

"A time has now come when all evictions of peasants must stop once for all. When I hear reports of such evictions from various parts of the country, I feel very much distressed. Today when we are engaged in solving the land problem, I cannot tolerate any eviction of peasants from their land. During the last seven years, a number of legislative measures have been taken to improve the conditions of peasants. Zamindari and Jagirdari have been completely rooted out. At this juncture eviction of peasants is not only unreasonable but is also wholly unjust. If my voice could reach the ends of the country, I would like to tell people that these evictions and the resultant miseries to the peasants must end once for all."

(From a speech at Berhampur on 8-5-55.)

The Rhythm of Worship and Work

MARJORIE SYKES

Principal, Basic Training Centre, Sevagram, Wardha.

THE whole purpose of education is to interpret life to the child, so that he can find meaning in the world around him and can play his own part with understanding. We believe that this world, child's environments, is "the work of God, indwelt by God, and a means of serving, knowing and glorifying God." So our interpretation of life must be "God-centred", and our pattern of living must be focussed in worship. Worship ought to be as natural and necessary to our life as eating.

Some of the thoughts which come to us from outside are not distracting, they are material which we should use in our prayers. The life around us and the activities of the day are not meant to be excluded from the life of religion. We must not think that our worship has nothing to do with our ordinary conduct. On the contrary our worship must be the inspiration of our daily life.

There is a famous sentence which describes religion as "The flight of the alone (the human soul) to the Alone (the Supreme Soul)." This is only partly true because it is one-sided. The word religion is a Latin word and it means "that which binds together." The human soul is not alone, it is bound together with other human souls. The word

Dharma also suggests not only the duty of the individual to worship rightly in private; it suggests even more strongly the duty of right conduct in society. There are two elements in the religious experience and tradition of mankind. One is mystical, and is concerned with the human soul's direct experience of the Divine; the other is social and is concerned with the ways in which men have shaped the whole pattern of their life in accordance with their beliefs about the nature of the world they live in. No interpretation of life can be complete unless both these elements are taken into account. No worship can be fully satisfactory unless it includes our social concerns as well as our mystical aspirations.

One of the weaknesses of modern civilisation is that men have been regarded as separate individuals, and society has been thought of as an organisation of individuals, not as an organic whole. Some of the wisest of modern thinkers are now reminding us that we are not isolated units, but are parts of a living whole, and that a man cannot develop normally and healthily except as a member of a community. Everyone belongs to a family, a tribe and a social group within which he grows up and is educated and which makes him to a very large extent what he is. John Donne, the great English poet, wrote

some words more than three hundred years ago which have been quoted a great deal during the last few years. "No man is an island complete in himself. Each is a part of a continent, a piece of the main." Another writer has suggested that though a group of islands may appear to be separate one from another, they are not really separate. They are joined together below the surface of the sea by invisible ridges of rock, and if the sea's level were to sink, the islands would appear like peaks on one mountain chain. In the same way human beings, although they appear to be separate individuals are linked together invisibly by great chains of physical, social and spiritual relationships. We are all members one of another.

The great saints and prophets have all spoken very clearly about this family relationship and have taught us that we cannot worship God rightly unless our relationship to our fellowmen is right. The Jews summed up the law of religion in two commandments- "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbour as thyself." When Jesus Christ was teaching his fellow Jews he pointed out that the second part of this sentence was as important as the first and that there is no limit to the meaning of the word neighbour. "If thou bringest thy gift to the altar," he said, "and there rememberst that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and first go and be reconciled with thy brother; then come and offer thy gift." "If a man

love not his brother whom he have seen, how he can love God whom he have not seen?" This kind of teaching is found not only among the Jews and the Christians, it is found among the teachings of the Buddha and of the Prophet. It is found very clearly in the Gita. Here for example is the description of the true Yogi:

"The bliss of each creature glows
in his heart,
His heart suffers every creature's
sorrow,
For every bliss and sorrow is his
own.
This man is truly the greatest of
Yogis."

We ought to think of ourselves, when we are seated at prayers, as reaching out in two directions. Our minds go upward in worship to God, and outward in love and charity both to our fellow worshippers and to those we love in distant places. We ought to think also that the Divine grace comes down to bless not only ourselves but also all His other creatures, and that God is able to use us to bless one another. Christian teachers of religion use the word Inter-cession to describe this attitude. The word means going between. It expresses the idea that the one who prays moves in spirit between God and his fellow creatures. He remembers with loving sympathy their joys and sorrows, their interests and their needs. He seeks the blessing of God on his brothers, and for himself he asks for grace to love them more truly and serve them more fully.

We believe, therefore, that there is something more necessary to true worship than quiet surroundings, a reverent posture, lovely music, great words of prayers. All these are good and they have their place in our basic education. But even the most beautiful form will remain dead unless the hearts of the worshippers are filled with this loving sympathy and compassion for their neighbours. The heart of our task is the nourishment and development of this sympathy and compassion. How can we train children to feel their unity and brotherhood?

The answer is brief but far reaching. Shared experience is the basis of all true sympathy. The experiences of life are most completely shared by the members of the natural human family where parents and children live together into one group, eat together, work together and are concerned with each other's health and sickness, interests and talents and conduct. The family has a place and a task for everyone. In it affection, tenderness and sympathy grow up and may reach out far beyond the family itself. The relationships of father, mother and children have been used by all the saints to express the right relationship of love and reverence between man and God. When a Nai Talim community is thought of and planned for as a larger family group, sharing work and play, sharing difficulties and successes, sharing joys and sorrows, it provides the basis on which the natural affections can grow up.

There are two chief ways by which we may suggest the relation-

ship between religion and daily living. One is consciously to bring the concerns of our daily living into the presence of God at the time of worship. The other is to carry the ideals and aspirations of worship into every corner of our daily life. I will give here some examples of these two methods.

It is good that family events such as the birth of a baby, a marriage or a bereavement should be spoken of at the time of worship. There may be a period of silence specially devoted to quiet thanksgiving for the joy which has come into our lives or to remembrance of those who are in sorrow, and prayer that they may have comfort and strength. Some times we shall bring into our worship in this way our special needs and anxieties and ask for wisdom to guide us in our difficulty. The joys and sorrows need not always be those of our own community alone. Our prayer may embrace also the nation's needs, the victims of a flood or drought and the incidents of which we read in the newspapers.

It is perhaps even more important to carry the ideals of our worship out into our ordinary living. It would be insincere to pray for divine help and comfort for those who are in trouble, if we do not do anything to help them ourselves. Prayer and action must go together. Worship is not a substitute for labour, it is or should be an incentive to work better and more sincerely than before.

It is a good thing to seize opportunities for discussing and expanding the meaning of our ethical standards

in relation to the incidents of school life. We must always remember that young children do not generalise, and that an abstract ideal like truth can only become real to them by being embodied in actual examples and actual daily conduct. For example the careful accuracy with which we keep the record of our work and the time we spend on it is one way of expressing our standards of truthfulness. The treatment which we give in our school and in our village to stray dogs is an opportunity for discussing in practical form the principle of Ahimsa. The fearlessness which we hold up as a quality to be revered has to be worked out in practical situations familiar to the children. If the teacher occasionally appeals to the familiar words of prayer with reference to the incidents of the day's work, the children will be stimulated to broaden their understanding of the prayer and the time of worship will be enriched by this deepening of the meaning of the words used.

The truth is that *because* the work is a religious offering, the quality of the work must be the best possible, and unless we are giving

our best in real work, we cannot give our best in worship. The classic expression of the brotherhood of worship and work is to be found in the writings of a fourteenth century saint in Europe, who was a brother in a monastery, and whose duty was to take charge of the community kitchen. This is what he writes, "In all the noise and confusion of my kitchen, when several persons are calling at the same time for different things, I possess God in as great tranquillity as if I were on my knees at the holy worship of the church." That is the ideal towards which we must go. Brother Lawrence did not give up his special periods of worship and spend his time only in the kitchen. He moved to and fro between the place of prayer and the place of work, carrying the strength and peace of prayer into the most ordinary of daily work, so that his whole life, whatever he was doing, was filled with peace. By his worship his whole environment became for him "a means of serving, knowing and glorifying God." That is what we want, for we serve God and glorify God most of all in the love and service of man.

SIGN OF FREEDOM.

Freedom should shed its light on one and all as naturally as the sun shines. Does it become necessary to remind anyone that the sun has risen? But our village people are not even aware that freedom has come. They feel that there is Congress rule today, even as there were the Moghul rule and the British rule in the past.

The villagers must have their own methods of meting out justice. They must produce their own food, clothing and other necessities; they must manage their own education and solve other social and economic problems by themselves. Then only can they feel themselves masters of their own destiny and freedom will have some meaning to them.

(From VINOBA'S speech at Gokarnapur on 13-5-55.)

Marx, Gandhi and Bhoodan

TILAK RAJ CHADHA

BHOODAN does not aim at a fair redistribution of land alone. Providing land to the millions of landless in India is, no doubt, its immediate aim. But the movement, in its entirety, is nothing less than a new attempt at the banishment of injustice, exploitation, inequality and hate from human society.

Such attempts in the history of human civilisation have not been few and far between. These attempts, in fact, are as old as these ills.

But, while attempts to eradicate these maladies have been countless, it may yet be possible to group them under two broad categories, two main streams, flowing one after the other or simultaneously. The first, in point of time, was an attempt to change his heart by religious, moral and ethical appeals, to win him over from the clutches of greed, jealousy and inherent barbarism. The under-lying social philosophy, if any, viewed society as a simple collection of individuals, who had, therefore, to be individually corrected, or converted, before society, as a whole, could be changed. Buddha, Jesus Christ, Guru Nanak and other great religious and ethical teachers of mankind are celebrated examples who followed this road to social regeneration. They worked wonders, rescued millions of individuals from selfishness, greed and lust for power, but their achieve-

ments were neither lasting nor universal.

The most notable exponent of the other method was Karl Marx, though he was not the first man to emphasise that human society was not a simple collection of individuals but much more complex, that it was not possible to change either man or society by concentrating on individuals alone, that man lived in the world as a component part of a social whole, a social mechanism, called society, which had to be basically changed first, because the social whole powerfully and decisively shaped the individual and his thoughts and actions. Change this social whole and the individual would be changed along with it, almost in an automatic manner, was the formula. Marx also showed the best way of changing this social whole. He had another automatic process to unfold; change the economic foundations of the society, and the whole society, in all its aspects, would be changed as a matter of course.

The new mantra captured the imagination of the people and began to spread like wild fire, sweeping everything before it. But it has proved to be as effective, or ineffective, as the old. Followers of Karl Marx staged a violent proletarian revolution and not only captured but monopolised all power in the largest State

of the world. For more than 87 years now they have been engaged in an unparalleled effort to change society, and all its components, by changing its economic foundations. But neither society nor man has basically changed in consequence. Injustice, greed, selfishness, exploitation, inequality and lust for power characterise the Soviet society as much as if not more than any other modern society of human beings.

Are we then at a dead end? Has humanity no new path to break? If both these historic attempts to change man and society have failed, cannot a synthesis of the two prove more effective? The greatest merit of the theory and practice of Mahatma Gandhi was exactly this. His methods were a synthesis of the two earlier human attempts to change man and society, methods which by themselves had failed to achieve universal and lasting results. His sole emphasis was neither on one nor on the other, neither on the individual in preference to the whole nor on the whole in preference to the individual. He lived and struggled and died for a basic change in individual as well as society, simultaneously and not one after the other. He was no believer in social automatism. He did not believe that individual changed could automatically lead to a basic change in the social whole. Nor did he believe that by changing the social whole the individual would be changed automatically. He believed in changing both, and at the same time. That is why he preached individual change of

heart and fought British imperialism with the organised strength of the Indian masses at the same time. He tried to wean people away from the lures of greed and lust by religious, moral and ethical appeals and advocated, at the same time, abolition of landlordism without compensation, nationalisation of the key industries and a drastic reduction in the disparity between the maximum and minimum incomes and standards of living. That is why he organised the people for ceaseless resistance to evil in all its forms, but on the basis of truth and non-violence.

Vinoba's Bhoodan Yagna is the greatest and the boldest attempt to translate Gandhi's twin-conception into social reality. Bhoodan is a determined attempt to change man and society at the same time. It is therefore important to understand that collection of land gifts and their allocation to landless kisans on an equitable basis is not the be-all and end-all of the Bhoodan movement. Propagation of his ideas, therefore, again, is perhaps as important as collection of gifts. His equal emphasis on change of heart and change of society has also to be noted, and practised by Bhoodan workers. In no case should Vinoba's unique mission be equated with a mechanical collection of land and cash gifts.

Bhoodan workers can ignore his emphasis on a real change of heart before accepting any gifts at the gravest peril to the whole conception. Vinoba himself has many a time refused to accept large gifts of land when he failed to detect a spark of

sincere change in the heart of the donor. That hearts do change in this manner is there for everyone, who has no preconceived notions and prejudices, to see. It is happening before our very eyes. More than three hundred thousand men of property have already responded to his call. It is not something that can be lightly brushed aside or dismissed as risk insurance in this acquisitive society.

Bhoodan workers can also not afford to miss his equally great emphasis on changing the very structure of society as a whole. The exploitation, injustice and inequality of modern society are no doubt rooted in private property in the means of production to a very large extent. As long as a few individuals continue to own all the means of production, these means of production will continue to be used and exploited for private ends by these individuals at the cost of social good and justice. Regeneration of man and society can therefore not be ushered in without abolishing private property and establishing social ownership in these means of production.

In India land is the most important means of production even to-day. A great deal of prestige attaches to its ownership. This is evident from the urge even in men in the professions to acquire a piece of land in villages with the fortunes they are able to amass in towns and cities. Private property in land was therefore the first target of attack by Vinobaji. What does he say and preach? That Land was no man's creation, God, created it, just as He

created the sun, the moon, the water and the air we breathe. Can anyone lay proprietary claims on the sun and the moon, the water and the air? Why should, then, individuals be allowed to 'own' land, the primary source of all production in this world? Therefore, "no private property in land" is the slogan. Land should belong to the people, the people as a whole, the whole society. The right of use, of toiling on it and producing our basic necessities, can of course be allotted by the society to individuals who cultivate it by their own hands. But not ownership in the sense in which we understand it today.

Abolition of private property in land, again, is only the first step on a lofty tier. He would endeavour to abolish private property in accumulated city fortunes as well, in factories, workshops and other industrial and commercial enterprises. For him there is no distinction between property in land and other forms of property. He would like to apply the same principle to all forms of property. It is, therefore, significant that Vinoba and Jayaprakash are now laying more and more emphasis on Sampatti Dan and that, besides lakhs of rupees donated in cash gifts, they have also received two textile mills in Sampatti Dan.

The potentialities of the movement, which has such a humble start, are thus becoming more and more evident. Nothing succeeds like success. Its rapid progress has silenced many an erstwhile critic and doubter who had fundamental ideological and

philosophical objections to raise. Most of the honest critics have by now been converted. Those of them who still remain to be converted are in the process of it. But a category of doubters is still there in the country. They belong mostly to a camp whose death knell this movement is out to ring; votaries of violent revolution and totalitarian methods of change and reconstruction. Their basic contention is that neither men nor society have in the long history of the human race been changed and fundamentally regenerated by love and conversion. There is according to them, one and only one way of fundamental reconstruction of society, and that is violent revolution. Force is the midwife of every fundamental change in human and material relations. Not until the whole of society is shaken by means of a violent upheaval can real and lasting change take place in these relations. They, therefore, continue to scoff at Vinoba and Bhoodan.

Little do they realise, however, that violence has not so far, in any shape or form, been successful in eradicating exploitation, injustice, inequality and lust for power. Violence does not break that vicious circle of evil begetting evil which mankind has been suffering from and struggling against since time immemorial. Violence breeds more violence. It does not end violence. Soviet Russia is a tragic example of this simple fact. More than 37 years after the Great October Revolution, violence and force continue to be the mainstay of the State. After Lenin, Stalin and after

Stalin, Malenkov have amply demonstrated that the group commanding more force destroys the other group commanding less force. As soon as Malenkov was sure of military support he liquidated Beria and his men. If Beria had been able to secure military support he would have, in a similar manner, liquidated Malenkov and his men.

If non-violence has so far not succeeded in ushering in fundamental and lasting changes in human relations, has violence succeeded in the job? Practice of non-violence supplies us with many examples of profound change of heart on a tremendously vast scale in many a country, at least for a period of time, which may have run into scores of years. Has the practice of violence, which is much older than the practice of non-violence, one such instance to offer? Even if both methods have failed in history, is their failure equal? And even if their failure is equal, shall we not choose the one that is less harmful even if equally impotent?

(With courtesy to 'SWATANTRA' Madras.)

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★ Revolution and Peace ★

Prof: NEMI SARAN, M. A.

IN the process of revolution man has advanced from one stage to the other not by force exercised over him but by a process of gradual change, which spontaneously revolutionizes the entire outlook of man. By revolution we mean a complete and thorough transformation in the sphere of thought, feeling and action. Revolution is the final changeover from an old order to the new one after a long and continuous process of evolution has completed itself and has prepared the ground for a fresh fixation of new values, spiritual, moral and material. Thus revolution has an atmosphere behind it. It is the smooth and spontaneous culmination of a process of change. This change affects the mental fibre of the common man, may be in an unconscious state of mind. It would, therefore, not be proper to associate the idea of force and coercion or compulsion with the progress of a revolution. Revolution implies a mental preparedness for voluntary acceptance of the new values. Revolution is not a process only in the matter, it is primarily a process in the mind. In fact the change in the matter follows the change in the mind.

Evidently a change effected in the social, economic or political set-up of a particular people forcibly is not a revolution. Revolution is obviously a gentle, delicate and quite smooth but immediate conclusion of a particular process of change already going

on voluntarily or involuntarily in the social mind. It is the happy end of that process. A revolution means the voluntary acceptance of a particular set of transformed values which are designed to transplace the prevalent system of values by the commonest of the human beings. A revolution is, as has already been stated, a thorough change in the mental, moral, spiritual and social outlook of the various types of people belonging to the society. It should have an answer to every problem of the people working at different levels in the social, economic and political set-up of the society at that time. All the various people should voluntarily accept in mind the fundamental values of the revolution. This implies the necessity of the existence of mind and also of the mental freedom. Mind can exist only when revolution makes no attack over the lives of the people and mental freedom can exist only when no room is allowed for the indoctrination of the mind perforce. Imposition is not acceptance. Even the highest values shall lose their moral worth if they are not most willingly accepted on the basis of rational understanding and proper thinking. There is no room for physical extinction and controlled thinking in a revolution.

An imposition of the will of the majority over an unwilling or innocent rather ignorant minority is not

a revolution. Revolution cannot be thrust upon a people. It must intrinsically be a voluntary expression of the transformed views of the people. It is a manifestation of a change of heart and mind.

A revolution is not an operation like the one you may make just to drop off the limb you are annoyed with. It is on the contrary infusing the new blood into every nerve and vein in the body of the human society. Revolution, therefore, postulates the transformation in the virtual interest of all. Revolution has a basic condition that men are prepared voluntarily to practise the new values and they have a readiness to give up the old ones which cease to serve the true interests of the society as a whole.

A revolution is not a fight of one man against the other as, Hobbes tells us, was the case in the pre-state period. It is also not a conflict between the two antagonistic classes based on exclusive thinking. It is a proper adjustment of relations between man and man on the one side and man and the matter on the other. It is, therefore, not possible to even think of the vehicle of violence for the march of a revolution. It should be clearly borne in mind that the necessity of a revolution arises only when at a particular moment the various institutions of a particular society become degenerated and they cease to operate as media of every man's good, rather on the contrary they begin to suffer from a sort of civil war where the different members

of the community begin to work against one another and develop a biased notion of antagonistic interests fanatically under dogmatic beliefs. This state of affairs is a state of violence. To put an end to this social injustice, violence and self-contradiction a revolution emerges. Revolution is a force against prevalent violence. It aims at rooting it out. It, therefore, must be nonviolent in its nature and effect. It is a pledge to establish peace and order not for a few or for a large section of the human society, but for all. A true justice is just for and is in the true interest of all. It is the acceptance of the creed of peace. As such it is essentially an out-right rejection of the idea of war or bloodshed. Revolution is peace embodied, working to end war and to establish harmony and concord in the human society.

Revolution cannot thus be symbolised with bloody warfare and cruel fighting amongst human beings against one another. To-day a nation which still keeps faith in the maintenance of large armies and in the efficacy of weapons cannot be claimed to be revolutionary. Revolutionary mind shall altogether suspend war. War cannot conclude in peace — a peace which is full of life, love and respect for all.

Peace can be won only through a revolution. It cannot be established by fighting for it but it consists in total abandonment of war and in the corporate action towards the respecting of the life of man in every nook and corner of the world for

whose cause always a revolution stands. Revolution is thus a fight against a particular situation, not against any human being.

But when a situation arises in which some people are found supporting the old values and opposing the new ones, how will a revolution deal with them? Evidently the success of a revolution depends upon its power of convertibility. This conversion must be mental or rational in nature brought about by discussion, logic and presentation of facts. Obviously those, who stick to such values which have lost their social meaning and which are not applicable to all the sections of the society, are guided by lower motives of selfish greed and shortsighted, unaltruistic ego. The revolution should arouse their noble altruistic self. It is here that a revolution takes form of a continuous struggle between the higher and the lower self within every individual mind. Victory of the higher over the lower self is the success of the revolution. A revolution, therefore, postulates a moral activity and the moral activity postulates freedom of the will. Thus freedom of the will and a conscious moral activity culminating in the victory of the noble self is the core of a revolution.

A revolution is a project against the prevalent violence of some against others as we have already stated above. This project cannot succeed unless it has a basic faith in the natural goodness of man. Men are good by nature. And as a result of evil associations and uncongenial at-

mosphere some of them have become perverted. A revolution wants that they should revert to goodness again. In such a case the use of brute force against the perverted brethren has no justification. The basic sanction of a revolution consists in the doctrine: "take no man's life, for every man is good by nature and he should revert to goodness provided a rational approach is made."

★ TO BHOODAN WORKERS

IN the course of my discussions with Vinobaji he said to me: "I would like to have news from all places. But I find that though I receive a voluminous post, it does not contain detailed reports from workers. I am unable to know their problems and their difficulties and therefore do not understand in what way I can help them or guide them in solving their problems. And when after three or four months, they happen to meet me or write to me about their experiences, it becomes difficult to do anything."

In another letter written to me, Vinobaji had expressed similar expectations from workers and this letter was published in SARVODAYA (Hindi). It seems the workers have not paid attention to it. I hope that Bhoodan workers will, as the movement gains momentum, keep Vinobaji informed about its developments.

Damodardas Mundada.
(From Hindi Bhoodan Yagna, 20-5-55)

52
YIS 2011, 152 BY 15204

All India Bhoodan.

Bhoodan Received and Distributed till 25th April '55.

State.	Acres received.	No. of Dan Patras.	Acres distributed.	No. of families.
1. Bihar	23,29,316	2,88,884	25,685	9,377
2. Uttar Pradesh	5,39,434	17,917	90,439	27,870
3. Rajasthan	3,45,816	57,814	7,762	1,511
4. Utkal	1,28,464	4,058	945	105
5. Hyderabad	1,06,898	4,010	32,019	6,862
6. Madhya Pradesh	85,666	17,367	27,720	4,005
7. Madhya Bharat	51,987	5,014	311	...
8. Saurashtra	41,000	15,000	1,500	...
9. Gujarat	37,578	8,426	3,235	1,011
10. Tamil Nad	32,467	5,865	530	161
11. Kerala	28,113	1,200	...	...
12. Maharashtra	28,000	4,500	1,001	...
13. Andhra	21,411	692	16	38
14. Punjab	12,510	2,910	325	66
15. Delhi	9,245	249	90	25
16. Bengal	9,419	4,446	1,047	848
17. Mysore	6,387	2,551	...	...
18. Vindhya Pradesh	6,198	1,209	650	255
19. Karnatak	2,803	538	...	...
20. Himachal Pradesh	2,025	66	...	...
21. Assam	1,950	...	...	...
22. Bombay	123	6	...	...
	38,26,810	4,42,722	1,93,275	52,134

Sampattidan-patras	...	1,789	Rs. 2,67,149-7-0
Jivandanis	...	1,646	
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KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,
Office Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh.

(Continued from page 386)

This is the crux of the matter: how to preserve peace in the village? Obviously, by eliminating or humanising the sources which disturb that peace. And what are those sources? Land, property or the wealth of the village. Disputes on their score are the rock-bottom feeders of law-courts, police and army and what not. These disputes can be smoothly done away with if land and property are owned not by the individual, not by the State, but by the village as a whole, and redistributed by the village people unanimously among themselves according to their need. This is possible if the present owners of land and property make a voluntary surrender of their possessions, entrust its charge to the village and look after the portion that falls to their lot as a trustee. Casting off one's possession is bound to render one fearless for possession and fear always go together.

This is not something new or unprecedented. In fact man always practises it at home. Why does he feel happy and peaceful at home? Simply because there is no individual ownership of things in the home, every body gets them according to his or her need and works according to his or her capacity, and disputes of the home are resolved in the home itself.

The same can very well be true in the village. That is to say, all land and property in the village should belong to the village as a whole; everybody—be he literate or not, man or woman—should work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need; and disputes of

the village should be resolved in the village itself.

World peace demands this. It is also the call of science. Modern science says that there cannot be one law for the atom and another for the universe. It has not compressed the universe in the atom and the same law is true for both. Likewise, what is true for the individual should be true for the world as a whole. Buddha tells us:—

“Self is the lord of self. Self is the goal of self; therefore control thyself as a merchant controls a horse of noble breed.”

Control of self is bound to result in world peace. Voluntary surrender of one's possession is a symbol of one's attempt to control oneself. It is also in keeping with the Biblical injunction: “Love thy neighbour as thyself.” None can love his neighbour without sharing his weal and woe. This can materialize only when one is a trustee of all in one's keeping and its ownership rests with society.

The question now arises whether this is at all possible. Is not a talk of voluntary surrender mere make-shift? Most certainly not. More than four lakhs of persons have offered a land-area amounting to no less than 38 lakhs of acres and in about 150 villages people have abdicated their personal right and transferred all land to the village. This has been done in the wake of the Bhoodan Yagna movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave a little more than four years ago. What

seemed to be a day dream is now an accomplished fact. It only shows that Buddha's teachings are finding an echo in human heart. Man is now giving a practical shape to what Buddha taught us. That is perhaps why three years ago today Vinoba declared at Lucknow:

"When I ask for land as a representative of the poor, I do not beg; I claim to teach the people their duty of divesting themselves of their riches. And I have come to believe that God is using me, weak though I am, to carry on the task which He had commenced through Buddha. The work I am made to do is the continuation of the Dharma Chakra Pravartan — revolving the Wheel of Dharma, which Buddha had started."

Buddha's message is not confined to one country, creed or sect. It embraces the entire mankind. Penetrating to the central truth, he spoke for all time:

"Let a man conquer anger by absence of anger, wickedness by absence of wickedness, miserliness by liberality, and a liar by truth."

The Bhoodan Yagna movement provides us with a key to live this message and make it a vital reality. It needs little reflection to state that the so-called Governments have failed in the elementary duty of governing their countries, the bigger they are,

more have they failed. Two ferocious wars in half a century and the hovering clouds of a third point out the inability of Governments to establish peace. In fact they are constitutionally unfit to bring about this consummation. It is for the people to stand up and resolve to save the world by leading a life, individually and collectively, as Buddha or other prophets called upon us to do, or as science is intimating us now. The time has come when they must discard the use of the force of arms, rely on their own inherent strength (*Jan-shakti*) and build up a new world.

But the matter cannot brook any delay. Buddha gave a warning:—

"Let a man make haste to do good, let him keep his mind from sin, (for) if a man is slow to do good his mind delights in sin."

Those who believe in Buddha's message of love and peace—be they Buddhists or not—are on trial today. The responsibility of the countrymen of Buddha and Gandhi is far greater. Let us set up new values and transform the social, economic, political and religious order in India. May we leave no stone unturned to deliver the message of love and peace—of truth and non violence—to mankind. May we fulfil the great mission of our land!



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