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THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE

Easy though the non-violent way is in many respects, it is very difficult in many others. It vitally touches the life of every single Indian, makes him feel aglow with the possession of a power that has lain hidden within himself, and makes him proud of his identity with every drop of the ocean of Indian humanity. This non-violence is not the inanity for which we have mistaken it through all these long ages; it is the most potent force as yet known to mankind and on which its very existence is dependent. It is that force which I have tried to present to the Congress and through it to the world.

—Mahatma Gandhi
(Constructive Programme.)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

Sarvodaya Magazines and Literature

THE Sarvodaya Prachuralaya publishes the following two monthly magazines on the 1st of every month:—

SARVODAYA

This is a monthly Digest in English devoted to the propagation of the Gandhian Sarvodaya Ideology. Originally it appeared as *The Khadi World* and was being published from Tiruppur since July 1951. From July 1952 onwards, it was renamed as SARVODAYA.

The annual subscription for this magazine is Rs. 3 in India and Ceylon and Rs. 5/- or equivalent currency for foreign countries. Subscriptions may be sent by money order or postal orders. Subscriptions from foreign countries should be sent through international Banks or post office or as 20 international reply coupons. Remittances in cheques should include the bank commission.

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Though the year commences from July, subscriptions will be accepted beginning from any month.

SARVODAYAM

This is a monthly in Tamil with the same objective as above. It is being published since August 1947.

Back numbers of SARVODAYA (both English and Tamil) are available at four annas per copy.

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The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya publishes Gandhian Sarvodaya literature in Tamil. It has already published over sixty books besides a number of cheap booklets on Bhoodan Yagna.

We are publishing a series of Bhoodan booklets in English at cheap prices.

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Our office, which was originally at Tiruppur, is now at Tanjore since October 1954.

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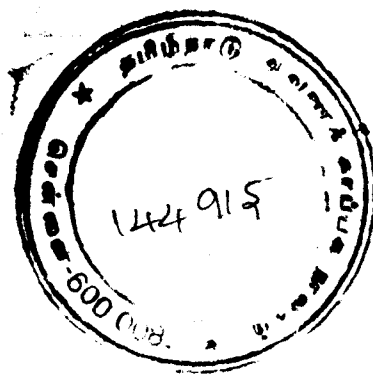
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1. Sri Dharendra Marumdar talking to Rajaji 2. Kunniyur Narayanaswamy Iyer distributing land-gift 3. Sri Tulasiah Vandayar distributing land-gift 4. Tiruturaipoondi Constructive Workers presenting a purse to Rajaji for Gandhi Mandap Fund 5. Rajaji signing the land-gift deeds. 6. Sardar Vedaratnam 7. Sarvodaya Sevak and Visitors.
With courtesy to "Kalki", Madras.



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SARVODAYA

No. JULY 1955. 49.

Contents.

Bhoodan - The Movement of Compassion ...	4
—C. Rajagopalachariar	
The Joy in Giving ...	8
—C. Rajagopalachariar	
Total Destruction or Sarvodaya? ...	11
—Dhirendra Mazumdar	
Bhoodan for World Peace ...	13
—Dhirendra Mazumdar	
Self - Realisation Through Bhoodan ...	15
—Acharya Vinoba	
The Time of Trial ...	17
—Acharya Vinoba	
Nai Talim for New Social Order ...	19
—Acharya Vinoba	
Whither The West? ...	22
—Wilfred Wellock	
Vinobaji's Message to Tamilnad Sammelan ...	23
Villagisation of Land for World Peace ...	24
—Damodardas Mundada	
The Miracle of Land Distribuion ...	27
—Damodardas Mundada	
Earmarked Bhoodan - A clarification ...	29
—Vallabhaswami	
All India Bhoodan News ...	30
Bhoodan Received and Distributed ...	33
Bhoodan & allied Periodicals	34

★ Our Fifth Year ★

We offer our heartiest thanks to all readers and contributors in and outside India for their continued interest and cooperation without which this small Digest could not have sustained itself for the last four years. Sarvodaya commences its fifth year with this number.

We give below some of the kind messages received.

★

I am glad to know that the English monthly "Sarvodaya" will enter the fifth year of its publication in July. On this occasion I send my best wishes for its continued success.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN.
Vice-President, India.

★

I am glad to know that the 'Sarvodaya' is entering its fifth year.

At the present moment when there is so much of misunderstanding as to the ideals we stand for, this magazine has been doing yeoman service in carrying the message of Non-violence. To bring about World Peace, all kinds of political and social means are being tried. These will all be in vain, unless we go right down to the rock bottom and set right our economic order. I hope that the service this periodical is doing will be carried on as well in the future.

Wishing you every success,
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

★

I am sure the SARVODAYA will continue to lighten the path of those who want to engage themselves in the service of all.

SHANKAR RAO DEO.

Bhoodan - The Movement of Compassion

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

The Bhoodan and other Constructive Workers of Tamilnad had unique opportunity of hearing two illuminating and thought-provoking speeches of Rajaji on Bhoodan and Sarvodaya when he presided over the Third Sarvodaya Sammelan of Tamilnad on the 4th and 5th June 1955 at Tiruturaipeondil. The following is the summary of his speech in Tamil on the first day.

WE have achieved freedom. We have now to build up our strength. For 150 years we lived as slaves under British rule and for about 1000 years we enjoyed no freedom. To-day we are a free bird liberated from its cage. It will take long before we could establish ourselves.

On many occasions the British rulers told us 'you will be given independence. But you have to become efficient and strong before that'. Many of our own people supported them and said 'yes, we shall wait'. But Gandhiji differed. Because, he disagreed we could become free to-day.

Sarvodaya-Happiness for all

The next step is to strive for our prosperity and happiness. Sarvodaya is the way. Sarvodaya is not a *Potti Udaya* (Rise by competition and conflict). It is the means through which all can become happy. It may be asked 'is not the present Government doing everything needed and that in such a haste and speed that makes them even borrow loans from outside. Then where is the need and what is there for us to worry?' Purity of mind and heart is the fundamental basis of Sarvodaya. It is the absolute rule. Every one and all should try and become pure at

heart. No Government can achieve this by its law and regulations.

Sarvodaya - not an institution

We should always bear in mind that Sarvodaya is not an institution or organisation. There can be no president or secretary or a committee for it. It is not a Trust or a Mutt. Is there any institution for the enforcement of such rules of conduct as the mutual affection between father and children, love between the master and servant, to offer food for the hungry who comes to your door, not to utter falsehood etc. etc. etc. Similarly there can be no organisation for Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya is a way of life. Welcome addresses, reading of messages, loud speakers etc. which I see before me now in this gathering, make me doubt whether Sarvodaya has become an institution. If it takes the form of an institution, with president, secretary etc., it means it becomes dead. For Heaven's sake don't make it an institution. Let it remain always a movement to guide the people to follow Dharma.

Intricate Land Problem

Sarvodaya includes all that is good. Gandhiji was ambitious to see that every one became good and for that he placed this ideal of Sarvodaya. Sarvodaya takes within itself all constructive activities. Any such activity,

if left out or omitted by others, the Sarvodaya workers have to take up and fulfil. Land problem is a tough one. Land owners will not easily agree to willingly surrender their rights for others. Hence Bhoodan work is not an easy task. People may easily part with cloth or money for the sake of others. But when it comes to the question of land, they will certainly hesitate. And our Government has left this hard task to Vinoba. The Government has to worry much about its revenue. It is more concerned with the ways and means to collect taxes. So they have left this vexed land problem to Vinoba to be solved. And Vinoba looks to you all for help.

Vinoba - an Avatar

I am a very old man. I have finished my life's task and have got ready to start on my last journey. There is nothing left over in me. I cannot now do full justice as I am wont to do, if I were to take up this work. It will also create problems for others. So let those who have got the strength, do it well. Of course Vinobaji also has become old. He is a bit sick also. But each is guided by his own feelings. Will Vinobaji ever agree to become the Premier if he is called to that post?

In Vinoba you have the unqualified leader. Gandhiji was an *Avathar* though he himself did not admit it. Vinoba also is an *Avathar* and we are fortunate to have him in our midst. He is a real *Bakta*. He has got a keen intellect and none can question the justice of the cause

he has taken up. Let us pray to God to bless him with sound health and long life.

Bhoodan - not a struggle

Bhoodan movement is not a fight in the sense of a struggle. *Dan* and fight are contradictions in terms. In *dan* there is no place for force or violence which are in fight. This basic difference the workers should well grasp and remember. Such words of intimidation as 'the Government will bring in land legislation which will certainly take away land from you; so you better leave it off now as donation to Bhoodan', amount to compulsion. The workers may well understand that such methods spoil the cause and will kill the work.

Land - the Basic Need of Life

Every one should have the basic needs of life. It is against Dharma that some should suffer and others may enjoy. Can it be ever imagined for any one to claim ownership over air and water and to demand money to part the same for others' use? America has got a lot of money with her. Can she buy the whole air of the world, keep it for herself and justifiably say that she will release it in measured volumes to relieve suffocation of others for cash? Like air and water, land also is a basic need for human existence. It is on land that food is grown. Any one keeping it as owner, excluding others and saying that he will part with it on payment of money value, is wrong. This wrong has crept in some how or other and the poor had to suffer so

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~~much~~ To undo this wrong is Bhoodan Movement. The tiller must get the land, just like a thirsty man receives water to drink. Land problem is not a new one. It is a very old one and requires a cautious approach for its solution.

What is Exploitation ?

Many through righteous means and by their hard work and suffering, have acquired possession of property. Many are now in possession of the same through their predecessors who earned them through similar means. Imagine the case of the wife and children of an elementary school teacher in possession of an acre or two of land. The teacher who worked for 35 years, saved a thousand rupees—one or two rupees every month—and bought this land with the hope of maintaining the family in his old age, and he died leaving the same to the family. Suppose a Bhoodan worker goes to them and says 'to keep lands with you on which you do not toil, is exploitation. Dont lead a life of exploitation'. They will certainly retort by saying 'your very demand to give up the property which is earned by our hard suffering through out our life, is itself exploitation. Now you are the real exploiter'. Hence the problem is a long standing complicated one. On it Government and others also are bestowing their attention. Some want legislation. Others advise nationalisation first. 'The land-lords won't give up possession of their own accord. So take it from them by force by creating conflicts', so say yet others.

Our ancient Dharma

Our country has an ancient culture and tradition. We have got our own ways to solve our problems. The Sarvodaya method is that way. A man who sees others suffering, feels the pain. He feels compassion. It is our ancient Dharma that makes us feel it is our duty to help the suffering and feed the hungry. Bhoodan movement is that same Dharmic approach to solve the land problem.

If donated land is offered to a poor agriculturist he will be relieved of his sufferings. And agriculture will improve. Let those who keep more lands with them, part the extra to such persons. If the workers tell the land lords 'the extra land with you will certainly be taken away a day, so give it now to Bhoodan' then the land-lords will naturally give this reply 'let it happen, then we shall see'. If children are fed milk by force, they will shout and may even vomit what is forced in. Anything got done by force will certainly end in conflicts. If the Government takes land by legislation, there will be troubles. He who receives the land, instead of feeling really happy over it, will think that he has received only that which he is long entitled to. The person from whom it is taken away can have nothing but bitterness and disgust towards Government and society. On the other hand if a voluntary gift is made with joy there is happiness in the hearts of both the donor and the receiver in the very act. The donor at once feels the satisfaction and happiness that he has done a good thing

and need not worry for *Moksha* in his next birth. The joy of the receiver and the donor is the only permanent thing in the world.

Compassion personified in Bhoodan

Zamindari was abolished through legislation and the Zamindars are angry against the Government. The Rajas voluntarily relinquished their States. So the Government is sympathetic towards them. Gift is a free and voluntary act. The socialists are for land legislation. And the communists demand not only legislation but more than that and say that in case it is not done, they will use force. The ends for both are the same. But Sarvodaya desires to reach it through the means of dan (gift). This is what is known as Bhoodan Movement. It inspires compassion in the hearts of people. The feeling of compassion for each other is personified in Bhoodan.

Dont be in a hurry to get things done. Government can hurry up things. At certain times they may happen all on a sudden. For instance if in a village a certain person freely and voluntarily gives land, that act may immediately influence others to come forward and offer lands. Bhoodan is a movement of the world.

Land Repels irresponsible Owners

There are many poor peasants in our villages with good experience in agriculture, who really desire to engage themselves in it. If they are given lands, production will increase. It is reported that in the North in some places whole villages were being

offered for Bhoodan. In some places such things may not happen. Conditions vary from place to place. Hence it becomes our duty to act according to the particular conditions of each place and also in a way which will make the people happier. Able young men inspired with the feelings of compassion and love should come forward to join the work and persuade the land-lords to give away the extra lands with them. They who possess lands know the difficulty to maintain them. They who have more than what they need find it still more difficult to manage. It is said in Tirukkural that land, if not properly cared for and maintained well, will repel its lord as the neglected wife behaves to her lord who proves irresponsible.

Caution and care needed

With caution and care the movement has to be carried on. There is the danger of violence creeping in if quick and easy results are expected. Enlightened good men with *bhakti* in their hearts should come forward and do the work.

Distribution is indeed a difficult job. I would suggest that it may be done at the place as and when the gifts are received. Care must be taken that the new owners do not develop in them also the same kind of attachment that is found among the present land - owners. Government's help may also become necessary for distribution work. Land should be distributed among the deserving, experienced and enthusiastic peasants. It should also be

given to those who have already bulls etc. with them for agricultural work.

You have the gem of a leader in Vinoba to guide you. And the cause is an undisputed one. Carry on your mission with all enthusiasm.

This conference has passed no resolution at all. The only resolution is for you to individually resolve in your mind to be good and do good to all.



THE JOY IN GIVING

(Summary of Rajaji's speech in Tamil on the 2nd day of the Sammelan.)

THIS is the last day of the Sammelan. This morning, in separate group meetings, constructive workers had discussions a gist of which is now presented here. This conference is held for the Sarvodaya movement which includes the various constructive work programmes inspired and initiated by Gandhiji. Khadi workers and Harijan sevaks have dealt on their programmes. In all these group meetings the main theme of discussion was Bhoodan and how the constructive workers could speed up its progress.

Undivided attention needed

One feels a sort of monotony in any service that he is engaged in after some time and hence desires to join another. But one should concentrate all his attention on the one work he has taken on hand whatever it be. He should always have that one and full objective alone before him. He must focus all his attention on it. He should not allow his attention distracted from it whatever be the things that are happening around him in the world.

Gandhiji was insisting on this concentration and all constructive

work was done in that way. He was telling Harijan workers not to court imprisonment. It does not appear quite proper if these workers leave these great activities and join Bhoodan.

It is good to aspire to do good things. Bhoodan is an important programme. It is true that workers desire to join it because it is a Dharmaic movement which will save the world. But such programmes of work which a great leader like Gandhiji thought so necessary for the good of the nation, should not be given up because they have become old. Even though old, these programmes have not lost their importance.

Khadi and Harijan movements

The objectives of Khadi work and Harijan movement have not been yet achieved. These movements will die if they are not efficiently carried out on right lines. It is impossible to start anew any activity that is ruined. Therefore such kinds of constructive work as are accepted as important by the people should not be given up. Such of the workers who are not useful to the particular work, so also the extra hands, can

leave and join another. But persons who have worked true and hard and proved absolutely indispensable for the successful working of a movement should not leave it.

police way is not the workers' way. They should approach the people and try to convert their minds by slow degrees.

The miracle in Kaliyuga

When a worker leaves one service, he should consider well why he should leave it and then only decide. He should examine within himself whether it is disgust or hurry that prompts him to do so. If he feels that by his leaving it, that work in which he is already working, will not suffer in any way, then he can leave it. But those who function as pillars in big movements should not leave them. With fear and hesitation I place this suggestion before you. You may consider well and decide for yourselves.

In Bhoodan movement it is not the number of workers that counts; it is the character and quality that is important. Not because too many people come to persuade, the land-owner gives. And the land-owners in our country are able and clever. They are influential also. Only those who have strong influence and good character can prevail upon them to voluntarily part with land. An ordinary khadi worker because he has left that work to join this work, can hardly persuade one to give land.

Untouchability movement has now got the force of law behind it. We have to continue the work to convert the minds of the people and it will help the Government. The desire to get things done with speed and hurry will create situations which may require the help of the police. The

It was with great reluctance that I agreed to come and preside over this occasion. But now I feel immensely happy when I see these things before me. The land-owners freely offered land and the poor peasants received the same with joy. What a joyous sight? None ever expected before that such a thing could happen in this Kali Yuga. Has any one ever dreamt that such an event that the land-owners of this fertile land where the Kaveri flows will offer one acre each to the peasants as *dan*? These friends who have now distributed their lands are in all respects able and influential persons. They know how to earn, how best to spend and enjoy. They do not care for position or power or election. Such persons to come forward and distribute their own lands as gifts to the poor agriculturists is indeed a miracle. I don't know what Punmia, I have done to enjoy this scene before me.

Let more friends like these people come forward to offer and distribute lands. Let all people be happy. Let this movement of 'giving' grow and prosper. The donor is happier than the receiver. This is clear from his face. He will feel happier still when he looks more into it in future.

One can find happiness only in 'giving' and not in retaining. Of course there is pleasure in earning but

in giving what is earned, there is greater joy. Only those who give, can experience this. Many may approach people 'to get' but few alone will come forward 'to give' of their own free will. And these few are the really great. I feel confident that those who have heard of this distribution will certainly come forward of their own accord in great numbers to offer and distribute lands in future. Let this movement grow big day by day. Let all become happy. The press, the platform and the organisation, all these of course, have got their important functions to play in Bhoodan. But the very basic of Bhoodan is non-violence and this has to be well grasped and remembered by the workers. Non-violence is not to usher in Bhoodan. Bhoodan is to bring in non-violence.

The two influences

Influences are of two types. One is that which the words of good men command and the other is the power of the people in position. Good and well-baked bricks are essentially needed to construct a good and strong house. In the same way non-violence is absolutely necessary for the success of this Bhoodan movement. On deep analysis I find that the objective of this Bhoodan movement is the revival of the sense of Dharma in men, which they have now forgotten. An individual can possess property but he should hold it as a trustee for the benefit of the people. Gandhiji wanted this form of trusteeship.

The real objective

It will be violence to distribute property through legislation. Those who have received land today will

certainly produce more in the coming years. Increased production will make all people happy. The objective of Bhoodan is to secure through non-violence means the right for the poor experienced agriculturist to cultivate and produce.

Unity Consciousness in Villagers

Those who do agricultural work must get lands. This movement will succeed by itself if all the people in the village are made to feel that they are all one. The major effort of the workers should be to achieve this unity consciousness in the villagers. Going round the villages with loud speakers in jeeps and broadcasting high slogans will not help things much. The elders should be invited to help to create the desired atmosphere. They should be slowly persuaded to donate lands moved by compassion and love. The whole world is watching this movement. The question is not merely receiving land from one and distributing it to another. The objective is the creation of the real mental transformation in the people which will make each to do his Dharma. If her land problem is solved through love, India will shine as a guide to the whole world.

I pray that the workers may carry on the work along the right and proper lines.

VINOBAJI'S HEALTH

There was a setback in Vinobaji's health during the last week of May. He had sleepless nights on account of pain in his stomach. Enema had to be administered a number of times during the period of trouble. He was examined by a Cuttack doctor on 2nd June. His health is now better.

Total Destruction or Sarvodaya?

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR.

(Summary of his speech in Hindi made on 4-6-'55 while inaugurating the Tamilnad Third Sarvodaya Sammelan at Thiruthuraiipoondi, Tanjore District. Shri C. Rajagopalachariar presided.)

BHOODAN is a new movement with a new foundation, which the world is witnessing today. It has now reached a stage which creates a climate of hope for world peace.

At the Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan in April last, Vinobaji had appealed to all our countrymen who were engaged in the constructive activities, to come and join the Bhoodan movement and devote all their time and energy for this work alone, at least for the coming two years. Why did he make this special appeal?

Tension and Fear

The world situation has become now so explosive that any moment it may burst and blow into a big conflagration which will reduce the entire humanity to ashes. Past history has never witnessed such a crisis or suffered from such a fear tension.

The Impending Danger

Imagine a house on fire. At once all who see the fire, leave their post of duty and engage themselves in the one and sole service of putting out the flames and rescuing the inmates. They think none of their past differences and quarrels, feel like the members of one common family and jointly work to fight the danger in front. The fire in store in

the nuclear weapons manufactured by the scientific advancement and researches of the present day world is there in stock in the corners of the world and the fate of humanity is there in the balance inclined to fall down at any moment to the grave of death and total destruction. Vinobaji clearly sees this danger at hand and so appeals to all to come to the rescue. Thinkers and philosophers all over the world are crying 'halt' to such scientific advancements resulting in total violence.

International Conferences

Even the common man has come to realise that non-violence is the only power that can save the world from this impending wholesale destruction. Nations are gathering their representatives round Conference-tables for mutual and friendly discussions and negotiations. The talk of "peaceful co-existence" is in the air everywhere

Sarvodaya or Sarvanasa?

What do these Governments mean by 'peaceful co-existence'? Is it the co-existence of violence and science? Can these two exist together? There are only two possibilities. Either the onward march of violence with its terrible weapons of destruction should culminate in the total destruction of all life on earth or it should converge

and surrender to non-violence, the power of the spiritual force in man and thus usher in a new order of society of equality, peace and prosperity for all. Thus the choice before the world is either *sarva-nasa* or *Sarvodaya*. Life cannot subsist or enjoy peace in between the two.

The talks of disarmament, control of nuclear energy and harnessing it only to the production of goods of utility value to the welfare of mankind, the ban of nuclear weapons of war, figure most in every international conference. But simultaneously each nation is busy in the progressive increase of its military strength and power-politics. Thus the cold war is going on and any day it may burst into flames.

Rajaji's appeal to World Powers

Rajaji has been sending repeated suggestions to the big nations of the world to behave as good men, destroy all these weapons of destruction, trust their neighbours and establish peace. He points out that unilateral goodness and action on the part of any one nation is sure to produce the necessary moral atmosphere and influence on the others to discard all these deadly weapons of destruction.

Faith in Non-violence

But his voice is not listened to by the leaders of the nations. Why? because they have no faith in the power of non-violence. All Governments depend on their police force to put down their internal quarrels and differences. Violent methods alone stand today as the only means to keep

the peace inside every nation. Under such conditions, can it be that these international talks of co-existence in the name of peace will bear any result? There is today the clear manifestation of intellectual bankruptcy in every nation of the world. Thus each nation has to strive first to develop the nonviolent atmosphere inside, inculcate faith in the people in the power of non-violence, bridge all differences between citizen and citizen by the force of love and persuasion. If they do so, the moral power behind will certainly create an air of mutual trust and love which alone will usher in peace in the world.

The Message of Bhoodan

Nature abhors vacuum. She won't keep things in suspense. She finds her own remedy. And the message of Bhoodan is there before us. Vinoba says Bhoodan is the way to World Peace. He sees no time to be lost and wants this revolution to be completed to success before 1957, i. e. in a period of two years. He exhorts the Zamindars to begin handling the ploughs and give up the extra lands in their possession to those who are ready to handle them. He appeals to the owners of wealth to hold their wealth in trust for the common benefit of society and part with a share of their income to supplement the needs of the 'have-nots'. He tells the owners of factories and mills to consider themselves as one with the workmen and enjoy nothing more than what they are morally and equitably entitled. India's tradition and genius is best fitted to demonstrate

the power of non-violence and she can certainly show the real way to World Peace.

I appeal to all the workers in the various fields of constructive activities to forget all differences between them and take a pledge to live by their own labour. This new

way of life we have to begin at once. I may suggest to the workers to spend half a day in assisting the labourers in fields offering physical work and devote the other half in propagating the Sarvodaya ideology of a classless, casteless, non-exploitative society, through Sarvodaya literature.

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Bhoodan for World Peace

(This is a summary of Sri Dharendra Mazumdar's speech in Hindi made on the Second day of Thiruthuraiipoondi Sammelan on 5-6-'55.)

THIS morning when we were talking, I casually asked Rajaji on what subject he would be speaking at today's session. With a smile he said "I may talk on B. C. G., and its dangerous effects on human health". I remarked then, "Bhoodan includes B. C. G. also". With his characteristic humour Rajaji added, 'Anything against modern is Bhoodan'.

Science and Morality

Thereafter I began to ponder over this remark and began to analyse into what people think as 'modern'. Our people oft repeat that the Gandhites are living thousand years behind, they look askance at every thing that is modern, they close their eyes to the achievements in the advancement of science and its researches and they even refuse to cultivate even a scientific mind, and outlook. I may tell them that we, the Gandhites do respect science and are for its advancement. But at the same time we insist that this advancement should not be to the detriment of human values and spiritual progress. Science should necessarily be

wedded to morality. But the modern man thinks that science is the be-all and the end-all and its power is there to be exclusively utilized for producing more and more of material comforts and luxury, with absolutely no respect or consideration for human lives and values. The welfare of human society means to him the raising of the standard of life in the sphere of material comforts alone.

The race for material comforts has made man mad after power to possess the means and weapons of destruction. This power is assuming the form of *Basmasura* of the Puranas, who in the end, himself brought about his own death and end.

The Fear and Distrust

The greed to control the maximum material comforts, each exclusively to himself, has led all nations of the world to live in permanent dread and distrust of the neighbours. Pakistan has allotted Rs. 80 crores out of its income of Rs. 120 crores for defence expenditure. Suppose a family with an income of Rs. 100 were to set apart the major portion of

its income for protection against its neighbour whom it fears and distrusts every minute. What will be the tense atmosphere and the nervous strain of its members all through? There can never be, at any moment, in that house peace and happiness. Exactly the same fear tension and neurosis are found today manifested in the life of all nations of the world. It looks as if the she-demon *Puthana* mentioned in our Puranas, has come again to this world in the guise of scientific advancement reaching up to the manufacture of nuclear weapons blatantly ignoring the principles of morality and human values and bent upon bringing total destruction to mankind.

Appeal for Unilateral Goodness

Thinkers and wise men of the world are raising words of warning and offering advices to ban the further manufacture of these terrible weapons of destruction and throw those already stock-piled, in the oceans. Rajaji is again and again appealing to the nations who possess them, for unilateral goodness and act without waiting for others. The Governments of the different nations have begun to realize the gravity of the situation and they join in conferences to discuss the ways and means to control these deadly weapons of violence.

Soul-force versus Brute Force

But these international conferences and discussions will be of no avail so long as the individuals in society do not realize the spiritual

strength in them, respect human values and control the brute force in them. There are two forces in man, the force of the strength of his spiritual power and the power of the brute in him. He should first have faith in his moral strength which alone will control the force of the brute might in him. Then alone he can act non-violently and through it solve the various problems confronting him. Bhoodan aims at preparing man for the same and to demonstrate the real power of non-violence to the world. So Vinobaji says that Bhoodan aims at world peace.

You, people of the South, are really fortunate to have such a moral giant as Rajaji to guide you. We are extremely thankful to him to have agreed to come and preside over this Sarvodaya Conference. Under his wise and able guidance, I wish and hope that the South will solve its land problem even before Vinobaji treks on his tour in the South. I am quite hopeful that Rajaji will surely succeed in his noble endeavour to establish peace in the international field.

A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order By JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

★

A collection of articles and speeches of Shri Jaiprakash.

Price As. 6 (Postage As. 2)

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

Self-Realisation Through Bhoodan

ACHARYA VINOBA

A worker who was with us for some days has now relinquished all his rights to his land and is offering his services to Bhoodan work till 1957. This year's Sarvodaya Sammelan has given us the message of putting aside all other work and leaping into this work of Bhoodan.

We know that this work is of divine prompting and influenced by it many will come out to serve Daridranarayan. Serving Daridranarayan does not mean keeping poverty in perpetuity and giving doles to the poor. We mean the driving away of poverty and making Narayan universal. Those who come out to serve Daridranarayan will get the strength to make themselves poor and get one with the poor. This voluntary acceptance of poverty is the sure way of driving out poverty. It does not surprise, nor need this surprise anyone when young men throw away their wealth for their country and dedicate their lives to the service of the people.

Spiritual Realisation Through Bhoodan

With us is touring a Sanyasi who is scanning our work with a spiritual vision. He asked me whether his acceptance of Bhoodan work would lead to his spiritual realisation. Has Bhoodan the efficacy of bringing about spiritual realisation? Here is the example of the man who is now giving up his property and taking up Bhoodan work. He is not

a Sanyasi, yet he takes to the discipline of non-possession. The Vedas say that eternal existence or *Moksha* cannot be got by work, by possession, but only by giving them up. This is the way of social reconstruction also. When we aim at driving away poverty and affluence and when we want the whole society to accept non-possession then such work cannot be done in small dribblets of constructive work.

Self-Abnegation

Till now the world has been thinking that sacrifice and non-acceptance are the disciplines of the Sanyasi. Bhagavad Gita wants that the fundamentals of *Sanyasa* should pervade the whole society. *Sanyasa* is not anything to be kept out of ordinary life, but should form the cardinal virtue of life. Renouncing the fruits of action should be the philosophy underlying all action, and giving up should be the basis of life. The seed by annihilating itself makes the tree grow. Likewise he who cannot give up his little self and cannot efface himself cannot accomplish anything great. The extinction of the seed is the cause of the growth of the tree. So *Sanyasa* has a great constructive force.

Spirit of Renunciation

We want to spread this spirit of non-possession and renunciation even among the kisans. We want every kisan to become a Sadhak — one disciplining himself spiritually. In

agriculture there is a lot of work, and his life is a life of dedication to God. If he idles or exploits others his life ceases to be such dedication. A life full of labour, a life of self-sufficiency a life of helpfulness to others is indeed the life dedicated to God. Therefore this Bhoodan movement is giving young men the motive to take to a life of sacrifice, and this is generating a tremendous force.

After the attainment of Swaraj, a gloom of lethargy and helplessness has spread over the land. Now on account of the Bhoodan movement the spirit of sacrifice is receiving the proper emphasis. This is a good augury.

Social Dharma

It may be asked of us, if by non-possession, if by sacrifice, if by hard labour, spiritual perfection can be attained? In such a state only one thing will be wanting and that is non-egoism. Our answer is that if all work is done without the ego, life gets spiritually perfect. Our present social order stands self-condemned, and the society is breaking to pieces. Those who are in the routine of life are overwhelmed by ordinary attractions, and they accept them as their normal ends. They think that occasional doses of help to others will make their life righteous. Their whole life is one of self-indulgence. On the other hand there are a few who renounce completely, deny the bodily needs, but remain inactive doing no work. Thus life is cut into two sectors. We want all to accept a pattern of life which will be based

on renunciation and enjoyment of needs. Life should be freed of egoism and be a dedication to the Lord. This is the full Social Dharma that we conceive of. Herein all differences between spiritual and material life will vanish, and a perfect social and spiritual order will prevail. This new idea has dawned on us, and so we call this work as *Dharma Chakra Pravartana*. It is our belief that those who understand this point begin this work.

Hunger of the Morrow or Hunger of the Neighbours?

To-day everyone is thinking in terms of his property rights. But we say that such ideas should be given up, and all should think of the Society as the Lord owning all the rights. This will make them the devoted Bhaktas of the Lord Society. We should forget ourselves in the service of the Society. Service should be based on self-discipline, and eating without physical labour should be considered a sin. We should not be thinking of the morrow this day. Let us think with our neighbours the problems of the day. Let us do our work and eat what we get. If the neighbour is hungry to-day, we do not think of him, but we put by something for the morrow lest we should suffer from hunger the morrow. Should we not now think of the hunger of our neighbour? With the dawn of the morrow its problems can be solved with the grace of the Lord. Our putting by something to ward off our morrow's hunger becomes a social

(Contd. on page 18)

★ The Time of Trial ★

ACHARYA VINOBA.

Need for workers

TO day a friend came to us to offer some land. We told him that his gift was welcome, but we should be pleased only when he became a worker of the Bhoodan movement. He replied that there were others, and when the need arose he would be willing to do his part of the work. We told him that we were in urgent need of his help, and that we could ill afford to lose a moment. If friends like him realising the urgency take up the work and accept charge of twenty five villages, it can be safe hope of completing our work and solving the land problem in a few months.

Complete the work in each village

We hug on to our old habit of working in bits. We do not realise that we are in the age of Science, when every minute counts. The value of any work lies in its being done in time. Delay takes away the results of the work. We have barely two years of time and we have to prove that we Indians have enough strength to accomplish things. So, collection of individual gifts, followed these three years, should cease to be our work. By now three and a quarter lakhs of people have given us land gifts. That was good work in the beginning, but now every village should take up the responsibility of doing its work. Every village should now find out how many are landless, how much extent will be needed, and

how it should be collected. So people who count for anything realising the seriousness should accept the responsibility for this work, and go out in the neighbouring villages. The moral resources of their friends should happily help them to complete their work.

The Fire of Knowledge

During discussions this morning we said that our work was just like *Agni-pravesh* (leaping into fire). The forest fire consumes whatever comes its way and reduces it to ashes. In Bhagavad Gita the Lord says that when *Gnyana* lits up, sin and ignorance are consumed by it not in stages but all at once. The good drives away the evil outright. Small doses of good may drive out small doses of sin, but when *Gnyanagni* (the fire of wisdom) flares up, all evil is turned into ashes. These three years of Bhoodan work have washed away a little of our sin, and we have attained a little of *chitta shuddhi* (purity of heart). But now is the time for the flare-up of *Gnyanagni*. So we gave our friend a set of our books and asked him to study them. When the *Gnyanagni* flares up in him, he will do the rest, it being no concern of ours.

Spread literature everywhere

I wish *Gita Pravachan* is widely read in all the villages of Orissa, as well as *Gram Sevak*. Read them to those who cannot themselves read. We want workers to do this work

apart from those who go on collection. These should go to the village, spread the literature about this ideal. In a way this is lighter work, for we find a literate man and request him to read to others. When the ideology is sufficiently spread, the work of collecting gifts becomes easy. So we will have three wings of our work: (1) Spreading the ideology, (2) Donors themselves collecting Dan, (3) Organising these items of work. If these three wings carry on intensive work for four or five months and lit up a flare in a place, then it will shine all over India.

Revivalism through Purity of Heart

We have repeatedly told that this is *Bhakti Marga*, and through this, purity of heart is attained. If one attains purity, that purity will spread to others. Reconstruction of the society with the purity of the heart is now what is being attempted. Those who want to reform society, but do not realise the significance of the

purity of heart, miss the more valuable part of the fruit, the seed. They are those who want to harvest without sowing. There have been some thinking only of personal purity of heart without the thought of the reform of the society. These having secured good seed keep it to waste. They too sow not, and waste the seed, yet want to harvest. We should secure good seed, sow it, and reap the harvest. Purity of the heart is the seed, and change of life is the sowing of it, and the reform of the society is the rich crop to be harvested. When one changes one's life it will influence others, and they too will get changed. So the purification of the heart and change of life of one, will change the life of others and lead to the reformation of the society. This is our view of this work. Workers should understand this and come out for work; surely they will be richly rewarded.



(Contd. from page 16)

crime, a fraud on society and the Lord. Our sole faith should be in serving the society and man, and the Lord and the society will take care of us. Theft came in when man began to gather for himself.

Some ask us: 'Can you organise this perfect Social Order in a short time.' Then we answer that we are not the makers and that all combined can do it. We have no such egoism as to make us feel that we are the saviour of the world. The Lord is here to save the world, and with his

grace a new idea has come to us which we are laying bare before you. If you accept the idea act on it. We have immense faith in this idea, and young men are coming out giving up their property rights and for a life of non-acceptance. Every village should give me three or four Jeevandanis of this type, and we hope we will get them. We cannot and we wish not to do this work ourselves in every village. This work will be carried on by those who get this divine inspiration.



Nai Talim for New Social order

ACHARYA VINOBA.

Ideal Nai Talim

I find that the expectations of the Nai Talim system are not being fulfilled, with the result that there is a growing dissatisfaction among the teachers as well as the taught.

At the Avadi session of the Congress, a resolution was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and was passed. This resolution laid down that within the next ten years Nai Talim should take the place of the existing system throughout the country. It follows, therefore, that the existing Nai Talim schools should be ideal ones, so that they can show the way for other schools. Otherwise, while we will be talking of Nai Talim, it will happen that we are doing something quite different. There are some schools today which are described as 'Basic-biased'. They are conducted in such a manner that they deserve only to be called 'Narasingavatar', i. e. neither a complete man nor a complete animal. Therefore, it is very important that we should conduct some ideal Nai Talim schools as examples for others to follow. We should be very clear in our minds as to what constitutes an ideal Nai Talim school.

Craft and Life

Many people think that if a craft is introduced in the curriculum, it is Nai Talim. Some others think that

if the emphasis is shifted from knowledge to work or if some relationship whether artificial or real, doesn't matter—is established between knowledge and work, that is Nai Talim. It is not enough if the children learn a little craft work. They should be as efficient in their craft as the fish are in swimming. I understand that the students here are given stipends. In my opinion the students must be able to work for four hours daily during the last two months and earn this amount. If they are unable to do so, it means that their craft training has been useless, and they will not pursue the craft after leaving the school. It is no use teaching them a craft which will not be of use in their life. The students must have the ability to earn their livelihood by doing four hours of craft work. It is not enough if they know a little spinning and weaving. Some people ask: "Why is it necessary for us to become experts in craft? We are only teachers in the school." But it is not so. The children are taught how to eat, because they need to know it and use that training in life. So also both the teachers and the students should do physical work for four hours daily. They should be efficient enough to be able to teach the village carpenter, the peasant, etc. They should know how to repair the implements. They should become experts in agriculture. Nai Talim

should be able to revive the cottage industries that have now disappeared.

Importance of Knowledge

Nai Talim does not believe in text-books. That does not mean that knowledge is neglected. Some think that it is sufficient to give that much knowledge which comes very naturally. But it is wrong. In Nai Talim the students should be fully equipped with all the fundamental knowledge required in daily life. It is not necessary to study detailed history together with the long dynasties of kings. It will be unnecessary burden on the students. But they should know the fundamental principles by which human life advances. Philosophy, religion, ethics, social studies, history of human society, all these should be taught. They should know the characteristics of our society and those of others. Fundamental principles of science, health and hygiene, dietetics, cooking, etc. should be taught. There is thus no limit to the knowledge that a student can acquire in Nai Talim. He should have a sound knowledge of his language. He must be capable of expressing his ideas clearly. His hand-writing should be excellent. He should have a knowledge of literature. But all this knowledge will be useful knowledge. It will not be like the knowledge imparted in our present-day universities, which serves only as a burden on the minds of students and which requires only 33% of the marks for a pass, thus providing 67% marks for forgetting. Real knowledge must be retained in memory

cent per cent. Who will employ a cook who knows only 80% of cooking? Similarly, there should be no unripe knowledge. One either possesses knowledge or does not possess; it is either full or is completely absent. We cannot talk in terms of percentages about knowledge. It is like saying that a man is 80% living and 20% dead. But our Universities have allowed scope for forgetting 67% of the knowledge taught, because they themselves know that what is taught is useless and fit only to be forgotten. In Nai Talim there is no such scope and what is taught will be worth remembering and the students will retain all of it, because it will be useful in life. In fact what is knowledge is not forgotten by man. And what is forgotten is not knowledge. Therefore, we shall give such knowledge in Nai Talim as will not be forgotten. Nai Talim should be able to produce men of learning.

Let us consider the relationship between knowledge and work. In English they call it 'correlation'. But in Hindi, I have coined the word 'samavaya'. Nai Talim was not invented by Englishmen to accept the English word 'correlation'. They say that there is a method called the correlated method in Western countries. We do not want their method. We are evolving our own method.

Identification of knowledge and Activity

Let us take an instance: Pot is made out of earth. Pot and earth are so mixed together that it is difficult to state their relationship. Are they

two different things or are they one and the same? If it is said that they are two different things, the pot should be able to exist on its own; if they are considered one, then earth alone should serve the purpose of a pot. But it does not happen so. This kind of relationship between the earth and the pot is called 'samavaya'. When this method is followed in education, it will be difficult to define a certain process as knowledge and some other as activity. There is thus no difference between knowledge and activity. When knowledge is imparted, activity goes on and when activity is carried on, knowledge is imparted. They will be so mixed that there will be no need to attempt to establish a relationship between the two. There will be no need to bring knowledge from outside. Through the craft, knowledge will grow and through knowledge, the craft will grow. This is the method of Nai Talim. The artificially correlated method will not be the Nai Talim method. In Nai Talim both knowledge and activity must be identified as one process.

For a New Social Order

I have dealt with the misunderstandings about the Nai Talim

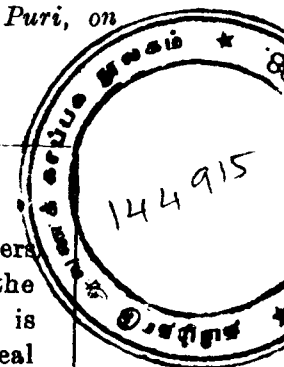
method. I shall now deal with another important aspect. Nai Talim cannot be conducted in the existing social order. It is completely opposed to it. It is wrong to think that Nai Talim is an educational method and it is a method of imparting knowledge through craft. Nai Talim cannot live without establishing a new social order. With the present inequalities in salaries, based on degrees, etc., Nai Talim cannot be conducted. If there are such differences in Nai Talim, how can there be a change in the State? The whole machinery of State is full of such differences based on grades, qualifications, etc. Nai Talim will put an end to it. If it does not, it is not Nai Talim. Under Nai Talim, the moral and economic value of mental and physical labour will be the same, and there will be no differences based on qualifications and grades. All work will be considered equally valuable. That will mean the present economic structure will have to be changed. And Nai Talim is intended to achieve that objective.

(From an address to Nai Talim workers at Rajasunahala Puri, on 17-4-55).



RASHTRAPATI'S MESSAGE TO SEVAGRAM ASHRAMITES

I have always entertained high expectations of the brothers and sisters of Sevagram Ashram. It has been my belief that the people of the country will receive inspiration from them. It is quite fitting that you are closing the Ashram on Vinobaji's appeal and offering yourselves at the altar of Bhoodan Yagna, which is the most revolutionary and constructive work today. I wish and pray for the success of the ashramites in their new mission.



★ Whither The West? ★

WILFRED WELLOCK.

SOMETHING strange and unpredictable is happening in the West. The habits, outlook, and character of the people are rapidly changing as are their national ideas and way of life. Spiritual and creative objectives are rarely to be encountered.

Life is becoming more and more outward and less and less meditative and introspective. This process of changing the sources of one's impulses from within to without, from the inner self to one's environments, has been in operation for some time, but it is only latterly that the fact and its significance have been recognised.

Many people were aware that the nature and context of life were undergoing change, that the habits of people generally, especially the younger generations, were totally different from the habits of 40 or 50 years ago. There is, of course, in every country and in every type of civilisation some degree of difference between the habits of the old and the new generations, but usually they are slight, largely because scientific developments have been of a minor character. But when in the span of two centuries, the discovery of steam, gas, electric and even atomic power has resulted in the production of steamships, motor cars and aeroplanes which can travel at over 1000 miles per hour, experiences are possible which revolutionise conduct and also human relationships.

Moreover the modern factory turns the craftsman into a machine in many cases, and so negates his creative ability and consequently changes his nature. And since a man's daily labour commands his best hours and energy, it has more to do with a man's spiritual condition than any other factor. By depriving man of responsibility and creative opportunity, he no longer functions as a being made in the image of God, but as an animal, a plant, or merely as a machine.

This new order of living calls forth no enterprise, no thought, reflexion or effort towards perfection, whence the tendency is to live at the mechanical or automatic level.

This process is one of fragmentation or dehumanisation. It is the descent of man.

The mechanical age into which we are now rushing headlong, demands increasing percentages of robots, and as goods are produced in bigger quantities, wages rise and must rise, in order that the increased production may be consumed and the wheels of industry kept going. As a result the robot workers adopt an entirely new way of life. Instead of finding their basic satisfaction in responsible, creative work, they seek appeasement for their unsatisfied minds and hearts in the spending of

money, on all manner of self-indulgence, on sex emotionalism, on mass spectacles and excitements, including mass sport, or gambling etc.

In due course the pursuit of life through spending money becomes a habit and even a mania, whence people spend all they earn, and never have enough. Hence when sickness, accidents, or other calamity befalls, they expect the State to see them through and such is now the condition of the public mind that the State dare not deny them aid.

We thus move into the Welfare State, for which there is much to be said, but when it becomes a major necessity of a spendthrift, self-indulgent way of life, a devouring way of life, it becomes a moral problem which threatens the stability of the State and the future of mankind.

This fate now threatens Western Civilization. It is for the East, and especially India to which many Eastern States are looking for guidance, to take warning and to evolve a more rational and creative industrialism and Way of Life.

★

VINOBAJI'S MESSAGE TO TAMILNAD SAMMELAN

It is a matter for great pleasure that Pujya Rajaji has agreed to preside over the sammelan. He is a righteous, devout and experienced man. The cause, which has received the blessings of a great man like him, has achieved its purpose.

I have great faith in Tamil Nad. From what I have seen of Tamil literature, I have come to the definite conclusion that the Bhoodan work is suited to the genius of Tamil culture in every way. Here in Utkal I have been stressing the importance of *samagra-dan* and by God's grace we are getting village after village as gifts. There is no reason why in Tamil Nad also this should not take place.

It will definitely happen if we have faith in the cause and are sweet in our words. We are not to wound the feelings of anybody. The Almighty resides in the heart of every man. That is the reason why in Tamil He is called (*Kadavul*) கடவுள். We have only to awaken Him.

Please convey my respects to Rajaji.

With best wishes of Vinoba.

Villagisation of land for World Peace

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

The Bhoodan Yagna movement which is aimed to make no tiller of the soil landless, has now taken a different turn of complete villagisation of all land in the village. Instead of the slogan "There shall be no landless in the villages" the villagers after surrendering all their land to the village community proclaim in jubilation "There is no landlord in our village". This kind of miraculous change of heart among the villagers is witnessed by Vinobaji now in his Yatra in Orissa, as pictured in the following interesting article of Shri Damodardas Mundada.

THE air was constantly filled with the voice of victory to Lord Hari, the reliever of all miseries!

The village of Akeli, in a remote corner of Ganjam district, was today clean to the mark, with a *Kalash* and green leaves in front of every house. A big *mandap* covered with mango leaves provided shade for the audience. In the midst was seen Vinobaji seated on a raised platform beautifully decorated with *Amaltash* (yellow) flowers and leaves of various trees.

Shri Dharmaraj Naik, the head of the village, who accorded a hearty welcome to the messenger of Love and Peace, narrated how Vinobaji's idea of a village family appealed to him and his fellow villagers

Sharing land with all

He said: "In good old days, our village did live as one family. But our economy was disturbed by the British regime and artificial divisions and differences were created. We have achieved *Swaraj* through Gandhiji's efforts. We heard of you and your mission. We were told that you were moving from village to village distributing land to the land-

less and preaching that land, like air, water and Sun was a divine gift and did not belong to any one individual. We find a universal appeal in your message and have preferred to redistribute our land in all the families of the village, whether they were with or without land. Please bless us on this occasion and guide us for the future".

And one after another, all the thirty one families of the village received *praman-patras* (title deeds) of land, each according to his family's needs. Shri Dharmaraj Naik, who owned fifteen acres, the maximum individual holding in the village, now received only ten for the ten members of his family. Those who had no land or had very little, received in proportion to the number of family members, one acre per head. Thus 142 acres, which once were the property of but fifteen individual landholders were now redistributed among all the hundred members of the village family; the Village Panchayat is to function as the trustee of the land; every family is entitled to possess the same periodically and, say, after ten years to make adjustments according to the needs of the families then.

Fortytwo acres were left over for collective farming. It was the first occasion that Vinobaji was thus called upon to redistribute total land of a village.

Rajaji's description of Bhoodan

Four years ago, in Kanpur district, he performed the first distribution. But that was not for villagization as the one referred to here. He was, therefore, seen visibly moved by this event. He tried to speak but in spite of his best efforts his voice was very low. He was, as it were, drawn deep in the depths of Bhakti-devotion. Referring to Rajaji's remarks that 'Bhoodan is a call to revive faith in God,' he pointed out how it not only led to that path, but brought its very fruit, the realisation of the Lord! How could the villagers otherwise rise above their *ahankar* dissolving their differences and surrender their sense of ownership by donating their total land to Vinobaji? Were they very learned persons? No, they had not known the three R's, all of them being either Harijans or Adivasis. May be, for this very reason, their hearts were more receptive and reacted more promptly to the call of the age. Is it not a challenge to the intelligentsia and to the more favoured? But Vinobaji's logic is different altogether and he is never disheartened. He knows that it is the qualitative effect of this very moral pressure, wrought by such donations that helps to change the hearts of the big as well as of the intelligent people. His faith is tremendous.

Call for collective good

Instead of going into all such details, therefore, he starts questioning: 'If nuclear weapons can poison the atmosphere of the world, will not this incident, in a corner village, spread a healthy atmosphere in the world eliminating that poison?' And his next question is: 'If all villagers in India decide to thus rise above individual interests and think in terms of collective good, will it not help towards speedy establishment of World Peace?' And then follows his third and most pertinent question: 'Am I then wrong when I say that every *dan-patra* is not only a deed of gift but also a vote for World Peace?' And to support his statement as it were, came the news that Ranikhama village also decided to donate all its land to Bhoodan. Once more the air was filled with "Anande Ekbar — Hari Bolo".

Villagers offer all land

What had happened to the villagers of Ranikhama? Had they also gone mad? In the morning, when the village Naik was introduced to Vinobaji, at that village, it was said that not an inch of land was collected there. Vinobaji, placing his hand affectionately on the Naik's shoulder, asked him if he would co-operate in collecting land for the landless. And came the prompt reply — "Why not?" Since then the villagers sat and discussed and the Naik gave the lead. They then knew that Vinobaji was going to perform the redistribution of total land at Akili. They rose with the resolve to donate the entire village.

Like wild fire the news spread — the villagers of Akili and Ranikhama have donated all their lands. Villagers, who came from surrounding villages and witnessed the ceremonial distribution and the message in Vinobaji's speeches, could not but feel convinced that it was essential to think in terms of a whole village.

And when next morning Vinobaji left for the next halt, the landholders of Kusumpur, a village on the way, gathered on the roadside and offered him flowers, Vinobaji, who never stops on the way, looking at the eager eyes of the villagers, chose to halt for a while and asked if they had to say anything. In a few words he also explained his message of villagization and asked if they had attended the previous day's function and, if so, whether they had applied their mind to the implications of the event? And the Naik, with a glow in his eyes, replied in the affirmative and said that they had decided to donate all their land. And in this way, more than hundred and fifty villages have till now donated all their lands in Bhoodan. Every day is bringing new additions to the list.

AWAKENING OF THE LANDLESS

Thousands of landless flock daily to our meetings and hear the message that land like air, water and light, is a Divine gift and so everybody has an equal right to it. This message has awakened them and it will no longer be possible to keep them suppressed. Neither do we wish that they should remain so.

VINOBA—at Komanapadu on 1-6-'55.

No land owner in a village

A new slogan has come to stay. Till now, people of the area used to sing: There will be no landless person in our village. But now they are singing: There will be no landowners in our village!

A revolution, unique and unprecedented in human history, is afoot in this remote corner of the world. New human values are being established. The world is witnessing the birth of a new society based on equality, fraternity and social justice. It is in these villages now that we should be able to present a picture of proper planning for the people. It is in these villages that a model of self-sufficient economy could be built. The basic needs of a villager, such as food, cloth, etc. should be produced from the raw materials in the village itself.

Are not, then, these villages of Orissa directly contributing towards World Peace which according to the call at Puri, should be established within two years?



★ The Miracle of Land Distribution ★

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

Bhoodan does not stop with land distribution to the landless. The real reconstruction begins after distribution with the seven steps for completing the revolution in life and values. Here is a condensed article describing the general awakening in the villages where land has been distributed, in Bodhgaya.

IN pursuance of the decision taken at the Bodhgaya Sarvodaya session, land distribution was inaugurated in Bodhgaya Thana itself on Vaishakhi Pournima, the birthday of Lord Buddha. Up till now nearly 1200 acres of land have been distributed among 800 families. Bullocks, seeds, wells, etc. have also been provided. More than 60% of the land has come under cultivation.

Land was first distributed among 73 families at Sekhawara. The people of the village asked for educational facilities also. A Jain sadhu has settled down in this village and is attending to the villagers' needs. All this land which was lying fallow till now was brought under cultivation; a well was sunk and a tank was constructed to collect rain water.

Constructive Work

The Bhoomiputras, (sons of the soil) as they are called, are realising the real meaning of *swarajya* and to them the day of land distribution, viz 17th May, is the real independence day. This village is progressing in other directions also. Charkhas have started plying; *pardah* has disappeared; and a Balwadi has started functioning under the auspices of the Kasturba Trust. A co-operative union has also been registered.

There was also a little trouble as a result of the activities of the landlords

of the area. In spite of the Minimum Wages Act, labourers were being paid very low wages. The Bhoomiputras protested and struck work. The landlord who owned vast areas of land and commanded hundreds of labourers tried to bring in new labour. But the villagers in eleven surrounding villages refused to oblige the landlord, and the strike continued for one month. The Bhoomiputras throughout remained peaceful and demonstrated exemplary courage. At the end the villagers succeeded in getting an assurance for reasonable wages from the landlord. This raised the moral stature of the villagers. They do not now suffer any inferiority complex and they have now begun to be self-reliant and have grown in their self-respect. That is the revolutionary change which Bhoodan has brought in them.

The Heroism of the Landless

A similar incident took place in another village called Kushala. About three hundred acres lying uncultivated were distributed among a hundred families. All efforts were made by other landowners in the village, who were afraid of losing their labourers, to prevent possession of the distributed land by the landless.

They used to drive their cattle into the standing crops on such land.

They demanded a part of the land as grazing ground. Though the Bhoomiputras had agreed to spare about 25 bighas as grazing ground, the landlords demanded more including some of the best cultivable land. Here again the landless put up a heroic struggle till the landlords realised the reasonable attitude and co-operative spirit of the villagers and the Bhoodan workers, who had earlier tried to mediate and establish friendly relation.

The Mahant's Response

At Janibigha the Bhoomiputras declined to accept the land donated by the *mahant* of the *math* as it was lying fallow and uncultivated and they had no need for such a land, because they were quite happy as labourers of the *math*. They asked for good cultivable land instead. The manager of the *math* was quickly convinced of their reasonable attitude and agreed to give them good cultivable land. Even then the new landowners offered the manager his share of the crop and only on his telling them that the landlord had no more right on the donated lands they did keep the whole crop to themselves.

Self-Sacrifice of the Landless

At another village, the available land was sufficient for only four families and there were nine of them. Five of them had to withdraw their claims for land. This they decided among themselves and those families whose landlord had not donated any land decided to withdraw saying that they would wait till their landlord donated land.

The Seven Steps

All these instances go to show the gradual change of heart and a spirit of generosity and fellow-feeling which the Bhoodan movement is bringing about not only among the poor and innocent villagers but also among the owners of land. Bhoodan workers as well as those whose sympathies are with the Bhoodan movement should remember that the aim of Bhoodan is not merely collection and distribution of land but a real change of heart and a change of values, leading to the establishment of Gramrajya or Ram Rajya. Bhoodan is not an end in itself but a means to the end. The sapta-sopan, i.e. the seven steps - of distribution, cooperation, provision of means, village industries, education, sanitation and Gram-Panchayats - all together will lead to the shrine of Gramrajya, where there will be no exploitation of man by man and everybody will be free and will enjoy peace and plenty. Bhoodan means not only distribution of land but also distribution of power, leading to a decentralised socio-economic order.

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★ Earmarked Bhoodan ★

A CLARIFICATION

VALLABH SWAMI

Jt. Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya.

EARMARKED BHOODAN

The Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has received suggestions from some prominent social and political workers that if earmarked donations of land are accepted the Bhoodan movement would get a great fillip.

Sri Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh have already considered this matter on the occasion of the Puri Sammelan.

They hold that if the donors attach any conditions to the gifts they make, such a Dan or donation is not 'Krishnarpan', i.e., full surrender of their individual rights to God or society. It is 'Vishishtarpan' or surrender to the particular individual. In spite of this, such gifts would do no harm to our movement.

Therefore, if the following conditions are fulfilled, there is no harm in accepting earmarked donations of land.

1. The recipient of the land should belong to the place, where the donated land is situated.
2. He must be landless.
3. The land to be given should be sufficient for the needs of his family.

An effort should also be made in cases of such earmarked donations that the donor should also give the necessary implements etc. for cultivating the land.

The workers devoted to the cause of Bhoodan movement may accept earmarked donations if they fulfil the above requirements. However, our aim should be to secure unconditional gifts as far as possible.

LAND-GIFTS FOR SCHOOLS

Some of the State Governments are collecting land for schools in the name of 'Bhoodan Yagna':

The Sangh does not want to oppose the collection of land for schools but is opposed to the use of the name of Bhoodan for such collections. The Bhoodan Yagna has a different history and a different philosophy behind it. It is a non-violent socio-economic and political revolution based on the idea that all land belongs to God and, therefore, all those who are over it have a right to its use.

Bhoodan is not a charity drive. It is the medium of a process of surrender by the individual of his personal rights in the name of God or society. It is the movement of proper redistribution of the means of production, land being the major one of them. All land collected under the Bhoodan drive must be distributed amongst the landless persons in the same village where the donated land is situated according to their free and unanimous decision.

Land collection for specific purposes other than the ideal mentioned above should not therefore go by the name Bhoodan. The workers devoted to the Bhoodan Yagna movement should take special care to keep up the high ideals of Bhoodan Yagna on all occasions of land collection and distribution. But there can be rare exceptions where the teachers and the students of a particular school resolve to take up the agricultural work themselves without hired labour.

★

All India Bhoodan News

Uttar Pradesh

After the Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan, Baba Raghavadasji has commenced a tour from Fethpur District, and he is expected to cover the other districts of Allahabad, Banaras and Mirzapur. On the first day of the *yatra* 325 bighas of land were collected and 57 workers of the district have taken a pledge to devote their full time to Bhoodan work till 1957.

In the district of Allahabad eight groups are on the *yatra*. Nai Talim workers of Sevapuri ashram have taken the responsibility for the surrounding villages. On the 11th April, the Sevapuri Ashram gave a warm send-off to Baba Raghavadasji with an annual sampattidan of Rs. 1,590/- collected from the workers.

Smt. Sarala Behn of Almora organised Bhoodan yatras in the surrounding villages during the past five months, as a result of which there is a great awakening among the people of Tehri-Garhwal. Shri Shivrarnanjanji, who has resigned his membership of the Parliament, will soon engage himself in completing the quota of sampattidan for Kanpur.

The Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, which has played a great part not only in spreading khadi and village industries in North India but also has been in the forefront in the fight for freedom, has once again, true to its traditions, taken a momentous deci-

sion. After the call of Puri Sammelan, the workers of the Ashram met and discussed the matter and have decided that all branches and workers of the Ashram should hence forward devote greater time and energy to Bhoodan work, even if it means slowing the pace of other constructive activities. They have felt that in the absence of the basic philosophy propounded the Bhoodan Yagna, all their constructive work will be lifeless, and therefore, it is imperative that Bhoodan work should be given the foremost place in their programme. The movement will be generally guided by the top workers of the Ashram. Some of the workers will devote their full time to Bhoodan. Where enthusiastic workers are available locally, the Ashram will try to enlist their services in Bhoodan work.

Since this decision was taken by the Ashram, workers of every branch have started on Bhoodan yatras. Sale of Bhoodan literature is also going on. Top workers of the Ashram are always on the move from branch to branch inspiring the workers to take part in this revolutionary programme. There is great enthusiasm among the workers especially after the Puri call.

In the district of Fatehpur 1,150 bighas of land were collected up to 22nd April, while in Allahabad district 1,600 bighas have been collected during the yatras from 23rd April to first May.

In the district of Banda all the workers have taken up Bhoodan work after their return from Puri, contact being established among students and teachers. About four hundred students going home during holidays have started propagation of bhoodan literature in their villages. In one village alone 32 swadhyaya members have been enrolled. The principal of the college of that place has himself taken up this work seriously and with his co-operation schools in the whole of the district have been permeated with the new spirit of Bhoodan Yagna.

According to the latest reports, 80 members have been enrolled for the Sarvodaya Swadhyaya Yagana, which means Rs. 800 sale of literature. Literature worth Rs. 400 has been sold in other ways.

About 200 students and some teachers will run a mobile camp for eight days during the first week of September.

Bombay State.

SHRI Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay, distributed 103 acres and 27 gunthas of land to 27 landless families of eight villages at a ceremonial function held in village Kenpur in Bayad taluk, Sabarkantha district.

In Sabarkantha district 900 landholders of 283 villages have made donations of 2,800 acres. Six hundred poor agriculturists, who have no land to spare, have given donations of 36 bullocks, 300 ploughs and 100 implements of harrowing. Twenty-six cash donations and 254 days of manual

labour have also been received as contribution to the Bhoodan movement.

Speaking on the occasion, the Chief Minister said that the movement of landgifts started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave helped the country in the establishment of a society of 'equals', which was the life-time dream of the Father of the Nation. It was not possible that all the land problems would be solved by the State with the enactment of Tenancy Laws beneficial to those who were tilling the land. The campaign of land gifts to collect lands for the landless with the gifts by those who had had surplus land was an important step in the creation of the pattern of society in which all the joys and sorrows would be shared by all the members of society.

(The Hindu Weekly Review
of June 20, 1955.)

Sevagram

The Ashram was closed on 18-4-55 and the inmates of the ashram divided themselves into two groups and commenced on their Bhoodan tour from 1st May 1955. One group is proceeding towards the South, while the other will tour Madhya Pradesh.

BIHAR

The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has donated 31 out of 186 acres of his land in Champaran District for the Bhoodan Yagna.

Mr. Bipin Bihari Verma, M. P., has donated 45 acres - one-sixth of his holdings.

About 500 acres of Bhoodan land, including the President's donation, were distributed in the last week of May 1955 among the landless.

TAMIL NAD

The various Vibhags of the Sarva Seva sangh in Tamil Nad doing khadi work have been doing intensive Bhoodan yatras along with the Bhoodan workers during the last few months. During the Bhoodan Week in April about 100 yatras were solely done through the khadi workers. They have covered hundreds of villages receiving Bhoodan besides Sampattidan etc. With the combined yatras of the Bhoodan workers and khadi workers 43 acres of wet land and 1,732 acres of dry land were received during the Bhoodan Week.

There were four training camps for Bhoodan workers at Sendurai (Trichy Dt.) Zamin Elampalli (Salem Dt.) Panrutti (S. Arcot Dt.) and at Kaveripattanam (Salem Dt.) in May and June. About 150 workers were trained in these camps.

The Zamindar of Elampalli, Shri. Raja Gurunathan Chettiar, Shri. Nangayya Goundar, Convener for Salem District, Shri. Vanchinathan Iyer, President, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Salem and Shri. S. Jaganathan, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Convener conducted a Bhoodan yatra in Salem District and received 30 acres of Bhoodan. There was another yatra in Salem district immediately after the training camp at Kaveripattanam in June.

Shri. A. Balakrishna Pillai, Santhalak, Sarva Seva Sangh for Tamil Nad has conducted several yatras in S. Arcot District and there is significant response in all his yatras.

At the Tiruturaipoondi Sarvodaya Sammelan the khadi workers

decided to conduct Bhoodan yatras for four days in a month around each Khadi Centre and to have continuous Bhoodan yatras in N. Arcot district with workers drawn from all the Vibhags.

Owing to concentrated efforts by the Bhoodan workers with the co-operation of khadi workers, Tamil Nad has made a rapid progress in Bhoodan work. About 5,000 acres have been received during the last five months.

KARNATAK

Bhoodan received in the various districts up to 10-5-55 is as follows:

	Acres	Cents
Tumkur	2,225	37
Bangalore	733	15
Kolar	67	34
Chitaldrug	133	7
Shimoga	1,390	1
Chickmagalur	266	31
Hassan	135	33
Mysore	799	15
Mandya	144	11
Bellary	490	17

Total ... 6,387 01.

The number of donors is 2,551.

KERALA

315 Acres of land-gifts have been distributed till 31st May.

PUNJAB

A meeting of the workers of Kharar Teh. Bhoodan-Samiti was held at Bajwara (Chandigarh) on June, 2 under the Presidentship of Sri. Lekhwati Jain, incharge, Ambala District Bhoodan Samiti. Great enthusiasm was shown by all the workers and spontaneous donation of Sampati-Dan, Damya-Dan and Bhooni-Dan was made in the meeting by Bhagta Ganesbi Lal and Shri Faqir Chand and many others.

All India Bhoodan.

Bhoodan Received and Distributed till 25th May '55.

Name of Provinces.	Acres received.	No. of Dan Patras.	Acres distributed.	No. of families.
1. Bihar	23,30,555	2,89,515	21,123	11,364
2. Uttar Pradesh	5,42,234	28,907	90,489	27,870
3. Rajasthan	3,45,816	57,814	7,762	1,511
4. Utkal	1,41,990	59,325	3,082	749
5. Hyderabad	1,06,898	4,010	32,019	6,862
6. Madhya Pradesh	99,237	20,097	34,180	5,692
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	5,835	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 & Pepsu	12,650	3,046	325	66
15. Bengal	9,732	4,738	1,168	957
16. Delhi	9,245	249	90	25
17. Mysore	6,680	2,424	...	...
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	...	...
	38,58,692	5,02,641	1,97,431	56,561

Note:--Sarvaswadan in Orissa: 230 villages. In the district of Koraput where Sri Vinobaji is touring now, 95 villages have been donated besides 61000 acres of land by 1500 donors.

HINDI SARVODAYA MONTHLY

The Prabandh Samiti of the Sarva Seva Sangh as its meeting held at Puri after the Sarvodaya Sammelan had decided to suspend publication of the SARVODAYA (Hindi), as the editor, Dada Dharmadhikari, is called to devote his full attention to the weekly, Bhoodan Yagna, published from Gaya. This weekly will now become the mouthpiece of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Its importance in conducting the popular Bhoodan Yagna movement cannot be over-emphasized.

The number dated April-May-June 1955 will therefore be considered as the last issue of SARVODAYA for the present. This monthly has tried its best to spread the message of Sarvodaya, and Bhoodan Yagna and has served as an authoritative medium of Vinobaji's thoughts and speeches. Its absence will, of course, be felt keenly by its readers, but we hope that its void will be filled to a great extent by the various local Bhoodan periodicals published in different languages.

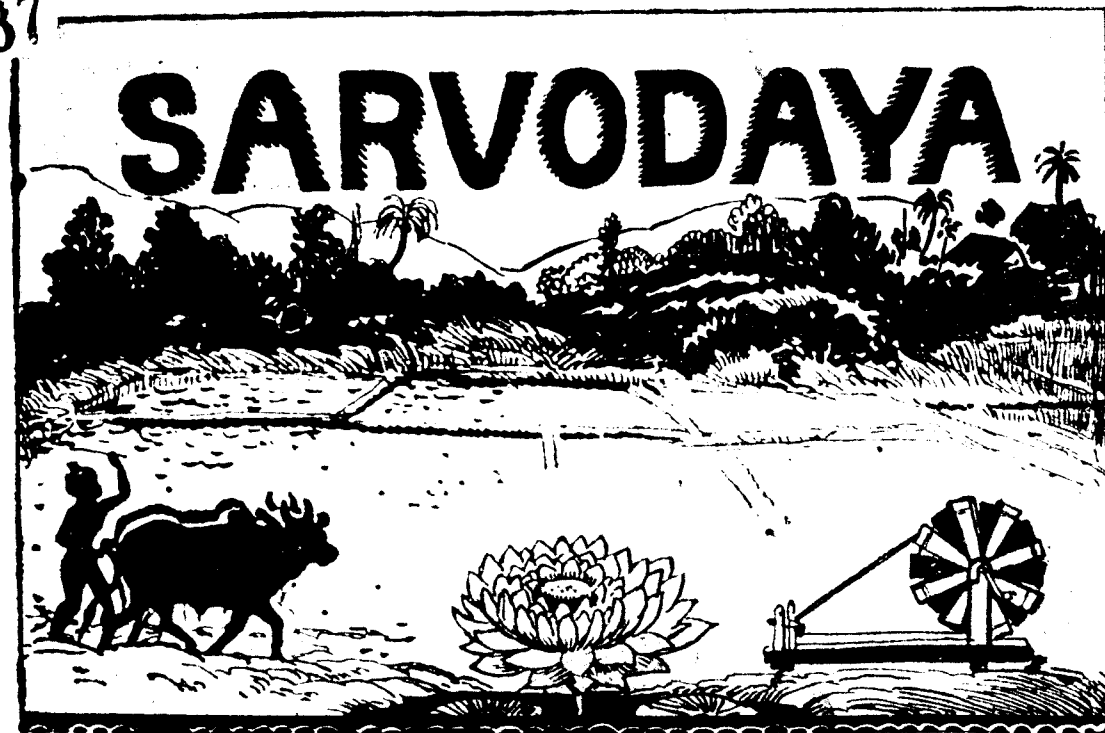
BHOODAN and ALLIED PERIODICALS

The following is a list of periodicals relating to Bhoodan and other related subjects, published from various parts of the country.

Name of the periodical.	Place of publication.	Language.	Annual sub- scription.	Monthly or otherwise.
1. Sarvodayam	Tanjore	Tamil	8	Monthly
2. Sarvodaya	Vinayashram	Telugu	10	"
3. Sarvodaya	Bangalore	Canarese	5	"
4. Nai Talim	Sevagram	Hindi	3	"
5. Mangal Prabhat	Wardha	Hindi	3	"
6. Sevak	Paunar, Wardha	Marathi (Lok-Nagari script)	4	"
7. Gram Udyog Patrika	Wardha	English & Hindi	2	"
8. Kasturba Darshan	Indore	Hindi	2½	Quarterly
9. Harijan Seva	Delhi	Hindi	3	Bi-monthly
10. Kushth Patrika	Wardha	Hindi	4	Quarterly
11. Harijan	Ahmedabad	Hindi	6	Weekly
	"	Gujarati	6	"
	"	English	6	"
12. Harijan	Calcutta	Bengali	6	"
13. Bhoodan Yagna	Gaya	Hindi	3½	"
14. Bhoodan Yagna	Poona	Marathi	3	"
15. Samya-Yoga	Wardha	Marathi	3	"
16. Samya-Yoga	Nagpur	Hindi	3	"
17. Bhoodan	Bangalore	Canarese	2	"
18. Gramodayam	Tirupur	Tamil	3	"
19. Bhoodan Yagna	Calcutta	Bengali	4	...
20. Gram Raj	Jaipur	Hindi	2	...
21. Bhoomiputra	Baroda	Gujarati	2	...
22. Bhoodan Yagna	Gauhati	Assamese	3	...
23. Gram-Sevak	Cuttack	Oriya	...	...
24. Sarva-Seva	Gaya	Hindi	1	...
Sangh Varta				
25. Daridranarayan	Vijayawada	Telugu	...	...
26. Bhoodan Kahalam	Trichur	Malayalam	3	...
27. Sarvodaya	Tanjore	English	3	Monthly

637

169



Vol. 5

AUGUST 1955

No. 2

637
3-4

POLITICS AND RELIGION

For me, politics bereft of religion are absolute dirt, ever to be shunned. Politics concern nations and that which concerns the welfare of nations must be one of the concerns of a man who is religiously inclined, in other words a seeker after God and Truth. For me God and Truth are convertible terms, and if any one told me that God was a God of untruth or a God of torture I would decline to worship Him. Therefore, in politics also we have to establish the kingdom of Heaven.

GANDHIJI.

(From 'Truth is God'—page 148)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE SOUTH INDIA

GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

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Autobiography (abridged)	... 2 0	India of My Dreams (<i>Hind</i> <i>Kitabs</i>)	... 1 8
Satyagraha in South Africa	... 4 0	Gandhigrams (")	... 2 0
Satyagraha	... 5 8	Mohanmala — A Gandhian Rosary (")	... 1 12
Non-violence in Peace & War, 2 Vols	... 12 0	Truth is God	... 2 0
Communal Unity	... 9 0	Books on Gandhi, Gandhian Philosophy & Related Subjects.	
Removal of Untouchability	... 8 8	<i>By Navajivan Trust—</i>	
Towards Non-violent Socia- lism	... 2 0	Sarvodaya — Its Principles & Programme (Gandhi & others)	0 12
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Sarvodaya (The Welfare of all)	... 1 0	An Atheist With Gandhi (Gora)	1 0
Nature Cure	... 1 4	Satyagraha in Champaran (Rajendra Prasad)	2 4
For Pacifists	... 1 0	Mahatma Gandhi & Bihar (")	2 0
Ramanama	... 1 8	Constructive Programme (")	0 8
Rebuilding our Villages	... 4 0	The Power of Non-violence (Richard B. Gregg)	... 2 8
Bapu's letters to Mira	... 1 8	A Discipline for Non-violence (Richard B. Gregg)	0 10
To Ashram Sisters	... 1 0	Which Way Lies Hope (")	1 4
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Basic Education	... 1 0	Practical Non-violence (")	0 8
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Key to Health	... 0 8		
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A Gandhi Anthology — I	... 0 14		
<i>Published by others.—</i>			
The Ideology of the Charkha (Sarvodaya Prashuralaya)			

SARVODAYA

Vol. 5 AUGUST 1955. No. 2

Whole Contents No. 50

★	
Truth is God	... 40
—Mahatma Gandhi	
Sarvodaya Through	... 42
Village-dan	... 42
—Acharya Vinoba	
Vinobaji on B. C. G.	... 44
Sharing Poverty of Masses	... 45
—Sriman Narayan	
All India Bhoodan Received	... 46
and Distributed till June	... 46
1955	... 46
An American's Interview	... 47
with Vinobaji	... 47
—Damodardas Mundada	
From Land-gifts to land	... 52
Revolution	... 52
—Suresh Ramabhai	
Shanti-Sena or Peace	... 55
Army	... 55
—Kaka Kalelkar	
The Logic of it	... 58
—R. K. Patil	
Sampattidan or Money-gift...	... 62
—Srikrishnadas Jaju	
Satyagraha in Medicine	... 66
—Esme Wynne Tyson	
Ambar Charkha	... 68
—A. W. Sahasrabudhe	

★

SEVAGRAM ASHRAM

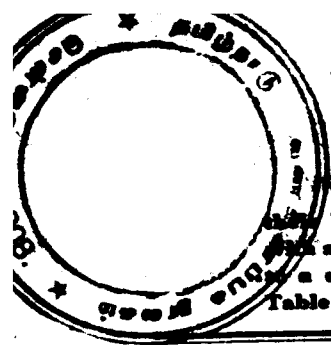
Dhirendra Mazumdar

President,

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh.

In the Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Puri in March last the Sarva Seva Sangh gave a call to the people to devote all their energies and time to Bhoodan work till 1957. In response to the call, the workers of Sevagram Ashram, which is conducted under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the guidance of Shri Vinobaji, expressed their desire to join the Bhoodan Movement. The activities of the Ashram were therefore suspended, and when the inmates left the Ashram on the 18th April, 1955 the Bapu Kuti (Gandhiji's cottage) which forms part of the Ashram had also to be closed pending the making of further arrangements for its future upkeep. That, it was not intended to close the Bapu Kuti indefinitely was clear from the letter written then by Sri Vinobaji to the Ashramites. Hence any apprehension expressed in certain quarters at that time was entirely unfounded, and arose out of a misunderstanding of the situation.

The Sarva Seva Sangh, which met recently after the Puri Sammelan has now made the necessary arrangements for keeping open the Kuti to visitors. The Ashram, however remains closed for the present till 1957, the Ashramites being engaged in Bhoodan work. The Sangh has also appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme for the permanent preservation of Bapu Kuti and certain other specified cottages of historical importance.



TRUTH IS GOD

Mahatma Gandhi

We are indebted to Navajivan Publishing House for this article from their latest publication with the above title compiled by Sri R. K. Pishhu, with a foreword by Shri C. Rajagopalachari. This extract is Gandhiji's reply to a question at a meeting in Switzerland on his return from the Round Table Conference in 1931.

YOU have asked me why I consider that God is Truth. In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many names as there are creatures and, therefore we also say that God is nameless and since God has many forms we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks to us through many tongues we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And so when I came to study Islam I found that Islam too had many names for God. I would say with those who say God is Love, God is Love. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself, God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that God is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language at least and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing also. I found too that love in the sense of Ahimsa had only a limited number of votaries in the World. But I never found a double meaning in connection with truth and even atheists had not demurred to the necessity or power of Truth. But in their passion for discovering Truth, the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth I should say that Truth is God. I recall the name of Charles Bradlaugh who delighted to call himself an atheist, but knowing as I do something of him, I would never regard him as an atheist. I would call him a God-fearing man, though I know that he would reject the claim. His face would redden if I would say “Mr. Bradlaugh, you are a truth-fearing man, and so a God-fearing man.” I would automatically disarm his criticism by saying that Truth is God, as I have disarmed criticisms of many a young man. Add to this the great difficulty that millions have taken the name of God and in His name committed nameless atrocities. Not that scientists very often do not commit cruelties in the name of truth. I know how in the name of truth and science inhuman cruelties are perpetrated on animals.

TRUTH IS GOD

169 41

when men perform vivisection. There are thus a number of difficulties in the way, no matter how you describe God. But the human mind is a limited thing, and you have to labour under limitations when you think of a being or entity who is beyond the power of man to grasp.

And then we have another thing in Hindu philosophy, viz. God alone is and nothing else exists, and the same truth you find emphasized and exemplified in the Kalma of Islam. There you find it clearly stated that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists—Sat. For this and several other reasons that I can give you I have come to the conclusion that the definition, ‘Truth is God’, gives me the greatest satisfaction. And when you want to find Truth as God the only inevitable means is Love, i. e., non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately the means and the end are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

‘What then is Truth?’

A difficult question, but I have solved it for myself by saying that it is what the voice within tells you. How, then, you ask, different people think of different and contrary truths? Well, seeing that the human mind works through innumerable media and that the evolution of the human mind is not the same for all, it follows that what may be truth for one may be untruth for another, and hence those who have made these experiments have come to the conclusion that there are certain conditions to be observed in making those experi-

ments. Just as for conducting scientific experiments there is an indispensable scientific course of instruction, in the same way strict preliminary discipline is necessary to qualify a person to make experiments in the spiritual realm. Every one should, therefore, realize his limitations before he speaks of his Inner Voice. Therefore we have the belief based upon experience, that those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows, as for instance, the vow of truth, the vow of Brahmacharya (purity)—for you cannot possibly divide your love for Truth and God with anything else—, the vow of non-violence, of poverty and non-possession. Unless you impose on yourselves the five vows you may not embark on the experiment at all. There are several other conditions prescribed, but I must not take you through all of them. Suffice it to say that those who have made these experiments know that it is not proper for every one to claim to hear the voice of conscience, and it is because we have at the present moment everybody claiming the right of conscience without going through any discipline whatsoever and there is so much untruth being delivered to a bewildered world, all that I can, in true humility, present to you is that truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility. If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth you must reduce yourself to a zero. Further than this I cannot go along this fascinating path.

★

SARVODAYA THROUGH VILLAGE-DAN

ACHARYA VINOB

WHATEVER be our religion, language, caste or creed, we are the sons of the same Father. We are all related to one another. But to-day we have forgotten that one Father — the Lord of all creations. That is why we couldn't get united and become happy. Our society have become partitioned into three separate divisions. Some are called the high-class, some the middle-class and those at the bottom, the low class. The high class people have nothing but contempt for their brothers of the low class. Rarely they show any affection towards these poor brothers with whom they have to be in contact in their every day life. They think and say "these people are fools, they have no brain in them to work intelligently, they are idle and often do steal; they have no respect for truth; they have to be supervised, or else they won't work properly; if they are given money they won't use it discreetly but will squander and waste it." They are thus simply considered as beasts of burden.

People of the low-class think that those of the high are cruel, wicked and deceitful. They work in their fields and shops and do often praise them in their face though they don't like them and have nothing but hatred towards them in their hearts. For help they go to the high-class people and if it is not received they abuse them. If help is given they

say "yes, to-day they have given us help, but tomorrow they will take it back in hundred folds from us. Who knows what all sufferings at their hands are in store for us?"

Thus each cannot live without the other though the one above condemns the one below and the one down hates the one above.

The Position of Middle Class

In between these two, there is the middle class. There is nothing but rivalry in them. They have not got enough physical strength in them to work hard. Neither do they have enough money with them. At times they join hands with the low class people for the purpose of opposing the high class people, and at other times they unite with the high class people in order to loot the people of the low-class. Thus they welcome the idea of receiving lands from the high class people but at the same time show opposition to the equal distribution of the same among the brothers of the low-class, advancing the argument that land will become divided into uneconomic units. Even among the individuals of these people of the middle class, there is strong rivalry and jealousy. One clerk is jealous of another clerk. Sometimes they join one party, at other times another party and thus go on striving to maintain the status-quo.

SARVODAYA THROUGH VILLAGE-DAN

43

Surrender the right of ownership

These three divisions in society should give up their wrong attitudes towards each other. They should forget their differences and become one identifying with each other. Then only society will become strong. They should co-operate with willing hearts and thus serve as the strong and equal props of the tripod of society. Bhoodan is aiming to achieve this. We appeal to those who have enough of physical strength to offer their willing labour to the good of the whole society. We appeal to the rich and wealthy to voluntarily offer Sam-pattidan for the common benefit of all. We persuade the land owners to voluntarily surrender their right of ownership over land and accept the ideal that land can be owned by society alone.

Satyagraha - its New Technique

Our people, whether they belong to the high, middle or low-class have one good trait in them and that is faith and devotion to Dharma. They put implicit faith in the words of good and saintly persons. Once they understand truth and the real Dharma, they begin at once to practise it. We have to go from village to village, door to door and make the people understand the basic ideal behind Bhoodan. This is real Satyagraha and we should go on doing it with love in our hearts and faith in truth and in the ideal. It should be done till all understand us. Our people are such that once they get the light and realize their Dharma, they will be quick to act and none can wean them away in any other direction. Thus

our society is now getting reformed day by day.

Revolution in Values

The days of violence and loot are fast disappearing. Changed values of life are being recognised now in our society. People are offering me land. What strength is there in me but that of truth and love? More than 200 villages have been offered to me so far in this district as full gramadans by the villagers.

Dissolution of classes by village-dan

Wherever full villages are received for Bhoodan, there will be no more of the richman's contempt for the poor, the poor man's hatred for the rich or the jealousy or rivalry among the middle class. All become equals. There will be none high, none low, and none in between the two. Of course there will be some differences but such variations will be only such as are found in the five fingers of the hand. All the fingers co-operate and jointly do a lakh and odd things. People should co-operate and jointly work like the five fingers; they should live as the five Pandavas lived; they should mix and mingle like the five elements of nature. When this happens our society will become free of scorn, hatred and rivalry and there will be love, respect and co-operation alone between individuals. Then every one will grow and all will become equal. Such is the Sarvodaya Order of Society. Such of those villages that are offered as full dan will witness this real picture of Sarvodaya. In them all the villagers will say that all land in the village belongs to the village in common and all wealth and

intelligence of the people therein will be utilized for the benefit of all in the village. Each will feel that he lives for others, and he will not think of himself but will think of others. And every one in the village will look after every other and the

common good of the village will be the one concern of each and every therein.

(Free rendering from Hindi of his post prayer speech on 12-7-'55 at Meghiya - Koraput, Orissa.)

★ VINOBAJI ON B. C. G. ★

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE deprecated the B. C. G. campaign in a post-prayer Speech at Sunabeda (Koraput Dt.) on July 23rd.

He said he could not countenance such intensive drives especially when specialists differed about their efficacy. Even admitting that the majority of them supported it and a minority disagreed, it was wrong for the Government to enforce a measure about which there was the slightest degree of disagreement or doubt. There would be no need for such objectionable measures when positive measures for improving the people's health were carried out.

Elaborating a seven-point health plan for villages he laid stress on the preventive and nature cure aspects of public health. On the preventive side he stressed a balanced diet, cleanliness and spread of elementary knowledge of dietetics.

He said the people had enough cereals, though there were occasional shortages. But plenty of vegetables fruits and milk products were essential to make a balanced diet. There was, however, a great shortage of all these elements.

Vinobaji opined that every one should have at least two pounds of milk a day.

On the curative side he gave the first place to nature cure methods, which includes fast and massages. He said every village should have a small garden of medicinal herbs, from which fresh medicine could easily be prepared. He, however, admitted the use of a few such internationally recognised drugs as Quinine for the treatment of specific maladies like malaria, etc., and the use of D. D. T. and such other insecticides, though they should always try to minimise their use.



Sharing of Poverty of Masses

SRIMAN - NARAYAN

The following is the reply to Sri. Hari Krishna Mahant's recent criticism of Bhoodan.

"I am, indeed, surprised to read Shri Harekrishna Mahtab's views on Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan movement. Everyone is, of course, entitled to his own views on an important public movement like this. But Shri Mahtab, I am sorry to say, has completely missed the real significance of Bhoodan.

"Acharya Vinoba's movement is essentially moral and has given to India and the world a new set of values in life. In place of social and economic exploitation and monetary calculus, it has substituted a sense of socio-economic equality and justice on the basis of voluntary and peaceful surrender of one's property. This is why the movement has been an eminent success and has already attracted world-wide attention.

"As regards certain specific points raised by Shri Mahtab, it is not correct to say that Bhoodan distributes only poverty.

Not that there is any harm in distributing even poverty in a poor country like India where some persons have a comfortable margin of comforts and even luxuries while the millions have hardly anything to keep their body and soul together, but Bhoodan, in addition, does help substantially in solving the important problem of land redistribution in a practical, completely inexpensive and speedy man-

ner. The movement has also been very successful in creating a favourable and non-violent climate for the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in the country.

"Shri Mahtab is on a very weak and doubtful ground when he says that the real problem is not who owns the land but whether the tiller gets a fair share of the fruits of his toil. In fact all the world over the real land problem has been about the ownership of land. The Indian National Congress has always been upholding the principle that the actual tiller himself should be the owner of the land. But for this basic principle, all the legislation regarding abolition of zamindari and malguzari rights would be meaningless. Security of tenancy rights has, of course, its own importance. But it cannot be the ultimate objective of progressive land reforms in India or elsewhere.

"Vinobaji has so far collected about 88 lakh acres of lands as voluntary gifts and the process of redistribution is now gaining momentum. The rules prescribed by Vinobaji for distribution do not promote uneconomic fragmentation of land. Moreover, the Bhoodan movement has now entered a new and very revolutionary phase in Orissa. Hundreds of villages are being donated to Vinobaji with all the plots of land, big and small, so

that they may be redistributed equitably and in economic units. They may also be cultivated in a co-operative way by the whole community.

"I would suggest to Shri Mahtab that instead of hurling unfair criticism on Vinobaji from a distance, he should try to study Bhoodan at close quarters and lend a helping hand to a great movement which is full of immense potentialities."

"The Congress has been giving its full support to Bhoodan yagna and it is gratifying to know that the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee has resolved to collect the quota of 20 lakh acres."

All India Bhoodan.

Bhoodan Received and Distributed till JUNE '55.

Name of Provinces.	Acres received.	No. of Dan Patras.	Acres distributed.	No. of families.
1. Bihar	23,56,156	2,92,353	25,370	14,924
2. Bengal	10,539	5,484	1,221	1,044
3. Punjab & Pepsu	13,988	3,169	792	94
4. Hyderabad	1,07,225	4,150	33,403	7,159
5. Mysore	6,680	2,424	...	...
6. Vindhya Pradesh	6,650	1,403	771	278
7. Uttar Pradesh	5,47,402	19,345	96,878	80,650
8. Rajasthan	3,45,975	4,566	10,428	1,914
9. Utkal	1,55,716	73,407	3,236	956
10. Madhya Pradesh	99,237	20,097	34,180	5,692
11. Madhya Bharat	51,987	5,014	311	...
12. Sourashtra	41,000	15,000	1,500	...
13. Gujarat	37,578	8,426	3,235	1,011
14. Tamil Nad	37,882	...	530	160
15. Andhra	21,516	702	60	77
16. Kerala	25,113	1,200	815	...
17. Maharashtra	25,649	5,726	1,001	...
18. Delhi	9,245	249	90	25
19. Karnatak	2,803	538	...	...
20. Himachal Pradesh	2,025	66	...	...
21. Assam	1,950	...	...	...
22. Bombay	123	6	...	...
	39,06,434	4,63,325	2,12,721	63,984

Orissa: whole villages offered as Bhoodan are ... 295

Koraput District. in Orissa where Sri Vinoba is touring these days, alone has donated 103 villages out of these 295.

An American's Interview with Vinobaji

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

DR. Homer A. Jack of America, who is especially interested in India since 1941 and who had just returned from Afro-Asian Conference, called upon Vinobaji the other day in one of the villages in Orissa. During his short stay of a couple of days with the party of Vinobaji, he was greatly impressed by all that he saw. Total land of twenty villages was offered to Vinobaji on a single day, which, to the American friend, was quite a phenomenon.

Non-Violent Resistance in the West

During the morning walk to the next halt, Vinobaji asked Dr. Homer, after a few preliminary enquiries, about the purpose of his visit to India. Dr. Homer replied that he had come to the East to understand Asia better so that America and the American people would have a better understanding about the East. One of the objectives of his visit, he disclosed, was to take the legacy of Gandhiji and that Gandhiji's work was the chief object of his visit. He pointed out how non-violent resistance was much needed today even in the West, which was also confirmed by Vinobaji. Dr. Homer further disclosed how some of them were trying to adopt that method and apply it to the Negro-White relations in America. Vinobaji inquired whether the Negro-White relations were getting better or not. Dr. Homer replied in the affirmative and added that for the last five years his job was to try to

stop Race riots in Chicago. Continuing he said that, ironically enough, racial violence was often a sign of progress—Whites objected because the Negroes were getting more opportunities. He further told Vinobaji about his journey of reconciliation in the South whereby, using Gandhian methods, the segregation in the inter-State buses was reduced.

Touching references were made to late Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews and also to Albert Schweitzer. While Vinobaji appreciated the work of the latter as a great humanitarian, about Dinbandhu he said that the work needed more men like him who were a bridge between the East and the West especially in the shrinking world.

Negro Problem

"You are also a bridge", said Dr. Homer and added that "Tennyson's book about you will make you even better known in America". Vinobaji inquired about the religion the Negroes possessed in America. To this Dr. Homer replied that they were chiefly Methodists and Baptists but some were Roman Catholics also. As regards the prejudices, if any, between the Churches in America, the Doctor informed Vinobaji that on occasions, and that too more often, the Christian Church could be very unchristian. He himself was not liked by the orthodox Protestants in America and was not allowed membership in the World Council of

Churches as he was related to the Brahmo Samaj. Regarding the Quakers in America, he said they were doing good work especially for peace.

Soon after the village of the destination was sighted the talk was suspended as Vinobaji walked ahead, receiving the greetings of the village people. The reception they accorded to him that morning had its own high-lights. When Vinobaji asked them whether they had thought of offering their village in Gramdan, prompt came their reply "yes".

Before his departure the other day, Dr. Homer had half an hour's interview with Vinobaji during which the following conversation took place:—

Religious Toleration

Out of the several questions which Dr Homer Jack desired Vinobaji to throw light on, he said he would take the last question first.

Ques: How can the exclusiveness be taken away from Western religions so that they would become more tolerant?

Ans: "It is indeed a very important question. Although I am not sure that there is very great tolerance in Eastern religions also, so far as the Indian culture is concerned, I think, you will be right in saying that it is not exclusive. Indian philosophy is more broad-based. It does not stick to any personality. That seems to me the greatest quality of Indian culture. In Islam, they say that Allah is the One. That is all right. But along with it they also say that Mohammed is

the only Prophet. They do not deny other Prophets, but still they say that Mohammed was the last Prophet, and hence his word is the last word. No one would deny that Mohammed is one of the prophets, but when they say that his word is the last word, it creates barriers. In Christianity also everything is centered round Christ. One must accept Christ or else he is doomed. In India also there are Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Shankaracharya, and others. But no one says; "You must follow such and such person or else you are doomed." I think, this emphasis on personalities comes in the way. Even the disciples of Christ from St. John to St. Paul have laid so much stress on the personality of Christ. Otherwise, after all the good work they have done—and they have done much good work—the inequities that followed would not have happened. So let us set aside personalities. Try to think impersonally."

The U. N. O.

Ques: What are your feelings towards U. N. O., on the tenth anniversary of its founding?

Ans: "I am a man of Faith and I trust every good-intentioned organization. I believe U. N. O. is based on good intentions. But I feel that although they sit round one table, they do not trust each other. If they develop mutual faith, they will get better results."

Ques: What is your opinion of the American Foreign Policy? How can America more responsibly and more humanly use its tremendous resources and power?

Ans: "I do not know what the Foreign Policy of America is! I do not generally get American Newspapers. And in these days foreign policies of every nation are misrepresented by other nations. But I have basic faith in me that all those do not mean any bad motive. Their motives are good. But fear has taken possession of their minds."

The Five Year Plans

Ques: What is your opinion about the First Five Year Plan? How should the Second Plan be modified?

Ans: "It is a good attempt to raise the standard of living of the people. But the basic thing is the initiative should come from below. Moreover, so long as the land problem is not settled, all the plans will be ineffective. But in the Second Five Year Plan, I hope, they are going to lay stress on planning from below."

Ques: How can the Bhoodan movement be adapted to land reforms in Indonesia and other Asian countries? It is intrinsically Indian or can the plan be used anywhere?

Bhoodan a Moral Movement

Ans: "There is nothing specially Indian about Bhoodan. It is a moral movement. Mere technique is not sufficient. There

should be Faith in human beings. Society should not be divided into classes. Every man should be considered individually as God's image and one must approach every one with love and ask for poor man's share and one shall get as Christ said: "Knock and you shall get." But the knocking should be out of love. It may be that Indian tradition has given some impetus to the movement but nevertheless human heart is the same everywhere."

Gandhiji's Unique Contribution

Ques: What dimensions you have added to Gandhi's teachings?

Ans: "I do not think I have added, or am adding, anything to any good teaching. I am merely trying to follow the good teachings of all great men from times immemorial. Gandhiji has conquered Indian hearts and the whole nation is indebted to him but still, I think, Gandhiji also had nothing new to teach, nor did he claim that he had given anything new, though the technique of non-violent resistance can be said to be a new technique. But that also was in the natural events of the circumstances. In science, experiments are first made in the laboratory and then applied to common use. The same happens in social life. Principles are discovered, experimented upon and tested in the laboratories of individuals and then they are applied to society. The principle of non-violence

was tested in individual life by so many saints and good men and now when science has widened the scope of things, the proper time has come to apply these principles to the larger field on the social plane. What Gandhiji did was to apply the principles of Truth and non-violence on national scale. It can also be applied on an international scale as well. Very naturally, the principle was applied from individual to society. The British came here and were successful in disarming the whole nation. Perhaps, that was the first and the only example of disarming a nation. Very naturally, some kind of resistance had got to be applied."

Ques: What is the chief weakness of Gandhiji or Gandhism?

Ans: "I just told you that the whole nation was disarmed and the natural necessity, therefore, was of an unarmed resistance. Gandhiji wanted resistance but did not get what he wanted. People kept faith in him, followed him but it was not the non-violence of the strong. It was non-violence of the weak."

Ques: How do you account for the growth of the armed force in India born of non-violence?

Ans: "I think the answer is given, because what India did, was not out of bravery but out of fear. But I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that if India is prepared to be disarmed,

Nehru would be the first man to disband the army."

Ques: Why have the Socialists not made a better show in India?

Ans: "The main reason, I think, is that they are trying to adjust between Marx and Gandhi."

Ques: Have Communism a chance to control India in the next 25 years?

Ans: I do not like to speculate in such matters. But if we are not able to eradicate poverty, there is a chance to so many evils and Communism is, perhaps, the least of these evils."

Ques: What is the chief weakness of Communism?

Ans: "There is a contradiction in their beliefs. They believe in the masses but at the same time they do not believe in their hearts. 'State will wither away' they say. One who believes in this must also believe in the hearts of the masses. That is, perhaps, the greatest weakness."

Bhoodan and Congress

Ques: How can Congress be rejuvenated into a human dynamic force in India to-day?

Ans: "If Bhoodan proceeds as it does and is able to capture the mass mind, Congress will become a dynamic force because the Congress tradition cannot be surpassed."

Ques: What is your opinion about India's present role as a World Peace-maker?

Ans: "India is a land of Peace. Blessed are the peace-makers and blessed are also those who intend to be peace-makers. India does want to have Peace all over no doubt, but so long as we do not solve our problems with Pakistan peacefully, I do not think India will get that moral strength. But I am putting faith in Bhoodan and if Bhoodan goes on well, people will have full faith in Non-violence. And if such big problems are solved through non-violence, people will get that inner strength. That is why I said at Puri and also at Berhampur that those who donate land give their vote for World Peace."

Ques: In what sense do you feel you are carrying on Gandhi's work?

Ans: I do not think I am carrying on anyone's work, but, I think, after Swaraj, this work of Bhoodan comes in the natural course. And I believe that Gandhiji also would

have turned his attention to this problem. The solution of the land problem is not so important as the method of solving it. And so far as the method is concerned, I feel, I am trying to put into practice the essence of Gandhiji's teachings."

Good Men live for ever

Ques: What were your thoughts when you first heard that Gandhi had died?

Ans: "My feeling was that he had not died at all and that feeling of mine persists even to-day that he is not dead. Good men are never dead. They live for ever. Bad men never live. They only live in imagination."

Answering all the questions Vinobaji, concluding, said; "I am glad you have come".

"Thank you. This is the best time of mine, not only in India but in Asia, that I have been able to meet you," replied Dr. Homer.

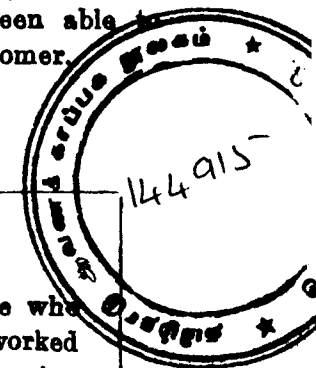


DIGNITY OF MANUAL LABOUR

Today a wall separates the farmers and the people who seek to advise them, because these advisers have never worked in the farms. In the past persons returning from foreign countries, after training there, were appointed high officers. They never did any kind of manual work - or rather, thought it below their dignity to do so. This kind of aversion to manual work has created a wall between our intellectuals and the peasants. This has to be demolished.

JL

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



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From Land-Gifts to Land-Revolution

SURESH RAMABHAI

The Bhoodan which originally intended to make no tiller of the soil landless has now taken a radical turn of making no one claim ownership of the land. Vinobaji in his yatra in Orissa is witnessing complete surrender of the private right of land to the village community. Over two hundred villages have been offered as complete Bhoodan. The villagers heartily respond to Vinobaji's slogan "There will be no private land-ownership in our village". Sri. Suresh Ramabhai is vividly describing the almost daily scenes showing the tremendous mental transformation that is sweeping over the villages of Orissa as a result of Vinobaji's yatra.

A clear blue sky. Far in the front flanked the lower ranges of the Eastern Ghats. Green leaves of tall trees were rustling under the cool, evening breeze. A pin-drop silence conferred a solemn serenity to the scene. A large gathering, consisting of unsophisticated peasantry, attended the prayer with rapt attention. They were eager to know what message the walking saint had brought for them.

Opening his lips, with a firm voice, in his charming Oriya patois, he asked them :

"The landlessness in our village Will there be?"

Loudly they replied :

"No more! No more!!"

And they gave vent to their resolve by raising up both their hands.

With a smile on his face, he re-joined :

"The land ownership in our village will there be?"

With a far louder, resounding voice, they burst forth :

"No more! No more!!"

Then followed his brief address in which he told them :

"That there should be no landlessness in our village is the first step. And that there should be no land-ownership in our village is the last. None except God is the owner of land. We mortals can only be its children. And ours is to serve the mother-earth as best as we can."

This historic event came to pass on 12th May 1955, at the small village of Balipada in the Ganjam district of Orissa.

In his tour of Ganjam district, Vinoba himself distributed land in no less than twelve villages, which eliminated landlessness there. Several of these villages have been totally dedicated for Bhoodan—every land-owner there, having cast off his or her own share, donated it in Bhoodan and transferred its ownership from his or her own hands to that of the village as a whole. Addressing the post-prayer meeting on 28th May (his last day in the Ganjam district), he observed :

"Today it appears that some villages feel inspired to dedicate

themselves in toto. But in the days to come, all villages in the country will be stirred by this inspiration and accomplish this task.

"During the last four years, about four and a half lakhs of people have offered their lands. This *Dan-Ganga* has now spread out all over the country. But that has been land-gift Yagna. Now has begun the land-revolution. There is no place in it for the idea of land-ownership. Land belongs to the village and God is its owner. When the work of land-gift began, it had a slow progress. Likewise, the land-revolution now started will also proceed gradually. And I hope that it will sweep over the whole country."

Slowly but steadily has been progressing this land-revolution which Vinoba hinted at on 26th January 55, the very day when he set his foot on the Orissa soil. He declared :

"The work now to be done is that of *Bhoomi-Kranti* (land-revolution). Merely giving land to the landless is not sufficient. Private land-ownership has to be abolished. Land can only be God's or of the society. If the people at any place live this idea, it would amount to the *poornata* (completeness) of the Bhoodan Yagna. I, therefore, expect in Orissa a *paripoorna darshan* (fullsome view) of the Bhoodan Yagna."

The first beginning in this direction was made on May 28, 1952, when the residents of Mangroth, a village in the Bath sub-division of the Hamirpur district of Uttar Pradesh, donated all the land they had. On 26th January 1953, Manpur, in the Cuttack district of Orissa, followed suit. It rowelled the sides of the Orissa workers with a furious spur. And when Vinoba entered Orissa, they presented him with a gift of ninety-eight whole villages.

From land-gifts to land-revolution is a natural step. It may be recalled that even on the first day of Bhoodan, April 18, 1951, when Vinoba claimed only 80 acres of land for the landless, he clearly stated that land could not be held as a private property and that it belonged to the *Supreme Being* who owns air, water, light and sky. And a gentle soul offered a hundred acres. Ever since, he has been ceaselessly preaching his gospel—not like a beggar but as an exponent of the immortal truth. Obviously, mere land-distribution is of little avail. It may further aggravate India's poverty and throw the villages into the merciless clutches of the urban money-makers. Surely, Bhoodan is not an agency of land-brokers to transfer land from one hand to another. That is bound to take place in India too, as it has done elsewhere. The object of Vinoba is different :

"Land-problem is bound to be solved one way or the other all over the world. I do not worry how much land I get. My only

concern is that right thought should strike a deep root in the heart of the people."

And that right thought is—Land-ownership in any village in India, as the Balipada people reiterated on that memorable day, should be no more, no more!

That land should be owned, sold or purchased is simply fantastic. In fact, land cannot be evaluated in terms of money any more than an hour can be done in those of feet or inches. Reducing land to a marketable commodity is a curse, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also remarks in his *Glimpses of World History*, perpetrated by the British occupation of India. It has now become a part of our economic life. It has been accepted as such by the Government as also by all the socio-political schools flourishing in the country. Vinoba seeks to undo this basic wrong and wants the people to bring about this consummation themselves.

But when land ceases to be a marketable commodity, the question naturally arises: What about other means of production? Vinoba has a clean answer. Addressing the post-prayer meeting on 30th May last (when he entered the Koraput district), he pointed out:

"As there can be no ownership of land, so also, I want to say, there cannot be any ownership of factories, workshops or mills. What happens today in the mills is that there are two categories of people—labourers and mill-owners. I want that both should

work as labourers and also as owners. If somebody is more intelligent, he will apply his intelligence; if somebody is physically more powerful, he will apply his physical prowess. And both would be owners. But there cannot be two owners. Ownership can rest only with one. It means that the whole society or God would be the owner, and we all shall be servants. The owner is He and whatever we shall get we shall distribute equally amongst ourselves and shall work for the benefit of the society. This is going to be the current coin in future. Individual ownership is an impossibility in this world now. I wish you to grasp this basic truth."

This appeal for village donation or *Gram-Dan* has been catching. By now, Koraput alone—thanks to the unrelenting efforts of Orissa's constructive-work-stalwart, Sri Gopabandhu Chowdhury and his illustrious devout wife, Shrimati Ramadevi, and of their solid band of self-effacing workers—has offered a hundred villages in *Bhoo-Kranti*, 73 in Balasore, 24 in Ganjam, 23 in Mayurghanj and ten in Cuttack and others, the total being 230. And more are added to the list day after day as Vinoba goes round the Koraput district. He seems to set fire to the villages with his new *mantram* of *Gram-Dan*. As he said the other day:

"I want that every village should be rich and produce more. But I want to ignite the spark of *Gram-Dan*

Shanti Sena or Peace Army

KAKA KALELKER

(From a speech made at the second Triennial Convention of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (India) held at Kurnool from 5th to 7th May '55.)

IN my childhood I learned shooting which I believed could be made use of in the struggle for freedom of our country. So I practised shooting with a muggle loader gun which I managed to get.

My first Contact with Gandhiji

I remember my first visit to Gandhiji at Shantiniketan. I was with Gandhiji for the first time and he was free. For full eight days I interviewed him day and night and studied his views regarding religion, politics, literature and everything. I found him to be the man who could satisfy my mind especially on spiritual matters. I told him I was not prepared to accept non-violence. I was not sure whether non-violence would bring liberty to our country.

I asked him whether he could promise to bring liberty to our country by his non-violent methods. The majority believed in violence. Then Gandhiji asked me to stay in the Ashram and study first hand what he (Gandhiji) was doing and if interested in the life there, I could stay with him. I went to him often, heard him and studied his views in detail. Gradually I was completely converted. I understood that non-violence is the law of life and could solve all the problems.

Though I am a Hindu and will never give up Hinduism, I regard myself as a Christian. I regard myself as a Christian not by hearing the Christian Missionaries, but on reading the life and teaching of Jesus. I was influenced by His life, his teaching

Continued from page 54

first. Thereafter we shall carry on our cultivation work. They call it '*chas*'. I have seen in the hilly regions that they first set fire to the field and then do '*chas*'. I tried to do '*chas*' for thirty years in Wardha, but without setting fire to. Consequently, little was produced. I wondered why thirty years' labour yielded so little dividends. Later I realised that

there could be no '*chas*' without fire. So I came out in search of fire. And I sprang upon this Bhoodan-Yagna."

And by 1957 he wants to set the whole country to the Bhoodan fire. Let us achieve the land-revolution first. Then we shall be able to erect the edifice of free India as we choose. But any attempt to do so without raising this foundation is like building on sand. May we all make the land-revolution a living reality.



and martyrdom. I did not and will not go to any missionary and ask him to accept me as a Christian.

Being a citizen of my country I should be prepared to lay my life for the defence of my country. But why should I prepare to kill somebody? You say 'love at any cost'. How can you then kill anybody? If you believe in absolute love then you must find out some way by which you can defend your country without killing others. Absolute love means that the whole of humanity is one family. Can I kill my brother if he goes wrong and attacks me or even if he is mad and does all sorts of troubles in the family? How can I stab my brother? If you regard the whole world as one family you cannot fight and kill anybody. I think it is possible to organise ourselves as to prepare for the non-violent defence of the defenceless.

The question before us is whether we could have military training in schools; training for violence and training for non-violence now going together. Psychologically you cannot organise people for non-violence unless you have a change of life. If you want to fight against a nation the first thing you have to do is to hate that nation. Then only you could fight well against them and succeed. Heart must be hardened in order to be successful in war. If you love the people in the country against whom you fight you cannot fight successfully. So also we have to train our hearts for non-violence. It is possible to risk our life without hatred. When there is fire you rush to des-

roy the fire, without any hatred in your heart.

My Baptism in Non-violence

I remember the day on which I was baptised into non-violence. Gandhiji was going to the Punjab. He was arrested and sent back to Bombay. People in Ahmedabad started hooliganism. I went there. I saw the military on one side and people on the other side. I asked the police to allow me to pacify the people. Bullets were fired. I asked my heart "Are you afraid?" The reply was "No, not at all" because there was no hatred or fear in my heart. In the presence of bullets and mad people I could move about without any hatred or fear.

Power of Faith

You have to train young men and women for non-violence - non-violent resistance - and overcome communal fury. You must be prepared to be truly Christian and organise a non-violent army. Here comes the strength of faith. We must show the Government that it is possible to organise people for non-violent resistance. In the army if the soldier knows personally against whom he has to fight it would be difficult for him to do his duty. But in non-violence you must know the people and they should know you.

The power of non-violence, of love, of non-hatred is great. What happened in the case of Jesus? His death proved more powerful than his life. So also with Gandhiji. If death could be made so much profitable why should man fear of death? You

invest your life in death and when you are dead if you become more powerful that will be a profitable bargain.

The Science of Non-violence

While training for non-violent resistance, we have to reconsider the whole problem of life. A very convenient simile may be given here. While in water you must be able to hold yourselves horizontal, unlike in the atmosphere. Otherwise you will be sunk in the water. You learn new ways of the water. You re-adjust yourself in water. In cycling also this is the case. You have to forget your own instinct and learn the instinct of the cycle. In the same way you have to study the instinct of non-violence. The more I have thought of life I found that man has got both these instincts of violence and non-violence. Instinct of non-violence is inherent in man. If you think with all your heart that the world is one family you will never kill your brother.

Training in Non-violence

The students have to be trained to hardships and risks by gradation. They should be taught to love the people, to know the people, so that their lives may become effective.

In military the uniform is respected. A soldier feels himself strong when a number of people dressed in uniforms are around him. But in non-violent struggle he does not mind even if he is alone. It is a good heart that is necessary. It depends not in number nor any external force. The main thing is that the man must have a change of heart. But it is

good that you know who are the persons trained. When we started organising Shanti Sena at Wardha, we used a blue button on the Gandhi cap, and a piece of blue scarf. Khadi has a value of its own. Poor people on the road when they are harassed by some bully try to find out if a person in Khadi is there because they feel that the man in Khadi is a champion of the poor.

The Moral Strength of India

What is the condition of India to-day? Our resources are few. We have no big army. But we are respected by the rest of the world because of our non-violent approach. The whole world is gradually learning to understand these ideals. We have to train not only our young men and women but also the older people. You organise on the basis of non-violence. It is not a thing to be argued about endlessly. Let us make a beginning. Government will then decide whether they should have military training in schools of the non-violent type. No citizen can escape the duty of defending the State. If non-violent way of defence is found good they will, I think, certainly consider that way also.

Those who believe in love and sacrifice, those who believe in God and those who believe in the brotherhood of man, I think, should try and make a start in this way, and it is just the time when you have in India a Government which substantially believe in non-violence and a Society which is always prepared to give a chance to us.

(From Arunodayam - June '55)

THE LOGIC OF IT

R. K. PATIL

Shri R. K. Patil is an I. C. S. officer who played a heroic part during the freedom movement. He was a member of the Planning Commission and recently a minister in the M. P. State which he resigned. He has been dedicating his time for the Bhoodan movement. The following is a critical analysis of the implications of Vinobaji's Puri speech and the Berhampur speech and about the question that faces the Congress, now in power, and others in the service of the people and their inter-relationship.

IN his first speech at the Puri Sammelan Pujya Vinobaji laid down the following propositions.

1. (1) But we do concede that under the conditions of the present movement even in a non-violent social order a little government is essential.

(2) A Sarvodaya social order will give the place of honour to service, service of the people, and therefore, in such an order the biggest organisation will in the nature of things be devoted only to service and to serving the people.

(3) Such an organisation 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 organisation has sanctioned and blessed them.

(4) Whatever importance be given to elections, it has to be recognised that it is not a thing, which shows any capacity to bring about a fundamental change or revolution in Society.

(5) I would, therefore, plead with all the political persons who are placed in positions of power as a

result of elections to effect a fundamental change or to leave them when they had convinced that their attempt to bring about a change in values is failing. In my view the whole issue really boils down to what the transitional steps should be in the change over from the present to the Sarvodaya Order, as indicated by Vinobaji above.

Welfare State or Welfare Society ?

2. Service of a little Government is essential; all that the present Government can do in the course of the transition is to give up its claim to a Welfare State, in which conception the State element has predominance, and accept the ideal of building up a Welfare Society. This will involve a basic revolution in the thought process of our present administrators. They are not to provide things to the people. They are to help people to provide things for themselves. The details of such a change have to be worked out in respect of every branch of administration. It will mean decentralisation, giving more power to local bodies, village Panchayats, etc. Perhaps the Government will reply that all this is indeed their policy and the object of

the Community Projects is indeed to 'help people to help themselves'. It is certainly not 'governing the people'. The constructive aspect of such an issue will be to indicate specifically and precisely, what steps the present Government can take in furtherance of its new ideal of a Welfare Society. This certainly becomes a matter of details but it is only from them that the genuineness or otherwise of the Government's claim can be established.

Control of The Instrument of Power

3. The next question is how to produce an organisation which would have the authority of control over the instrument of power. The Congress, which is admittedly the largest and the most influential organisation in the country today, is not going to convert itself into a Loka Sevak Sangh. It shows no indications of doing so. And so long as there is Government which we have accepted as essential, the instrument of power is going to remain. How is an organisation, devoted essentially to service, to be evolved, which will control the instrument of powers? In the past Gandhiji provided such a link. He effectively controlled the Congress and it could be said that through him, people devoted to service, had the vicarious satisfaction of controlling the instrument of power. I have used the expression 'people devoted to service' and not Service Organisation for there was no such organisation. Indeed the Gandhi Seva Sangh was disbanded a few years after it was formed. Two questions arise in this connection. Can two such orga-

nisations remain at all for any length of time, or must one of them inevitably give place to the other, as happened with the Gandhi Seva Sangh? The other is in times of stress and crises. Whose view would ultimately prevail?—That of the Service Organisation or of the one controlling the seat of power? Some people feel that in most cases, the latter will always prevail by virtue of its greater proximity to the seat of power, and the failure of the first to have any effective sanctions. It would not be legitimate to argue in such cases that the Service Organisation can always appeal to the people. This may not be possible immediately, and the thing would have been done. And again such an appeal may not yield the right results. After all, the electorate is bound to have very many more of Nehru's Chapprais than Nehrus. To give an example from our past history, let us take the case of the formation of the Swaraj Party in 1922 or the partition in 1947. In either case Gandhiji and many people of his view did not favour these departures from accepted policies. But the compulsion of events forced him to make these concessions much against his will. The question, therefore, is whether such a thing is really possible? The Service Organisation can have a moral influence over the organisation controlling the seat of power to the extent that its head is listened to with reverence, but that is all. The final control will always be with the organisation which controls the Seat of Power. All the same such an organisation devoted to

service is a boon to be desired, created and obtained. It will certainly have a toning effect on people and organisations devoted to Social Service through the State Power. But the more ambitious and powerful sections in Society are not likely to be attracted to it, and in the last analysis, the claims made for it, would not stand. It is well known how the Congress bosses looked on constructive workers, as an impractical set of idealists.

Vinobaji's Call to Elected Representatives

4. Granting that elections are incapable of bringing about a fundamental change or revolution in Society, the question arises, What can, and till then, how the Government, which *exhypothesi* must run is to be carried on? Granted, that a change in values can be brought about by the changed laws of dedicated people, and from this view point, Vinobaji's call to the elected representatives of the people to change their lives and dedicate themselves to Bhoodan work is perfectly justified. But like hard-willed practical men, they seem to argue that since the fundamental change or revolution is going to occur in a non-violent and democratic fashion, it will have to bear the stamp of legislation to make it effective. The question is, will the Bhoodan movement usher in a direct revolution or merely create an atmosphere for one which will have to be shaped into form by legislative action. If so, they argue that they had rather be there to give that shape. Of course, nothing can excuse their present inaction in

the movement and confining themselves solely to their legislative duties. If they are really sincere, they must throw themselves heart and soul in the movement, while not necessarily giving up their office.

If the Bhoomidan movement can usher in a direct revolution its picture should be available in those villages which have been received as whole gifts and Vinobaji has rightly said that they are the acid test of our professions and practice. It is only by a demonstration of their revolutionary possibilities that the movement will receive a larger momentum. From this angle, the stress on reconstruction work can never be great. And their results alone will justify Vinobaji's call to all constructive workers to reorient all their rural activities by bringing them squarely on Bhoodan foundation - *Bhoodan Yagna Moolak*.

The Alternative to Elections?

5. If electors are bad, what is the alternative? How is a democracy to function? How can India have a constitution from which elections can be excluded? It is one thing to say that our electorate is illiterate, easily carried away, etc. The remedy then is to wait till they become literate, etc. But if the institution of elections itself is attacked, the responsibility of providing an alternative must also be accepted. How should such a responsibility be discharged? Unless this becomes clear legislators are bound to think twice before giving up their responsibilities. Of course, they would not deny the superior selflessness and sense of service of those who deliberately remain outside.

The Relationship between The Three

6. And finally, there is the question of the relationship between the Government, the Party in power and the organisation and its workers devoted to service and bringing about a change in the people's outlook. What should be the character of this relationship? Of course, it will depend on whether the Government and the party are sympathetic to the new values which are sought to be created. Three possibilities could be considered. They would be sympathetic, they would be hostile and they would be indifferent. If they are sympathetic presumably they would do all in their power, to help those out-side to change people's outlook and social values. Presumably the Congress or at least a section of it feels that they are in this situation today and, therefore, should receive the moral support of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Vinobaji's clarion call to all legislators and those holding positions of power in all political organisations to leave their posts and devote themselves to Bhoodan came therefore, as a rude shock to people holding this view. It is clear that if a number of Congressmen respond to Vinobaji's call, that would result in lowering the morals of the Congress, because *exhypothesi* it would be an admission of their inability to effect any revolutionary changes. This would be tantamount to questioning the Congress claim to bring about a socio-economic revolution. If any political party can bring about Sarvodaya it is the Congress; why should then, Vinobaji cut the ground

under our feet, they ask? This should only be done in case of a hostile or indifferent attitude. Far from it we are anxious not only to bring about Sarvodaya, but also to accelerate the Bhoodan Movement. Therefore, before giving such a call Vinobaji should have indicated to the Congress organisation and the Government what steps he feels they should take, so that the transition to the Sarvodaya Order could be smoothened and only in the absence of a satisfactory reply could this step have been taken. People of this way of thinking feel that at Berhampur, there was a toning down of Vinobaji's attitude, and he contented himself by asking Congressmen to devote to Bhoodan work, and did not emphasise their quitting elective positions which was so prominent at Puri. But it seems clear that Vinobaji and the Bhoodan workers will have to clarify their stand with respect to the elections. As they do not believe in party Government, they will have to say that the best man should be elected irrespective of his party label, which is bound to bring them into conflict with the Congress organisation which is pledged to ask for support to its own candidates.

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Sampattidan or Money-gift

SHRIKRISHNADAS JAJU

Sampattidan or money-gift is the logical outcome of Bhoodan. As Bhoodan is based on the principle that land like primary elements belongs to society Sampattidan is also based on the same principle that all wealth belongs to society. The donor of Sampattidan pledges himself till the end of his life or for a specified period to personally spend a fixed portion of his annual income for the causes approved by Vinobaji and rendering to him annual accounts. The Sadamdan is different from Sampattidan as the donor does not commit himself to a fixed time. As there is not clear understanding about the purpose and implications of both and about the general procedure of spending such gifts, we are giving here the speech of Shri Jajaji at Puri Sarvodaya Sammelan. While the principles are clearly stated the details are not rigid but are only of suggestive nature.

Society - the Owner of all wealth

THE principles of Sampattidan are the same as those of Bhoodan. There can be no private ownership of land, because we believe that all land belongs to the society. Similarly no one can have an exclusive right over wealth or property, because it also belongs to the society and it should be used in the interests of society. The good of the individual is implicit in the good of the society. Therefore, individuals can only use what they need for their livelihood, keeping in view the ideal of simple living. The individual owes his existence, his knowledge and wealth to the society and, therefore, they should be utilised in the service of society. Physical labour should be the means of earning wealth, so that there is no room for exploitation or inequalities. Purity of means is essential.

One Sixth of Income

To bring this idea into practice, the first step in that direction is that each individual should donate a portion of his income. If that is not possible

for any reason, at least a portion of his family expenditure should be given in Sampattidan for the benefit of the society. Sampattidan should be based on the acceptance of *Dauidra-narayan* as a member of the family. One-sixth of the income or one-fifth of the family expenditure should be offered in sampattidan. The family expenditure should include the expenditure on children's education, marriages, etc., in addition to that on food and shelter. Income means net income from all sources excluding income-tax and other taxes. The one-sixth asked for is not in any way a tax. Therefore, the donor can give more or less according to his wishes. But people with large incomes are not expected to leave big gaps. It is necessary that even people with meagre incomes should take part in Sampattidan, though theirs will be only token contributions. Though, for the present, a portion of the wealth is asked for, ultimate aim is that individuals should consider all wealth as belonging to the society and manage it as the trustees of that

wealth. Peasants can give foodgrains as sampattidan.

The amount of sampattidan is not to be handed over to anybody. The donor himself will have to spend it. He will only submit accounts at the end of the year to the Sarva Seva Sangh. Vinobaji has laid down the following purposes for which sampattidan can be spent:-

- (1) Landless peasants, who have been given land, can be provided with seeds, bullocks, wells, etc., and can be helped in preparing the land obtained in Bhoodan for cultivation,
- (2) Maintenance of gram-sevaks of Bhoodan Yagna,
- (3) Propagation of Sarvodaya literature.

Vinobaji or the Sarva Seva Sangh can suggest further additions to the above. It is left to the donor to decide how much and on which of the purposes he will spend his sampattidan. Many people say that in addition to the above, there are many other social welfare items on which they have to spend money. It is suggested that the donor can spend one-third of his sampattidan on other social welfare work according to his choice, and at least the balance of two-thirds of it should be spent on the above-mentioned purposes.

It is commonly observed that people are desirous of giving financial help to the Bhoodan movement but they are not prepared to take a pledge in the form of sampattidan with all its implications. Without the pledge of sampattidan, mere financial help

will take the form of donations, which is not to be encouraged. We have to strive only for Sampattidan.

Donors who wish to utilise their sampattidan to help the landless peasants who are provided with the Bhoodan land, should not do so in the form of cash, but should themselves buy bullocks, ploughs, seeds and other equipments or sink a well for them. If they cannot do this themselves, they can enlist the help and co-operation of the Provincial Bhoodan Committees in this work.

If it is the intention to provide for the maintenance of the gram-sevaks, it is advisable that it is done through the Sarva Seva Sangh, which will arrange for it in different spheres.

As regards propagation of literature, it is never to be distributed free but it can be sold at cheaper price. Literature can be sold at concessional rates to particular sections like the students, workers, etc. Vinobaji will decide what books would constitute the Sarvodaya literature which will be announced from time to time. For the present, publications of the Sarva Seva Sangh can be distributed.

The Provincial Bhoodan Committees will guide and co-operate in explaining the steps to be taken for the successful implementation of the objectives of sampattidan.

Other Forms of Sampattidan

- (1) If any caste-Hindu keeps a Harijan child in his house and brings it up as a member of his family, such expenditure will also be considered as sampattidan.

(2) Where workers or teachers in an institution reside together and where differences in their grades of salaries exist, the ideal sampattidan will be to pool all their incomes and divide the total amount among themselves according to the number of members in each family. They can then contribute a small amount as a token of sampattidan to the common pool.

(3) People with low incomes will find it difficult to spend their small amounts of sampattidan. Where such sampattidan is less than Rs. 25 annually, the following suggestions are made:—

(a) If they are not khadi-wearers and if they buy khadi, half the amount of such purchases can be treated as sampattidan subject to a maximum of Rs. 50 per annum.

(b) One-fourth of the amount spent on products of village industries like oil, footwear, rice, jaggery, cow's ghee, etc. can also be considered as sampattidan.

(c) The wages paid for hand-grinding flour can also be considered as sampattidan upto a maximum of one anna per seer.

The above suggestions have been made, as khadi and village industries are important parts of our new social order and there is need for their wide propagation and a progressively increasing market for their products.

(d) Propagation of the ideology is the basis of all our work. Therefore, the subscription for any of the Bhoodan periodicals can be treated as Sampattidan.

(e) Half the amount fixed for Sarvodaya Swadhyaya ~~Fejaka~~ can also be considered as Sampattidan.

(4) If the amount of Sampattidan is less than Rs. 12 per year, the donors either individually or collectively can spend it on public causes according to their wish.

Sampattidan cannot be accepted from amounts collected by merchants as a compulsory levy from customers for charitable purposes, without any specific objective.

Sampattidan should not be accepted from one who possesses land from whom Bhoodan is expected.

Hints to Workers

1. Every worker engaged in Bhoodan work should take part in Sampattidan and, if he has any land, he should give Bhoodan also.

2. Wherever appeal for Bhoodan is made, Sampattidan also should be included in it.

3. Sampattidan should also be asked from those who give Bhoodan.

4. The rich and the middle class people are usually approached for Sampattidan, while the poor people are not. Although the contributions from the poor may be very small, they will produce a great effect in the atmosphere.

5. As stated above, if the poor also should give Sampattidan, even as a token, it may be asked what should be their contributions, and how it should increase with the progressive increase in incomes. Further, Sampattidan itself is of a long-standing

nature and during that long period, incomes may fluctuate. In such cases, how should we arrive at the amount of Sampattidan? It should be clear that Sampattidan is not a statutory tax and the donors can therefore increase or decrease it according to their wish. It is Vinobaji's desire that everyone should consider the *Daivdhanarayan* as one of his family members and contribute his share. That is the principle behind Sampattidan. However, the following suggestions are made for general guidance.

For a monthly income below Rs 50 — three pies in a rupee or 1/64th.
For income from Rs. 50 to 150 — six pies in a rupee or 1/32nd.
For income from Rs. 150 to 250 — nine pies in a rupee or 1/20th.

Similarly, for every 100 rupees three pies can be increased, upto one-sixth of the income. Those who get huge incomes are expected to give much more than this.

6. A complication arises in appealing for Sampattidan and Sadhandan simultaneously. We are in great need of Sadhandan. When we appeal for both in private or public meetings, people respond more easily to Sadhandan with the result that Sampattidan is left behind. Sampattidan has a very deep significance and occupies an important place in our movement and Sadhandan has comparatively less significance. In order to avoid such complications, as will adversely affect Sampattidan, we should appeal for Sadhandan at the time of land distribution to enable the peasants to carry

out the first year's work without difficulty and at all other times, Sampattidan should be stressed.

7. If the donor desires that his Sampattidan or income should be kept confidential, it should be done so by a separate register in the provincial office, which should be accessible only to the head of the Provincial Committee.

An Appeal

An appeal is made that everyone, poor or rich, should take part in the Sampattidan movement, especially office-holders, government officials, businessmen, industrialists and people belonging to intellectual professions. Ministers, members of legislatures, political leaders as well as social workers, who are mainly concerned with the welfare of the society, and have a special responsibility in Sampattidan through their personal example to inspire others.

(From Sarvodaya — Hindi —
April — May — June '55)

SWARAJYA SHASTRA

By

Acharya Vinoba

Translation from Hindi

By Bharatan Kumarappa

Price Re. 1.

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The export of thousands of dumb monkeys from India for inhuman torture in the name of medicine has aroused the moral protest in several quarters in India and outside. Rajaji has already appealed to the good sense against this inhumanity in a poetic form appearing in "Harijan" of 16-7-'55. We are thankful to the writer for this article to 'Sarvodaya' powerfully reinforcing the arguments advanced by Rajaji and others against this torture for vaccines of doubtful utility. The readers are familiar with the writer whose previous article "Satyagraha and Pravda" was published in 'Sarvodaya' of June '55.

HOW is it that India whose religions so wisely teach non-violence, reverence for life and compassion - teaching more needed than any other in the world of to-day - has been exporting monkeys to America's experimental laboratories where, during the initial tests of Salk's polio-vaccine, five thousand of these intelligent but helpless creatures were sacrificed every month, to provide a 'cure' which is not only repellent but has been most tragically proved to be fallible?

Mrs. Besant who worked so long and faithfully for the liberation of India, and so dearly loved the country of her spiritual adoption, and its philosophy, wrote of her hopes for it:

"The India to which I belong in faith and heart is.....a civilisation in which spiritual knowledge was accounted highest title to honour, and in which the people revered and sought after spiritual truth. To help in turning India into another Great Britain or another Germany is an ambition that does not allure me; the India I would give my life to

help in building is.....an India to which all other lands should look for spiritual life.....I honestly believe that the future of India, and the happiness of her people, can never be secured by political methods, but only by the revival of her philosophy and religion."

How saddened she would be to see the inhabitants of her beloved country becoming dazzled by the spectacular 'magic' of materialistic science and co-operating in a form of medical healing that degrades the spirit of man, - that of being injected with the product of the diseased kidney tissue of monkeys who have been forced to submit to the most appalling experimentation in order to find a 'cure' which even when the vaccine is not faulty is only guaranteed to be 60%-70% successful, and has already caused the paralysis and death of a number of American children?

What would Gandhiji think of this medical theory, (as alien to the idea of Ahimsa), which insists that the best way to cure disease is to inject healthy bodies with diseased

animal matter? Not only do such 'scientific' methods violate the law of love and compassion but they forcibly impress upon man the doctrine of the materialists that he 'is a creature of circumstances external to himself'; that he has no inward spiritual resources but must be conditioned by external methods?

Both Tolstoy and Gandhiji foresaw the acute danger of this indoctrination by medical science, and they both saw the need for, and urgently advocated spiritual healing as being the one conclusive answer to the arguments of the materialists and the only radical therapeutics. In his *Private Diaries* Tolstoy wrote:

"The sick man does not know that his life depends on spiritual conditions which are not subject to the laws of matter; instead of seeking for health in the spiritual source ofthe soul, he prefers to seek for it in a living man, a wonder workeror a doctor."

And Gandhiji had no doubt whatever as to the proper mode of healing. His biographer, Rene Fulop-Miller, stated that Gandhiji wanted to cure all ailments by spiritual means and greatly deplored the fact that Western Medicine occupied itself exclusively with the body, completely neglecting the soul.

A humanity pledged to gain the whole world of materialistic knowledge for the price of its soul.

I would urge the students and professors, he said in an address, to

investigate the laws governing the health of the spirit, and they will find that they will yield startling results even with reference to the cure of the body. The man who lives in the proper spirit need never get ill.

For Gandhiji, the mere patching up of the body without restoring wholeness and purity to the mind was immoral, for his religion taught him that much sickness was due to wrong and immoral thinking and living, and that the real cure was to heal the patient's character rather than remove the effects of wrong living which appeared on the body, for these would disappear with the inward purification.

Hospitals are institutions for the propagation of sin, he said; they seduce men into paying less attention to the warning of their bodies and giving themselves up more and more to a life of vice.

While admitting that much credit is due to the medical profession for its insistence upon the need for cleanliness and hygiene, which are, after all, but forms of purity translated into human terms, and therefore obviously necessary to the health of mankind, we cannot doubt what Gandhiji's verdict would be upon the latest medical inventions which not only attempt to defeat the law of karma but, sacrificing all compassion to curiosity, demand unlimited experimentation on man and beast in the name of progress - to what?

★ The Ambar Charkha ★

A. W. SAHASRABUDHE,

Secretary, Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh

IN April, 1954 a grand exhibition was held under the auspices of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board in which the demonstration of the working of Ambar charkha formed an item. From the data gathered as a result of researches made on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh till then it appeared that a complete set of Ambar charkha will cost between Rs. 200 and 250; and arrangements for its manufacture will have to be made in big urban factories; and it can be used only for village self sufficiency purposes. Each village, then will have a Parishramalaya or work-house with 5 to 10 Ambar charkha sets which will produce in the village itself the yarn required for clothing its population. It seemed as though our idea of making individual families take to khadi production as a home industry will have to yield place to making whole villages as units of self-sufficiency by using Ambar Charkhas.

Between April, 1954 and June, 1955 a number of improvements were effected in Ambar charka; while pains were taken to reduce the cost of manufacture, strenuous attempts were also continued to be made to have most, if not all its parts, manufactured not by a big city factory but by the village artisans - the carpenters and blacksmiths of the villages themselves with the result that today the price of an Ambar charkha has come down from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 70 or 75; and except for some of its special finer wheels, the village carpenter is now able to make, say, some 50 to 60% of its parts.

Consequent on the reduction in price and the simplification of mechanism it now seems possible to introduce the Ambar charkha in every

home with a view to make it take to spinning as a home industry. The Sarva Seva Sangh is making researches with village self-sufficiency and not that of the family as its aim.

At the meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh held on 28-11-1954 at Sevagram a resolution was passed by which it was decided to draw a plan for working the Ambar charkha under Sarva Seva Sangh's auspices on a large scale in a wide area. A plan was accordingly drawn and it got approved on 30-3-1955 at the Jagannathpuri meeting of the Sangh.

The following is the plan in brief:—

(i) The scheme period is to be one year from 1-5-1955 to 30-4-1956;

(ii) 8,700 Ambar charkhas to be manufactured on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh for being worked in about 100 self-sufficiency centres spread throughout the country and the Ambar charkha's maximum capacity and potentialities to be explored and found out; the centres to be distributed in all the States, all varieties of cotton to be tried at this charkha, and the centres to work through all the strata of society from the lowest and the most backward to the highest - from the Adivasis to the high-brows of the cities.

(iii) The aim of the Ambar charkha centers to be self-sufficiency of the areas concerned and no idea of producing Khadi for marketing to be entertained.

For working this plan, it was estimated a sum of Rs. 14½ lakhs would be required; Gandhi Memorial Fund has already given Sarva Seva Sangh Rs. 10 lakhs for this purpose. For carrying out the plan a commit-

THE AMBAR CHARKHA

69

tee consisting of the following gentlemen has been constituted by the Sarva Seva Sangh:

Sriyuts: Raghunnatha Rao Dhotre, Anna Sahib Sahasrabudhe, Sridhar Rao Hulyalkar, Nandlal Patel, Dwarakanath Lele, Kesav Rao Devdhar, N. R. Sowni, and Krishnadas Gandhi. (Convener)

The first meeting of this Ambar Charkha Planning Committee was held on 20-5-'55 at the Gramodyog Vidyalaya, Nasik, at which the future programme of work was chalked out in detail.

With a view to implementing the programme, work as detailed below has been done during the last 5 or 6 months:

1. If 100 Ambar Charkha centres are to be opened all over the country 250 workers would be required. So a class for 60 instructors was started on 16-2-'55 at Maganwadi and their training was for a period of 3 months. They have since been sent to various places for running Ambar charkha centres and for gaining experience.
2. Training for 15 workers has commenced at the Triyambak Vidyamandir on 15-5-'55. 30 candidates will be called to Maganwadi for a course of training commencing on 15-7-'55. Arrangements will be made for starting a training class for 50 workers at Tirupur in South

India in the third week of August.

It is hoped that 250 workers would thus be got ready and we would have enough number of workers for carrying out the programme.

Manufacture of Ambar Charkha

Up to the end of June '55, 225 sets of Ambar charkha had been made. About 200 charkhas would be got ready in July. The rate of charkha production per month will be 1000 from August onwards. In order to maintain the level of production at 1000 a month it has been thought advisable to make bulk purchases of iron for wheels and seasoned wood. The manufacture is now mainly done at Maganwadi, Wardha. This is being assisted by the implements workshops of Koilpatti, Hubli, Bilimora, Bardoli, Ahmedabad, Wardha, Dhulia, Pusa Road and many other places where the manufacture of wheels and finer parts has commenced. Ere long Ambar sets will come to be made at these workshops also. These, then, are the arrangements that have thus far been made-

The 60 workers who completed their course at the Maganwadi training centre in February '55 and some others who have been doing researches in the Ambar charkha already have now either started Ambar charkha sections in the many old centres of the Sarva Seva Sangh or opened new Ambar charkha centres as detailed below:

No.	Name of the centre	District.	Pradesh.	Date of commencement of work.	No. of Ambar charkhas working.
1.	Mangroth	Unnav	Uthar Pradesh	20-4-55	26
2.	Ramachandrapur	Cuttack	Orissa	1-4-55	11
3.	Kauakowl	Gaya	Bihar	3-5-55	5
4.	Khatmandu	Khatmandu	Nepal	7-5-55	3
5.	Chak Islampur	Murshidabad	Bengal	28-5-55	4
6.	Bardoli	Surat	Gujarat	9-8-55	1

No.	Name of the centre.	District.	Pradesh.	Date of commencement of work.	No. of Ambar charkhas working.
7.	Khadigram	Monghyr	Bihar	20-5-55	50
8.	Kushta Dham	Dattapur.			
		Wardha	Madhya Pradesh	15-5-55	1
9.	Triyambak				
	Vidya Mandir	Nasik	Bombay	10-5-55	81
10.	Hnbli	Dharwar	Bombay	8-5-55	1
11.	Mul	Chands	Madhya Pradesh	20-5-55	3
12.	Maganwadi	Wardha	"	15-2-55	65
13.	Kamerpur	Muradabad	Uttar Pradesh	9-5-55	5
14.	Sevagram	Wardha	Madhya Pradesh	2-6-55	1
15.	Bilimora	Surat	Gujarat	...	12
16.	Pochampalli	Nalagonda	Hyderabad	24-6-55	5
17.	Gopuri	Kolhapur	Bombay	1-7-55	2
					180

In the above centres a total of 180 Ambar charkas are now working.

In order that other centres also may take up this work and get ready their Ambar charkhas in their own places a scheme has been framed for calling 200 to 250 carpenters from all over the country to a central place and enable them to get familiarised with their manufacturing process. Five carpenters have so far learnt the method at Wardha and returned to their places and about 25 more are now picking up the process. In future whenever a centre is opened 5 to 10 Ambar charkhas will be sent from the central office to begin with and thereafter the trained carpenters above referred to, would prepare the required number of charkhas themselves locally.

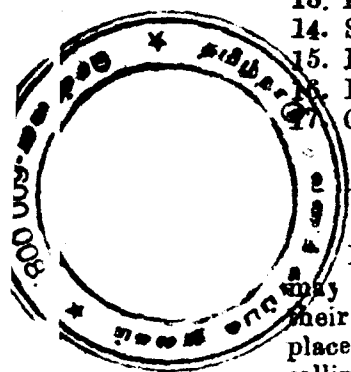
By the end of December 40 to 50 centres would have come into being through which 3000 to 4000 Ambar charkhas would begin to be plied.

The Limitations.

Side by side with the manufacture of Ambar charkhas research is also continuously undergoing changes and alterations. The whole model of the Ambar charkha has upto now been altered 15 or 16 times. In the present model one can hardly recognise even

a trace of the first model. Even the present model, not being the last word in the process, can possibly get changed in the near future. Under these circumstances the Sarva Seva Sangh has imposed on itself and on other Ambar charkha workshops a self denying ordinance not to manufacture charkhas till March 1956 with a view to putting them on the market.

Both with regard to the capacity and the usefulness of the Ambar charkha, conditions full of promise have developed throughout the country. The number of individuals and institutions who would purchase Ambar charkhas for cash is day by day increasing. Our request to all of them would be to wait for sometime and await the results of researches that have been started on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh on an extensive scale. If anybody can actively help us in the research he is quite welcome to do so. We request all who can to come forward and help us in this work. We would request the general public not to think of going in for the Ambar charkha for the next 7 or 8 months. If it proves its worth, it cannot but come into the market one day.

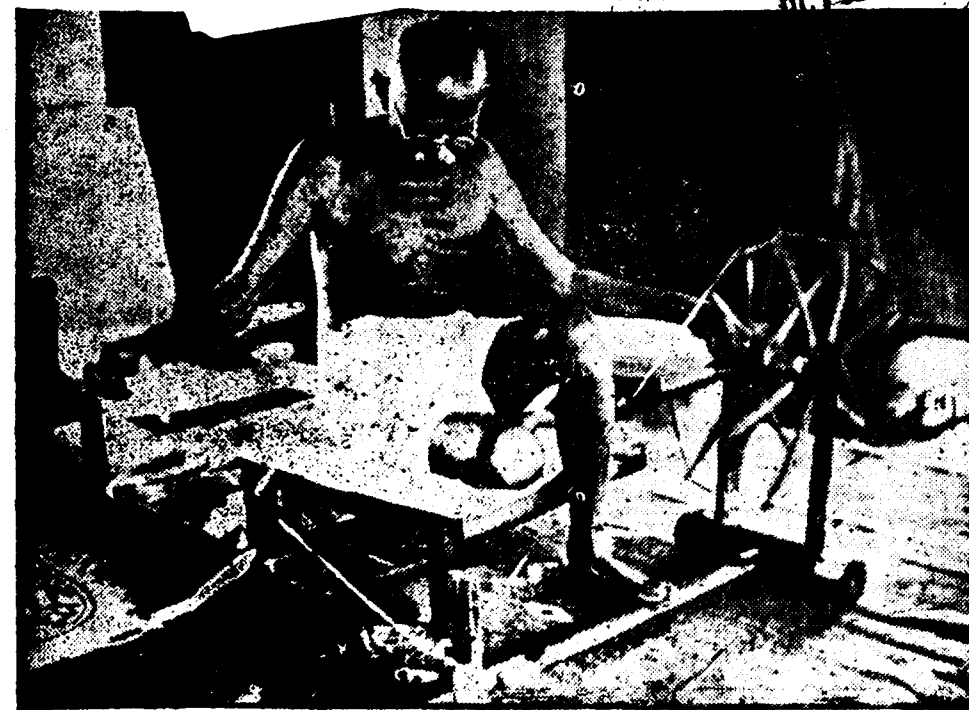




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Mahatma Gandhi spinning on a simple Bamboo Charkha

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE (South India)

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Vol. 5 OCTOBER 1955. No 4

Whole Contents	No. 52
Implications of Yagna	... 112
—Mahatma Gandhi	
Self-sufficiency through Education	... 113
—Acharya Vinoba	
Vinobaji's Appeal for Gram-dan	... 115
Bhoodan - The Social Revolution	... 119
—Acharya Kripalani	
The Need for a Book of Faith - Vinobaji amidst Adivasis	... 125
—Damodardas Mundada	
Women and World Peace	... 129
—J. C. Kumarappa	
Vinoba - The Mine of Knowledge	... 132
—Bharatan Kumarappa	
Sarvodaya Conference in Delhi	... 135
—Dr. Radhakrishnan's address	
Not By Bread Alone	... 136
—Wilfred Wellock	
Vinoba - The Saint Revolutionary	... 137
—Suresh Ramabhai	
All India Bhoodan News	... 139
Bhoodan Received and Distributed	... 142

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BUDDHA'S BEAUTITUDES

Buddha's eightfold path of salvation might well be respoken in the form of Christ's beautitudes. For "beatitude and how to reach it" was the central theme of all his sermons:

Blessed are they who *know*, and whose knowledge is free from delusion and superstition.

Blessed are they who speak what they know in a kindly, open and truthful manner.

Blessed are they whose conduct is peaceful, honest and pure.

Blessed are they who earn their livelihood in a way that brings hurt or danger to no living thing.

Blessed are the tranquil, who have cast out ill-will, pride, self-righteousness, and put in their place love, pity and sympathy.

Blessed are ye when ye direct your best efforts to self-training and self-control.

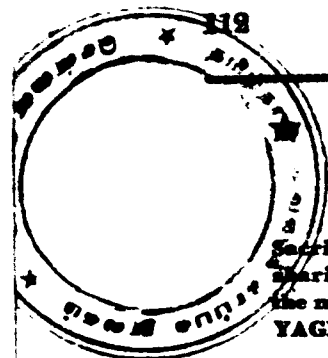
Blessed beyond measure, when ye are by this means unwrapped from the limitations of selfhood.

And blessed, finally, are they who find rapture in contemplating what is deeply and really true about this world and our life in it.

Max Eastman

Reader's Digest (Aug. '55)





Implications of Yagna or Sacrifice ★

MAHATMA GANDHI

Bhoodan is not simply a movement as it is often called. It is a Yagna or sacrifice that each individual is called to offer to the society in some form of sharing his wealth or faculty. The following taken from "Yeravda Mandir" on the meaning and implications of Yagna will convey the special significance of YAGNA in Bhoodan and the total transformation in values which it aims.

WE make frequent use of the word *Yagna*. We have raised spinning to the rank of a daily *mahayagna* (primary sacrifice). It is therefore necessary to think out the various implications of the term *yagna*.

Yagna means an act directed to the welfare of others, done without desiring any return for it, whether of a temporal or spiritual nature. 'Act' here must be taken in its widest sense, and includes thought and word, as well as deed. 'Others' embraces not only humanity, but all life. Therefore, and also from the standpoint of *ahimsa*, it is not a *yagna* to sacrifice lower animals even with a view to the service of humanity. It does not matter, that animal sacrifice is alleged to find a place in the *Vedas*. It is enough for us, that such sacrifice cannot stand the fundamental tests of Truth and Non-violence. I readily admit my incompetence in Vedic scholarship. But the incompetence so far as this subject is concerned, does not worry me, because even if the practice of animal sacrifice be proved to have been a feature of Vedic society, it can form no precedent for a votary of *ahimsa*.

Again a primary sacrifice must be an act, which conduces the most to the welfare of the greatest number

in the widest area, and which can be performed by the largest number of men and women with the least trouble. It will not therefore, be a *yagna*, much less a *mahayagna*, to wish or to do ill to any one else, even in order to serve a so-called higher interest. And the Gita teaches, and experience testifies, that all action that cannot come under the category of *yagna* promotes bondage.

The world cannot subsist for a single moment without *yagna* in this sense, and therefore the Gita, after having dealt with true wisdom in the second chapter, takes up in the third the means of attaining it, and declares in so many words, that *Yagna* came with the Creation itself. This body therefore has been given us, only in order that we may serve all Creation with it. And therefore, says the Gita, he who eats without offering *Yagna* eats stolen food. Every single act of one who would lead a life of purity should be in the nature of *Yagna*. *Yagna* having come to us with our birth, we are debtors all our lives, and thus for ever bound to serve the universe. And even as a bondsman receives food, clothing and so on from the master whom he serves, so should we gratefully accept such gifts as may be assigned to us by the Lord of the Universe. What we receive must

be called a gift; for as debtors we are entitled to no consideration for the discharge of our obligations. Therefore we may not blame the Master, if we fail to get it. Our body is His to be cherished or cast away according to His will. This is not a matter for complaint or even pity; on the contrary, it is a natural and even a pleasant and desirable state, if only we realize our proper place in God's scheme. We do indeed need strong faith, if we would experience this supreme bliss. "Do not worry in the least about yourself, leave all worry to God" - this appears to be the commandment in all religions.

This need not frighten any one. He who devotes himself to service with a clear conscience will day by day grasp the necessity for it in greater measure, and will continually grow richer in faith. The path of service can hardly be trodden by one, who is not prepared to renounce self-

interest, and to recognize the conditions of his birth. Consciously or unconsciously every one of us does render some service or other. If we cultivate the habit of doing this service deliberately, our desire for service will steadily grow stronger, and will make not only for our own happiness but that of the world at large.....

Yagna is duty to be performed, or service to be rendered, all the twenty-four hours of the day..... To serve without desire is to favour not others, but ourselves, even as in discharging a debt we serve only ourselves, lighten our burden and fulfil our duty. Again, not only the good, but all of us are bound to place our resources at the disposal of humanity. And if such is the law, as evidently it is, indulgence ceases to hold a place in life and gives way to renunciation. The duty of renunciation differentiates mankind from the beast.



Self-Sufficiency Through Education

ACHARYA VINOBA

NOW a days many have begun to emphasise the importance of self-sufficiency in education. They advocate the teaching of some craft or industry and training in physical work in the educational institutions. Of course, every one has to work with his own hands. If people begin to do physical work, their health will improve, production will increase, the country will become prosperous and free from class distinctions. These advantages make people

think that there should be the element of self-sufficiency in education. To me self-sufficiency means something more; my interpretation goes deeper still.

The function of schools

I would emphasise more on that aspect which will enable the students to gain knowledge by their own efforts and become free and independent thinkers. If this becomes the chief objective of education, the

entire system of the education of the day will get changed. To-day in schools many languages and innumerable subjects are taught. The student depends for everything on the teachers for several years. This should not be. The student should have that kind of training that will enable him to advance forward by himself and gain knowledge. Knowledge is limitless in the world. It is not necessary that one should gain them all. Yet he must gather enough that may be useful for life. It is wrong to think that one can gain all this knowledge from schools. One has to gain it by himself in his day to day life. Hence the function of schools should be to help him to gain that strength and power to gain this knowledge by himself as he advances in life.

Freedom from all Dependence

To-day parents are anxious to send their children to schools because they feel that will enable them to get jobs which will fetch money to lead a well-to-do life. This is a wrong approach to education. Education is a fundamental basis of life. Knowledge leads us to freedom. He who gets real knowledge becomes truly free and independent. Now a days this freedom is interpreted as self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency is generally understood as freedom from outside support.

Of course, one must earn to maintain his body and for which some training in some industry or profession is needed. This is only one aspect of self-sufficiency. But the major part of it is the creation and

development of that stamina in the individual to gather as he advances in life more and more of real knowledge. To be really free one must learn to control his senses and become a master of his mind. He cannot be a self-sufficient and independent person who has not learned this. Hence education should develop in the students the power of self-control, discipline and the love for service to others.

The Three Aspects of Self-sufficiency

Self-sufficiency has three purposes. The first is the non-dependence on others for one's own living. The second is the self-sufficient power in individuals to gain knowledge and the third is the individual's strength to control his senses. Man should possess the strength in him to control his mind and subdue the urges of his senses. Bondage of the mind and the brain is as bad as the serfdom of the material body on others. No man can claim to be really free if he does not develop in him the power to think independently. Therefore through education, the students should actually achieve the power of free thinking, and self-control and discipline.

If the parents keep these three objectives before them in the education of the children, then the children cannot but become happy. The parents will find real happiness if only they see their children are happy and efficient and are respected and honoured by all.

Free rendering from a speech in Hindi on 20-8-51

Vinobaji's Appeal for Gram-dan

Vinobaji is getting village after village as *Purna-dan* as he walks in rains and wades through streams in the hilly tracts of Koraput district of Orissa. Though he is to commence his Yatra in Andhra in October he passed through its border for three days. He made a special appeal in this speech on 7-8-'55 to the Telugus of Andhra to respond to the call of village-dan even as they spontaneously responded to the appeal for a part of the land at the beginning of the Bhoodan Yagna four years ago in Telangana.

I am very happy of stepping into the Andhra Desa to-day. The Andhras might take pride, that it was in their land that Bhoodan Yagna had its beginning. Bhoodan Yagna was started in Telangana which is only a part of the Andhra. Our Andhra tour has not yet commenced; it will later. In between I got an opportunity to have a fore-taste of the conditions here for three days;

The Village-dan

I am now coming from Koraput and will be going back again there. Your Srikakulam district is close by Koraput. So it should be possible to realise the great achievements of Koraput in Srikakulam also. So far 250 whole villages had been received in Bhoodan Yagna in Koraput and it will be announced to-day that 70 more villages have been received. All these villages were not got without effort. It is the result of the toil of workers in village after village. The love that should have moved the donors is self-evident. They need no thanks from me; but I should not fail to give thanks to all the workers who have worked to this end. They deserve my heartiest thanks for their incessant work ignoring the rains.

Koraput district is notorious for Malaria; so the workers there frequently fall victims to it. All the same, it has become a habit with them to take rest when they are disabled and take up the thread where they left it, soon after their recovery. I am not aware of any worker who has laid down the tools saying that he is no longer equal to the task. That Baba is wandering about unmindful of the rain has had its effect on their minds. But while Baba is being given all facilities they have none. They have to wade through rivers, walk through forests to reach the various distant places. I said in one of the meetings of the workers that it was the army of monkeys that did the work of Sri Rama. Immediately the workers laughingly replied that we are doing the same and we will continue to do it.

As a result of all this the idea has caught a hold on the mind of the whole district and all are sympathetic towards the movement. I have also seen doctors attending on the workers very sympathetically when they fall ill. They say, "These are the Bhoodan workers. We do not know when we will get the opportunity to work in the movement. Let us at

least contribute our little share by serving them." I am very thankful to all these doctors also.

When a great movement which aims at the uplift of all the people is going on, of course all should come forward to show sympathy and offer help. So we need not wonder at the spontaneous help that we are getting on all sides. And yet I feel called upon to express my thanks because our country has become a victim to laziness. As the movement has been before the country for four years now, it is but proper that it should attract general sympathy. That is as it should be. But we have not had the requisite training to convert this sympathy into something concrete.

Thamoguna (lethargy) has entered into our blood. We take it to be Vedanta. But *thamoguna* is entirely different from Vedanta. They are as poles apart. We have plenty of sympathy and desire to help; but it has become a habit with us to sit with folded hands without doing anything and say that everything will be all right in the end. That is why I feel it necessary to thank all who have contributed in some way or other materially. I cannot express how happy I feel when I do so.

Tribute to Andhra

We have so far received one lakh acres in the Koraput District. The number of donors runs to more than 15,000. But I have told them that they should collect four lakh acres from at least one lakh donors. This is not an impossible target, though a

difficult one. It is only for achieving difficult tasks that we have been given the human frame by the Creator. Had He thought of making us do easy things He would have made us all beasts. Then we could have been content with eating, sleeping and satisfying the other natural instincts and died when our span of life ended. But it is only when a difficult task faces him that man is in his element and feels enthusiastic. I am sure that in Srikakulam, the abode of the Goddess of Plenty and Success as its name signifies, our efforts will be crowned with success and will not have to face defeat. Andhra Desa has always been a land of heroes. From the historical times of Salivahanam to the present day of Prakasam and Sriramalu there have been a continuous line of heroes here. Therefore I do not think it is too much to hope that the people of this place will work unflaggingly.

The Gangothri of Bhoodan

I began this movement with the request that people should contribute 1/6th of their lands. Why, I did not mention of the 1/6th contribution in Telangana; I only pleaded there for the loosening of the heartstrings a little. It was like Gangothri, the source of Ganga and I thought that the trickling stream will gather strength by and by as it goes along. But after sometime I began asking for 1/6th contribution, and while we had hardly got 20,000 acres, I fixed the target at 5 crore acres. Did I make such a tall demand relying on my own strength? I knew my limitations. I could not take this big

decision in my own name. If then the decision was taken it was only because of my faith in you. Because it is a great, holy decision it is my hope that it will enthuse and make us work towards its fulfilment.

None landless

When the call for 1/6th of the land had reached all quarters, I began to say that there should be none in any village without land and all the landless should be provided with land.

None - the owner of Land

And now in the end I have begun saying that individual ownership of land should go and all land should belong to the villages in common. I have raised this slogan in Uthkal, and specially in Koraput. Thus, as you see, the stream of Bhoodan has gone on getting wider and wider and it should get wider still in greater Andhra. Let nobody think that I go on putting up my demand as the merchants do. In fact this is not a new demand of mine at all. In my very first utterance in Telangana I had laid down the proposition that there can be no individual ownership over land and it should go. It assumed the shape of a practical programme by slow degrees and has grown to its present stature. But the idea has been there since a long time.

The support of the Political Parties

You are seeing that in this out of the way village a large number of people from all parts of the Andhra Desa has assembled for offering welcome. It shows that the Andhra

Desa is fully ready to take up this work. The Congress people have told me that I need no longer think that I have been left to do this work single-handed, that it is as much their work as mine. After all I am only an individual unattached to any institution. I have no authority or power over any institution. It is only the love that actuates the Congressmen that is responsible for their offer. The Praja Socialists are also sympathetic towards this work. They have gone to the extent of saying that I have taken what is really their own programme from out of their hands. I do not refute their charge but only say to them "I plead guilty; but at the same time my request to you is not to give up your programme on the plea that I have taken it up." I am glad that they are doing what all they could for furthering this work. I have said 'what all they could' advisedly because I find to my sorrow that their party to-day is going to pieces. But it does not matter. Even now if they engaged themselves in this task with their whole heart they can regain the ground they have lost of late. After all any political party which aims at gaining popularity and influence throughout the length and breadth of this land should take up some programme which has the service of the common people as its aim. So I hope that these people will not fail to help to the best of their ability.

The attitude of the Communists

I believe that even the Communists will show sympathy and contribute their share. They are idealists

and hence it is but natural that they are not ordinarily satisfied with small gains. If they examine our work dispassionately and are satisfied that some real work which helps the poor and the down-trodden to raise their heads is being done here, I have no doubt, that many from among them will offer help. As regards the Sarvodaya workers I believe that they will dedicate their all to this movement because they will find whatever they call their own—their ideals and ambitions—are imbedded in this. Their success lies in the success of this movement and they will be nowhere if this movement fails. Even those who are identified with the Government, who are in its service can help to some extent. Because no Government can afford to stand aside and look on unmoved by a great movement with the service of the people as its aim is in full swing. Many from among the common people also will come forward to take part.

Appeal to Sarvodaya Workers

But I want to tell you to-day something special. Many might come forward to work, to this movement. But I would lay down a condition for all. It is this: that the workers should be soft in their speech.

They should be sweet and kind in their approach. Their hearts should be full of love and sympathy. There is no place for any compulsion or threatening or reprimand.

This applies to the Government servants, Congress and Sarvodaya workers and all who are engaged in

this equally. Nobody should imagine that he has got special powers to order people about. If anyone goes about the work under the wrong impression that he can achieve his end by resorting to these wrong methods he will invite not only his own end but also the end of the whole movement. Are we not asking the people to give up their all? This is a highly effective prescription, a very powerful medicine. When one is given a very powerful and effective medicine the concomitant conditions will also be exacting. In the refrain (Namavali) that our Sadhu Subrahmaniam sang just now the same idea is contained in its essence: "ALL IS RAMA, THERE IS NOTHING IN THE WORLD BUT RAMA." We should never forget this while we are engaged in the Bhoodan work.

(Translated from the Hindi)

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★ Bhoodan – The Social Revolution ★

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI

I

SRI VINOBA BHAVE, who has initiated the Bhoodan movement and achieved conspicuous success in getting land for the landless was, as a young man in the twenties, an inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmathi. There, he pursued with intensity his religious studies. He made a deep study of the Gita and the Upanishads. But this did not prevent him from discharging meticulously his duties in the Ashram, with all its menial work. Nevertheless he lived the life of a recluse. From Sabarmati, he went to Wardha, induced by Sri Jamnalal Bajaj, to manage an Ashram that had been started there on the lines of Sabarmati. He went, but he declined to take upon himself the responsibilities of management. He lived and worked in the Wardha Ashram as at Sabarmati.

Almost every movement of Satyagraha found him in jail. But he never came in limelight. His austere living, deep scholarship and devotion to constructive work were known only to those who were in intimate touch with the Ashram. Gandhiji had a high opinion of Vinobaji's spiritual attainments, his scholarship and his capacity for silent constructive work. It was, therefore, that in 1940, Vinoba was selected to inaugurate the movement of Individual Satyagraha started to vindicate the right of Indians to express freely and publicly

their views on World War II. Introducing Vinobaji to the nation, Gandhiji said, "He has taken part in every menial activity of the Ashram from scavenging to cooking. Though he has a marvellous memory and is a student by nature, he has devoted the largest part of his time to spinning. For perfect spinning probably he has no rival in all India. He has abolished every trace of untouchability from his heart. He believes in communal unity with the same passion that I have.....He is an accurate student of history. But he believes that real independence of the villagers is impossible without the constructive programme.....and he thoroughly believes that non-violent resistance is impossible without a heart belief in and practice of constructive work."

Sri Vinoba offered individual Satyagraha. He was convicted and imprisoned. As soon as he was released, he offered Satyagraha again and again. In 1942, he was arrested along with other leaders in the "Quit India" movement and was released in the middle of 1945. After his release he was no more heard of in the political field. He retired to his ashram and engaged himself in village work.

After Gandhiji

He came out to work in the social field after Gandhiji's death. The urge was to carry on the work of the Master. By then it was abundantly clear that the political leaders of free India had drifted away from

Gandhiji's thought, programmes and plans. About his expanded activities Vinoba in one of his prayer meetings during the U. P. tour, said:

"I know, I have no right to give a programme to the nation. I am not a leader.....If Gandhiji were alive to-day, I would never have appeared before the public but would have concentrated all my attention on scavenging village streets and conducting experiments in Kanchan Mukthi (elimination of money economy) through agriculture. Circumstances have compelled me to come out..... and be audacious enough to be an initiator of of this great Yagna."

With a view to carry out the Master's mission, Sri Vinoba searched for a suitable sphere of public activity. The problem of rehabilitation of refugees from Pakistan was most urgent then. Sri Vinoba along with Sri Jajaji, the Chairman of the All India Spinner's Association, came to Delhi to help in the refugee work. But at every step they had to approach the officials for help and they found them unhelpful, not because they were unsympathetic but their bureaucratic methods of work would not allow them to bring a fresh mind to a new problem they had never tackled. Having failed to accomplish much, Sri Vinobaji turned his attention to the question of resettling the displaced Meeos. In this he had more success.

The origin of Bhoodan

After this, he again withdrew to his ashram at Paunar, near Wardha.

Here all the time, while carrying on his studies and village work, he was thinking of how best to apply Bapu's ideas of truth and non-violence in the field of India's social reconstruction. In April, 1951, the annual Sarvodaya Mela, initiated by him, was held near Hyderabad. He had no intention of attending the Mela that year. He was, however, induced by friends to be present, as his presence would be a source of inspiration and guidance to constructive workers. He travelled from his Ashram near Wardha to Shivarampalli, (Hyderabad), on foot to attend the Mela. He had heard how the Communists in Telangana, in the turbulent times after the partition, had excited the tenants to revolt against the landlords and take forcible possession of lands. This Communist-inspired little rebellion, after the police action in Hyderabad, was put down by the authorities with great violence and repression. The tenants were cowed down. After the work of the Mela was over, to see things for himself, Sri Vinoba travelled, again on foot, to the affected area. About this he in one of his prayer meetings said, "I wanted to tour Telangana as a soldier of Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade), in order to propagate the message of peace." There, seeing the pitiable condition of the untouchables in the first village he reached, he asked them what would improve their economic condition. He was told that only land to cultivate could solve their economic problem. During the course of his prayer meeting that evening, Vinoba said: "The population of this village is 3,000 and its cultivable area 30,000 acres but only 90 families own

this entire land and 600 families are landless. How are the landless Harijan's to get land for cultivation." He appealed for land. A land-owner present at the meeting was so affected by Vinoba's discourse that he at once offered to part with a hundred acres of land to be distributed among the landless Harijans.

This was the beginning of the Bhoodan movement. Throughout the tour in Telangana, Vinobaji appealed to the landlords to give land for the landless. He argued that if they did not give land today, they would have to give it somehow tomorrow. His appeals had effect. He got more land than he expected. The situation in Telangana as between the landlords and the peasants and the landless was eased by peaceful means, without the violent action of the Communists or the counter-violence of the Government. The latter withdrew its additional police force. This experience at Telangana gave Vinoba the idea that the land problem in India could be solved through methods of non-violence. After Telangana, he went to Madhya Pradesh, U. P and Behar and now he is in Orissa. He travels from place to place on foot visiting villages en route, asking for land and receiving land gifts to be distributed among the landless. He has an army of co-workers who have dedicated their lives to Bhoodan. They too go from place to place on foot collecting lands for the landless. Up-to-date the land gifts received total up to about 4 million acres. Taking the value of an average acre of land at Rs. 100/- he has collected land worth forty crores of rupees.

★

II

A New Experiment in Sociology

Let us now assess the implications of this new experiment in sociology. This assessment would become difficult if attention is concentrated on the origin of the movement, the name and method it employs. It originated to solve the land problem for the landless. Its name, Bhoodan, so far as its origin and immediate objective are concerned, is appropriate. 'Bhoo' (Bhoomi) means land and 'Dan' means charity. But if the idea behind the movement is merely an equitable redistribution of land, the movement, however good in its immediate results, has no seeds of growth and expansion. It cannot therefore be a new and revolutionary experiment in sociology even though it may temporarily solve the land problem of India without violence or without legislation. If land is received as charity, that is nothing new. Many people give charity with one hand and take more with the other through exploitation. They merely give a part of their often ill-begotten wealth to either ease their conscience or to look socially respectable. Sometimes they give a little to enjoy the rest in peace. However, whatever may be the origin of the movement, its name and immediate objective, the movement as explained repeatedly by Vinobaji is of wider implications. It is aimed at the ultimate reconstruction of the Indian village so that every villager has equal or near-equal opportunities to live a free and full life.

Sri Vinoba proposes to give five acres of land to every landless family. Can this provide the villagers with

opportunities to live a free and full life? Supposing that it did in the immediate, will it do in the next generation? In the next generation the land will dwindle down to one acre per family. But even if by a miracle it remained a five-acre piece, does it give opportunities to the villager to lead a full, free and civilized life?

Re-construction of Village

Historically, no high civilization had ever been built on mere agriculture. Beyond his food, everything that a civilized person needs, his clothes, house, medical assistance and education, need industry. Education means science, philosophy, literature and the fine arts. All these depend upon industry. Even advanced agriculture needs industry. Also man lives in society. The associations, political, economic, social, religious, cultural etc. that he creates for living together depend upon industry. Therefore, though Sri Vinoba lays emphasis on land to-day, what he contemplates is something more comprehensive. As he has often said, Bhoodan is not merely a programme of collecting and redistributing land on equitable basis but the first step towards a social revolution that will reconstruct the Indian village and, through it from below, the whole of Indian society on an equitarian basis. If we want truly to assess the movement we shall have to do it in this, its most comprehensive perspective.

The Two-fold Process

The word Dan, as Vinoba uses it on ancient authority, does not as popularly understood mean charity

but equitable redistribution. (Danam Samvibhagah). He often tells the donors of land that they are performing no act of charity but merely of restitution. Therefore, taking the movement in its larger perspective, it is what Gandhiji called a scheme of Sarvodaya, the uplift of all. For this, following his Master, Vinobaji wants the simultaneous reform of the individual and society. The ancient sages said: "Reform yourself and the world will be reformed." Gandhiji said: "Reform yourself in the process of reforming the world." The two-fold process must go on simultaneously, each helping the other, an integrated movement of the individual and society. Whatever shape you want to give to society, begin with the conversion of the heart and cultivate the necessary habit of mind through appropriate action. Gandhiji always called the movement for the independence of India that he had initiated through Satyagraha as one of self-purification. That too is the idea of Vinobaji. Like Gandhiji, he wants individual life to be integrated with social life on the basis of the moral law as embodied in truth and universal love.

Revaluation of values

Viewed in this larger perspective, the Bhoodan movement is revolutionary. A revolution principally and fundamentally is a revaluation of values, a change in people's ideas of what is right and wrong, virtue and sin, desirable and undesirable, significant and ordinary, beautiful and ugly. But in a revolution the new values must fulfil themselves in

changed social, economic, political and other arrangements and institutions. A revolution whether social, economic, political or religious, does not merely formulate values, but on the basis of the new values it seeks to transform life, individual and collective.

The reconstruction that Vinobaji following Gandhiji's thought strives for, is to be worked neither through violence nor even through State action. Vinobaji does not propose to work his comprehensive social revolution through class antagonism, hatred, violence, insurrection or civil and international wars, or even through the legal powers of the State, but through rousing public opinion and by mobilising the human instincts of fellow feeling and co-operation.

The moral values of truth and non-violence in the sense of active love of the neighbour (and in this world who is not a neighbour?) are to be institutionalised. Socially active love implies, within the borders of the country a common and equal citizenship, eliminating all preferences based upon religion, caste or class. Internationally it means that humanity is one, without national and racial distinction. In the economic field, like his Master, Vinobaji wants the revival of the Indian village and that not through agriculture alone but agriculture co-ordinated with industry. Heretofore, at least in the West, the word 'industrialisation' has predominantly meant urbanisation. Civilised conduct stands for urban or urbane conduct. 'Rural' often means uncultured. This concept of civilisation and culture is

sought to be corrected by Sarvodaya. The villager, according to Vinoba's conception of the future, must have all the opportunities of civilised and cultured life, without deserting his village.

A new Kind of Industrial Revolution

If he has to have this, the village must not merely produce its food but must be so industrialised as to produce all the primary requirements of its life within its own borders and near enough in the surrounding rural areas. The modern man thinks of industrialisation only in terms of what is called the Industrial Revolution in the West. This was urban industrialisation by means of centralised and mechanised mills and factories in private hands. The only difference that Western Communism and Socialism make is to put the State in place of the private capitalist. The broad conception of industrialisation is the same in both the cases. Here, that conception of industrialisation is fundamentally changed. Village industry shall be so decentralised as neither to need the individual or the State as the capitalist. Every worker owns his simple instruments of production. Every village house is a factory using such mechanical power as can conveniently help the worker's hands and take away the tedium of work and if need be for increased production. If it is to be so, the mechanical power that the villager can use must be of a nature to suit these requirements. There is electricity which can be broken up in small units and transmitted at long distances. Whatever industry cannot be broken up or decentralised because of the

requirements of modern life, must be socially owned by independent and autonomous corporations representative of the interests concerned, labour, management, the consumer and the State. This will be a new kind of industrial revolution which will avoid the evils of over-mechanisation and centralisation, and urbanisation.

A Revolution in politics

Along with this revolution in economic organisation, Sarvodaya aims at bringing about a revolution in the political field. Every step in centralisation curtails the liberty of the individual and his capacity to manage his own affairs, in favour of the expert and the bureaucrat. In politics, this centralisation even in democracy has gone so far as to make the State all-powerful. The power of the individual voter, the master in democracy has been reduced to less than the millionth of the power of the State. This reduced power the so-called free citizen of modern democracies enjoys periodically, after four or five years, at the time of the general elections. Even then, the only choice left to him is to choose between two or three sets of rulers. Elections over, the citizen in a centralised democracy is almost as powerless as under a totalitarian regime. If democracy, in the sense of the people managing their own affairs is to prevail, this great power of the State must be decentralised or broken up. 'Power' as Lord Acton rightly said "has the tendency to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Humanity must get this power in digestible doses. Free India of Gandhiji's conception, which is also

Sri Vinoba's conception, is to consist of semi-independent rural republics that will manage all their local affairs, including education, police and the administration of justice. The Indian Union must look after the over-all unity and prosperity of the State. It is wrong to think that the strength of State lies merely in its central government. Vigorous local self-government adds to the strength of the centre. Gandhiji often said that in his conception of free India the capital of the country will not be in Delhi but in every village. That is every village must have opportunities as good as Delhi for cultured and civilized living. The Bhoodan idea is thus the Sarvodaya idea of Gandhiji with temporary emphasis on the equitable redistribution of land which by slow degrees should belong, as of old, to village communities, cultivated on a co-operative basis. It is, therefore, that Sri Vinoba, wherever he is offered accepts a whole village as gift. He aims at co-operative farming. But it must be voluntary and not imposed on the villages by force as has been done in Bolshevik Russia. Whole villages would also give opportunities to work out the new conception of social reconstruction as conceived in Sarvodaya.

Thus not only does the Bhoodan movement imply new values of truth and non-violence applied both to individual and collective group life but new institutions through which the new values and the new spirit are to work. Only thus conceived is the Bhoodan movement revolutionary in its aims and the methods it employs to bring about social change.

The Need for a Book of Faith

Vinobaji amidst Adivasis

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

A medical officer at one of his camps came to see Vinobaji and acquainted him with the difficulties he encountered in his work. "It is now about a hundred years", he said, "that we are running the Government Hospital here. There is a Danish Mission also here, which is working amongst the Adivasis for the last fifty years. They did not get any response till last year when they had started a Mission Hospital also which is now attracting the villagers too much. We are rendering free service, while they are charging one rupee per injection."

Vinobaji thereupon inquired why the people were so much attracted towards this Mission Hospital. Giving his reasons, the medical officer pointed out how the Mission carried on propaganda with the help of their Jeep. They also received medicines very cheap from their countries, he added.

Vinobaji observed that cheap medicine was not the only attraction, nor was propaganda the only cause behind this attraction. As for the medicines, they are supplied free to the Government Hospitals by the Government. The real reason, he emphasised, was not the medicine but the book which accompanied the medicine. While one gave only the medicine useful for the flesh, the

other supplied also food necessary for the Soul. "You have only a bottle, while they have a mission", remarked Vinobaji.

"But are they justified in carrying on their religious propaganda?", was the next question.

"How can we stop them from doing that? Are they carrying on any anti-Government or any anti-social activities? They are delivering only the message of Jesus, and we cannot stop them from doing so", replied Vinobaji. He also pointed out how the Christian Missionaries at Chota Nagpur had awakened the Adivasis against their exploitation by the money-lenders. They have been able to organise three lakhs of the Adivasis who are converts to Christianity.

A Book of Faith

In his post prayer speech that evening, Vinobaji stressed upon the need of providing a Book of Faith to these Adivasis and others. How he wished that Geetha, Ramayana and Bhagawat were universally read and studied by the residents in this area!

The ban by the orthodox section on the use of these scriptures by the Adivasis, or for that matter by anyone else, must become a thing of the past, he added, and a living faith must be created in the minds of these

Adiwasis for the Scriptures. He had, after deep thinking, come to the conclusion that a Book of Faith must be provided to those sections of the society which are devoid of any such spiritual base. On one of the previous occasions, his heart was filled with joy and reverence when, at a land re-distribution ceremony of a Gramdan village, he had witnessed Adiwasi ladies, now Christian converts, singing songs from their book of psalms. It was an unprecedented sight, he said. On the following day, addressing the workers of the Nava-jiwan Mandal who are rendering service to the Adiwasis under the able guidance of Smt. Malati Devi Chowdhary, Vinobaji had stressed upon the need of providing a proper Book of Faith to these neglected sons of the soil. Their helplessness must go. We have blundered enough in depriving them of the Scriptures. May be in the beginning, the ban might have been justified because of their inability to pronounce the words properly. The difficulty was not altogether unsurmountable and the rule, therefore, had no justification whatsoever.

In this connection, Vinobaji pointed out how, in his opinion, there was no book today which in its present form was worth presenting to these friends. We will have to make selections and supplement them by new additions, he added. He was also very clear that there was no need of any agency between God and his devotees. "Did Shankaracharya advocate any such agency? But there were disciples who were eager to bring in their *Gurus* in between, and it were these

disciples who advocated that God could not be realised without the help of a Christ or a Mohammed. Let us, therefore, collect the essence of all the religions and present it directly to the people", he said.

A Living Faith in Sarvodaya

In this connection, Vinobaji pointed out the great cultural revolution that was wrought in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar by a single book - the *Ramacharit Manas* of Sant Tulsidas. According to Vinobaji, it was this book alone which saved these provinces from the attacks of the proselytizers. It was the lack of such a book that made Bengal fall a prey to such attacks.

It was, therefore, not only the Adiwasis who were deprived of such a book, but many a province also felt the need of some such firm reliance and source of reviving faith. By book Vinobaji did not mean any specific printed matter only. "We speak of Sarvodaya ideals. Let us present its philosophy to the people, i. e., the basic principles of the philosophy, its structure, process and the ultimate objective. This fourfold approach is the need of the hour. If we are able to pass it on to the people, that may help in creating a living faith in them about Sarvodaya ideals.

The analysis regarding the lack of a book throws light on the cause of the mass scale conversions in this country whether they be to Islam or to Christianity. It also explains the secret of the Missionaries' success in this country, especially in the tribal areas.

We have witnessed the wave of rejoicings experienced by these Adiwasi friends when they are told that they should read Ramayana and Bhagawat, and that it was the part of our constructive programme to equip them with such qualification. "Shall we be permitted to read Bhagawat?", their leader asked us, with tears of joy in his eyes. True, it is not without satisfying the soul that human mind can rest in peace.

'Geetha Pravachan' in Oriya

It would not be out of place to mention here the most important role that "*Geeta Pravachan*" (Vinobaji's commentary on the Geeta) had played during the few years of Bhoodan movement. More than two lakhs copies of this single book have been sold in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Wherever it has gone, it had revolutionized life. It serves as the seed of spiritual awakening in the hearts of those who happen to read it.

The Adiwasis have neither their own book nor their own script. Roman script was introduced years ago but hardly a few are acquainted with it. They must pick up either Oriya or Telugu and should also know Nagari, the script of the national language.

While Vinobaji was thinking of presenting to these brethren a Nagari edition of the *Oriya Geeta Pravachan*, the representative of the Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Samiti called upon Vinobaji and presented to him the purse of Rs. 15,000/- the amount of the *Gandhi Hindi* Prize awarded to Vinobaji at the Puri session of the Conference. Vinobaji passed on this

amount to Sri Manomohan Chowdhary, the Secretary of the Utkal Gram Seva Mandal, for producing a Nagari edition of the *Oriya Geeta Pravachan*, which will not only supply spiritual food to the Adiwasis, but will also serve as a tie uniting hearts of the people of different dialects and sects.

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Life - Time Bhoodan Workers

Smt. Ramadevi Chowdhary, the grand old Mother of Utkal, who is looked upon with reverence by young and old alike, brought one evening two brothers and their mother to Vinobaji. The visitors, who looked like landless agricultural labourers, were in fact donors of land in Bhoodan. Their mother had donated 40 acres out of her 100, while one of them had donated 120 acres out of his 200 and the other 100 acres keeping only 30 acres for himself. Their third brother also, who had not come with them, had donated 70 acres out of his 120. "How many are they?" asked Vinobaji to Ramadevi "They are five", she replied, "and these two have come to you for your blessings because they have decided to become whole-time Bhoodan workers."

On another occasion at Bhatpur, Ramadevi brought two Kandha (Adiwasi) ladies to Vinobaji. They were clad in home-spun and appeared very intelligent but sad. We were told that they were Bhoodan workers. One of them, Smt. Muktabai, was overwhelmed with tears in her eyes when she had Vinobaji's *darshan*. Shivabhai, her husband, was killed by a great tiger in broad day-light in

the forests where he had gone to look after his fields.

Although there seems to be a sort of understanding between the tiger and the man in this area and both appear to have adjusted themselves to the life and conditions, the tiger at times does become a great problem and human life is not without danger. On several occasions a regular watch had to be kept throughout the night. At range Udayagiri in the Ganjam district of Orissa, this king of forests around the haunted Vinobaji's camp for nearly three hours. He moved to and fro within a distance of a furlong, roared several times and then retired in the forests in the early hours of the morning.

Bhoodan Work by Students

On the following day at Budhuni, two students, Sri Amiya Charan Pahadi and Sri Raghu Nath Pradhan, were introduced to Vinobaji. They were both from the Bugada High School, and had decided to carry on Bhoodan work till 1957. While Raghu Nath was able to collect 100 acres of land from 75 donors in his foot journey of 40 villages, Amiya brought 860 acres from 322 donors out of the 23 villages he had visited in his *padyatra*. These donations included gifts from minimum one cent upto the maximum 35 acres.

Within the short period of one month of their work these students had gathered experience which they could have hardly had even during one year of their college life. They had just passed their Matriculation examination securing a good class.

But, instead of joining the college, they had decided to work for Bhoodan and help the peaceful revolution. They had till now collected land which could be distributed to not less than 960 villagers, i. e., to about 200 families. Two students, within a short period of one month, were able to provide the means of production and livelihood to 200 families. Will the educational institutions realise what important and revolutionary part they can play in eliminating poverty and in solving the question of unemployment through this unique process of Bhoodan?

★ Key to Health ★

Use ghani oil

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As white sugar has a remarkable hunger for lime it eats up the soluble lime of the blood, and when the blood is deprived of lime, diseases of the teeth and bones occur.

Use hand-made sugar

White sugar of the mills goes through a chemical process, which deprives it of mineral salts and vitamins.

Use therefore hand-made sugar in which these are preserved.

Mills kill

Milled products, like white rice, flour, sugar and oil are not only lacking in nutritive value, but are injurious to health.

Always use hand-pounded unpolished rice, hand-ground flour, gur or hand-made sugar and ghani oil.

J. C. Kumarappa.

Women and World Peace

J. C. KUMARAPPA

This is from the recent inaugural speech at a Training Class for the Women's Home Economics at Gandhiniketan in Madurai district. Kumarappa in his inimitable way appeals to every woman to realise her mission and create non-violent Human Hydrogen Bombs by giving a right lead to men at home for a new creative way of life for the peace of the world.

THE very fact that our educated women have to take a training in Home Economics to work in the village is a reflection on our present educational system. This is like one who has already one leg in the grave, needing to go to the Pre-basic School! It looks strange that young women should need to learn dietetics, cooking, village industries, processing of food products needle-work etc. at this state. But we have been governed by foreigners for a long time. So we were brought up without any practical training. Therefore we have to grow up from this untrained state to the civilized human way of life.

The world has been for over two centuries under Imperialistic control. Sri Jawaharlal, our Prime Minister, has just now gone all over Europe, Russia and China, preaching the five principles we have to practise, if we have to avoid war. When I read the various declarations made by Premier Chou-En-Lai, Premier Bulganin, Marshal Tito and Sir Anthony Eden with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, I felt it was all mere loud talk. A loud speaker trumpet speaks, but there is no soul in it. But behind this loud speaker is the voice of somebody, speaking miles and miles away. It is that voice which is heard by the listener. Which is more important, the instrument or

the man? The man, of course, is the more important of the two. In that way, you should go and work in the villages and give meaning to the tall talk put out by these big politicians.

What we have to do in our country, which is a non-violent country, is to create non-violent Human Hydrogen Bombs! Such, I hope, will be the Hydrogen Bombs that are going to be prepared by this training class.

What does the H-Bomb do when it works? It bursts destroying itself, goes up into the air and works out its set mission. Similarly, if we want to convert the world into something useful, you can't be indulging yourself and decorating your own body; but you have to reduce yourself to nothing. You will be nothing, but you must work for others and you have to destroy yourselves, so that the country will prosper. Lose yourself to reconstruct the world.

Hydrogen Bomb will destroy the cities and the people; but our work, on the other hand, will be to build them. And this is what we have to learn in the school that is opened today. You must rise to the occasion, if you are going to justify this institution. And if you do that, then each one of you will be much greater than Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and your work

will then build up the country into something that we want to be. What the politicians talk will not be their voice, but it will be your work that will speak and usher in world peace.

In this type of work women have a great responsibility. Under ordinary conditions, through the centuries, there have been three things that have led to conflicts and murders-disputes arising out of land, possession of women and wealth. "Land", in the present economy, is represented by natural resources and raw materials that can be got together and converted into wealth.

"Women" in the present context is represented by consumer goods and markets while "wealth" is represented by a desire to exploit others for material welfare and power.

I need not, at this stage, speak to you about raw materials, because, there are many things which may not be of immediate concern to us.

I may go into the second one, namely "women" represented by consumer goods and markets. The reason why America, England and other countries covet India is to control the market in our land. Who can counteract this, but the women in India? If you buy American or foreign goods, then you are working like the Hydrogen Bomb to destroy our country. There are certain countries which produce raw materials like Uranium for Hydrogen Bombs. In the same way, also the capitalistic group in India is helping America by playing their game. But,

if you use Khadi and Village-made articles, then you are helping our own country. Purchasing mill-cloth, whether foreign or Indian, fattens the Capitalists. The Mills at Madurai may produce yarn and the local weavers may weave it into hand-loom cloth; even then it is as good as foreign cloth. Because the Indian assistance goes and makes Atom and Hydrogen Bombs and these weapons destroy what has been created by the people. By making this, these weavers also are working towards the destruction of ourselves. And when you look at it in this way, you will realise that only women, who run our homes, can set this matter right.

It is the woman who feeds the man. If the woman places well-milled rice before him, then she is really poisoning him, because milled rice has been deprived of all nutritive values in paddy and our people have been eating milled rice, because it is white and appears attractive. Who can put this right but the women? Each one of you should be a Hydrogen Bomb and should explode such irregularities.

Similarly white sugar, which provides heat, is without any nutritive contents. Calcium is necessary to build up our teeth and bones. But white sugar has no calcium in it. When we eat white sugar, our body is deprived of this calcium. But in brown sugar the mineral salts and vitamins are preserved. If you want your husband and children to have their natural teeth, do not give them white sugar.

Thus you will see that these and such other irregularities in running our homes have to be put right and that can be done by nobody but the women in the homes. When you form good habits in your children, you can watch them grow stronger, healthier and bigger. So I look upon these factors as very important in the training of women for village work. Without these factors, the training you get will be of no avail. The more you sacrifice your personal interest, the greater will be the forces you generate.

Your course of studies will include a study of the Gandhian approach to the problems facing us to-day, so that each one of you will be

equipped to bring into being a self-sufficient non-violent order. To bring about peace and goodwill on earth, what we need is the quiet recasting of our home life especially in villages. In this women, the home-makers, can play a greater role than any number of bombastic declarations or paper agreements or Summit Conferences of Politicians, whatever other purpose they may serve. You should learn to do everything as a mission in life, as a new way of life and not be mindful of what the thirty-first of each month will bring to your purse. You must realise the great responsibility placed on your shoulders.

So I wish you well in this course of training as a very important step in the nation-building programme.

Non-violent Non-Co-operation

MAHATMA GANDHI

I have always held that social justice, even unto the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force. I have believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure the redress of the wrongs suffered by them. That means is non-violent non-co-operation. At times, non-co-operation becomes as much a duty as co-operation. No one is bound to co-operate in one's own undoing or slavery. Freedom received through the efforts of others, however benevolent, cannot be retained when such effort is withdrawn. In other words, such freedom is not real freedom. But the lowliest can feel its glow, as soon as they learn the art of attaining it through non-violent non-co-operation.

Mahatma - Page 342 of Vol V.

VINOBA - THE MINE OF KNOWLEDGE

Bharatan Kumarappa

Acharya Vinoba entered his Sixty-first year on 11th September 1955. His birthday was celebrated all over India with meetings, prayers and Bhoodan. Many of the Dailies and Weeklies wrote editorials on Vinobaji's Bhoodan Mission and published special contributions from those who had intimate contact with Vinoba. Here is a tribute from Sri Bharatan Kumarappa to the genius of Vinoba and his revolutionary views.

My first Impression

MY first impression of Vinoba was most unfavourable. I was a new-comer to Gandhiji's Ashram in Wardha in 1935, and within a few months of my stay there my sister, who had founded a school for girls in Madras, visited Wardha. Jamnalalji Bajaj urged us both to see Vinoba, whom he described in very high terms as his Guru. So with great expectation we went to see Vinoba. There he was in an upstairs room, bare-bodied, seated on the floor, spinning. He raised his eyes to see us as we entered his room and were introduced, and went on with his spinning. As there was no furniture and my sister could not sit on the floor, we stood for a while watching him spinning, and then quietly withdrew after bowing good-bye. I was angry. I felt it was an insult to my sister, who was a well-known public worker, that he did not even exchange a word with her. I felt that he did not know the elements of good manners. He seemed all too grave and serious. He wore a loin-cloth I thought, merely in imitation of Gandhiji, and put on an air of importance, unlike Gandhiji. Never again did I bother about him though I lived in Wardha.

As a Fellow - prisoner in Jail

After seven years of such complete estrangement our paths crossed in 1942, not however at my choosing. I found myself in the same barrack as he in the Nagpur Central Prison. Both of us were detenus under the Defence of India Ordinance. I was there almost two years, but only once did I exchange a few words with him. Everybody spoke very highly of him and even in reverential tones, which, instead of attracting me to him, had a contrary effect. At that time he was learning Arabic and reading the Quran in the original too loud for my liking! He held classes on the Gita, which practically all the other prisoners in our yard attended. Not I, however as I thought it was too much trouble trying to make out what he was saying in Hindi.

He was transferred to Seoni Jail. A little later I also was transferred there. This was a very small jail, and one could not help running into fellow-prisoners. A mutual friend was anxious that I should learn Hindi from Vinoba, saying that he was an excellent teacher. I did not want to take Vinoba's time, as he seemed to have a full time-table. But

the friend persisted and before I knew it, had asked Vinoba, who readily consented. So there was nothing left for me but to go to Vinoba at the appointed time every day.

Mine of Knowledge

After the first day's meeting when he learnt of my interests, he decided that we should read Tulsidas's Ramayana in the original Hindi. I never imagined that such wealth of thought lay packed in every word and line of that classic. Or was it the genius of my teacher who drew all that meaning out for me? In any case I was more than impressed by both. I lost my long cherished dislike for Vinoba. Instead, I became a fond admirer. I found that he was quite a mine of knowledge. He knew the wisdom of the ages, and what is more had made it a part of himself. He drew on it freely in its application to modern problems. He was surprisingly well acquainted also with History and with modern trends of thought. He was up to date in his reading—a scholar through and through.

He had a fondness for language, and had learnt several including the languages of the South. He learnt Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese in Vellore Jail where he had been kept a few months. In Seoni Jail one could hear him in his bath at about five in the morning chanting aloud Tamil verses of the Poet Bharati. His mother tongue was Marathi. I believe he has now translated the Gita into Telugu.

Study of Religions

He had made a special study of Religion, and knew the scriptures of

Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity. His knowledge of the Bible was remarkable, especially of the Gospels. Of these he could quote chapter and verse. He could interpret Jesus with greater understanding than many Christian theologians under whom I had studied. In relation to other religions, his principle of love made him look for their merits rather than for their defects. I remarked once to Vinoba that I considered Jesus' teaching of love imperfect, as Jesus taught love only to fellowmen and not to animals, for he failed to teach vegetarianism. Vinoba was visibly annoyed with me for picking holes in Jesus' teaching, and remarked: "How do you know that Jesus did not teach or practise vegetarianism? He most probably did, as his life was so full of love. It may be that the records about him are imperfect. We should not judge him amiss merely because the records are silent on the point."

Revolutionary in Ideas

At another time I remarked to him: "I don't know why Hinduism looks down on dogs. They are very good friends of man. Orthodox Hindus have been deprived of opportunities of acquiring genuine affection for animals by the fact that they have been brought up to shun dogs. On the other hand, the Westerner seems to me to be much fonder of animals than we, though his religion does not teach it to him, because from childhood he learns to befriend dogs and cats in the home." To this Vinoba replied: "Is it not better to learn to love animals like the cow which faithfully serves

man? Much of the love for dogs and cats is nothing but self-indulgence. They are kept only for our pleasure. That is why I say that we merely indulge ourselves through them. It is much better to learn love of animals through the cow which serves us in so many ways. As a poor people also we cannot afford to be breeding and feeding animals as mere pets for our amusement." He spoke with force and conviction.

One felt in talking to him that he had thought every problem through. He expressed himself with the sureness of a scientist whose opinions had been tested in every detail. And yet he was also always prepared to listen interestedly to others with complete openness of mind. He gave the impression of being fair, objective and balanced. His observations were always fresh and original. From his exterior you would think that he was old fashioned and reactionary. Actually you found to your surprise that he was acquainted with the latest thought and practice even in the countries of the West, and was revolutionary and advanced in his views.

Shy and Retiring Nature

After I got to know him well enough I made a clean breast to him of all the bad things I had thought about him after I first met him with my sister. He laughed heartily and said: "You see I am not used to city people and never know how to behave with them." If Vinoba had a failing it was this, that he was shy and retiring almost to a fault. But since Gandhiji's death he appears to have overcome this defect, and has come out into the

open to continue Gandhiji's non-violent battle against suppression and injustice, and to establish co-operation and friendly relations between all members of society. I doubt, however, if he enjoys the limelight into which his recent activities have perforce brought him.

We were released from jail at various times: I in January 1945, Vinoba a few months later. I was quite touched when I heard that as soon as he reached Wardha, I was among the persons he asked for and wanted to call on. How mistaken I was in my first impression of him!

Some Books on Gandhian Economics

By

J. C. Kumarappa

Planning for the People	RS. AS.
By the People	3 0
Gandhian Economic Thought	1 4
Gandhian Economy & Other Essays	2 0
Why the Village Movement?	3 8
Economy of Permanence—I	2 0
" " II	2 0
Science and Progress	1 0
Peace and Prosperity	1 0
Present Economic Situation	2 0
Our Food Problem	1 8
Europe Through Gandhian Eyes	0 8
Blood Money	0 12
Philosophy of Work & other Essays	0 12
Banishing War	0 8
Currency Inflation, Its Cause & Cure	0 12

Write to:

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

Sarvodaya Conference in Delhi

Dr. RADHAKRISHNAN'S ADDRESS

INAUGURATING the Delhi State Sarvodaya Conference on 11th September 1955, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said: "The concept of Sarvodaya applied not merely to the *Indian society but to world Society*. Sarvodaya aimed at the progress of all people.

"When it applies to the individual the concept Sarvodaya means that there should be an all-round awakening. When it applies to society it means that all individuals should have equal opportunities for their development—material, mental and spiritual.

The technological and economic developments are bringing the peoples of the world together as members of one human family living on a shrinking globe. For the first time in history man's dream of a world of freedom, security and peace has become a practicable possibility.

Man has succeeded in changing things. If he succeeds in changing himself we will have disciplined leaders who can wield spiritual, mental and physical tools by which the new world can be built.

By ordering our inward resources we can order our relationships with our fellows and build up a society which is non-violent and non-exploiting in character.

Land, labour, life itself are trusts and we have to use them for the good of the people and the glory of God.

Acharya Bhabe wishes to bring about a re-distribution of land, but

more than that he wishes to spread the spirit of love and co-operation. He wants us to use our possessions as a sacred trust and make our life a spontaneous self-giving. For him each word is prayer and each deed a sacrifice. He teaches us to live largely on little.

Acharya Bhabe is trying to bring about a moral re-generation of the country. He reminds us of the ultimates of human thinking, of the fundamentals of ethics, that love is better than hate, peace is better than war, that co-operation is better than conflict, persuasion is better than force, gentleness better than violence."

★

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

President Prasad participated in the mass spinning on the occasion of the celebration of the 61st birthday of Vinobaji at Rajghat, Delhi.

In a brief address Dr. Prasad said that if the philosophy of Sarvodaya was fully implemented there would be an era of love throughout the land.

The movements—Bhoodan, Sampattidan and Sramdan—were part of a great non-violent revolution which would change the very face of society. He appealed to the people to fully co-operate with Acharya Vinoba's movement and achieve the great ideal of Sarvodaya. That would not only mean a service to the country but a great service to humanity at large.

Not By Bread Alone

WILFRED WELLOCK

This is from a recent brochure by Mr. Wellock. While sending copies of the above Mr. Wellock writes as follows which we share with our readers.

"Here in the West, the U. S. A. and Britain, and also in Germany, France, Holland and Belgium, a new wave of materialism is rising. Its outcome is unpredictable, while those who perceive it for what it is are few in numbers. We hope the East will provide the antidote."

AMERICAN Material living standards are the highest in the world. The average per capital annual income is almost double that of any other country, is five times greater than that of the entire East.

In order to maintain these high living standards the United States consumes almost as much raw material as the rest of the world put together. She requires a bigger acreage per person to supply her necessary foodstuffs than does any other country. In consequence she is rapidly exhausting her own resources and calling upon world supplies at a steadily increasing rate.

It is said that the American way of life is the standard to which all should aspire, the world's hope against the spread of Communism. But who can calculate the consequences of a world struggle for the earth's resources were every nation to embark on an economy after the American pattern? Within twenty years the world would be in a morass of economic tensions such as had never been known. Many far-seeing Americans are now asking, how long

can the world support America's present living standards?

The question which must be asked, and answered, emerges: Is America's way of life the good life for man? Does it insure and nourish man's spiritual existence as completely as his physical existence? Does it yield that deep satisfaction which the thinkers and prophets of all ages equate with fulness of life? Does it promote friendliness, neighbourliness, co-operative activity and general goodwill? Or does it encourage selfishness, self-indulgence, extravagance, wastefulness, profiteering and the vices of abundance?

Man does not live by bread alone, and when it comes to the intangible values of human experience, most European peoples, large numbers of British and West Europeans, and not few Americans, find the latest trends in American life too materialistic, and its tempo too breathless and too exhausting. Too many quiet, familiar values which contain the salt of life are being swept away. If to-day the urgent needs of the East are material, those of the West are spiritual.

VINOBA-THE SAINT-REVOLUTIONARY

SURESH RAMABHAI

WHEN Gandhiji selected Vinoba as the first Satyagrahi in 1940 to register India's protest against her forced entry into a war not of her seeking, many in our country especially the educated, were struck aghast. They wondered why Gandhiji chose such a non-entity, for a task which would have been, they thought, more adequately accomplished by either of the known political leaders or prominent public workers. But they suffered it with good grace because of their trust in Gandhiji. Even the then Secretary of State made a mention of Vinoba's name in the British Parliament with solemn regard. After the Individual Satyagraha, however, Vinoba's name seemed to sink back, as it were, into oblivion.

Not very long after, on April 18, 1951, Vinoba's appeal for some land in a village for the landless Harijans met with a quick response. Vinoba seeing in that flash of generosity a commandment of God to go ahead with this mission as His tool - started the Bhoodan Yagna movement. Since then he has been ceaselessly carrying on his new mission with ever increasing faith and zeal. During the last four years and odd he has walked some 12,000 miles through hills and dales, plains and deserts, villages and towns of the country. He has addressed about 1,500 meetings, regularly in the afternoon, and conveyed his message straight, to more than thirty lakhs of

people, about one hundredth of our entire population.

Vinoba, is not merely a saint or a genius or a narrow revolutionary. Here follow four incidents chosen at random from his strenuous life to give an insight into the glimpse of his true personality. Early in his life he set fire to the bundle of certificates he had obtained during his school and college days. When his mother asked him what he was doing, he replied that he was putting those useless papers to ashes. Staggered, she asked him to keep them lest they might be needed in future. Forth came the firm rejoinder, "Now that I have decided to leave the college I will never require them."

When his mother fell victim to the ravage of influenza at Baroda in 1918, he wanted that the funeral hymns should not be chanted by the professional priest. His father pleaded helplessness. Consequently, Vinoba did not partake in the funeral ceremony and spent the day in reciting the Gita and the Upanishads at home.

When he first saw Lokmanya Tilak he asked the great leader a few questions. This is what transpired between a youth twenty-two years old and a giant of sixty.

"Have you experienced truth-realisation?"

"No."

"Have you overcome the fear of life and death?"

"How can I say that?"

"Have you read Gyandev's '*Amrithanubhav*'?"

"No."

"Have you seen the '*Bijak*' of Kabir?"

"I am not in the habit of reading much literature of this kind."

It was the mango season (1928) and he was in his Ashram at Wardha. One day he went to the market and fetched a basketful of small country mangoes for six annas. Two days after he again went to the market and met the same hawker, an old woman. She offered him the same basketful of fruits for two annas. Vinoba enquired of her the reason of the decline in price.

With a deep sigh, the old woman said "There was a very violent wind last night. Many mangoes have fallen from the trees. The market is flooded with them. The purchasers are not correspondingly increased. Hence the price has gone down."

Not satisfied, Vinoba put her a question: "You charged six annas that day for the labour you did in collecting this basketful of mangoes. I want to know whether you had to work less to-day for the same task than you did earlier."

"No, certainly not. I had to spend the same time as before."

"Then there is no reason for your being paid less for the same amount of work."

And to her surprise, she was paid the same six annas.

In November last, when Vinoba was on his march in the Purnea district of Bihar he met a Muslim

nobleman. He called upon him to come forward with one-sixth of his Bhoodan share as his right on behalf of the landless.

The Zamindar submitted "I agree to your claim. But in our Muslim families, a woman has also her rights. And we are five brothers and two sisters."

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

"Very gladly so." And the noble man signed his gift-deed accordingly.

These few anecdotes easily reveal the fibre of which Vinoba is made. The reply he gave to his mother indicates his earnestness of resolve and sincerity of purpose. His queries to Tilak speak of his deep erudition and religious passion. His behaviour at his mother's death or his dealings with the mango-seller betokens his revolutionary conception of new and human values in the socio-economic sphere. His appeal to the Purnea landlord shows his concern for the poorest masses and a determination to change the present social structure.

In Vinoba we meet a happy combination of depth of mind, of heroism of action and of loftiness of soul. He thereby counts as the rarest spirit of our time and with the clearest gift of casting anew the entire social structure — encompassing all its aspects, be they political, socio-economic, spiritual, or moral. But, above all, he is humble, too humble, which permits the saint and the genius and the revolutionary in him to look like an innocent child playing with sand on the sea-shore of time.

All India Bhoodan News

Bihar: Up to August '55 the total Bhoodan received is 23 lakhs and fifty-six thousand acres. Over 18,000 families have so far been benefited by the distribution of over 33,000 acres. The workers' Conference on 8th, 9th and 10th August in Hazaribagh district decided the details of further programme.

Uttar Pradesh: The workers of Gandhi Ashram Branch at Ratt have declared their offer of 1/10th of their salary as Sampattidan. The workers of Hamirpur district Samithi toured in 28 villages in August to spread the message of Bhoodan. In the flood-stricken areas of Ajamghat the Bhoodan workers are carrying on relief work. Out of the 3,400 acres collected in the district, distribution was done among 750 families.

Madhya Pradesh: The Provincial Bhoodan Samiti has drawn up a plan for effectively working the village sufficiency programme on a co-operative basis.

Rajasthan: Bhoodan land was distributed among 18 families in the Tonong district. Shrikrishnadas Jajuji will be touring in Rajasthan from 2nd October to 15th November.

Gujarat: At Sabarmathi Ashram workers' discussion classes were held for four days in the 3rd week of August.

Bombay: The workers are concentrating their attention in the spread of Bhoodan Sarvodaya literature and

collection of Sampattidan. Up to the end of July Rs 1,10,000 was received as Sampattidan. In August alone Rs. 15,000 worth of literature was sold. The Ex-Mayor, Shri Ganapathi Shankar is taking active interest.

Sevagram: As per instructions from Vinobaji Sri. Reddiji, Mohan Singhji and Gopal Bhai of the Ashram have gone to Koraput district of Orissa to plan and develop agricultural operations in the villages offered as Purnadan.

Madhya Bharat: The workers of the three districts - Ratlam, Mandasaur, and Chabua undertook walking yatras in over 42 villages, addressed over 50 meetings and collected over 150 Bighas of land from 55 donors.

Punjab: Over 50 bighas of land were collected from 75 donors in Hisar district for August.

Assam: Three villages have been received as full-dan. In August alone 1,200 bighas of land were collected. Some workers in Sivasagar district have decided to undertake non-stop yatras for two full years.

Kerala: A good central Bhoodan committee has been constituted with six members. Sri George Thomas, of Kottayam district, M. P. is also a member of the committee and takes keen interest in the movement. He has given 1,500 acres of Bhoodan in two instalments.

The Taluk Committees in almost all the Taluks have been reconstituted.

They are entrusted with the Bhoodan work in the respective Taluks including distribution of land so far received. Many of the Taluks have organised walking yatras from 11th September to 2nd October. Besides, an Akhanda pada-yatra was started on the 11th September from Kanhangad in the northernmost Taluk of Kerala. It was inaugurated by Shri K. Kochu Kutten, the Minister for Local Self-government, T. C. State. This will continue till the end of 1957. It will be led by the District organisers.

Hyderabad: The 61st birthday of Vinobaji was celebrated in a fitting manner at Pochampalli village, in Nalgonda district, 30 miles from Hyderabad, which was once the centre of communist activity and then turned to be the birthplace of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna. The Chief Minister, Dr. Ramakrishna Rao addressed the villagers under the Banyan tree where the father of the Bhoodan Yagna received the first gift of land. Shri Ramakrishna Reddiar, the first donor on 18th April 1951 has taken the lead for villagisation of land.

The Chief Minister announced that it was proposed to develop the small village of Pochampalli with 700 houses into an ideal village modelled on the principles of Sarvodaya village. The Government would also erect a suitable memorial at the place.

Shri Ramachandra Reddi, the first donor has proposed that all land in the village should be pooled and cultivated jointly. The 3,500 people of the village welcome the idea. After the scheme is finalised Acharya Vinoba

would be requested to inaugurate it when he visits the village in January 1956.

Nearly 5,000 acres of land at Pochampalli are cultivable. 152 of the 700 families are weavers, weaving some of the finest patterns of sarees. The village can be organised under a planned economy of agriculture and home-industry to make it self-sufficient in all respects.

The two-acre plot on the banks of the Pochampalli Lake where Acharya Bhave conceived the idea of Bhoodan has been gifted to the State Bhoodan Samiti for constructing the memorial.

Mysore: Dr. Pushpam, Chikmagalur writes:

"The 61st birthday was celebrated here under the presidentship of Sree. B. G. Seenappa, Municipal President in the Town Hall. Sryts. H. Sanjeeviah, B. K. Narasimhamoorthy, Bagmane Deva Gowda and Venkatesiah spoke on the occasion touching the life of Christ, expounding the fundamental tenets of Bhoodan and narrating the life journey of Vinobaji and Lord Christ.

The speakers spoke on the evils of the money economy which is at the root of the present crisis in humanity and on the basic principles and ideology of the Bhoodan movement.

According to Christ's teachings every day Christians congregate to pray "Lord, give us this day our bread and forgive us our sins etc." The message is often missed while

making this prayer. We do not think of to-day but we hoard wealth and buy lands for to-morrow and even for eternity as it were. We are engrossed in selfish ends and have forgotten the Lord's message. If everyone took only enough for oneself for the day and shared the rest with others everybody would have enough to live by. There is enough in the world for everybody's need but not enough for everyone's greed.

It is high time that we should hear the voice of the seers and follow their foot-steps. "Sarvodaya" must blossom in every family. The message of Vinobaji's Bhoodan should be taken to every nook and corner of the country."

Andhra: On 7-8-'55 Vinobaji was received on the bank of Jhanga-vati river in the border of Orissa and was taken to the camp at Ravikona by Sadhu Subramaniam, Prabhakarji, Sri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, Minister, Sri Latchanna and others. The camp was improvised in the forest area. Vinobaji addressed a meeting in the evening and left for Parvatipur. There he addressed a gathering of 15,000 people who came from about 50 villages around. Vinobaji said that he would visit Andhra again in October. He expressed his hopes that the Bhoodan Yagna which began in Telugu area of Telangana would be successfully completed in Andhra.

280 acres were in all received at Vinobaji's three camps at Ravikara, Parvatipur and Kotipam.

Tamilnad

Tamilnad has been more rapidly progressing during the last few months. Sri K. Arunachalam, M. A., Principal of Basic Training College, Periyanaikanpalayam has taken leave for a year and is devoting his time for Bhoodan work, particularly among the Basic Training Schools since July. He is touring in im-

portant centres to contact the educated classes who seem to be ignorant or indifferent to the implications of Bhoodan Yagna. Sri R. K. Krishnamurthi, who has just taken his degree in Law is concentrating on the students' section in Madurai district.

Sri Vimala Thakkar's two yatras in Trichinopoly district created a remarkable awakening in that district. Trichy district stands now as the fourth in rank in the acreage of Bhoodan received.

Salem district which was very much behind has now become very active with a number of camps and yatras. Sri A. Krishnan of Gandhi Ashram, Salem, Zamindar of Elampalli and a number of enthusiastic workers of Paparapatti and other places are taking keen interest. Salem district has received over 2,000 acres in the recent months.

Tamilnad is indebted particularly to Sri Sankarrao Deo for his recent third walking yatra in Salem and Chengelpet districts.

The pada-yatras are a regular feature in all the districts. During the last year and particularly during the recent months the large band of Khadi workers, in the various villages of Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh under the guidance of Sri A. Balakrishna Pillai, the representative for Tamilnad, has been conducting walking yatras regularly every month. The workers of each of the over hundred Khadi Vastralayas are expected to give a week per month for yatras. There is further a non-stop yatra in North Arcot district with workers drawn from each Vibhag by turns. Sri A. Balakrishna Pillai, himself has led many yatra parties in South Arcot district and elsewhere and has received danapatras for wet and dry lands. The pada-yatras of Khadi workers in Tamilnad, the largest Khadi producing province in India, among the remote villages

have undoubtedly accelerated the progress of Bhoodan work in Tamilnad.

Sri Jagannathan, the indefatigable convener of Bhoodan work in Tamilnad who had to carry on the work with his own organisation has now the full and active co-operation of about 400 Khadi workers of Tamilnad.

Out of 42,073 acres of Bhoodan received till 31-8-55 about 15,000 acres were received during the last twelve months. The following is the

position of Bhoodan received in the districts upto 31-8-55.

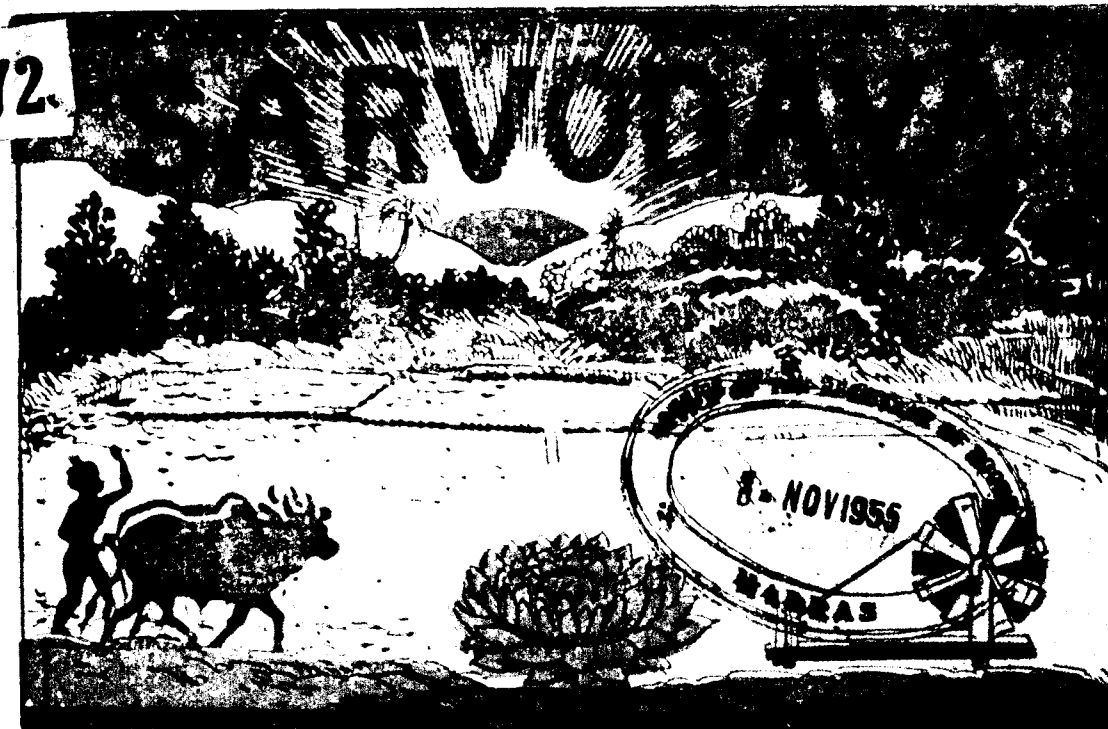
District.	Acres.	Cents.
Madurai	11,489	93
Tinnivelly	8,105	28
Ramnad	6,043	0
Coimbatore	5,388	56
Trichy	4,386	98
Chengelpet	2,345	78
Salem	2,232	63
Tanjore	1,465	80
South Arcot	309	56
North Arcot	299	65
Nilgiris	6	60

All-India Bhoodan Received and Distributed.

Province	Figures upto	Collection		Distribution	
		Acres.	No. of Donors.	Acres.	Families.
1. Bihar	31-8-55	23,59,879	2,95,790	34,809	19,062
2. Uttar Pradesh	"	5,53,640	20,940	65,658	31,190
3. Rajasthan	"	3,59,226	74,803	14,514	2,292
4. Utkal	20-8-55	2,09,681	81,813	13,210	1,732
5. Madhya Pradesh	31-8-55	1,16,617	24,638	37,082	6,418
6. Hyderabad	"	1,09,529	4,286	33,674	7,879
7. Madhya Bharat	30-6-55	51,987	5,014	311	...
8. Tamil Nad	31-8-55	42,073	10,751	585	221
9. Sourashtra	30-6-55	41,000	15,000	1,500	...
10. Gujarat	31-8-55	39,240	8,877	6,400	2,351
11. Maharashtra	"	28,146	6,193	...	...
12. Kerala	30-6-55	25,113	1,200	315	...
13. Andhra	26-7-55	22,872	...	...	...
14. Punjab - Pepsu	31-8-55	14,386	3,297	653	161
15. Bengal	31-7-55	10,596	5,641	1,363	1,158
16. Delhi	30-6-55	9,245	249	90	25
17. Mysore	10-9-55	7,796	3,005	...	...
18. Vindhya Pradesh.	31-8-55	6,883	1,470	771	278
19. Karnatak	"	3,122	620	269	85
20. Himachal Pradesh.	30-6-55	2,025	66	...	...
21. Assam	"	1,950	...	...	...
22. Bombay	"	123	6	...	...
Total	...	40,14,629	5,63,659	2,11,204	72,352

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672



672
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THE SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The Samaj: After the demise of Mahatma Gandhi the constructive workers met in a conference in March, 1948 at Sevagram, Wardha, and decided to form a free world organisation, known as the Sarvodaya Samaj. Yet it is not an organisation as generally understood with rules of membership, executive, office-bearers and binding decisions. But it is a Samaj of free voluntary brotherhood with the simple obligation to themselves to strive towards the uplift of all in the world through truth and non-violence as the means. The following will give an idea of the objective and work of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Aim: To strive towards a social order based on Truth and Non-Violence, in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no exploitation of any kind and offering full scope for the development of the individuals as well as groups.

Basic Principle: Insistence on the purity of the Means as that of the Ends.

Programme: For the achievement of the aim, the following programme will be followed:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Communal harmony (fellowship between followers of different faiths and sects) | 10. Development of provincial languages |
| 2. Removal of untouchability | 11. Removal of provincialism |
| 3. Abolition of class distinctions | 12. Hindustani as the national language |
| 4. Prohibition | 13. Economic equality |
| 5. Promotion of khadi and other home industries | 14. Development of agriculture |
| 6. Village sanitation | 15. Organization of labour |
| 7. Basic Education | 16. Welfare of aboriginals |
| 8. Equality of status and rights for both men and women | 17. Organization of Students |
| 9. Health and hygiene | 18. Service of leprosy patients |
| | 19. Relief-work |
| | 20. Cow protection |
| | 21. Naturopathy |
| | 22. Other similar activities |

Brotherhood: Whoever accepts the above Aim and its Basic Principles and endeavours to follow them is eligible for the brotherhood of the Samaj. On sending his or her name and address to the Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj, Gaya, he or she will be registered as a "Sevak."

Sarvodaya Day: The 30th January of every year when Gandhiji passed away will be observed at all places as the Sarvodaya Day.

Sarvodaya Fairs: On 12th February, every year Fairs will be organized at places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed.

Sarvodaya Conference: To facilitate mutual contact and exchange of views among the Sevaks there will be an annual conference in March or April at some place in India.

Function: The deliberations of the Samaj will be of advisory nature and not mandatory in any way.

SARVODAYA

Whole NOVEMBER 1955 No. 53

CONTENTS

Daridranarayana or The God of the Poor —Mahatma Gandhi	... 148
Srikrishnadas Jajuji	... 151
The Origin of Bhoodan —Vinoba	... 152
Decentralised Swaraj —Acharya Vinoba	... 155
The True Aim of Education —Dr. Zakir Hussain	... 159
Abolition of Casteism —Dr. S. Radhakrishnan	... 161
Nai Talim —Dhirendra Mazumdar	... 162
Evolution versus Revolution —Esme Wynne Tyson (England)	... 163
Social Disabilities of Harijans —Swami Anand Thirth, M. A.	... 167
Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Bombay	... 170
The First Gram-Dan in Tamil Nad —S. Jagannathan	... 172
The Madras Govt. Bhoodan Bill	... 174
All India Bhoodan News	... 175



Clarification on Gramdan

Surrendering their individual holdings to the village as a whole is Gram Dan. Everyone should work for the village community, and the village community will look to the welfare of all. I would like to see this sort of atmosphere in Telangana where the Bhoodan movement took its shape.

The land would be redistributed among the villagers who would be prepared to till the land. The question of the number of acres a person should get would have to be decided by the villagers unanimously. Nothing would be imposed on the villagers. Men belonging to different professions, such as the village doctor, blacksmith and carpenter would get their crop share from the village output.

The village pattern might not be the same for all the villagers. But the co-operative village system based on voluntary liquidation of private ownership is the principle behind Gram Dan.

As regards those who are not in a position to till the land, for the present, they should get the goodwill of the villagers by way of land donations. They would develop in themselves the training to work in the fields and they would be getting the help and assistance from the villagers during the transitory period.

VINOBA.

(From a message to Hyderabad Bhoodan Samithi.)

Poojya Shrikrishnadas Jaju



WE ARE shocked to hear the news of the sudden demise of Poojya Shrikrishnadas Jaju in his 73rd year at Jaipur on 23rd October '55. Earlier we were informed that Shri Jajuji had stood well in spite of his age the operation for Hernia. But death has snatched him away while he appeared to be recovering.

The demise of this most respected veteran in the field of Gandhiji's constructive work has created a great void in all the All-India constructive institutions and is an irreparable loss to the large family of constructive workers in all parts of India.

There may not be any institution of constructive work in Wardha and in Maharashtra or even possibly in Rajasthan, the home of his ancestors, in which Shri Jajuji had no active hand in its origin and development.

Immediately after Sri Shankerlal Banker resigned his secretaryship of

the All India Spinner's Association for reasons of health Shri Jajuji took up the responsibility of Khadi work in the country as the Secretary of the A. I. S. A. The period of his secretaryship from 1940 to 1946 marked an epoch in Khadi work, as it had to pass through a series of major experiments and crises. There was the principle of living wage which was to be applied. The A. I. S. A.'s very existence was threatened by the Government's action during the great movement of 1942 when Shri Jajuji was arrested. After release in 1944 Shri Jajuji had again to shoulder the responsibility of piloting the A. I. S. A. through the revolutionary programme of reorientation till the new convention of five years' period for every secretary relieved him from active executive responsibility.

Though he was free from administrative work he took keen interest as a Trustee or adviser of A. I. S. A., Talimi Sangh, A. I. V. I. A., Kasthur Ba Memorial Trust, British Leprosy Relief Association, and lastly in the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, not to mention the various provincial and local organisations with which he was associated. Almost since the inception of the Bhoodan yagna Sri Jajuji has been giving all his time and energy for propagating Bhoodan. His incessant yatra's affected his health in his old age and he began to restrict his activity to Sampattidan.

He was specialising on Sampattidan as it were and we are much indebted to him for expounding its

(Continued in page 151)

Daridranarayana - The God of the Poor

MAHATMA GANDHI

While plans and projects for raising the standard of life are floodlit in the press and platform the picture of Daridranarayana - or The God of the Poor who was constantly in the mind of the Mahatma, seems to be receding to the back ground. It behoves us to recall the painful condition of the masses as painted in the canvass of this moving article woven together with Gandhiji's words spoken and written on various occasions by the well-known Journalist Sri R. K. Prabhu in his book "India of my Dreams" by Mahatma Gandhi.

DARIDRANARAYAN is one of the millions of names by which humanity knows God who is unnameable and unfathomable by human understanding and it means God of the poor, God appearing in the hearts of the poor.

I recognize no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God, through the service of these millions.

I dare not take before them the message of God. I may as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before those hungry millions who have no lustre in their eyes and whose only God is their bread. I can take before them a message of God only by taking the message of sacred work before them. It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are sitting here after a nice break-fast and looking forward to a nicer luncheon, but how am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day? To them God can only appear as bread and butter. Well, the peasants of India were getting their bread from their soil. I offered them the spinning wheel in order that they may get butter and if I

appear today...in my loin cloth it is because I come as the sole representative of those half-starved, half-naked dumb millions.

I am able to restrain myself from committing suicide by starvation because I have faith in India's awakening and her ability to put herself on the way to freedom from this desolating pauperism. Without faith in such a possibility I should cease to take interest in living.

For the poor the economic is the spiritual. You cannot make any other appeal to those starving millions. It will fall flat on them. But you take food to them and they will regard you as their God. They are incapable of any other thought.

With this very hand I have collected soiled pies from them tied tightly in their rags. Talk to them of modern progress. Insult them by taking the name of God before them in vain. They will call you and me friends if we talk about God to them. They know, if they know God at all, a God of terror, vengeance, a pitiless tyrant.

I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use and keep it, I thief it from somebody

else. It is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day; and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation.

In India we have got many millions of people who have to be satisfied with one meal a day and that meal consisting of a *Chappatti* containing no fat in it and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these millions are clothed and fed. You and I ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary privation in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed.

We are either ignorant or negligent of the divine law by virtue of which man has been given only his daily bread and no more, with the result that there arise inequalities with all the misery attendant upon them. The rich have a superfluous store of things which they do not need and which are, therefore, neglected and wasted; while millions starve and are frozen to death for want of them. *If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment.*

We should be ashamed of resting or having a square meal so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food.

The golden rule...is resolutely to refuse to have what millions cannot. This ability to refuse will

not descend upon us all of a sudden. The first thing is to cultivate the mental attitude that will not have possessions or facilities denied to millions and the next immediate thing is to rearrange our lives as fast as possible in accordance with that mentality.

Jesus, Muhammed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramakrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot.

God of himself seeks for his seat the heart of him who serves his fellow-men. Such was Abu Ben Adhem. He served his fellow-men and therefore his name topped the list of those who served God.

But who are the suffering and the woe-begone? The suppressed and the poverty-stricken. He who would be a *Bhakta*, therefore, must serve these by body, soul and mind. He who does not even condescend to exert his body to the extent of spinning for the sake of the poor and trots out lame excuses does not know the meaning of service. He who spins before the poor inviting them to do likewise serves God as no one else does. "He who gives Me even a trifle as a fruit or a flower or even a leaf in the spirit of *Bhakti* is my servant," says the Lord in the *Bhagavad Gita*. And he hath his footstool where live "the humble, the lowliest and lost". *Spinning, therefore, for such is the greatest prayer, the greatest worship, the greatest sacrifice.*

The easiest and the best way of identifying yourselves somewhat with these starving millions is to spread the message of the spinning wheel in the three-fold manner suggested by me.....

It is not enough that stray lawyers and doctors spin and weave or stray barbers and tailors do national service, but thousands of professional men,

artisans and agriculturists should, whilst following their callings render national service by qualifying themselves, *the literary professions by realizing the dignity of labour and the labouring professions realizing the dignity of literature, and all doing everything to uplift the nation and refraining from doing anything that would degrade it.*



(Italics are ours.)

Poojya Shrikri shnadas Jaju

(Continued from page 149)

basic principles in a most lucid way and evolving a simple workable scheme with minute details with a superb combination of realism and idealism. His last article of clarification on Sampattidan in "Bhoodan Yagna" perhaps from his bed in Jaipur shows his passionate devotion to the cause he has taken up.

There was a tour programme ready for him in Rajasthan for Sampattidan after his recovery. But God has willed otherwise.

Being a seeker after Truth, he could not brook untruth and lying in any form and he had to fight it courageously. The following ringing words of Ruskin which are prominently found on the walls of Gandhiji's hut in Sevagram were ever before Sri Jajuji's mind.

"The essence of lying is in Self-deception, not in words; a lie may be told by silence, by equivocation, by the accent on a syllable, by a

glance of the eye attaching a peculiar significance to a sentence and all these lies are worse and baser by many degrees than a lie plainly worded."

His uncompromising devotion to truth, his intolerance of injustice under any circumstances, calm and dispassionate reasoning and impartial judgement, his most rigid standard of economy in the affairs of all public institutions, his deep conviction in the Gandhian way of non-violence in thought, word and deed, and above all his calm and dignified gait and demeanour are all his supreme virtues. He was in the words of Gandhiji "truthful, gentle and courageous" to the core. He was a karma yogi to the last moment of his life ceaselessly toiling without rest. Let us, the large band of constructive workers in the country cherish the great legacy of the virtues he had in abundance and strive for the lofty ideal for which Sri Jajuji has laid down his life as a true Jeevandani.



The Origin of Bhoodan

During his Orissa Yatra Vinobaji had a brief three day tour in the Andhra border. At Parvatipuram Vinobaji addressed a large gathering and this is the gist of his speech as reported by Sri Damodardas Mundada. Later at Kottayam Vinobaji addressed a small group from the top of a mount, who considered the inspiring words as a sermon on the mount. In this speech Vinobaji traces the origin of Bhoodan and how the first gift of 100 acres has developed to Gram-dan now. The climax of the day when he talked from the mount was that the mount which was held as a valuable family treasure was offered to Vinobaji by its owner with the garden surrounding it.

The First Day of Bhoodan

I SAW that on a simple demand from the villagers of Pochampalli, Sri Ramachandra Reddi of the same village, stood and announced his first Bhoodan. Was it but a phenomenon or was there any suggestion concealed in that act - I asked myself."

Here are some villagers who ask for eighty acres of land and here is a man who donates hundreds instead. Is it unthinkable that this process is repeated everywhere? Certainly not, if the people only possess the power to speak out their minds. Man does not act on the strength of his individual thinking alone. There is a preparation going on in the surrounding world, which prompts his action. "The donor of the village had no doubt become the immediate and effective cause; but, may be, the atmosphere also, is ready in the world for such a programme."

Nature's planning is never partial. It is perfect upto the mark. When it gives appetite to the child, it not only provides the mother with the necessary food but also inspires her to feed the child.

And suddenly came the flash: And I realized that the world power beckons us to fulfil some new mission.

Do I possess the necessary strength to carry out the new mission, which I do not have?

But what if I do not possess the strength? Do I not possess the faith? I thought.

There were but hundred acres in my hand. My love of Mathematics led me, even in that serious mood of meditation, to calculate the approximate figure needed for the total landless population of India. And I found that about five crores would be sufficient. That means, the three figures of today must rise to five hundred thousand times more. Should I now shirk the fear of the figures or take the hint? If I am blind to the suggestion, I must give up my faith in non-violence and accept violence as my new creed or should turn a pessimist. I was prepared for neither. With heart within and God over-head, I fell fast asleep.

The Second Day

At the next halt, I repeated my new idea to my audience. I had originally planned to have only a first-hand knowledge of the conditions in Telangana. I had no idea of Bhoodan whatsoever. But I realised and was more than convinced, that if non-violence was to survive, I must take

the hint underlying the phenomenon. Even the monkeys carried on Rama's mission. Am I not qualified even as much as the monkeys were, if not better, bestowed with human qualities as I am, a man of living faith in non-violence, and one who had been a devotee of these monkeys as well? Therefore, he who could employ the monkeys, shall take work from me also, provided I reduce myself to nil, void of any age and pride in me, as was the case with the monkeys.

Thus even at this second village, I stretched out my hand to demand land, as a son would do to the father. The villagers never knew my mind, and were present with garlands to offer to me. I pointed out to them that though beautiful were the flowers in their hands, Earth, the mother of these flowers, was indeed more beautiful. While flowers were meant for the Lord's worship, I ask for land only. 'I am your son, a member of your family. If you have four, give unto me my fifth share.'

They were all taken by surprise. But my words had the effect which the Atom Bomb had in Hiroshima. They gave me sixty acres. Only yesterday I had received one hundred. Today sixty. Euclid's two points were present and the Line was complete.

After Four Years

Four years have since elapsed, and the donations steadily rose from the hundred to a thousand and then to a lakh, making today a total of forty lakhs contributed by four and a half lakh donors. Granted that one amongst the hundred who listened to the message of Bhoodan parted with

his or her land, the idea has reached atleast to four and half crores of people. My experience in Bihar is indeed a pointer of the dawn of Satyayug. People actually complained that while they wanted to give, none approached them for land. It is not I who had made people's mind conscious. It has been there ready and willing to respond.

Sarvodaya Personified in Mother

We have to take an all round view and should learn to look from all angles. The idea of Sarvodaya is absolute and complete in itself. It conceives universal equality and fraternity and dismisses any conception of high and low. Like the Vaishnava who regards all but him as great and himself small, the believer in Sarvodaya considers all greater than himself. 'Let all eat first, mine turn shall be the last.' That is the way of his thinking. People ask if the idea could ever be realised. Was it not realised even today in our houses? Who is our mother, if not 'Sarvodaya' personified? People want to be trained in Sarvodaya ideology at the training camps. That is not wrong. But is not the mother an ever flowing stream for such training? With every food from her womb, she initiates the child in Sarvodaya. She eats only after everyone else has done. This approach of the mother is the approach of Sarvodaya. Every mother thus presents a picture of Sarvodaya and there is nothing difficult in realising the ideal. What is needed is but the social application of the individual's approach. It is a wrong notion that the interests of the individual clashes with that of the Society. No mother

ever complained that her interest clashed with those of her children. Maybe the so-called economist has no place in her theory. But is it not high time before we realise that our self-interest is best served through the fulfilment of larger interests?

Decentralisation of Power

Swaraj has come. But did they feel the warmth of it? The very term Swaraj, or Self Government, implies decentralisation of authority. The principle has, therefore, to be applied to every practicable limit, to all fields of life, social, economic, and political. Gramdan, or Villagisation, brought to their very cottages the power that really belonged to them, but of which, unfortunately, they were not conscious, and which, again not less unfortunately, indeed, was progressively centralised at places like Delhi and Kurnool, resulting in the progressive decline of their liberty and progressive rise in their poverty and sufferings. It is through Gramdan alone that the Delhi Raj of today could be transformed into the Gram Raj and Ram Rajya. Every State would then become a State in miniature with all the departments efficiently functioning in the village itself.

Appeal for Gramdan

Think not in terms of quantitative return of our ideal. See that it is properly divulged and firmly rooted in the hearts of the people. Let them fully grasp the concept of Bhoodan,

and you will be surprised at the response that would be forthcoming. Don't you see that we asked them for Gramdan, and they have responded. We have asked them to participate in Sampattidan and they are doing. Ask them to sacrifice their lives, and they will not fail us. Did they not respond to the Quit-India call and lay down even their lives on the altar of their country? They will certainly do so now. Our men are not wanting in their love for their brothers. They have been in one form or other manifesting their compassion which is the very basis of our mission. They rejoice in feeding the hungry, in clothing the naked, in nursing the ailing, and in housing the destitutes. There is indeed, no dearth of compassion, which, in its process of evolution, has now reached the mark when it demands the very elimination of the cause of all these sufferings. Bhoodan's potentialities in this direction have been now amply proved, and Koraput has reduced all the castles of argumentation in this behalf, to ashes. The fire, when spreads, will not envelop only Utkal, but whole of India, and the world itself. Do not my brothers, therefore, worry about the harvest that would indeed be plentiful. The reapers alone would be lacking.

Like the line of a circle, which meets at the starting point, may this Bhoodan which had its inception in Andhra, see its happy termination in the very land of Vishal-Andhra, and which could easily be realised through Gramdan.



DECENTRALISED SWARAJ

ACHARYA VINOBA

(This is a report of Vinobaji's speech in Hindi, sent by Sri Damodardas Mundada, Vinobaji's Secretary)

WHEREVER we have gone, the people gather in large numbers to attend the prayer meetings. Its main reason being this that they realise the importance of Bhoodan and all it stands for. People had hoped that their lot would improve after independence. There is absolutely nothing wrong in holding such high hopes. What worth is Swarajya, if it does not bring in its train the betterment of the lot of the common people?

But the people did not understand or realise that it was in their own hands to ameliorate their condition. They have taken it for granted that as there was previously the rule of the Muslims and then that of the British, similarly it was now the rule of the Congress. But, in those days when the Muslims or the British ruled, no one asked for the votes of the people. Those old days when the princes and the emperors ruled supreme are gone for good. Now it is our Swarajya i. e. People's Rajya. Those who rule the country today are but the servants of the people who have chosen them.

People - the Real Masters

Power is today vested in the people to select their servants who would conduct the affairs of the country on their behalf. It was for this purpose that the people were requested to cast their votes and accordingly they have selected their

servants for 5 years. If the people are satisfied with the services which these servants have rendered during this period, they will re-elect them and, if otherwise, they would elect others in their stead. All this means that it is you, the people, that are the masters. However, each individual amongst you is not the master but, remember, you are so only collectively. But you have not yet fully realised that real power is vested in you.

People must feel it

But power is something which cannot be had as a gift from others. Power or right to authority must spring from within. Though the people of India are as such quite sensible they have, however, been given to feel, on account of the long bondage of foreign domination, and think that the Government would do all for their betterment. Now that the power is really vested in the people, they must feel that it is really so and must experience from within. Does anyone give the mother her maternal rights and privileges? In fact, within her own innermost self she feels her motherhood. Does any one make the lion the king of the jungle? In fact, he himself feels so and establishes his right. Similarly the people must feel from within and realise for themselves that they are the masters. They must thus experience the real strength of Swaraj from within.

How will it happen?

Would the people of every village rule the country from Delhi? No. How will they, then, get the experience? The answer is: the people of the villages will rule their own villages. They will then get the experience of conducting the affairs of the State and feel the real strength of Swaraj automatically.

From Gram-Rajya to Rama-Rajya

Those who are intelligent, rich and clever and sensible in the village must come forward and offer their services, as the elders and the parents do, to conduct the affairs of the village. Not only that but they should work in such a manner and with such a spirit that other people also become experienced and adept like them, or more adept and cleverer than themselves. It would be only thus that Gram-Rajya would lead to the real Rama-Rajya. Swarajya means, ordinarily, the rule of the people by the people and for the people.

It comes into existence on the withdrawal of the political domination or paramountcy of the foreign power. But it is Gram-Rajya only when the real swarajya or self-rule spreads far and wide in every village in the country. And when *all the people* in the village become intelligent, adept and sensible and when the necessity to rule over anyone by anyone else, ceases, this Gram-Rajya turns into Rama-Rajya.

When the disputes, for example, of the village are brought to the city courts for settlement and when the city people sit in judgment and decide them, it is slavery, servitude or

subordination. When the disputes of the village are settled in the village by the village people themselves, it is Swarajya of the village or Gram-Rajya. And when disputes do not at all arise in the village, it is Rama-Rajya. First we have to establish full Gram-Rajya in the village and then turn it into Rama Rajya. *It is precisely for this purpose - for establishing Rama-Rajya in every village - that this Bhoodan Yagna is being carried out.*

Every Village : A "State" :

We have to make every village a complete and a thorough State in miniature. Thus, in every village there would be all the various departments as are in a State such as Health, Industries, Agriculture, Education, Justice, etc. As there is a Foreign Affairs department with respect to the relations with other countries, there will be in every village a special department which would handle the affairs pertaining to the other villages.

University in every village :

Then, there must be a full-fledged University in every village. This is the real Gram-Rajya. Some one told me that in the village there should be only primary schools and high schools in larger village or medium-sized town while the colleges should be in big cities. I told him that if that had been the arrangement and planning of God, He would have kept in the villages only the young children under ten and so also the boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 20 in the larger villages and those above that age in the big cities!

And, if all the functions and practices of life from birth till death can be, and are being, carried out in the village, why not, then, education from primary onwards to the highest be given in the village itself? They are *idle* people, who plan to open universities, say, one in every province. In our planning, there will be a university in every village. We thus believe that the self-rule or Gram-Rajya in every village will be a complete, thorough and far-reaching self-rule in every sense of the term.

Village, the Reservoir of Talents :

Thus, when there would be the highest form of self-rule in every village, there would then be in each village a group of experts in the affairs of the government. In every village there would be such highly experienced men, so much so that if those at Delhi come across any difficulties, they would simply think of visiting a couple of these villages and see how the experienced experts manage their affair there. When we have to carry on this Swarajya of ours and manage our affairs on our own strength, how can we do so successfully and efficiently if we have at our disposal only a few experts to rely on? It is therefore essential that we have experienced politicians and leaders in every village in the country.

And what is the condition to-day? It is such that when Pandit Nehru once said that he would like to be relieved of his Prime Ministership, all were worried and began to tell him: "How can we pull on without you?" Well, this is no Swarajya. Real Swarajya is that when Pandit

Nehru, or for that matter if anyone, desires to be relieved of any particular post, the people would tell him them, 'Oh yes, by all means you can free yourself. You have rendered excellent service to the country and it is your right and privilege to retire.'

"Shasan - Vibhajan"

We have to build our country on these lines and of this shape and form. The political power which is centred today at Delhi has to be divided and distributed between every village in the country. All the power was formerly pooled at London and from there it was parceled off to Delhi. Well, it is in itself a great boon. But, this parcel is detained at Delhi and we have now to see that it reaches to every village in the country. If we have to train the people for Swarajya, we shall have to do all these things. This is known as the division, i. e. decentralization of political authority or "*Shasanvibhajan*". Today the power is "centred"; we have to divide it now, and thus distribute it in every village.

That is why Bhoodan

Ultimately when all the people in the village would be highly experienced in running their own affairs and when they would become sensible enough not to have any quarrels or disputes among themselves, there would no more be any "government" or "Shasan", i. e. there would be a State-free society or Rama - Rajya. We have to achieve this end, reach this goal. It is for this purpose precisely that this Bhoodan Yagna was begun. We, therefore, say to the people that you will have to prepare

yourselves to apply your shoulder to the wheel to improve the lot and condition of your village first. You have to share between yourselves the land of your own village, which can be best done by Gramdan or Villagization of land. You have then to start village and home industries and resolve that none of you will ever use the cloth which is not produced in your village. You have to resolve that 'We shall wear the cloth and use all the articles produced in our village'.

Gram-Rajya and not Delhi-Rajya:

All this cannot be done by any rules and laws and acts of Parliament. Some people ask us why at all we carry on this work of Bhoodan and land-distribution? Why does the Government not take upon itself the re-distribution of land? Well, if the Government will re-distribute the land, it would not end in Gram-Rajya but it would be "Delhi-Rajya". We

have this Delhi-Rajya already in place of the London-Rajya. But we want Gram-Rajya in place of this Delhi-Rajya. And ultimately Rama-Rajya through this Gram-Rajya. Just as one has, to satisfy his hunger, to eat his own food and not that some one else eats it for him, so also we ourselves will have to offer this Bhoodan, Sampattidan, etc. for the Gram-Rajya and the Rama-Rajya. Others cannot give us this Gram-Rajya as a gift.

Last but not the Least

One more point, the most important one. The whole village should live as one family and think as one man, with one mind, in respect of maintaining the self-sufficient economy of the village. "If there are 500 people in the village, there would then be 1000 hands, 1000 feet and 500 brains but there shall be one heart. I appeal to the people to become one in mind, one in heart and one in purpose.

The Duty of the State

The State exists merely to apply to the whole of society the economic principle which is found everywhere to a greater or less extent in the family. This is a task beyond the powers of the family. If the State does not do this service, there is no need for its existence. If instead of performing this service it produces economic inequality it will be right to destroy it and to establish anarchy. Administrators have spread fear of anarchy everywhere in order to make people submit meekly to their rule, however bad it may be.

(VINOBA — in "Swaraj Sastra—Principles of a Non-Violent Political Order")

The True Aim of Education

Dr. ZAKIR HUSSAIN

INSPITE of the growing complexity of the social pattern and the many and varied influences which exert themselves on it, it is still the work that is done in the schools and the life that is lived there that determine in a considerable measure the form and the quality of our future national existence. At the risk of being misunderstood by and losing caste with fellow-teachers of the intellectual type, I would venture to maintain that work, that is, educationally productive work is the only potent means of true education. By education I mean the cultivation of the mind and I do not consider knowledge and skill to be synonymous with it. Knowledge and skill are not even reliable measures of education, for knowledge can be of two kinds. It can be knowledge acquired by some one else by his labour and work and passed to others through one's own experience and knowledge that has grown up in their minds. Similarly skill can be of two varieties. It can be mechanical skill acquired by imitative diligence, capable of repeating the existing values or it can be a non-mechanical skill, based on natural disposition, creating new values. The first kind of knowledge and skill is addition from without; the second kind an enrichment and a transformation from within; the one an external appendage and the other an internal development; the first is instruction, the second education; the first is superficial polish, the second essential culture. This second kind is always the result of educationally productive

work, which is essentially the work of the mind, be it accompanied by manual activity or not.

Productive Work

Educationally productive work, can be manual work or it can be mental work. There is a great deal of mental and manual work which is not educationally productive. Educationally productive work is all activity, mental or manual, which initiates new ideas and make possible new combinations of ideas, already present, with a view to reaching a higher unity of mental life or a higher development of the capacity to express or realise them. It is this purpose which distinguishes it from the play activity of children. That too leads to new ideas and new combinations of ideas, but the playing child does not have this purpose in view. This distinction made of work, as distinct from play, a disciplined purposeful activity. The child's play, being without a conscious purpose, has a strictly limited timespan. The mental activity involved in productive work, being purposeful, tends to lead from purpose to purpose.

All productive educational work has mental activity as an essential, accompaniment. It involves a consciousness of the problem; the weighing of alternative methods of solving it and a judicious selection therefrom, the actual solving of the problem by the method selected; and a relentless criticism of the achievement. These are the essential parts of all educationally productive work which can accompany the making of a moral choice, the performance of a manual

job or the solution of an intellectual problem.

The essential steps of such work are clearly delineated and the achievement subject to obvious criticism in the case of manual work. The opportunity of aiming at thoroughness in execution and of attempting to achieve perfection make manual work a very significant kind of educationally productive activity. Manual work so organised is, therefore, a very effective means of education specially during the early years of school life, when it is the most commonly distributed psychological urge. That is why manual work has been suggested as the pivotal element in our national scheme of basic education for boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen. It has been widely accepted and equally widely misunderstood because most 'educated' persons had never worked on the manual plane at least. In a country where doing things with one's own hands was sought to be confined vigorously to those who were in advance, doomed to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water, where work was considered by those high in the social scale to be an indignity and disgrace, it need cause no surprise if 'Educated' people question the educational possibilities of any work. But if manual work is considered only as a variety of productive educational work, as explained by me, and as a variety specially suited to educate during the early years of life, I think it will be possible even for educated persons to view the matter in the right perspective. I have no doubt in my mind that productive educational work is the one method

of real education, of the cultivation of the mind.

Productive mental work can give an end and a purpose to the individual, harnessing it to social ends, and give the individual a social meaning and significance. Therefore, all our educational institutions should be transformed into communities of work, if they are to perform their appointed task with any degree of success.

The Axis of Life

You are a great hope and a great promise. Others have been young before you. They too were a hope and a promise. But their story, alas, is a story of hope unfulfilled and promise unrealised. The story of the generation that is young now is just beginning. Let us hope that it will not be a repetition of the old tale. But if it is to be different, our young men will have to begin by realising that life is composed of sterner stuff than mere words. It is more than a mere glamour of the phrase, it is more than a mere balance-sheet of personal profit and loss, it is not just self-seeking, it is not just comfort. The axis on which life rotates is not the axis of profit and loss or of pleasure and pain. It is the axis of progress or retrogression; of self-realisation or self-abasement; of the noble and the ignoble, of the worthy and the unworthy. Life is real, hard, earnest and it is a mission, a service and a worship, striving for ever higher ends. To be worthy worshippers at the shrine of life you have to work hard and incessantly to develop to their fullest extent the capacities with which nature has endowed each one of you.

(From a Speech at Kozhikode—Hindu—10-9-'55.)

Abolition of Casteism

Dr. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

It is only by giving special opportunities, we can help the weaker sections of the society to forge ahead.

We must give them a sense of human status and dignity. The future generations should not be compelled to bear the burdens of the past. The test of civilisation is the way it treats its weak members.

The practice of untouchability is anti-social and a violation of the principles of "dharma". It is not consistent with modern trends of politics or the principles of religion. The State has decided to remove the discriminations resulting from the practice of untouchability by making them criminal. We should not confuse religious principles with social institutions.

Religious principles are fundamental and enduring, while social institutions change from time to time. Whenever a change is demanded in social institutions, a cry is raised that religion is in danger. This is a false cry.

In early centuries of the Christian era our thought and practice in regard to caste were far more fluid, less rigid, less closely defined than they afterwards became. The references to "anuloma" and "pratiloma" marriages are a clear evidence of the prevalence of inter-caste marriages in the dynamic periods of our history. When religion lost much of

its spiritual power and ethical idealism, caste prejudices became pronounced. The stiffening of caste restrictions and the subjection of the country occurred together. It is regrettable and unfortunate that in many parts of the country public life is corrupted by the caste spirit. There is such a thing as the logic of history. Everything has its cause; possibly the subjection of the past is the result of our social divisions. We can shape our future better if we avoid the wrong causes.

To-day we live in a society which is giving way to the inexorable claims of a new order. We cannot stay the advance of time. If we clasp to our heart something that is past, if we cling to something that is defunct, we will be left behind. Forgetting is as essential as remembering. Much needs to be forgotten if the essential is to be remembered and preserved. Societies stagnate if they resist change; they prosper if they are ready to change. The neurotic fear of change which we often come across is opposed to our tradition.

Only by moving, advancing we can achieve sweetness in life. The creative minds transform the tradition which they inherit. This tradition is never finished and closed. It ever remains open and continues to be built. Loyalty to the fundamentals of our faith provides sanctions for radical changes. We must

bridge the gulf between what we profess and what we practice.

There should be a sustained nation-wide drive for the removal of all social disabilities from which people suffer. Society should be purged of man-made inequalities and injustices and equality of opportunity provided for personal well-being and social development. The awakening of the people from list-less fatalism to self-awareness and self-assertion is

a ground for hope. Humanity should assert itself against all that destroy a humanity.

Let us establish a society in which economic justice and provision of opportunity are available for all the members of the society.

(A condensed version of the inaugural address to the members of a Seminar on Casteism and Removal of untouchability at New Delhi on 26th Sep. 1955)



NAI TALIM

DHIRENDRA
MAZUMDAR

THERE are two basic causative factors in a non-violent revolution: one is to create conditions whose compulsion becomes irresistible; the other is to create proper understanding in the people. This combination of 'Paristhiti' and 'Pravritti' is absolutely essential for the success of a non-violent movement. It is in the light of this basic fact that we should understand the Gandhian revolutionary technique. On the one hand he asked the 'hajoor' class for a change of heart (Pravritti), and on the other hand he insisted upon a revolutionary change in the educational system of the country. He knew that while the old 'hajoor' would take time to change, it was necessary that all further addition to the 'hajoor' class must be stopped. He, therefore, * Upper classes

wanted that our 'hajoor' producing factories, i. e. the schools and colleges be closed and the old system of education substituted by Nai Talim. In Nai Talim productive labour is the basis and medium of education. This being so, the labourer's son in Nai Talim does not have to give up his vocation of productive work. He, in fact, learns through it. Besides, the 'bourgeois' child takes to production and by the time he goes out of school he is a fully transformed individual. Thus our next generation would, through Nai Talim, be fully transformed and consist of labourers alone - labourers who are not coolies, but are educated, scientifically trained and conscious producers. In this way would Nai Talim resolve the class-conflict and extinguish the volcano.

From a recent book "Bhoodan Yagna: The Great Challenge of the Age" By Dharendra Mazumdar.



Evolution Versus Revolution

ESME WYNNE TYSON (ENGLAND)

History records revolutions of brutal violence. But they cannot be called revolutions as they could only bring momentary changes in the external condition of man and his environments leaving the inner spirit untouched. The miraculous transformations of mind and heart that the great Seers of the world could achieve with eternal values can alone be true revolutions. The world witnessed the technique of Gandhiji's non-violent revolution on an extensive political plane which Vinoba is today extending to the social life of humanity. 'Evolution' in the title would obviously mean the true non-violent revolution as against the revolution of violence in the conventional sense in this context.

HISTORICAL research makes it abundantly clear that the majority, declared by Bernard Shaw so truly yet so oddly, since he was a Socialist, to be always wrong, have, throughout the ages, clung to the belief that life's evils can be righted only by revolution, which begets counter-revolution and leads again to revolution.

Revolution & Counter Revolution

The fact that this squirrel-cage pattern has, after innumerable centuries, done nothing to rid the world of evil, and that man-kind's very existence is now threatened by the accumulated violence of perpetual revolution, does not seem to have shaken humanity's belief in the efficacy of this method which has never been so wide-spread as it is to-day. The habit has become epidemic, less perhaps from choice than from man-kind's proclivity to automatism, its way of continuing a course because it is traditional instead of re-thinking its premises in the light of experience.

But it is of no use to object to revolution as a measure unless we have some better means of opposing it than counter-revolution which does nothing in the long run but accelerate the rotations of the revolutionary

wheel. As Berdyaev wrote, in *Slavery and Freedom*:

"The enemies of revolution, the counter-revolutionaries, are fond of talking about the horrors and evils of revolution, but they have no right to speak. It is the old, pre-revolutionary life and its defenders who are more than anyone else responsible for the horrors and evils of revolution..... The horrors of a revolution are but the transformation of the horrors of the old regimes, only the working of the old poisons. It is precisely these old poisons which appear as the evil in revolutions. That is why counter-revolutionary forces can only strengthen the evil in revolutions. They can never bring about freedom from that evil."

Alternative to Revolution

What is needed is an alternative to both revolution and counter-revolution; and fortunately this has always existed, although, with rare exceptions, mankind has refused to consider it seriously, and has certainly never put it into general practice. It has been taught throughout the ages by the tiny minority, the philosophers, the prophets, the seers, the true intelligentsia of the human race, who, aware of the ultimate futility of

mere physical force, have always advocated the way of evolution: the improvement of the condition of humanity rather than the improvement of its conditions which, as they point out, will naturally follow since the inward state must determine the outward—a teaching entirely reversed by the materialistic revolutionaries.

When the children of Israel were in bondage to their Egyptian taskmasters, even such wise men as Moses and Aaron encouraged their revolt, and led them, as they supposed, out of slavery. But when this purpose was achieved, the Hebrew Leaders discovered to their dismay how deeply their people were still in thrall to materialism and animalism, which were their real fetters, bonds that certainly could not be broken either by revolution or counter-revolution, but only through the evolution of the individual to a higher and more peaceable species. As a means to this end, Moses carved his rules of conduct upon tablets of stone, believing the Law to be sufficient to work the miracle.

It is often asked why such a fine Leader as he was should have taken so long to traverse the short distance between Egypt and Canaan. It is at least permissible to assume that this delay was deliberate, and that he was hoping to train his people into spiritual fitness for founding an ideal community before they entered the Land of Promise, knowing that if they wholly obeyed the Law, the need for external government would be reduced to a minimum, and whatever land they occupied would become, on account of its law-abiding citizens, an

Ideal State; while if they remained in their unregenerate and unevolved condition, they would make any country they inhabited a jungle, owing to their unrestrained violence and animalism; as, in the event, they did.

For Moses lacked the power to engrave upon the hearts of men that which he had carved on the tablets of stone. He himself frequently disobeyed the sixth clause in his ruthless orders to massacre his people's enemies. Therefore, although he had a vision of a God-governed, Law-governed Land of Promise, he could not enter into it, and the subsequent history of the Israelites proves that, although they occupied a pleasant enough terrain, they took into it their vices, their violence and unregenerate characters which were inevitably externalised in warfare and strife, leading eventually to their conquest by Rome.

But their faith remained fixed upon the efficacy of revolution, and they looked for a war-like Messiah who would lead them in triumph against the hated Caesar. The Messiah, however, when he came, was not of that nature. He knew, as Moses had known, that until men were inwardly better, more compassionate and peaceable, they would always be governed by some tyrant, of their own race, or another, who would keep them in order by brute force.

Some hundreds of years before the advent of Jesus of Nazareth, Plato had made this truth evident by tracing the degeneration of government from that of the Philosopher-

King, the Good-government of Wisdom and high quality, down to democracy, government by the lowest and worst elements, and finally to tyranny which become necessary in order to control those elements when they got out of hand.

Kingdom of God Within

Jesus knew, with Plato, that the Ideal State or Kingdom of God could only be engendered within the individual. As Plato in *The Republic* had suggested that the Ideal State 'is laid up in heaven as a pattern for him who wills to see, and seeing to found a city in himself. Whether it exists anywhere or ever will exist, is no matter. His conduct will be the expression of the laws of that city alone, and of no other', so Jesus of Nazareth plainly stated that the Kingdom of God is within.

The Ideal State in Man

The potentiality for the realization of an Ideal State is within every man; and until this is recognized, and the individual surrenders to the Law of God and becomes regenerate, outgrowing his imperfections as he evolves spiritually, the world will never be better than it is, no matter what ideology is adopted or what kind of external government is in power. It was obviously for this reason that the World-Teachers concentrated upon the inward regeneration of mankind, all leaving, in differing terms, the basic instruction: "Be ye therefore perfect even as the Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Gandhiji's Technique

Gandhiji, the most modern of these Seers, taught precisely what his illustrious predecessors had done,

and his advocated training of the individual into Brahmacharya, Ahimsa and Satyagraha provided the explicit means for man's evolution from his present imperfect, half-animal, half human state recognized as the aim of life by the Mahatma who wrote: "In our present state we are, according to the Hindu doctrine, only partly human; the lower part of us is still animal."

It has not been, however, to the prophets and seers, but to the reformers who have always advocated the way of Revolution, that mankind has been attentive. Voltaire, and his fellow-Encyclopaedists who saw so clearly the evils of their age, had not the wisdom to know how these evils could be remedied. They placed their faith in the acquisition of materialistic knowledge and a change of external government. Their revelations and counsels led directly to the French Revolution and the inevitable degeneration of the culture of that country. And the French Revolution was but the precursor of a positive avalanche of revolutionary movements that have devastated the West, all resulting in further subjection of quality to quantity. The Industrial Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, and Britain's bloodless Revolution, have all led more and more to a lowering of moral and cultural standards, a levelling down of all branches of society except the lowest, and to a general state of devolution and materialism which, if it continues, must put a stop to any hope of further evolution (in the sense of improved quality) of the human race.

Teachings of the Seers

For as all the great seers, from Moses to Gandhi, perceived, Evolution was only possible if the rules and teachings given by those members of humanity who had themselves evolved, such as the Buddha, Shankara, Socrates, Mahavira, and Jesus Christ, were accepted. But it is just those mental geniuses and their teachings that modern materialists continually seek to discredit by saying that their plans for the salvation of mankind have failed. Whereas, in truth, wherever they have been sincerely tried, as in the case of the early disciples, of the true Yogin, of the mystics of all the Faiths, of Paul, John of the Cross, Francis of Assisi, or, in these later days, of Gandhi and Schweitzer, they have most brilliantly succeeded.

It is just because they have not been tried, because from the beginning of history, the obviously correct means of evolution has been rejected for the violence—employing—and—provoking means of revolution, that the world is in the state it is to-day.

The teachings of the Evolutionists still await acceptance by mankind. Only through obedience to these teachings will the vicious circle of revolution and counter-revolution ever be broken, no matter how temporarily successful any new ideology or mode of external government may be, no matter what dazzling promises are held out to us by materialistic science which, while it may eventually make the moon available to us, is constitutionally incapable of engendering the Kingdom

of Heaven within. There is, in fact, no short, materialistic or scientific cut to world betterment. Only by changing and radically improving the condition of man will conditions on earth ever be fundamentally better.



Books on Gandhian Economics by J. C. Kumarappa

	RS.	AS.
Gandhian Economy & Other Essays	2	0
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Why the Village Movement?	3	8
Economy of Permanence—I	2	0
" " II	2	0
Science and Progress	1	3
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Present Economic Situation	2	0
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Sarvodaya & World Peace	0	2
Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.		

Social Disabilities of Harijans

SWAMI ANAND THIRTH, M. A.

This is condensed from the original. This proves the truth that no amount of legal enforcement of the State can bring any revolutionary change in the social structure. But it is only the individual and organised effort of non-official social workers that can do a good deal to effect a mental transformation and change in values. The Bhoodan movement is bound to awaken the conscience of the caste Hindus and the consciousness of the human right among the oppressed Harijans while revolutionising the economic and social life.

UNTOUCHABILITY is rampant in the villages of Tamilnad as would be the case in the other States also. Untouchability is practised in teashops, coffee clubs, barber saloons, etc. It is prominent with reference to wells, tanks, chavadies, temples, etc. It has, however, vanished almost completely in schools, public conveyances, cinemas, shandies, common festivals, etc.

Tea shops: It many of the villages, the Harijans are not admitted inside the tea shops and even if admitted, they are served tea in cocoanut shells, plantain leaves, tin-pots or separate tumblers. Sometimes they are made to sit in a separate room and supplied tiffin and tea through a window. In one instance, when I took some Harijans to a Brahmin hotel, the Harijans and myself were so mercilessly beaten that I sustained a fracture in my leg. This happened in a village, only twelve miles from Madurai. I do not desire to comment on the attitude of some interested persons who exercised their influence to save the offenders when action was taken against them by the Police. There were many instances, when Harijan youths were kicked with shoes for entering

hotels and demanding coffee in the common tumblers. The Police took action only in few of the cases and that also after we had moved in the matter.

Barber saloons: It is really difficult to tackle the barber saloons in the villages. Harijans do not make bold to go to the saloons in the villages because the caste Hindus would harass them in various ways. Even in Thumbapatti, the reaction to the Harijans seeking the services of the village barber was so bad that a Jalianwala bagh atrocity in miniature form took place when Harijans were dragged by their legs, tied to the trees and beaten with sticks till their bones were almost broken. Even the Police took no action.

Laundries: Harijans do not usually make bold to give their clothes for wash to the caste Hindu washerman or laundries. There are several instances when clothes of Harijans were refused to be taken for wash in laundries. In Taliparamba, Malabar, a Tahsildar's clothes were not accepted in a laundry because he belonged to a so called low caste.

Even in the Municipal areas, some of the teashops, barber shops

and laundries are not open to the Harijans.

Wells and Tanks: The wells and tanks used by the caste Hindus are not usually open to Harijans. Indeed we only land the Harijans into trouble, when we encourage them to take water from wells and tanks. In Mangulam, twelve miles from Madurai, when the Harijans took water from the 'oorani' (protected water tank), the caste Hindus organized an economic boycott and denied labour to the Harijans and put them to starvation, so much so the Harijans ceased to take water from the 'oorani'. The water from the 'oorani' was pumped out and an amount of two hundred rupees was collected from the Harijans as penalty for this purpose. In Keelavalavoo, about four miles from Melur, the Harijans still take water from a dirty pond where men bathe and cattle are washed, as they fear to wound the feelings of the caste Hindus by taking water from the village tank. In Pathinettankudi, two miles from Melur, Harijans still take the dirty water from an old dilapidated well, because they were fined one hundred rupees for drawing water from the common well for about a month with our backing. In Soorakkudi, the Pallas (Harijans) were put to starvation for about six months, by being denied labour and land on lease by the caste Hindus, simply because they took water from the 'oorani' against the wishes of the village elders. Very influential persons and higher officials of the district had to go to the village several times to effect a compromise which was not actually implemented

by some of the caste Hindus. A representation was made to the Collector of Ramnad by late Sri A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, President of the Tamilnad Harijan Sevak Sangha, regarding this. The Government have proposed to assign some lands to the poor social sufferers and also to provide labour for these destitutes.

Chavadies: The chavadies in the villages are not open to Harijans and our best efforts in this direction have not proved successful; so also, the small temples and shrines in the villages are still closed to Harijans. Some of the *Choultries* in big towns are not open to Harijans. In Kancheepuram, one important choultry had till recently a board at the entrance to the effect that 'Adi Dravidas and Lepers' were not eligible for admission. The board has now been removed but the Harijans are still denied admission, stating that admission is restricted at the discretion of the management. One temple in Kancheepuram, had an inscription at the gate that Adi Dravidas and non-Hindus shall not enter, but it was removed at our instance. One important and famous temple in Parassinikadavu, North Malabar, is still closed to Harijans, though the Trustee is a Thiyya and it has been declared as a public temple by the Government. Even the District Collector who had led Harijans to several temples for worship, felt nervous to take Harijans to this temple because he was given to understand by subordinate officers that there would be trouble.

Schools: Though discrimination against Harijan pupils in schools is

not so common now as before, still there are instances of discrimination in the matter of supplying drinking water and midday meals. Two teachers of the Government Harijan Welfare Schools were convicted and fined under the Civil Disabilities Removal Act for supplying meals to Harijan pupils separately from other pupils in the schools. The departmental action against them was nominal. In some District Board Elementary Schools while other pupils are allowed to use the tumblers, the Harijan pupils have to drink water poured into their hands by the non-Harijan pupils. Two such instances were reported to the President, District Board, Madurai.

Social Freedom to Harijans

I regret to state that of late, our leaders do not touch the knotty problem of the removal of untouchability during their propaganda for fear that they may lose the vote of orthodox

section of the villagers who are still steeped in ignorance and prejudice. The removal of untouchability was a cause so dear to Mahatmaji and we can place it next to Khadi. The Congress is pledged to the fulfilment of the Poona Pact and the Congress has done its duty by prohibiting the observance of untouchability in the Constitution itself. The Congress has also done its duty by bringing the necessary legislative measures on an All India scale. But still a good deal of propaganda is necessary. It has to be carried on not by the Government agencies but by the actual workers of Congress. We therefore, hope that Presidents of the Congress Committees would kindly give instructions to the Congressmen to do this work also along with their other activities. They may also be instructed to extend their cooperation to the workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, in this programme of the removal of untouchability.

Untouchability and Law

Governments cannot afford to lead in matters of reform. By their very nature Governments are but interpreters and executors of the expressed will of the people whom they govern, and even a most autocratic Government will find itself unable to impose a reform which its people cannot assimilate..... I should be entirely satisfied to know that my Government was willing to carry forward this reform as speedily as the people were willing to assimilate it. But having satisfied myself of that one thing, I should not rest content for one single moment till I had carried the message of reform from mouth to mouth and village to village. Well-ordered, persistent agitation is the soul of healthy progress.....

★

Untouchability will not be removed by the force even of law. It can only be removed when the majority of Hindus realize that it is a crime against God and man and are ashamed of it. In other words, it is a process of conversion, i. e., purification of the Hindu heart.

Mahatma Gandhi

(From "The Removal of Untouchability" a recent Navajivan Publication - Price Rs. 3-8-0)

Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Bombay

THE Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has taken over the Mani Bhuvan in Laburnam Road, Gamdevi, Bombay to preserve it as a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. Mani Bhuvan conjures up memories which form part of the great national struggle for freedom. It was from this modest residential building that the first message of Satyagraha emanated. And, in a way, Mani Bhuvan was the birth place of Khadi also.

On his return to India after his historic struggle in South Africa in 1915 Gandhiji used to stay with friends wherever he went. In Bombay, Mani Bhuvan became his place of residence. In Shri. Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri he had an ideal host whose outlook on life and attitude of mind were congenial to Gandhiji's ideals. It was in 1917 that Gandhiji took his residence in Mani Bhuvan and he used to stay there whenever he visited Bombay till 1934.

Wherever Bapu lived that place became the centre of gravity in the country. Be it the humble mud hut in Sabarmati or Sevagram or the poor harijan colony in Delhi or the palatial mansions of Birla or the Aga Khan, wherever he was, the soul of India pulsated.

Many of these places are even today, after eight years of his departure from our midst, places of pilgrimage to the people. They attracted people who are eager to breathe in the atmosphere there which roused them

to their manhood and gave them the moral stature of man.

Among such places of hallowed memory, Mani Bhuvan, perhaps, takes a place of pride. For, here it was that Bapu had the first lessons in carding cotton and spinning on the Charkha. Of the first spinning class started here Bapu wrote:

"I was laid up in Bombay. But I was fit enough to search for the wheel there. At last I chanced on two spinners. They taught spinning to Shrimatis Avanti-kabhai, Ramibhai, Kamdar, and Vasumatiben. The wheel began merrily to hum in my room, and I may say without exaggeration that its hum had no small share in restoring me to health. I am prepared to admit that its effect was more psychological than physical. But then it only shows how powerfully the physical in man reacts to the psychological. I, too, set my hand to the wheel."

It is again from Mani Bhuvan that the first announcement about the reward for an improved spinning wheel was made about which Bapu proclaimed: "I feel convinced that the revival of spinning and weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and moral regeneration of India. The millions must have a simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning was a cottage industry years ago and if the millions

are to be saved from starvation in November 1923. It was here that their homes then every village must possess its own weaver". Gandhiji was deputed by the Congress as the sole representative for the Round Table Conference.

Perhaps the first historical step which was to make the very foundations of the mighty British Government was taken from Mani Bhuvan. This was in connection with the defiance of the Rowlatt Act. The call for Satyagraha came in March 1919 from Mani Bhuvan. The first Satyagraha Sabha was formed here. The first meeting between Gandhiji and Mohammad Ali Jinnah took place in Mani Bhuvan from where came the declaration of support to the Khilafat movement.

The first act of non-co-operation was enacted from Mani Bhuvan. It was here that the call to the nation to raise a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund went forth. Mani Bhuvan was often the centre of attraction and leaders like Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajaji, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sri Sankarrao Deo and others trekked long distances to confer with Bapu.

Some of the most momentous meetings of the Congress Working Committee were held here. The decision to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales and to make a bonfire of foreign cloth was taken at this Mani Bhuvan. Bapu had here the seven-day fast to atone for the disturbances which marked the arrival of the Prince of Wales in Bombay. The decision to suspend the Bardoli Satyagraha campaign was made here in

Mani Bhuvan was the place from which Gandhiji was arrested in the morning hours of 4th January, 1932. Those who were here on the occasion will recollect with great emotion the message that Gandhiji gave to two Englishmen before arrest explaining the reasons that compelled the Congress to re-start the Civil Disobedience movement.

Such are the intimate associations that Mani Bhuvan has with the Mahatma reminding us of the momentous decisions which shaped the destiny of the nation. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, in taking over this sacred abode for preserving it as a national memorial, has done a great service to the country for, within Mani Bhuvan is enshrined the spirit of the Father of the Nation, the immortal Bapu as even in several places all over the country.

(Adapted from a leaflet issued by the Gandhi Memorial Trust)

Two New Bhoodan Booklets A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order

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&

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Revised edition of speeches and writings of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Shri Shankarrao Deo, Sri Acharya Kripalani, Sri Rajagopalachariar, Sri J. C. Kumarappa and others.

★
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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

The First Gram-Dan in Tamil Nad

S. JAGANNATHAN, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Convenor

ON the auspicious day of Gandhi Jayanti, 2nd of October, all land owners of Vayalur in Uttiramerur sub-taluka, Chingleput district, have given away the whole village as Gram Dan. This is the first Gram Dan in Tamilnad.

There are 11 Reddiar and 34 Harijan and in all 45 families in Vayalur. 42 of them are land owners. Among them four Reddiar families possess the major part and the rest including the Harijan families possess the remaining. One Shri Ramakrishna Reddiar who is the sponsor for Gram Dan owns 87 acres of both wet and dry lands. The village has a cultivated area of 280 acres (90 acres of wet and 190 acres of dry land) besides a waste but cultivable land of 194 acres. The wet lands are irrigated by tank water. During drought they cultivate the lands by well irrigation. The dry lands are also valuable. Paddy and Groundnuts are the chief crops in the village.

From 16th to 31st of August Shri Shankarrao Deo toured in this area, when Shri Ramakrishna Reddiar donated 22 acres and also accompanied him in his Yatra. He joined a group of Bhoodan workers and collected 300 acres and offered the Danpatras to Deoji. When Deoji addressed Bhoodan workers during the last day of his tour at Mathuranthagam he exhorted the workers to get at least one village as Gram-Dan on Gandhi Jayanti. Shri

Reddiar announced that he would try to fulfil the wishes of Deoji. He is happy now that he has carried out the promise given to Deoji. Reddiar has offered all his lands and set the example for the others to follow. All agreed for Gram Dan and attested their signatures, surrendering their lands.

Land-lords of neighbouring villages began to work against Gram-Dan as they found the landless in their own villages also restless. They carried on false propaganda saying that the whole village would be taken away by the Government, Military will encamp in the village and extract from them 20 hours' hard work and the villagers cannot conduct marriages and other functions, and the horrible old rationing system will be reintroduced in the village again and so on. Due to this false propaganda of the neighbouring land-lords, the innocent villagers got terrified and began to waver from their original resolve.

Bhoodan workers explained the prevailing situation, the principles of Sarvodaya, the aims and objects of Bhoodan and the importance of Gram Rajya. They had to work day in and day out organising public meetings and door to door propaganda for more than 10 days. This gave Bhoodan workers an opportunity to put their cause clearly before the public. After this, the villagers of Vayalur

THE FIRST GRAM-DAN IN TAMIL NAD

understood the full implication of Gram Dan and took a firm resolve.

the common good of all in our village."

On 1-10-55 the villagers organized their prayer-meeting before their village Goddess 'Ettiyamma'. Shri Ramakrishna Reddiar and his wife offered their Dan Patras at the altar with a heart felt prayer "Goddess of Earth, we have no right of ownership over you; or possess you in any form. Wipe out our narrow vision. Bestow us a new broad outlook. Unite our hearts by uniting our lands. You are the owner of ourselves and our lands." The other small land-owners one by one followed Reddiar and placed the Dan-Patras before the Goddess and when the land-lords embraced the landless and touched each other's feet in reverence, all were moved with tears of joy.

The next day early morning, a long procession of women with lighted sacrificial lamps in their hands accompanied by the men-folk with ploughs on their shoulders marched along the streets and gathered at an appointed meeting place. A Sarvodaya Council consisting of 5 members was elected. Swamy Arivananda of Madura initiated the newly elected Sarvodaya Councils with an oath "With the Grace of God on this auspicious day of Gandhi Jayanti we, the people of Vayalur, have solemnly decided to establish Sarvodaya in our village. We consider ourselves as members of one family. We will help each other mutually. We shall try our best to make this a Sarvodaya village. We shall work together for

All the lands of the village have been divided amongst them according to the capacity of the family. Shri Reddiar also was given 4 acres while some of the landless were given more. 7 acres with a well and pump are set apart for the common benefit of the village. On 2nd morning all the villagers marched with 37 pairs of bulls and ploughs to till the common plot and ploughed for 4 hours. The rest of the lands have been grouped into five blocks in which members have voluntarily agreed to join together.

Shri Meenakshisundara Mudaliar of Erode, Shri K. Arunachalam, Shri T. K. Srinivasa Iyer and Shri S. R. Subramaniam addressed the gathering in the afternoon. Shri Ramakrishna Reddiar and his wife Shrimati Subburathinammal distributed the lands. Eleven pairs of bulls were given as Dan by Shri P. R. K. Japee and Shri V. K. R. Pandya of Madras and some offered agricultural implements.

There is no school at Vayalur nor in the neighbouring hamlet of Natuvapatti. It is proposed to open a Basic School at Vayalur. The Sarvodaya council of Vayalur has decided to start spinning, weaving, oil-crushing, soap-making and other cottage industries in the village.

The Tamilnad Bhoodan Samiti is starting a training camp in Vayalur this month, which will help further planning of the village.

The Madras Govt. Bhoodan Bill

The Government of Madras has prepared a Bhoodan Bill to facilitate the easy distribution of land-gifts received in the name of Acharya Vinoba.

The Bill was left to a Select Committee after discussion in the Legislative Assembly and Council in September '55. The Bill is cumbersome with too many sections and the Government has assumed power and responsibility neither necessary nor consistent with the popular character of the Bhoodan movement. It may serve the purpose to facilitate Bhoodan if the Government will simply enact (1) legally recognising the Bhoodan gifts received and the distribution of such gifts in the name of Acharya Vinoba Bhave without any stamp duty and registration (2) recognise the local Bhoodan Samiti nominated by Vinobaji or by the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh with Vinobaji's authority and (3) authorise the revenue and other officials to give all possible assistance for the speedy distribution of the Bhoodan land.

The proposed Madras Bill came up for discussion on 9-10-'55 at the Bombay meeting of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh which has commented on the Bill as follows in its resolution:

★

"The Bhoodan Movement is mainly a movement for spiritual, moral and social regeneration. The collection of land from owners and its distribution among the landless is the process initiated by Acharya

Vinobaji for this transformation. The basic aim of the movement is to develop the peoples' own initiative - Janashakti - in order to enable them to take an effective part in the reshaping of society. The primary aim of Bhoodan Legislation, as mentioned in the 'statement of objects and reasons' of the Bill is 'to facilitate the donation of lands to the Bhoodan movement' and 'to simplify the legal formalities necessary for transfer of lands'.

"The Bill as introduced in the legislature, however, goes very much beyond the above scope. The Bill if passed would give wide powers to the Government to interfere in the process of the Bhoodan movement, viz. the receipt and distribution of land. The legislation should be confined only 'to facilitate the donation of lands' and 'to simplify the legal formalities'. Instead of reserving large powers to the Government enabling it to interfere almost at every stage, the Board or Committee to be formed under the Act should be allowed to function in an autonomous way as in the case in other provinces, e.g., M. P., Rajasthan, Bihar etc., where Bhoodan Acts have already been passed. The Madras Bill contains elaborate provisions circumscribing the power and discretion of the State Committee. It is suggested that the Bill should be simpler, should only provide for necessary framework of the State Board or Committee. The constitution of the Bhoodan Board itself should be left to Acharya Vinobaji and in his absence to the Sarva Seva Sangh."

★ All India Bhoodan News ★

Bihar: For the last two months, Bhoodan workers throughout the whole province were busy in distributing the donated lands to the many landless families in the villages.

In Gaya district Sri Jai Prakash alone distributed about 2000 acres of land to the landless agriculturists. In Monghyer district 275 families, and in Purnea district about 5000 landless people were provided with lands. In Singhbhum and Ranchi districts, 200 families in about 25 villages were put in possession of lands. In Champaran district to over 1000 landless families lands have been distributed. The district workers are spreading Sarvodaya message from door to door. In Bhagalpur district workers divided themselves into four batches and in the month of October alone they could distribute about 900 acres among 450 families amongst whom 119 are Harijan families and 22 Adivasi families. Families which were provided with lands during the previous months immediately started agricultural operations and the green and growing crops attract the attention and admiration of all in the villages.

At Bhagalpur a Sarvodaya Students' Parishad was organised by the efforts of Sri Jai Prakash Babu and discourses on non-violent revolution specially for the student population are being regularly carried on.

Andhra: Vinobaji began his tour in Andhra province on 1st October. On the 2nd October the village by name Bhamini was offered to him as

Purna-dan. Within the six days of his tour 6 full villages and 1692 acres were received as Bhoodan.

Delhi: Delhi has to far donated Rs. 62,225 worth of Sadan-dan for the digging of 118 wells.

Vindhya Pradesh: At Panna and at Bhihara two camps for training Bhoodan workers were run in the month of September. Sri Siddhraj Dhadda, Jt. Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh was present at both the camps. The speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Sri Sivanand is touring in the different parts collecting lands. Sri Ramraj Saran, Sri Deva-raj Saran, Sri Swamiprasad Dikshit, Sri Chaturbuj Patak are all touring on foot and collecting Bhoodan.

Madhya Pradesh: Sri Krishnadas Jajuji undertook a walking tour in 14 villages for about 15 days in September along with the Provincial Bhoodan Convenor, Sri Dadabhai Naik, in Akola and Bhandara districts. All the important personalities of the area co-operated with them and Rs. 8855 of Sampath Dan, one house dan and 46 acres of Bhoodan were received and in all about Rs. 500 worth of Bhoodan literature sold.

In Kinhal village a Bhoodan workers' camp was inaugurated by Sant Thukodoji Maharaj. 325 workers participated. During the last month the workers collected 1100 acres.

Maharashtra: In the district of Ratnagiri at Gopuri a Bhoodan Workers' camp was inaugurated by Sri Appasaheb Patwardhan. In

Sholapur District Swayam Sevaks of **Rashtra Seva Dal** undertook walking tours and collected 70 acres of land and Rs. 2016 of **Sampath Dan**. As a result of their propaganda the people in the villages are getting ready for offering **Grama Dan**. The **Akhanda Bhoodan yatra** already started under the leadership of **Acharya Bissae** has reached **Malaigav taluq**. In that taluq 150 acres of land were received for **Bhoodan**. In **Dassoen village** an **Adivasi Parishad** was organised and it was presided by **Acharya Bissae**.

Bombay: During the last one month Rs. 7868 were received as **Sampath Dan**.

Rajasthan: In **Naogar district** **Sri Badri Swamiji** in his tour in 10 villages collected 5126 bigas of land and four hundred maunds of grains, besides a **sampath-dan** of 3000 rupees per year at the rate of one anna per rupee for a period of 5 years from the people. In **Ladhnu taluq** the workers toured in 5 villages, where a **Zamindar** offered 100 bigas of his lands. Seventeen families of **Dhani village** offered all their lands of 1000 bigas for **Bhoodan**. In the village **Rodu** 100 families of agriculturists offered 5000 bigas of land.

Mysore: **Sri Venkatramana Iyer, Samyojak Bhoodan Samithi, Mysore** writes on 6-10-55:—All of us about 15 workers of the **Bhoodan Yagna Samithi** are at present engaged in the intensive **Pada Yatra** and propaganda tour in **Shimoga district**. We have divided ourselves in six batches, moving in different directions covering taluq by taluq. So far we have

covered **Shimoga, Thirthahalli, Hosanagar, and Sagar Taluqs**. Our intensive programme commenced on September 11th on **Babaji's birth day** and will close on November 13th. The response is fairly good. The **Congress Committees** and workers are extending co-operation wherever possible. Attempts are being made to contact as many zamindars big and small as possible during the period. We have proposed to have a district conference on 13 November. In the **Dashara Exhibition** the **Bhoodan Yagna Samithi** has organised stalls for the Exhibition and sale of **Bhoodan-Sarvodaya literature**.

Tamil Nad:

Sri S. Jagannathan, Tamil Nad Bhoodan Convenor writes:—

A six weeks, training camp will be held in **Vayalur village** under the leadership of **Sri S. R. Subramaniam** from November 5th when the reconstruction work will be planned and 30 young men will be given training in the work. And experienced constructive workers of **Tamilnad** will visit **Vayalur** during the training period to guide the **Sarvodaya plan** of work and deliver lectures

Now **Moonandipatti**, near **Thirupparankundram, Madurai district** is the second **Gramadan village** where all the 25 land-owners have given away their 152 acres in **Bhoodan movement**. There are 10 landless families in the villages. A village **Sarvodaya Committee** will be formed soon which will distribute the lands to all the families according to the size of the family. In the **Gramadan villages** land has ceased be a commercial commodity to

be purchased or sold and the people will have only cultivating right without any ownership.

Kerala: The **Akhanda Kerala Bhoodan Yatra** was inaugurated on 11th September at **Kanjanahad** the northernmost limit of Kerala. **Sri K. Kochukuttan, Minister of T. C. State** addressed the inaugural function. The yatra party toured for a week in the **Kasargode taluq** from where they received over 30 acres of land, over 200 coconut seedlings, and over six bags of paddy seeds, besides agricultural implements. The party proceeded then to **Chirakkal taluq** from where they could collect up to 4th October about 50 acres of land and hundreds of coconut and arecanut seedlings. Members of all political parties are offering full co-operation. Villagers made sincere and willing offers of **Bhoodan** as well as of **sampattidan**. The party will continue its yatra in **Malabar** till the end of October.

Sri Ikkanda Warriar, Kerala Bhoodan Convenor addressed during the **Gandhi Jayanti week** a number of meetings in the various high schools and colleges. The student population are evincing keen interest in **Bhoodan work** and many have come forward offering **Sram - Dan**.

Gandhi Jayanti along with **Bhoodan Jayanthi** was celebrated in almost all parts of Kerala especially by different constructive work institutions by organising **Bhoodan yatras** and spreading **Bhoodan - Sarvodaya literature**.

New **Taluq Committees** with influential convenors and organisers were formed in the different districts and

taluqs all over Kerala. Distribution work also is going on in many parts.

Sri K. Krishna Nair, Bhoodan organiser, Quilon district writes:—10 acres of land were distributed during last month in **Quilon District** in Kerala. This was the first distribution work done in **T. C. State**. Minister, **Sri Kochukuttan** presided over the function. I undertook a '**Padayatra**' from September 12th in the southern end of the district with a group of 20 workers, covering 195 miles, and ending at **Elenthoor Sarvodaya Ashram** on October 5th. I was able to collect during the **Jatha** 4½ acres and 13½ cents from 66 donors and also **Sampattidan** of Rs. 107 per annum from 11 persons and many other **Sadhan Dans**. I was able to address a meeting of mineral factory workers on the way at **Chavara** and as a result of this appeal 120 mineral labourers promised to donate one pice per rupee of their monthly income as **Sampattidan**. This is the first instance in Kerala when factory workers came forward to participate in **Bhoodan Movement**.

Bishops' Appeal to Christians

The following appeal was issued from **Bihar**:—

"We heartily welcome the hopeful trend created by the **Bhoodan Movement** led by **Acharya Vinoba Bhave** in solving the land problem of India in a manner which appeals to the best and highest instincts in human nature. In this Movement the principle of love and charity which Christianity emphasises, is given a practical application and outlet in the economic field. The success that this Movement has already obtained,

promises even greater and more beneficent achievements in the future. All Christians should welcome the Movement and give their fullest support to it in its different aspects, such as Bhoodan, Sampattidan and Shramadan.

We understand that in Ranchi district over lakh of acres have been so far collected and the distribution process has already begun. An intensive distribution drive is launched for this month by the Bhoodan Committee. We appeal to all, especially to our Christian brothers, to co-operate with the drive and we exhort them to see that in every village land is allotted to those who are genuinely in need of it and will cultivate it properly and to assist those on whom the land is settled by every means in their power.

Dated 4th July '55 } Neol
Bishop of Chota Nagpur
N. KUJUR
Archbishop of Ranchi

Sri. Jaiprakash on Gram-dan

Sri Jaiprakash Narayan on 26th October at a meeting in Bhopal pleaded for "Gramikaran" (Community ownership) of the entire land in the country.

The solution of the agrarian problems of the country lay not only in equitable distribution of land, but also in its community ownership he said.

By community ownership, he explained, he meant that the land should be owned not by an individual, but by the entire village in which he resided.

Sri Narayan, said the system of community ownership of land had been introduced so far in about 800

villages under the Bhoodan Movement.

The All India Sarva Seva Sangh he added was at present trying to make this experiment of community ownership in Orissa a success.

Sri Narayan said that the introduction of community ownership of land in India would be the accomplishment of the biggest 'agrarian revolution'. He was confident that this system could safely be adopted throughout the country.

(From press report)

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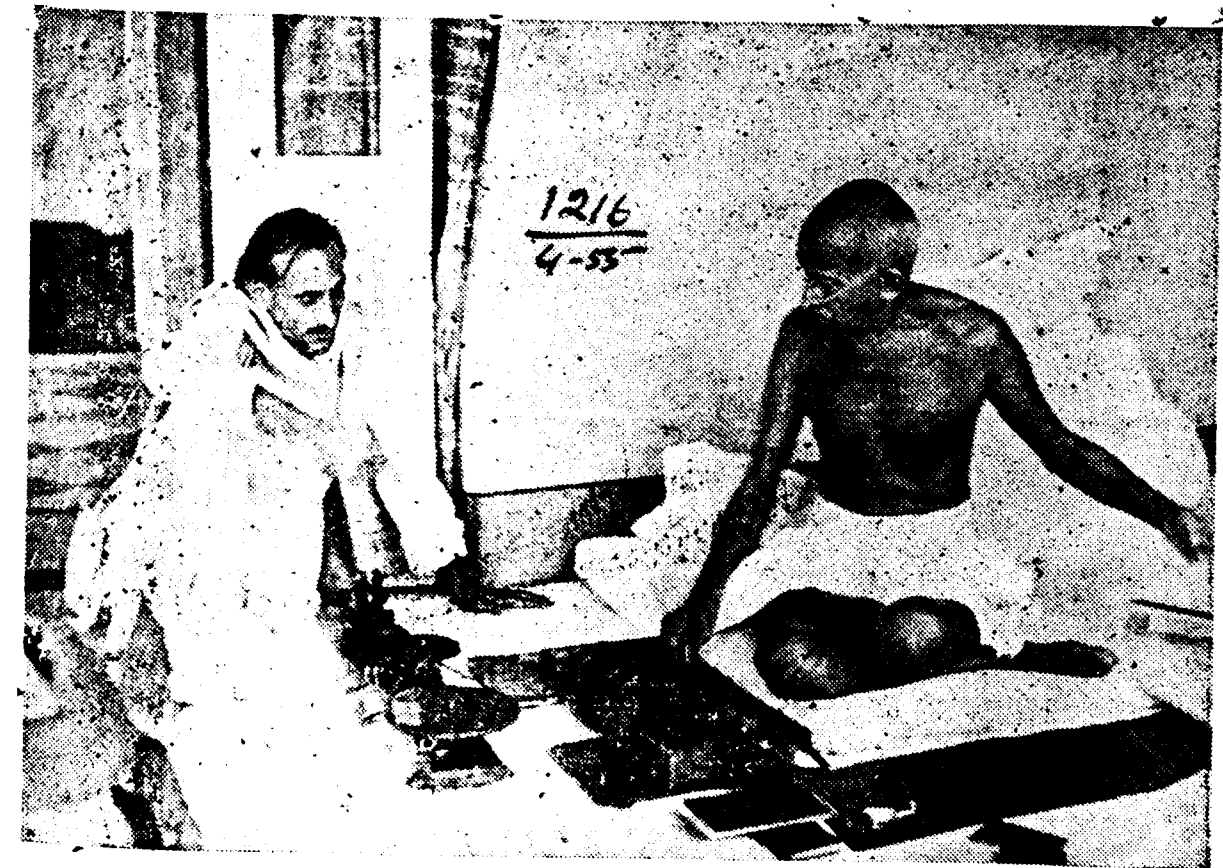
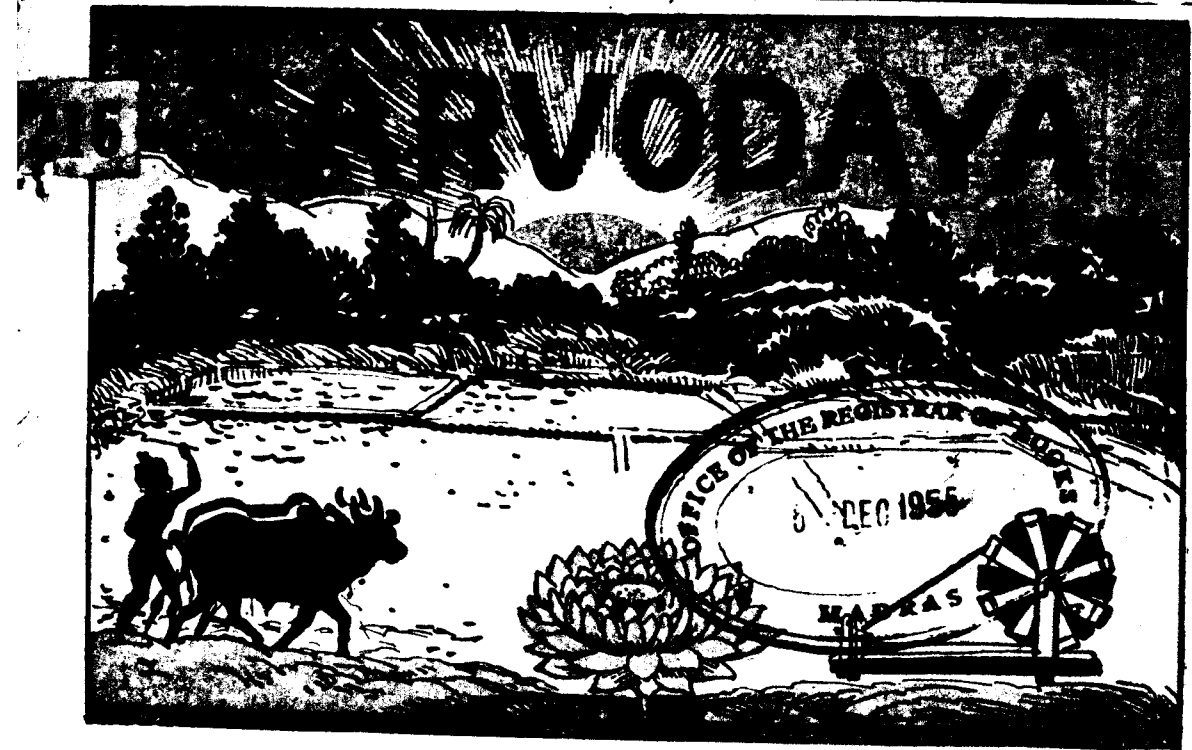
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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA. TANJORE (South India)

THE SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The Samaj: After the demise of Mahatma Gandhi the constructive workers met in a conference in March, 1948 at Sevagram, Wardha, and decided to form a free world organisation, known as the Sarvodaya Samaj. Yet it is not an organisation as generally understood with rules of membership, executive, office-bearers and binding decisions. But it is a Samaj of free voluntary brotherhood with the simple obligation to themselves to strive towards the uplift of all in the world through truth and non-violence as the means. The following will give an idea of the objective and work of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Aim: To strive towards a social order based on Truth and Non-Violence, in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no exploitation of any kind and offering full scope for the development of the individuals as well as groups.

Basic Principle: Insistence on the purity of the Means as that of the Ends.

Programme: For the achievement of the aim, the following programme will be followed:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Communal harmony (fellowship between followers of different faiths and sects) | 10. Development of provincial languages |
| 2. Removal of untouchability | 11. Removal of provincialism |
| 3. Abolition of class distinctions | 12. Hindustani as the national language |
| 4. Prohibition | 13. Economic equality |
| 5. Promotion of khadi and other home industries | 14. Development of agriculture |
| 6. Village sanitation | 15. Organization of labour |
| 7. Basic Education | 16. Welfare of aboriginals |
| 8. Equality of status and rights for both men and women | 17. Organization of Students |
| 9. Health and hygiene | 18. Service of leprosy patients |
| | 19. Relief-work |
| | 20. Cow protection |
| | 21. Naturopathy |
| | 22. Other similar activities |

Brotherhood: Whoever accepts the above Aim and its Basic Principles and endeavours to follow them is eligible for the brotherhood of the Samaj. On sending his or her name and address to the Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj, Gaya, he or she will be registered as a "Sevak."

Sarvodaya Day: The 30th January of every year when Gandhiji passed away will be observed at all places as the Sarvodaya Day.

Sarvodaya Fairs: On 12th February, every year Fairs will be organized at places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed.

Sarvodaya Conference: To facilitate mutual contact and exchange of views among the Sevaks there will be an annual conference in March or April at some place in India.

Function: The deliberations of the Samaj will be of advisory nature and not mandatory in any way.

SARVODAYA

Whole | DECEMBER 1955 | No. 54

CONTENTS

The Non-violent Sanction	184
—Mahatma Gandhi	
The Message of Jesus Christ	185
—Acharya Vinoba	
Gandhiji's Application of Ahimsa	188
—Dr. Rajendra Prasad	
Discussions with Vinobaji	191
Reaping the Fruits of Bhoodan	194
—Siddharaj Dhadda	
Vinoba in Orissa	196
—Suresh Ramabhai	
Where West Meets East...	199
—Esme Wynne-Tyson	
The Ethics of Title to Property	202
—Wendall Bull	
Gokhale - Gandhiji's Political Guru	205
—Pro. T. N. Jagadisan	
To All Sevaks of Sarvodaya Samaj	207
—Govind Rao	
Vinoba's March for Peace	208
—Alfred Knaus	
The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya	210
Shrikrishnadas Jajuji - Some Reminiscences	211
—T. N. Jagadisan	
All India Bhoodan News	213
Bhoodan Booklets Published	215
Sarvodaya Books Published & Sold	216
Land Distribution and Sampattidan	218

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Next Sarvodaya Sammelan

For the convenience of students and legislators to attend, the next Sammelan will be held in May instead of April as in the previous years. Certificates for railway concessions for the Sarvodaya Sevaks will be issued as usual. The Sevaks in the register of the Sarvodaya Samaj are requested to apply for renewal before 31st Dec. 1955 to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Samaj, Buniyadiganj, Gaya, Bihar.

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Sampattidan Conference

A Conference of admirers of the late Shri Jajuji who had made Sampattidan a special mission in the last years of his life and those interested in Sampattidan is convened by Sri Dharendra Mazumdar at Vijayawada (Andhra) on 18th & 19th Dec. '55 in the presence of Poojya Vinobaji.

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Bhoodan Bulletin

Bhoodan - A Bulletin on activities of Bhoodan, Sampattidan, Shramdan and Jivandan etc. is published on behalf of Sarva Seva Sangh by Sri Damodardas Mundada, Secretary to Acharya Vinoba from Bhoodan Karyalaya, P. O. Begampet Hyderabad - Dn. This is intended for Newspapers and journals who are requested to publish extracts partly or wholly from it.

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To Readers of Sarvodaya

The next issue will be published on the 5th January 1956 for some special reasons instead of on the 1st.

The Non-violent Sanction

MAHATMA GANDHI

What is the place of Satyagraha in making the rich realize their duty towards the poor?

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

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

process and prolongs the real revolution of the whole social structure.

The conditions necessary for the success of Satyagraha are: (1) The Satyagrahi should not have any hatred in his heart against the opponent. (2) The issue must be true and substantial. (3) The Satyagrahi must be prepared to suffer till the end.

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The Socialists and Communists say they can do nothing to bring about economic equality to-day. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, when they get control over the State they will enforce equality. Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straight away make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bighas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost Communist.....

(Non-Violence in Peace & War-Vol II)

185

The Message of Jesus Christ

ACHARYA VINOBA

As the Christmas advances we are reminded of the inspired speech of Acharya Vinoba on the Christmas Day of last year at Rajgunj in Bihar. His speech will go down to history as a historic pronouncement of claiming Jesus Christ as one of our own family and appealing to Christians and Muslims to assimilate the Brahma Vidya of India with profit. We are indebted to "Harijan" from which this is reproduced in this number.

The 25th of December is a sacred day for us all. The Son of Man, as Jesus loved to call himself, was born today. He belonged to all mankind, for he was above all barriers of race, colour and creed. He represented the human race and strove to raise its stature. He paid with his life in his attempt to redeem it.

Most of you may not know, but not long after Christ's crucifixion a Christian Mission came to Malabar in South India. The word 'Communism' has been derived from 'communes' which once were tiny settlements of early christian communities who lived as one joint family and shared all their earthly possessions in common. Ever since its arrival here Christianity has flourished. Unfortunately, during the last few centuries Christian missions in India linked themselves with Portuguese, British and other imperialist adventurers and suffered in prestige and stature.

Jesus strove to establish upon earth the Kingdom of Heaven. He fought to conquer hatred by love. If we return love with love what virtue is there in it? That is the way even with the animals. Besides, if I must return like for like, I yield the initiative. I surrender my choice in the ordering of my conduct. It is then

for the other fellow to determine it. Where is the wisdom, one may ask, in leaving our own course of action at the mercy of others?

Unilateral Love

Jesus called upon us to love our neighbour. But though this has been extolled as a great virtue by all nations, few have been found prepared in practice to accept it as their immediate obligation. Today science has taken great strides and man is coming upon means and instruments of remarkable potency which are promising him the millennium, - or, total destruction in the alternative. Human destiny seems to lie prostrate at the feet of science trembling at man's discoveries, only because he has failed to raise himself to a conscious and willing acceptance of Christ and his message. We talk of love and non-violence and One World, but devote the bulk of our resources to piling up armaments for mutual destruction. We despair of our neighbour. This is cowardice. Jesus refused to give way to it. He bore the Cross—the burden of our sins—and embraced martyrdom.

India - the Land of Synthesis

Luckily, this teaching of Jesus is not alien to India. We have been the meeting ground of a multitude of races, creeds and cultures; a land of

synthesis and fusions. Our Gurudev Tagore sang of this land as a great ocean of fusion and unity of tribes and races, out of which was to emerge a model refined and worthy to receive the world's homage. There has been in the life of our people an underlying unity which transcends nationalism and all other bars and barriers between man and man.

I therefore unreservedly declare that Jesus Christ is our own, that to us in this country Jesus and his teachings have never sounded strange or unpractical; that we regard Jesus as one of our family.

Indeed, the merciful providence has blessed India throughout her long history with an unending galaxy of saints and holy men who loved their neighbour and stranger and enemy alike, and laboured for their good, regarding their own self as less than dust. Their number indeed is legion. But for the moment I am reminded of one such,—the Tamil saint. There he lay, the story goes, in his tiny little cell, chanting the name of Lord. Outside, the night is dark and fierce blizzard is raging. A wayfarer knocks, seeking shelter. 'Hail brother! Come in,' says the God's good man, 'there is no room here for two to ly, but there is enough for two to sit. You are welcome.' So saying, he gets up and the two sit huddled together. The storm continues. And behold! yet another man, cold and shivering, knocks. 'Come in, guest!' says the saint, 'thou art the Lord Himself! Sorry, there is no room for more than two to sit, but surely there is enough for three to stand.' And the three good men pass the night standing and

chanting and praising the good God.

"And verily, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," so said Jesus. He thus is nothing less than our own kith and kin. And I claim in all humility that no country in the world except India has made on so vast a scale a collective effort to follow his teachings as did India under Mahatma Gandhi.

I confess a good deal of our practice falls far short of our ideal. I am deeply aware of the failings in our behaviour. God alone knows the remorse we feel for our many sins. I only wish to submit that the teachings of Jesus are familiar food to every Hindu who is taught from early childhood not to kill, and to look upon the least of God's creature as one's self; and that we have accepted Christ long ago.

Call to assimilate Brahma Vidya

It is for our Christian brethren, now that their foreign trappings are shed, to subscribe to the indigenous background suited to our own genius. And I also suggest that similar processes of wholesome assimilation may also take place among the followers of Islam and other religions; that Christians and Muslims of India who have hitherto held fast to their moorings and their traditions outside India, may no longer remain strangers to the Hindu cultural background, but assimilate the Indian Brahma Vidya with profit. It would broaden their outlook and confer a wholesome spirit of quest and tolerance to their religious and ideological approach and add lustre to their

culture. Such a consummation, I submit, will render easier what each one of us wants to propagate, and would make a worthy contribution to the growth of our common culture. Let us realize that we have come of age now. We no longer belong to the past dawns; we belong to the noons of the future.

Who is a True Muslim?

Every one agrees that a unique spirit of brotherhood and comradeship pervades the teaching of Islam, and that Islam means *peace*. This is why the moon is its symbol. A man who has no passion for peace and has no compassion in him is not a Muslim. On the other hand he who has peace and compassion in him, is a Muslim, whether he carries such a label or not. I should call him and regard him a true Muslim.

Similarly, love and service are the two characteristic features of the Christian way of life. Now I do yearn to live up to these ideals in everyday life. So I am willing to sit at the feet of their prophets and their holy men and learn. And I should love to regard myself, or call myself, part Christian and Muslim, and look upon it as my good luck to be so, and endeavour to be worthy of all that this means. This I can do, I claim, without the least harm to my Hinduism. I rather feel my Hinduism will bloom and blossom forth and add to its lustre and gain in stature for my doing so. Even so, Christianity and Islam, reinforced in the manner I have just explained, will assume a special significance in preaching universal love and brotherhood and service of all God's creatures.

Non-violence is our Badge

Throughout her history of five-thousand years, India has never attacked another country. Non-violence has been her badge and her sheet-anchor. It is in her blood and marrow. Thus there is nothing novel if we accept Jesus as our own kith and kin and refuse to regard him as an outside influence.

I am glad the Christian churches of Malabar have declared Bhoodan Yagna (The Land-gifts Movement) as on the lines of Jesus Christ and have commended it for all to follow. I submit that Bhoodan will carry to every home Christ's message of loving one's neighbour, disregarding his denominational label.

With me it is also an article of faith that the modern man has got to attain, sooner rather than later, an adult status when he shall kill no creature of God for food or sport; when he will refuse to look upon any living being as his food. This is a special contribution of the Indian Brahma Vidya, to the evolution of human thought and behaviour, of which the world may not have taken much notice hitherto, but which in good time it shall learn to appreciate better. For, the mankind must reach the conclusion soon enough that vegetarian food is the best food for man so as to outgrow the beast in him. I am also aware that enough vegetarian food is not available in the world today. None the less, I submit that the reform is essential for the evolution and perfection of man and for the unity of religious and spiritual endeavour of all mankind.

(26th March, '55 - Harijan)

Gandhiji's Application of Ahimsa

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

THOSE of us who have had the good fortune to have lived in time when Mahatma Gandhi worked and lived, have been really fortunate. Generations yet unborn will recall how so many of us, so many millions of us saw him walking in this land, talking to people and actually worked hundreds and thousands of things in the course of his eventful life.Gandhiji was so very dear to us that he placed a good principle, which the country could use and by using that principle we won our freedom. Non-violence, on which he insisted, was not intended only for political purposes. The use of the principle was not to be confined to the winning of freedom or even to the maintenance of freedom. As a matter of fact, he looked upon such principles as the fundamentals of his life and applied those principles to every question which came up before him for his consideration. He did not claim to have, at any time, evolved a philosophy or system of philosophy. He was never tired of saying that instead of writing a thesis, he was engaged in the actual application of his principles to concrete problems that came before him.

If men turn to pages of his writings, they could see him devoting columns after columns to every small and minor item. Often a small item was not small if it involved a question of principle. It was because he was so very cautious about the application of his principles, that he had evolved a whole series of propositions, which

applied to the life of man. A small incident like the shooting of a monkey or the killing of a calf attracted his attention as much as big questions like winning Swaraj. But he was so very careful about his principles and so very punctilious about their application, you will not think that he did not take a comprehensive view of things. He had before him one integrated picture of what the country should be. The foundations on which he wished society to be based were Satya and Ahimsa.

In a vast country like India, we have got such a variety of religions, languages and customs and so many things which matter in life. How all these could be reconciled, and got together was the question. If people following different religions insisted upon everybody accepting particular religions, there would be no end to quarrels. Similarly if people speaking different languages quarrelled with one another, there would be no end to the quarrels of that kind. All these varieties could be reconciled only on the basis of Ahimsa, living and letting others live. Gandhiji, therefore, insisted upon Ahimsa not only as between ourselves, but also as against opponents in our struggle for freedom. It was obvious that when he was very insistent upon non-violence being observed against our opponents, there could be no question of any violence as between ourselves. Yet there had been occasions when we had observed non-violence against the British

Government, but between ourselves, fought each other. Sometimes, the fight had been on the basis of religion, while on other occasions, the quarrel arose on some other account.

The Defeat of Violence

If we have to live as a nation and grow and prosper we must realise that we cannot do so unless we observe non-violence towards one another and against the variety that is present in this country. There is also variety, arising out of differences in regard to possession of wealth. There are a few, who are rich and well-to-do. There are many, who are poor. If we resort to violence the poor can easily make short work of the rich. But Gandhiji did not think in that way. He pointed out that the rich should regard themselves as trustees of the wealth for the sake of the poor and in that way, he wanted to solve big problems, which had been solved in other countries by means of Himsa or violence. It is not as if any problem could really be solved by violence. Everything has got its own action and reaction. In the world of to-day, countries have been fighting against countries and nations fighting against nations. In our own generation, we have seen two world wars, fought for the sake of ending wars. No one in his senses can claim that war has ended, or that violence which has been there for ages, has succeeded in ending violence. Whether it is in the sphere of religion or economics, violence has never solved any question. If the problems had been solved, there would remain no problem to be solved. But the fact is that there are problems, which show

that problems have not been solved by the method which the world has been pursuing for ages.

It may be said that Ahimsa may solve the problem, but it is very difficult. It is no doubt difficult, but it is not more difficult than Himsa. If there is war in one generation, the army has to prepare throughout the period for fighting. Every soldier has to drill himself from day to day from hour to hour, to prepare himself for the fight. Apart from the soldiers, the whole nation has to prepare itself to support them and that process has gone on for ages, from generation to generation. Nobody can say that Ahimsa has been tried to the same extent in any country or by any people. The great service of Mahatma Gandhi to mankind was that he gave it a trial in this country. He had to deal with a material which was then available to him. I cannot claim that we were good materials. Yet, with this indifferent material he was able to achieve his object.

Gandhian Way for World Peace

It is a fact that the world to-day is willing to turn towards Gandhiji. With the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb people have practically come to the end of the tether of the other method. They are on the look out for a new way of life. Naturally, the thought goes to Gandhiji's method. But unfortunately, there is not yet complete understanding of that method. It is not right to think that other people are not able to understand Gandhiji. We have had the privilege of living in this country during his life time. If we have not

been able to understand him, with all our experience how can we blame others? But the little we have understood should be enough for us, at any rate, for the time being, to place the ideal before others. Our association with him places a special responsibility on us. It was a misfortune not only for India, but for the whole world that at a time, when he was in a position to give his message to the world, he was taken away from us. Let us hope that after that event, we have understood something of Gandhiji. His Ahimsa was tested and he passed the test very successfully with the name of 'Ram' on his lips. We hope that in his death he had a stronger and greater supporter of his principles than in his own life. The fact that we have won our independence through his methods, lays a special responsibility on us. The fact that we are now the builders of our own destiny and are in a position to influence the world, enhances that responsibility.

The Discipline for Ahimsa

Let us hope that day is not far off when we shall be able to do something in his line. Our Prime Minister has been fighting hard for peace in the world. That is one of his aims. But that work will not be complete unless we adopt Gandhiji's ahimsa in toto. We have to adopt it in our every day life and the discrepancy that is noticed by everybody between our profession and our conduct will be removed. Ahimsa cannot come unless it is built upon the foundation of a life of self-control. We have, therefore, to practice the *niyamam* which was given by our forefathers. In the prayer which Gandhiji used to

repeat every day, there was a sloka in which he mentioned eleven principles. They related to ahimsa, sathya, non-stealing, Brahmacharya, non-accumulation of wealth, 'Sareera Srama', control of the palate, Swadeshi Dharma, Samathwa, and the Removal of Untouchability. It is on the foundation of these that the structure of Ahimsa could be built. It is a matter for regret and shame that after Gandhiji's demise we have been rather sliding down in the scale. That is seen in all walks of life. It is not necessary to blame anyone for it. The best thing is to find out the fault and blame ourselves for it. That is not only the best, but it is also the easiest way of improving society. You may not succeed in removing the fault of others. But if you desire, you can succeed in your own case. It was on this philosophy that the whole programme of non-co-operation was based. Remove your own weakness and the oppression of others will cease.

It is, therefore, necessary for us all to take advantage of the institutions like the one which is going to be housed here and try to improve ourselves. It was for this reason that I felt that it was a very happy idea to start an institution of this kind in the South. Let no one imagine that he is too small for any great purpose. One may not be able to achieve great things. But one can, by one's action, damage great things. Let us, therefore, be ready at least not to damage them.

From a speech at Rajapalayam on 16-11-'55 while opening the Gandhi Kalai Manram founded by Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja.

(From Hindu - dated 18th November 1955)

Discussions with Vinobaji

The President and some of the members of the Sarva Seva Sangh met Vinobaji in Koraput district in Andhra for personal discussion in the middle of September. Vinobaji's review of the progress of Bhoodan and his suggestions for the future are reported here by Sri. Damodardas Mundada, Vinobaji's Secretary. This interesting discussion will be greatly helpful to workers in the Bhoodan mission and the public.

Sampattidan

THE concluding talks with the President and members of the Sangh, on the second day centered round Bhoodan and Sampattidan. Vinobaji insisted that the donor should feel satisfied regarding the disbursement of his amount donated in Sampattidan. He may be allowed to earmark his sum for a particular place, say a particular district or taluk. This will encourage the workers of that district or taluk to become self-sufficient so far as financial implications are involved. Did not Wardha people resolve to meet finances through Sampattidan? They are utilising the amount only for the work connected with Bhoodan such as supplying seeds, bullocks etc. and maintaining workers. They did not use the money even for meeting their office expenses. Every district could follow suit. This would fulfil one of the conditions necessary for the realisation of the dream of *Shasan-mukta Samaj*. Vinobaji here drew the attention of the members to the natural corollary of organising Bhoodan work, wherever possible on the district basis, instead of the provincial basis as is being done today. Such an attempt would inspire the workers for intensive and concentrated action, and would lessen the centre's financial burden as well. Sampattidan

could also be accepted in the form of the produce at the time of the harvest. Moreover, at the time of land distribution, people should be exhorted to offer donations of bullocks for the recipients of lands as was done in the Purnea district of east Bihar.

Three-fold Programme

Regarding the progress of Bhoodan, Vinobaji pointed out how he was not in the least disturbed by the apparent slow progress during the last few months. He also gave his twofold reasons for the so-called progress. Firstly, it was obviously due to the absence of targets which had hitherto demanded all attention of the workers towards collection only. Secondly, the problem of distribution which was no less difficult and complex involving several legal formalities took away our time and energy. But the work had to be completed in time and to the mark, for it was the real test. The eyes of the whole nation were attracted towards it. If we persisted in our work steadily, this slackness will soon disappear and the whole atmosphere will soon be so transformed that the revolution which we want to complete by 1957 will be an established fact. For this he suggested the following threefold programmes:—

- (1) An all-out effort in Utkal for the Gramdan movement which has gained momentum in the Koraput district.
- (2) Concentration on distribution work especially in Bihar and
- (3) Propagation of the Bhoodan ideology through its literature throughout the length and breadth of the country.

It will not be out of place to add here how one of the Cabinet Members of the Orissa Government, surprised at the sudden and heartening progress of Gramdan in Koraput district, expressed his fears about the stupendous nature of planning, if district after district came forward to offer Gramdan. "This was exactly the place where the members of the Planning Commission should have their sittings to frame proper plan for the country and they will have to do it one day", was Vinobaji's reply. What should surprise all most is that while there was a time when even one village donating all its land was inconceivable, here was a Minister visualising the possibility of district after district offering their entire villages. But revolution moves that way alone and let us be prepared for many more like surprises.

Reconstruction in Gram-dan villages

Speaking to the Sarva Seva Sangh friends, Vinobaji pointed out how he was not at all in a hurry to leave Koraput district unless a follow-up in the Gramdan villages was well organised. He consequently made that announcement at one of his prayer meetings and has given a call to his countrymen, to all those who

wanted to continue and concentrate on constructive work to go to Orissa and take up the huge task of reconstructing the hundreds of the Gramdan villages which are now prepared for the Sarvodaya plan. Indeed here is the atmosphere ready for the realisation of the dream of Ramrajya.

It is heartening to note in this connection that Sarva Seva Sangh has given serious consideration to Vinobaji's suggestion and has, by a unanimous resolution, decided to depute Sri Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe, the Secretary, to organise the work of reconstruction in the five hundred Gramdan Villages of Orissa. Vinobaji's claim that constructive work rises or falls with Bhoodan has come true. Never before, during the last thirty-five years of constructive work was released such a vast energy of willing co-operators in the cause of shaping Gandhian ideology. Shall we at least now realise the force of making all our activities Bhoodan-based and make a concentrated effort here to reach the goal of Bhoodan by 1957?

The members of the Sarva Seva Sangh, who had come to Vinobaji to discuss matters connected with Bhoodan, and who must now take his leave, attended the evening prayers before their departure. The thousands of villagers, including both, the land owners and the landless, daily offering their villages in Gramdan and distributing their lands according to the needs of every family in their village, appeared as the real forerunners of the revolution that was afoot. They seemed to have easily understood the significance of readily

contributing their all in giving a practical shape to the idea of just and equitable distribution of Society's wealth. Persuasion succeeded where laws and swords failed. Within not more than three months of the Puri session, the movement had assumed its last phase of land revolution and hundreds of villages had surrendered all their lands for villagisation. While people, who should have known better, still talked of distribution of poverty through Bhoodan, here were people who were preparing for Ramrajya. There appeared to be a definite challenge to the present planning deliberations held at New Delhi. These modest villages, history will give its verdict, contributed towards nothing less than for World Peace.

Vinobaji, who had an instinct of giving the right slogan at the right moment seemed to prepare the background for a new one, that evening. Giving a simple but graphic picture of the society based on Samyayoga, Vinobaji exclaimed:

Samya - Yogki Jai!

"The march will continue till all the divine gifts are made equally available to all. Either the mission is fulfilled or the body falls in the process." To him "Real and universal happiness would be but a dream unless and until the divine will of just and equitable distribution was executed" and then the priest and the preacher, initiated his audience in his ideology by making them repeat the new terminology. It was Samyayoga, he added which alone could eliminate the differences of high and low from amongst the

society. All will live as a family and work as such, that was what the saints also taught, which now people conveniently forgot. And then came the new mantra "Samyayoga Ki Jai" (victory to Samyayoga.) And within a few minutes, we could see that the villagers could repeat the slogan well. They would now carry the message to their respective villages.

Samyayoga was the natural corollary of Gramdan. The members of the Sarva Seva Sangh had already witnessed how people practised the slogan of '*Amar Game Bhomi malik Kohibe nahi Kohibe nahi*'. - That is "In our village there shall be no one, none indeed, who shall claim ownership to land"! And now they were departing with a new slogan, a new mantra - *Samyayoga Ki Jai*. The members themselves rejoiced no less than the villagers in reciting the mantra. I cannot forget, how, with the simplicity of a child and with the enthusiasm of a young soldier, our president Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar danced at the new slogan and initiated every one he came across with: "*Samyayoga Ki Jai*" filled the atmosphere.

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Reaping The Fruits of Bhoodan

SIDDHARAJ DHADDA

(Joint-Secretary, Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh)

IT is often said that the distribution of land to poor persons in Bhoodan would be useless from the national point of view as they will not be able to cultivate the lands for want of resources and of implements, bullocks etc. It is also contended that as the land is sometimes distributed in small fragments it would be of no economic value to the recipient. The following facts, however, give a true picture of what has actually happened during the past few months. It is a story full of hope, and promise of a happy future, for hundreds of poor families, who used to eke out a miserable existence formerly as farm-labourers.

The total Bhoodan land collections in Purnea district of Bihar have been 92779 acres so far. 10014 acres out of this have already been distributed among 4856 families. Here are a few typical instances of what has happened during the past few months following this distribution.

(1) In village Srinagar 17 families, 15 of whom were Harijans, received 28.45 acres in small holdings. Except two families who own a pair of bullocks each and a third which owns only one bullock, all others had no resources. Almost all the land was lying fallow so far or was jungle area. About 13 acres out of this have already been brought under cultivation with the help of neighbours' bullocks and ploughs or by manual labour alone. Only one family has

not been able to start cultivation and one has left the village. All the other 15 out of the 17 donees have broken new land. The result is 20½ mds. of Kharif crop has already been reaped out of 4 acres, while the rest is standing lush in the fields awaiting its turn.

(2) Similarly in village Matia-Diwanganj 24.68 acres of fallow land out of 28.85 distributed among 18 families have been brought under cultivation, and so also 15.90 acres out of 25.34 acres donated to 15 families in Anupnagar. 30 maunds of millets have already been gathered out of 4 acres in the latter village.

(3) In Ajhakuppa, Thana Rupauli, a proud donee, who grew crop on Bhoodan land, previously lying fallow, by his own manual labour without the assistance of even a plough and pair of bullocks, invited one person from almost each caste in the village to partake of a dinner out of the first fruits of his labour which he could call his own. He got this bit of land only in April 1955.

(4) When the donor of a land in village Haripur of Forbesganj Thana, saw the standing crop on the land given to some Harijan families who were without any resources, he wondered. He said, he had never seen such crop on this land. The secret he found out was that the land had been cultivated intensively by manual labour and not by bullocks. The donor himself has since started work-

ing with the spade in his own portion of the land.

(5) When the Governor of Bihar, Shri R. R. Diwakar, arrived at village Kursela on 7-5-'55 to distribute Bhoodan land to the landless, the land looked like a stretch of sand. The donees were sceptic. Some shook their heads but ultimately they were persuaded by the district Bhoodan Convenor, Shri Baidyanath Prasad Choudhury, to accept the lands. On 10-10-'55 Shri Choudhury again passed through the spot. It was covered with green crops. The nearby Ganges had done the trick. The overflow from the river had deposited enough silt on the sand, thus 'converting sand into gold'.

(6) Shri Jibbi of Madaya Tola is now unable to sleep during nights as he guards his fields to protect the crop he has sown on Bhoodan land. He has to recoup himself now by occasional naps during the day.

The above are a few glimpses of the welcome change being brought about in the lives of thousands of

previously forsaken families in hundreds of our villages. Fallow lands have been turned into green fields. Lack of resources instead of being a handicap, has given rise to the spirit of brotherhood and co-operation among the poor. The erstwhile landless labourers have formed Shramdan Samities. They perform collective labour in the fields of donees by turns. This co-operation has already been instrumental in saving standing crops from going waste for want of adequate manpower with individual farmers at harvest time. Many donees have earned as much as Rs. 300 in this season from their small holdings, thus enabling them to buy a pair of bullocks and ploughs etc.

Thus the Bhoodan movement far from 'distributing poverty' is bringing happiness to many families. What is more, it is also fostering a new spirit of co-operation and sacrifice in the country-side which is the real gain for it would lay the foundations of growing prosperity and strength of the peasantry.

Bhoodan is Not Begging, But a New Ideology

Acharya Vinoba Bhave, now on a tour of East Godavari district (Andhra) returned the 'Danpatras' of land given to him by two landlords at Paravada village, because what they were offering for the Bhoodan movement was a negligible share of their lands.

"I have not come to beg but to preach a new Ideology", said Vinobaji to the land-lords. "To me the Danpatra means the acknowledgment by the donor that he accepts the Sarvodaya Ideology. Bhoodan does not aim at just giving land to the landless but an equitable and just distribution of property through the process of Dan. I, therefore, want my rightful share for I have come to you as the spokesman of Daridranarayan"

Vinoba in Orissa

SURESH RAMARHAI

THE world is on the verge of a revolution. Probing deep into the heart of the atom, science promises to usher in a new age in the life of man. The discovery of steam-power and, later, of electricity rendered our life easier than ever before. But the atomic power bids to outdo them both and make man's impossible dreams a reality. The human mind is soaring higher and higher.

On the other hand, man's heart also is rising to greater and greater heights. In our life, heart and head must go together as the warp and woof do in a piece of cloth. A big heart and a small mind are incompatible even as are a small heart and a big mind. It is happy to note that while the mind of man is flying aloft to negotiate the steepest ascent, his heart is also bound to reach the farthest limits of the deepest sea. A new power — the power of love — far wider and deeper than the atomic power in its scope and sweep — is steadily emerging on the scene. An unprecedented revolution is in the offing.

This new dawn is coming to greet us in the Koraput district of Orissa. A remarkable air bestirs the mind of the people there. Hundreds of them are voluntarily abdicating the ownership of their lands and dedicating it to their village as a whole. Those villages are fast turning into lively units where the social order will shape out as a family writ large.

There is no landless in those villages now! Nay, there is no land-owner in those villages now!!

The apostle of Bhoodan Yagna — Acharya Vinoba Bhave, or Baba as he is commonly known — entered this district on 29th May 1955. Ever since he has been walking up and down its hills and dales with the message of *Gram-Dan* on his lips.

When the workers of this district came to know that Vinoba would be in their midst on 11th September, the day when he completes sixty years of his sojourn on this earth their joy knew no bounds. But what could these abdicators of ownership offer to Vinoba on this occasion except their heart brimming with love? So they held a brief, neat and elegant ceremony to commemorate the auspicious event.

They brought some flowers and fruits which they presented to Vinoba at his camp in Gunupurt. Heroes of action as they are, they always feel shy of speech. They entrusted this task to Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, who, to their extreme good luck, was present on this occasion. First, Smt. Rama Devi put a tilak on Vinoba's forehead. Then Sri Isvarlal Vyas, the well-known and 63 years young constructive worker who left his home province of Gujarat at Gandhiji's instance and has been devotedly serving Orissa for the last 28 years,

garlanded Vinoba and blessed him. Next, Gopababu in a short and sweet speech, assured Vinoba that Orissa would rise to his expectations and that Koraput, in particular, would be the example of *Grama-Raj* before the country. Then arose Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, who, praying for his long life, paid a tribute to Vinoba for the ceaseless service he was rendering to the cause of the poorest millions of the country. It was rare, said Sri Narayan, that a great man was followed by another great man who directed the people along the path chalked out by the former. Besides, he added, the light shown by Vinoba in the form of *Gramadan* (Gift of whole villages) in Orissa, especially in the Koraput district, was the need of the people all over the world.

Acknowledging their greetings, Vinoba observed that our *Shastras* declared the span of man's life to be one hundred years. "But I would not allot one mark for each year. I would rather give half a mark each for the first fifty years, one each for the next twenty-five and two each for the rest. Thus I hardly get thirty-five, a very poor third class!"

Vinoba added, "A jail-story comes to my mind on this occasion. Our jail-warder used to count the number of prisoners every night. Frequently he did so in sleep. Beginning with one, two and three, he would reach fifty and then count 51, 52, 55 and thereafter he would lapse into sleep. Next time he would wake up and again begin one, two three.....up to 55 and all once more. Thus his counting began

from 55, whence I am no more than a child. Also I do not have any feeling of old age or of youth, but of childhood. And we are all children assembled here for this frolic."

Vinoba expressed his gratefulness to the people for the great co-operation they were giving him in his humble endeavour, particularly to the enthusiastic workers of the Koraput district who had left no stone unturned even during these rainy months.

He went on "I do not regard this day as a completion of sixty years, but a day of dedication to fulfil the land-revolution that has now come to the fore. We must resolve to reduce ourselves to zero and accomplish the task here.

Thereafter Vinoba bowed before the audience and folded his hands in solemn gratitude. The flowers and fruits, fetched for the occasion, were distributed among those present. Thus the happy function came to a close.

As usual, the evening prayer was held at 4 o'clock. In his post-prayer speech, Vinoba referred to the Oriya text of the prayer just held. He said that the *lakshanas* (symptoms) of the *Stitha prajna* (the stable-minded) as given in the *Gita*, formed the main theme of the evening prayer. These *slokas* are famous since very ancient times. Shankaracharya had spoken very highly about them as they put forth the great ideal of the *Sannyasi*. "But the credit for making those *slokas* popular in our times goes to Mahatma Gandhi.

He further said; "it is not difficult to see why Gandhiji selected these *slokas* for prayer. One of the reasons is that these verses meet a greatly felt need of this scientific age; i.e., of *prajna* or the power of decision. This power is as much essential in public service as in private life. We live in such times when very intricate problems confront us. Besides, they require immediate solution. Hence the greater importance of stable mindedness. It is impossible to arrive at a correct decision without a detached mind. Thus the role of the power of decision cannot be too much emphasised. No wonder Gandhiji chose them for the use of common people. If these symptoms of stable mindedness find a place in our life - and this is not a very difficult task - we shall be able to solve our problems easily and quickly. If we want true democracy to be established in the world or the evolution of a State-free society, man's mind must be calm, pure and balanced.

"I believe that the state of stable-mindedness can be easily attained. The first reason is that stability or balance is the very nature of the soul. The *Atma* itself is *nirvikar* (lust-free or dispassionate). Secondly, science stands aloft against our passions. Thus they are surrounded by *Atma-Jnan* (soul-force) on one side and by *Vijnan* (Science) on the other. Dispassionate thinking must not, therefore, be regarded as difficult these days.

"In fact, it is not possible for every man to become a Premier or *Rashtrapati*, but anybody can become a *sthit-Prajna*, if he or she so desires."

Concluding Vinoba observed, "This is a very important thing in Bhoodan too. We are a handful of workers. Could we settle our mutual problems by a dispassionate mind they will be solved quickly. In that case our objective would be realised earlier than 1957. I seek your blessings and pray to God that we all may achieve a dispassionate, detached mind."

Then followed the announcement that 469 villages had been so far offered in the Koraput district alone and about a hundred and fifty more in other districts of Orissa. Besides, there was a telegram to Vinoba presenting him a *Gram-Dan* of 25 villages on this happy occasion. The whole audience was pleasantly at this unique phenomenon of dedication of whole villages. A new era is fast approaching in this unheard-of area. Its innocent and so-called backward people seem to throw a challenge not only to potentates of power and pelf but also to professors of economics, sociology and religion. The example of their intelligent renunciation will kindle a new lamp whose blazing light will guide the heart of MAN and quicken his way towards the cherished ideal of establishing the Kingdom of God on this earth.



Where West Meets East

ESME WYNNE-TYSON (Sussex - England)

The writer, already familiar to our readers says in her letter to us that "I have given close attention and a great deal of thought to your interesting September issue (Sarvodaya), and felt that a 'digest' of its principle features, such as I have written, would clarify the situation for readers of both East and West..... I feel we need so much closer co-operation between the few of us who have the same sense of direction."

Scarcely a fortnight before I read J. C. Kumarappa's excellent and thought-provoking article, *Universal Function of Basic Education* in the September issue of *Sarvodaya*, in which he likened Western civilisation to the Tiger-culture, or jungle form of life, and wrote: "The tiger lives on the flesh of other animals. It destroys other animals so that it may exist." I was reading the reprinted broadcast Talk given by Professor Gilbert Murray O. M. entitled *Memoirs of the Peace Movement*. In this, deploring the loss of our liberal civilisation, the speaker went on to say:

"We could not foresee at the end of the first war the sudden and appalling collapse of what the nazis and communists called 'bourgeois morality' that is, of all truth, humanity and good faith, which occurred in both Germany and Russia and to some extent in other parts of Europe It seemed at times as if the artificial crust of civilisation had broken, and an abyss opened beneath it revealing the real nature of *la bete humaine*, the one member of the ape tribe who is really a beast of prey."

Truly East and West have met in a realization and diagnosis of the basic problem confronting the world to-day, that of the unevolved state of the human units that compose it. Long ago, Gandhiji made the nature of this difficulty clear when he reminded

us that we were still only partly human, the lower part of us being still animal; but with his ever-practical wisdom, he provided us with the solution in the words: "Only the conquest of our lower instincts by love can slay the animal in us."

We must remember that when he spoke, it was not only to Western civilisation that he was referring. While we can fully agree with Mr. Kumarappa that this is of the tiger variety, we must remember that there are other types of animals and other types of animalism. Greed, subtlety, fear, self-indulgence and lust are also animalistic traits found universally in mankind that must be noughted before the world can ever be intrinsically better than it is.

However, much has been done towards the cure of a disease when a correct diagnosis has been arrived at, and since East and West are agreed that the indulged animalism of man is the chief cause of the appalling state of the world, the obvious course to follow should be for each individual to make an integrated effort to 'slay the animal' in himself. Instead of which, everything else is being tried, from altering governments and economic systems to delivering free bags of rice to famine areas and rebuilding devastated towns. But necessary as such evidences of practical repentance are, what is needed is

not a repentant animal but a fully evolved and responsible *homo sapiens*, and this cannot be achieved simply by making philanthropic gestures, but only by the process described in the New Testament as that of putting off "the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts" and putting on "the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness" (wholeness); or, as a Hindu might put it, by ceasing to identify the self with the part-animal, part-human creature, and seeking instead at-one-ment with the *atman*.

It is greatly to the credit of India that it should be giving the leadership to the world in this vitally necessary process of evolution from the beast of prey to a milder and more compassionate concept of man in its politics, its advocacy of *ahimsa*, and its non-carnivorous diet. And it is humiliating to face the fact that the only section of Western civilisation that can be found endorsing and following this evolutionary way of life is the comparative handful of humanitarians, vegetarians and pacifists who exist in Britain, America and in some of the European countries. These, however, do supply a nucleus that could work in co-operation with Gandhian India in order to bring their mutual aims to the attention of mankind, for they certainly have more in common with non-violent Indians than with their fellow-men in the West. The Vegetarian Societies, with branches all over England, and the Millennium Guild and Vegetarian Movement in America, are in fundamental agreement and sympathy with

the Gandhian ideals, and the smaller humanitarian movements, chiefly concerned with the welfare of animals, at least show glimmerings of the compassionate love needed for embracing the Mahatma's Way. Given a clear sense of direction and a fuller understanding of Gandhiji's fundamental philosophy, many recruits might, I believe, be found in this outer fringe of the humanitarian world.

What is wanted is a clearly stated policy and aim comprehensible to the advocates of non-violence of both East and West. And Mr. Kumarappa gives an indication of the nature of that policy when he suggests that the tiger-culture should be replaced by the culture of mother-service, "free of exploitation, and based on giving."

For too long the essential woman-qualities, so admired and beautifully manifested by Gandhiji, of love, compassion, intuition, mercy and gentleness, have been subordinated in the West to the male power and violence, policies and lust for knowledge, with the result that our whole civilisation has been thrown out of balance. What is needed is the perfect equipoise of male-female qualities that the world-faiths have always attributed to Deity. We need, above all, the selfless, tender, Mother-love, but we also need the intelligence and reason of the Father, so well exemplified in Bapu's teachings of chastity and self-control. He well knew that to transcend this world was more important than to improve it, and that the chief aim of a man's life should be to nought within himself the craving for physical life, not to

indulge or perpetuate it. As he points out in *Gospel of Non-possession*, printed in the same issue of 'Sarvodaya' that carried Mr. Kumarappa's article:

"By means of a desire for enjoyment we have created and continue to maintain this encumbrance in the shape of the body. When this desire vanishes there remains no further need for the body, and man is free from the vicious cycle of births and deaths."

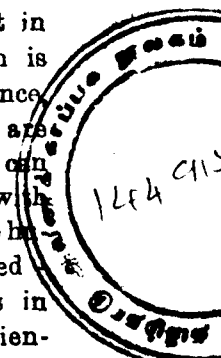
Here is the essential basis for evolution, though it is far from popular with people in either East or West. As a concept it was hardly thinkable in the West a hundred years ago, although it has been a common place to the religionists of the East for thousands of years. But to-day there is a nucleus of dedicated religionists both in Britain and America who can recognize and subscribe to this deep teaching which constitutes a very profound meeting of East and West, of whom it was once said: "Never the twain shall meet."

It must not be thought, however, that such a nucleus will be found in any Communist-controlled country. The spirit of humanitarianism may still survive in rare individuals, but no organised expression of it could be tolerated in totalitarian States as this would be a dangerous deviation from the gospel of Utilitarianism imposed by the materialists. The God of scientific socialism is Science, and that God and His priests will tolerate no interference with His demands for more and more animal, and human, sacrifices to be piled upon His ex-

perimental altars in the research laboratories.

The thousands of monkeys tortured and killed for the tragic Salk Vaccine experiment, the unfortunate, little creatures who are being sent up in balloons as a preliminary to satellite-making, the convicts and other 'voluntary' human guinea-pigs who offer themselves for drastic scientific experimentation, all show where the demands of science are tending even in a 'free' world where people can still make objections to such practices, and insist on some mitigation of the sufferings of the animals experimented upon. But in countries where no such criticism is permitted, and the demands of science 'progress' and the Community are law, against which no individual can protest without being charged with non-co-operation and deviation, no humanitarian objections can be voiced hence the lack of pacifist groups in Communist-controlled areas. Conscientious objection to violence and cruelty belongs to the 'bourgeois morality' that cannot possibly be tolerated in an atmosphere of total materialism.

Gandhian India needs to keep these facts in mind when assessing the relative value of the two great power blocs. "The like is only intelligible by the like". It is with the humanitarians of the West that Sarvodaya must seek unity and co-operation in offering a third way to that increasing section of humanity which is growing weary of the violence and power-policies of both the warring ideologies at present in the ascendant, and would obviously welcome a practical alternative.



32
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The Ethics of Title to Property

WENDALL BULL (U. S. A.)

The writer is closely following "Sarvodaya". He has specially sent us this article which is largely analytical in nature about the sources of all property and the ethics of title of ownership to it. In a way this critical analysis would fortify the basic arguments for "Sampattidan" which aims at equal distribution through spontaneous gifts by the 'haves' with the conviction that the society is the sole source and the real owner of all property.

IF possession is an evil and non-possession is the ideal for which men should strive, does not righteousness require us to give up all possessions, including the body as soon as possible? Since men of saintliest character have not carried non-possession so far perhaps it is fitting for men of less humility to try to develop a rational view of this matter. It may be possible to draw a distinction between what may be possessed harmlessly and what must be left forever free.

What is Property?

To discriminate between the good and the bad elements in property is difficult because the two have been indistinguishably mixed in our civilizations for thousands of years. The English word itself suggests the good element: that which is *properly* ownable is property. The other element in our mixed concept is the violence inherent in it. Property entitles its owner to have his claims enforced by the armed might of government.

Throughout history property has been derived in part from the power of conquerors to subdue militarily weaker peoples. In so far as it has

its source in conquest, and in so far as its possessors are entitled to the enforcement of their claims by armies or armed penal officers, property stands without a shred of ethical justification.

The Source of Property

Property has also another source. All true wealth is the result of human efforts which satisfy human wants. In so far as its source is in human effort, and in so far as its possessors are known to have produced it, property has ethical justification and needs no policeman to guard it.

There is a third way of acquiring property. It is obvious that some persons acquire wealth without exercising either productive effort or military conquest. This fact points to mal-distribution. In our conventional system of distribution via trade it is possible for clever operators to accumulate goods which other men have produced and land which others have taken by conquest. It is not asserted that land-lords, bankers, traders and others never perform any useful service. The point is that when a man's income of goods and services exceeds his output of same he is acquiring property by a trickery

which is inherent in the commercial standard of evaluation and medium of exchange. In so far as it is acquired by trickery, property is stolen.

Keeping in mind these three ways of acquiring property - by conquest, by producing and by legal theft - all of which are protected by law, but only one of which is ethical, let us see if property might be purged of its evil elements. It appears that an ethical view of property will limit it to the things men have produced. This means that land, all natural resources, should not be subject to ownership. If this step has been accomplished in *Gramdan* it deserves the praise of the world. There still remains the problem of distribution - which products of work are ethically ownable by which men?

The Ethical Title to Ownership

The only way to earn an ethical share in the ownership of goods is by performing productive work. The extent of one's share should be limited by the extent of his work. Thus when two or more men combine efforts in making one product their relative shares in ownership of the product should be determined according to the measure of their shares in producing it.

The needs of dependent persons are ethical claims, not to shares in ownership but to shares in consuming property. These are pertinent to the problem of how property should be administered, or disposed, but not to the problem of how ownership can be purified.

The Responsibilities of Ownership

Property ownership is a form of power. As such it entails re-responsi-

bilities. It is suggested that these responsibilities should be wholly embraced by the producers of goods and services - that no control over property should accrue in the hands which have no part in production. The equitable division of property among its producers is likewise their responsibility.

It was suggested above that ownership of property might be shared equitably according to the measures of work contributed by its respective producers. Such a division of ownership calls for the use of a standard measurement of work. There is a factor common in all productive work regardless of the station of the worker. It is the measurable parts of his lifetime which every producer expends in making goods or rendering services. If men would evaluate all property in terms of the human lifetime spent in producing it they would have little difficulty in determining the fair sharing of its ownership. The use of this standard of evaluation would result in pricing goods and services in terms of the duration of those parts of their life-times which men expended in satisfying the wants of consumers. Thus market-values would not be calculated with reference to the power of gold which can always be monopolized and enforced by violence, but rather with reference to the power of human work to satisfy human wants. The latter can never be monopolized; it can be redeemed from ages of degradation, and validated in economic intercourse only by general consensus.

Crude materialistic standard

The commodity (gold, silver etc.) standard of evaluation is itself a mixture of land, which must be left free, and of work, which we aim to lift to a place of high esteem in everyday business relations. The customary use of this mixed and equivocal unit of measurement, and the common habit of thinking in terms of this crude materialistic standard of value, are the chief obstacles to be overcome in comprehending the distinction between ethical and unethical ownership of property. Habitual evaluative attitudes can be changed by the introduction of a new frame of reference. Hence the proposal to evaluate goods with reference to their cost of production as conceived in terms of human life-time expended may be helpful. The social custom of using a commodity standard of value can be changed when there is general understanding of the errors inherent in it and general agreement to adopt a new way.

The Evil of all Ownership

As a clear concept of the proposed new standard of evaluation develops it appears that land-owners are in a sense not the only owners of land. The evil of land-ownership is shared by everyone who owns any commodity. The physical content of every commodity, from gold to paper and ink, is nothing but land. No matter how altered, modified or transformed by human exertion to meet human needs, every particle of wealth is in some measure a particle, or particles, of Earth's natural resources. Since the ownership of any part of the Earth is a sin, the ownership of

any article of commerce is a sin for the same reason. Still, it is not necessary or desirable to abandon all ownership in order to prevent the evils of mistaken ownership.

In the production and delivery of commodities men impress upon or attach to the physical content of them a certain human content, so that in consuming products we consume not only parts of God's gifts but also parts of men's lives. Between these two elements lies the distinction between ethical and unethical property ownership.



Some Books on Gandhian Economics by J. C. Kumarappa

	RS.	AS.
Gandhian Economy & Other Essays	2	0
Gandhian Economic Thought	1	4
Why the Village Movement?	3	8
Economy of Permanence—I	2	0
" " II	2	0
Science and Progress	1	0
Peace and Prosperity	1	0
Europe Through Gandhian Eyes	0	8
Philosophy of Work & other Essays	0	12
Currency Inflation Its Cause & Cure	0	12
Public Finance & Our Poverty	1	8
An Overall Plan for Rural Development	1	8
Clive to Keynes	0	12
Christianity-Its Economy & Way of Life	1	8
Practice & Precepts of Jesus	1	8
Planning for the People & by the People	3	0
Sarvodaya & World Peace	0	2

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

Gokhale—Gandhiji's Political Guru

Prof. T. N. JAGADISAN

"Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country, should be not to glorify the country in language but to spiritualise its political life and institutions. He inspired my life and is still inspiring it in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualise myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal".
Gandhiji in "Gokhale My Political Guru"

FEW great men could equal Gopala Krishna Gokhale in clarity of vision, discipline of thought and strength of faith. A moderate in his political faith and a believer in gradual and ordered progress, his aspiration for his country was as high as the most fervid patriot could wish. He declared in no uncertain terms: "Let me say that I recognise no limit to my aspiration for our motherland. I want our people to be in their country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, scientifically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts." The aim of Gokhale like that of his master Ranade, was to touch to finer issues, the broader and deeper life of the country and not merely the political framework which indeed was the aim of Gandhiji also. Gokhale was fond of the great passage from Ranade in which he gives a glowing vision of a regenerated and perfect India:—

"The true end of our work is to renovate, to purify, and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect, elevating his

standard of duty and developing to the full all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were a chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope, with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly by all, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and lastly with a love that overleaps all bounds renovated India will take her proper rank among "the nations of the world, and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they, who see it in distant vision; happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it; happiest they, who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow will then be myths of the past, and the gods will once again descend to the earth and associate with men, as they did in times which we now call mythical."

Those who had set before themselves such an exalted aim in those

far off days when public life was still shaping must have been men of invincible faith and courage. For failure faced them at every step. In Gokhale's life as a Servant of India there was a never-ending series of failures. But such was Gokhale's high vision and indomitable faith that he considered that his path was only enriched by his failures. He believed in the discipline of failure. He held that to those who have indomitable faith in their cause there was no real failure. For a just cause was bound ultimately to triumph. He said to himself, "what if I fail today; I prepare the ground for the success of a more fortunate generation."

It was in connection with his Elementary Education Bill that Gokhale made the famous statement that those of his generation served by failure while a more fortunate generation will serve by their success. When he moved his bill he had previous knowledge, imparted to him by a friendly Member of Government, that his Bill will be thrown out. He therefore imported his previous knowledge somewhat warmly into the peroration of his speech:—

"My Lord, I know that my bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation of India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to

serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted "to us in our onward march. This Bill thrown out to-day will come back again and again, till on the stepping-stones of its dead self, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that this anticipation will not come true. It may be that our efforts may not conduce even indirectly to the promotion of the great cause which we all have at heart and that they may turn out after all to be nothing better than the mere ploughing of the sands of the seashore. But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and where, the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all."

It is sobering to reflect that even with all the extensions of Education in the Second Five Year Plan a good percentage of children will still not have the benefit of going to school and that compulsory primary education is still a distant vision. In fact I heard one adorable and great personality of our day say that he ceased hoping for the realisation of this grand ideal.

Gokhale's dictum should comfort, inspire and sustain the faith of many workers, especially in the path of constructive social work where the difficulties are many and the worker is so often apt to be disheartened by failures. But it requires a perpetual stream of faith to be able to do all that lies within your power for promoting the cause and be prepared

to meet failure as if it was the same as success. It also demands a mind that is prepared to go through the work on hand with faith in ultimate success even though the portends seem to point to failure. To grasp this attitude of mind is to grasp the inner meaning of Gokhale's dictum. In the task of regenerating India till we have vitalised the whole life of our people we have to face the same insuperable difficulties which Gokhale and men of his generation faced in

the task of liberating India from political bondage. Politically we are a more fortunate generation who have had success. But in constructive work, in the largest sense of the term, we shall for the most part have to be content to serve in faith and courage and if need be enrich the path with failures through our martyrdom so that a more fortunate generation who serve by their successes may be near at hand.



To All Sevakas of Sarvodaya Samaj

Dear Friends,

THE bond of thought transcends the bond of blood. We, the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj, form a brotherhood irrespective of class or caste, race or religion of men and women striving for the establishment of a new social order free from exploitation and based on Truth and Non-Violence.

Science to-day has, wittingly or unwittingly, bridged all distance and shortened all time so that the whole world appears like one big family. Isolation no longer is possible for any nation. All problems, whether domestic or national, have acquired an international aspect. And, therefore, it is necessary for us all, individually and collectively, to consider by mutual consultation ways and means for the well-being and prosperity of humanity in general.

It is with this end in view that we are writing this letter to you. Our

efforts, to have any tangible results, must necessarily be joint and well co-ordinate. Hence it is extremely important that we should regularly have a frank, free and open exchange of views on matters of national as well as international importance.

We desire that at least once in a month you should write to us. It is not necessary that something abstract, impersonal need be written. We would, on the other hand, welcome personal letters giving us your own experiences and conclusions or queries while practising the above principles in domestic and day to day life of each one of us. This regular and sincere exchange of views will, we believe, greatly contribute to our effort in attaining our goal. We, on our part, will endeavour to give you a brief resume of our activities during the month.

P. O. Buniyadganj,
Gaya, Bihar, India.
30th Oct., '55

GOVIND RAO,
For Secretary,
Sarvodaya Samaj.



Vinoba's March for Peace

ALFRED KNAUS

The writer is from West Germany and has been serving as a volunteer in the Service Civil International in India. He was in the army in the last war and a war-prisoner for 3 years. He is now a staunch Pacifist and a war-resister. He compares his experiences in his march in destructive war for conquest of land with those in Vinobaji's peaceful march for the conquest of heart and mind. He has picked up English only after he came to India and his article is given here as he sent it to us with a few touches.

"Don't go to India" said one of my friends, "I have seen Bombay, it is the gate-way to hell." I went against his good advice and—have spent in India already one year more than intended.

A few months ago some Indian said: "Why do you insist on meeting Vinoba? He is a cold man and won't talk with you at all." I went, and two hours after my arrival in Gunupur I met the "cold man". With a smiling face he took me by the shoulder and said: "O, our German friend.....you must tell me your whole story." This was my first personal meeting with Vinoba but not my last one. It was just on his 60th birthday, September 11. I used the opportunity to deliver the birthday greetings of the German friends of the FOR and WRI. Many people had gathered there at Gunupur to celebrate this day. Among them was also Sri Jai Prakash Narain, the socialist leader who offered Jeewan-Dan for Bhoodan. But as there was heavy flood in Orissa which washed away so many human lives there was no special celebration.

Vinoba doesn't like at all to be adored and on the other hand he doesn't pay much attention to visitors.

Everybody who joins Vinoba's team is just an equal member sharing the same simplicities as others. And that's what I liked so much during these ten days touring in the Koraput district. Nobody felt himself superior to the other. Each one had to do his duty without distinction between leader and team, always ready to help his neighbour walking beside. It was an "Army of Peace" on its march to "conquer" land.

I mention this particularly as some 12 years ago I was also marching 10 to 20 miles daily conquering land, but in a quite different way. I was wearing a grey uniform and was marked by a number. My leader told me everyday that I shouldn't think too much on myself and there are others who do it for me. And he used to tell me also when I had to use the gun hanging from my shoulder to shoot down my "enemies". Besides the road I saw burnt villages and homeless people. But I had no time to stop and help them as they were my "enemies" said my leader. It was war and no time for compassion.

How different I felt these days! I was again marching into a foreign land. But my comrade beside me

didn't show an unhappy or hateful ace. And there was no leader bawling out orders as each member of this army was still an individual lead by his own conscience convinced that he was on the right path. When we reached a village people didn't disappear but they came gathering to welcome the "invaders" cheering Vinoba and Mahatma Gandhi.

Sometimes it was difficult to disperse the crowds to get a way free for Vinoba. Although they knew that the meeting will take place on a few hours the villagers were waiting outside the house where Vinoba took shelter for darshan.

I know only a few words of Hindi but actually there was no difficulty to understand Vinobaji's language. His gestures and practical demonstrations were understandable to everybody. For instance he took once a young boy wearing a factory-made shirt of bad quality. "Look at that" and easily he tore the shirt into two pieces. "Why do you buy such cloth from the city if you are able to make your own clothing cheaper and of even better quality?" he asked the assembly. Or he told them to stop smoking and planting tobacco while people are still hungry.

I thought people would leave the place if somebody would tell them such lectures. But just the contrary happened. The villagers were listening and remained seated even when heavy rain surprised the meeting. "Why should we go away" Vinoba said in such a case "if God gives His blessing".

It is not at all new what Vinoba proclaims. But the way he talks and puts into practice his idea is revolutionary. His speeches are outpourings from heart to heart. How could it otherwise be possible that people, rich and poor, spontaneously are giving away their land to Bhoodan. Not only individuals, whole villages have given up private ownership of land.

A new life begins in these villages. There will be from now equal sharing of work and food. Khadi and cottage industry will be developed so that the village becomes as far as possible self-sufficient and independent from money economy.

Nobody would have believed in such a success of a single man when he started his pilgrimage four years ago with only a few disciples. Here, Andre Gide is right once more writing about "the secret of the small number" that the spiritual and moral power is significant for the success. The success lies not only in the gift of land but more in the change of heart and mind of the people. This is actually the revolution which is going on and lays the foundation stone of a new society—not only for India but for the whole world.

Vinoba reminds us of what already 2000 years ago was preached but not yet realized. Faith in truth and love. It is high time that the people, especially in the western world, now follow the voice from the East.



★ The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya ★

THOUGH Tamil Nad was leading in Khadi production there was meagre literature on khadi and charkha in Tamil. A small attempt was made in 1946 to bring out a series of books on the various crafts and the technique connected with khadi. The re-orientation programme in Khadi work and the growth of the Basic Education in Tamil Nad created the urgent need for exhaustive literature on the economics and philosophy of the Charkha as the basis of total reconstruction of villages. Publication on a small scale was carried on by the Tamil Nad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association. It was from 1949 that the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya could function as a publication branch under the managing editorship of a whole-time worker who was just then relieved from the secretaryship of the A. I. S. A., Tamilnad.

The Prachuralaya also took up the publication of some of the latest books on Gandhiji and by Gandhiji with the permission of the Navajivan Karyalaya at a considerably low price. As the work was expanding the Prachuralaya was transferred as a branch under the direct control of the A. I. S. A., at Sevagram in July 1951. Again in May 1952 it was taken over by the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh as the nature of publications was going beyond the limited scope of the khadi field of the A. I. S. A. Since then the Prachuralaya has been functioning as the Southern Branch of the Publication department of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The Prachuralaya had already started its Tamil Monthly 'Khaddar Malar' earlier in 1947 (now 'Sarvodayam') and the English monthly 'Khadi World' (now Sarvodaya) in 1951 to supplement its activities.

During the last seven years of its active work the Prachuralaya published 58 titles mostly in Tamil and a few in English some of which have run to several editions, numbering 87 in all titles. Nearly two lakhs of copies were published in all worth over Rs. 1,33,000. The total sales amount to nearly a lakh of rupees as per the detailed statement of publications given separately.

We are indebted to the Tamil Nad Gandhi Nidhi for the timely financial help with permission to publish four of our publications in their name.

During these recent years we have been publishing also small and cheap bhoodan booklets in Tamil besides a few in English on a very small scale to meet the needs of the workers on Bhoodan yatra in the villages.

This pioneering attempt made by the Prachuralaya in the field of Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature and the small progress it could make with the limited financial resources and various difficulties only indicates the congenial atmosphere for such literature. There is immense possibility of expansion if sufficient funds and workers are available. The time is ripe now for spreading among the masses Gandhian literature for which there is the crying need.

Shrikrishnadas Jajuji - Some Reminiscences

T. N. JAGADISAN

Organising Secretary, Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh.

THE passing away of Shri Srikrishnadas Jajuji removes one of the few surviving links with Gandhiji, and Gandhism at its purest. If I may be pardoned for falling into personal reminiscences of beloved Jajuji I would like to set down some of them. My first meeting with Shri Jajuji was in Sevagram about the 10th February 1946. I had gone, along with Dr. Cochrane, the great leprologist who did so much work in Madras, to meet Gandhiji and seek support for what has now become the Kasturba Gandhi Leprosy Home, Mazhavanthangal. Both Gandhiji and Thakkar Bapa, with that paternal affection that was so characteristic of them, asked me to meet, among others, Shri Jajuji. Gandhiji had arranged that I should stay in the cottage nearest his with Shri Kishorilal Bhai. My wish to see Shri Jajuji had been conveyed to him and with that courtesy and considerateness that were so prominent in his character he sent word that he would meet me at Kishorilalji's. I can never forget the vivid impression made on me by his gentle smile and the modest expression of his face beaming with benevolence. Very courteously and patiently he let me talk on the leprosy problem and on my particular mission of request from the Kasturba Trust for a leprosy Home for Women and Children in the South Arcot district. The earnestness with which he listened, the vivid sympathy in his look and

the few searching questions which he put me on the details of the scheme so captivated my heart that I immediately enthroned him in the galaxy of my heroes.

From this first meeting onwards Shri Jajuji admitted me to his intimacy and affection. I had occasion to see him and be near him at the meetings of the Kasturba Trust. He was good enough to make a strenuous journey to the Kasturba Leprosy Home, Mazhavanthangal even though the work of building the hospital was not yet complete. When he saw a large number of patients and especially a large number of women and children affected with leprosy he was visibly moved. He was always a steady and strong supporter of the growth of the work of the Kasturba Leprosy Home. He took a particular interest in my work and gave me much in spiriting encouragement. Even comparatively early in our association he, like Thakkar Bapa, urged on me that I should not be content with developing a particular institution in a particular area but that I should engage myself in the larger task of contributing to a movement for leprosy control in the country and that I should tour the various parts of the country for this purpose. Early in the year 1947 I urged on Gandhiji that under his immediate guidance an All India Leprosy Workers' Conference should be summoned. For, though one or two Conferences of a limited nature had taken place in the country

for leprosy, the workers in the country had not been brought together as fully as was desirable. I indicated my proposal to Shri Jajuji also and sought his support. He saw the urgency of such a Conference and took it up with Gandhiji. Gandhiji referred the matter to the Advisory Medical Board of the Kasturba Trust of which Dr. Jivraj Mehta was Chairman. The Medical Board approved of the idea of such a Conference and suggested that it should be held in Wardha. It was Shri Jajuji who took all the initiative and the responsibility of that Conference, assisted of course by other friends like Shri Manohar Diwan of Dattapur. He summoned me three weeks in advance of the Conference to Wardha and the time that I then spent with him, working under his guidance in connection with the Conference was a period of great education and joy for me. The careful and thoughtful manner in which he went over every detail that had to be done for the Conference, the continuous zeal he poured into the task and the gentle, unassuming, hospitable manner in which he received the delegates and looked after them have left an abiding memory in those who attended the Wardha Leprosy Conference which will come to be regarded as a historic one starting India firmly on the road to the conquest of leprosy.

When the Akhil Bharat Kushta Samiti was formed on the recommendations of the Wardha Conference Shri Jajuji became its Treasurer and guided its activities with wisdom and zeal. The Samithi was wound up when the British Empire Leprosy

Relief Association was dissolved and the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh was formed in its stead. Shri Jajuji was a member of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh for some time. His zeal for leprosy control grew day by day and for a time he gave up all other activity and went to Dattapur to look after the patients at Dattapur in association with Shri Manoharji. In his last years he served the cause of leprosy as a member of the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation.

Such was his modesty and such his affection for even junior colleagues that whenever he came to Madras he would insist on coming and spending a few minutes with us in our house. I mention this to show the fine human quality which these giants of a former day had by which they held their friends and disciples in the sweet bond of love. His life was simple and austere. He liked his friends to be simple and austere, though in his wide tolerance he could understand other modes of life. Sometimes his friends felt that he imposed on them a grinding economy. The real explanation of Shri Jajuji's exacting austerity is that he felt that the more a man denied himself material comforts the more self-reliant he became in his needs and habits and therefore the less subject he was to fear or favour. In this way a man was sure of mental freedom and moral courage. Seeking austerity for this reason for himself he naturally sought it for his friends.

Of Jajuji it may be said, no man's advice was more sought and few men were as loved and respected as he.



All India Bhoodan News

In Bihar Acharya Kripalani had been touring in the Gaya district for Bhoodan propaganda since 4th November. During his tour land has been so far distributed for 119 families. In Champaran District about 1,000 acres of Bhoodan land were distributed. In Uttar Pradesh the village of Radhapalampur in Babareilly district offered itself as Purna-Gramdan. Baba Raghavadas received 218 bighas of Bhoodan and Rs. 300 as Sampattidan during his yatra in the above district. In October in the Etah district three batches of workers had Bhoodan Yatras covering about 100 miles and received 40 acres of Bhoodan. They could also distribute 50 acres.

In Bombay the Bombay and Upanagar Bhoodan Samithi received 28 danapatras for Sampattidan for Rs. 2,300. Some of the labourers of the Kohinoor Mills have offered Sampattidan and are carrying on propaganda for Sampattidan.

In Madhyapradesh the workers who met on the tenth day after the passing away of Pujya Jajuji resolved to collect 11,000 danapatras for Sampattidan before the next Shraddha Day. In Raighat district Bhoodan workers under the lead of Sri. Ramanand Dubey had yatras from 3rd to 14th October and received about 880 acres of Bhoodan. In the district of Sagar Bhoodan workers received 519 acres of land in their yatras visiting 27 villages. 57 acres were distributed to 12 families.

In Madhya Bharat a training camp for workers was held for a fortnight in Rupakheda in Ratlam district. About 300 workers including women took part in the camp. On 27th October Sri. Jaiprakash Narain addressed the camp on the significance of Gram-dan.

In Maharashtra Sri. Triumbuk Rao Narrane Deputy Minister of the Bombay State distributed Bhoodan land of 46 acres to Advivasis at Khassa Sarvodaya Ashram. Further 130 acres were distributed to 75 landless Advivasis in four villages. In Thana district 607 acres of land were distributed to 319 landless families in six taluks of the Thana district.

In Assam some of the Bhoodan workers have taken a pledge to conduct a non-stop Bhoodan walking yatra for two years in the Sibsagar district. In October 1,200 acres of Bhoodan and three villages of Purna-dan were received.

In Karnatak 125 acres were collected in the padayatra of some of the villages of Dharwad and Belgaum districts in October.

In Gujarat Sri Ravishanker Maharaj, affectionately and reverently called 'Dada' or 'Maharaj' in Gujarat-Saurashtra, completed on Nov. 6th his padayatra of Mehsana district in Gujarat. Covering 337 miles in 42 days, Maharaj visited 89 villages and addressed 130 meetings. Dada received 2,025 acres of land in Bhoodan, Rs. 48,750/- in Sadhandan, i. e. cash gift (to buy agricultural implements, seeds, etc.), Sampattidan-deeds : from 110 donors and various other implements, etc. During the Yatra, Sarvodaya & Bhoodan literature worth Rs. 3,000/- was also sold and 310 new

subscribers for Bhoodan periodical ('Bhoomiputra') were also enrolled. Dada is touring in the Banaskantha district since 7th Nov.

In Saurashtra non-stop Bhoodan Yatra, which commenced under the leadership of Sri Vajubhai Shah on 2nd October last, had 45 camps during which 500 acres of land have been received in Bhoodan. There was Sampattidan and Sadhandan also. Every week the Yatri Dal is led by different seasoned constructive workers.

In Hyderabad (Deccan) during the Bhoodan padayatra of 150 miles by Sri Srinivas Rao, which began on the 28th of last month and lasted for a fortnight, 700 acres of land were received in Bhoodan from 200 donors in 43 villages. Among others who participated in the padayatra and addressed the meetings were also Swami Ramanand Tirth, Srimati Lakshmi Bai Sangam, Deputy Education Minister, Hyderabad State, Sri J. V. Narsing Rao, President of the Hyderabad Provincial Congress Committee, Sri D. Keshav Rao, Sri Ramkrishna Dhoot and others.

Jubbulpore workers have resolved to collect in a ten-day intensive drive, ten thousand acres in the last week of December. There will be 50 batches of 250 workers in all, who will tour the various districts of the province.

In Tamil Nad the Bhoodan workers met at a conference in Gandhigram (Madurai Dt.) for two days on 31st October and 1st November. Sri. K. Arunachalam presided. Sri. S. Jagannathan gave a gist of the programme of work before the next Sarvodaya Sammelan as decided at the Bombay meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh. There were discussions about the future programme of more active work to prepare the ground before Vinobaji enters Tamil Nad in April

1956. It was decided to have more intensive walking yatras in the districts, to distribute at least 20,000 acres, to collect 5,000 danapatras for Sampatti-dan, to enroll 5,000 subscribers for the Monthly 'Sarvodaya' and the weekly 'Gramodayam' in Tamil before April 1956.

In Kerala the non-stop yatra started in September continued in Malabar districts and received over 120 acres of land, agricultural implements and Sampatti-dan patras, besides gifts for wells.

Shri. Jagannathan, Tamil Nad Bhoodan convener, led a party of workers on a two-week Bhoodan yatra on November 17th in the Bhavani Taluk. Shri C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of Madras State inaugurated the yatra at Bhavani by saying that the Bhoodan movement would not only provide a solution for the land problem, but would play a great part in establishing truth and love in human society. Sri B.R. Venkatachala-pathy, President of the Panchayat Board, contributed Rs. 500 as Sampattidan and Sri. Rengaswami Reddiar offered for the third time four acres as Bhoodan.

A second village of Purna gram-dan was received in Muniyandipatti in Madura district in November.

The following shows the latest figures of Bhoodan received in Tamil Nad up to the end of Oct.

District.	Acre	Cent
1. Chinglepet	2,534	51
2. North Arcot	299	65
3. South Arcot	477	51
4. Selam	2,350	60½
5. Coimbatore	5,413	41½
6. Nilagiri	6	60
7. Tanjore	1,468	31
8. Trichy	4,442	99
9. Ramnad	7,255	40½
10. Mathurai	12,193	47½
11. Tirunelveli	8,254	16½
Total	44,696	64

Bhoodan Booklets published till 14-11-1955.
By Sarvodaya Pracharalaya.

Sl. No.	Name of the title.	No. of editions.	No. of copies.	Rate. Rs. A. P.			Value in Rs.
1	Vinobaji's Appeal	5	18,200	0	1	0	1,138
2	Bhoodan Yagna by Shankarrao Deo.	1	5,000	0	1	0	312
3	Bhoodan & Sarvodaya	3	9,000	0	0	6	281
4	Call to Youth by J. P. Narain	2	10,000	0	1	0	625
5	Sarvodaya Prakadanam (Vinobaji's Chandil speech).	2	6,000	0	2	0	750
6	Revolutionary Bhoodan (Dharmadikari).	3	8,000	0	1	0	500
7	Bhoodan Songs	9	46,000	0	0	6	1,438
8	The Revolutionary Bhoodan (History and principles).	1	3,000	0	3	0	563
9	Sampath-dan and Prakadan	1	2,000	0	1	0	125
10	Jivandan J. P. Narain	3	6,000	0	1	0	375
11	The Puri Resolution & Pledge	1	3,000	0	0	6	94
12	Sampathdan (Jajuji)	1	2,000	0	4	0	500
13	Life of Vinobaji	2	4,000	0	3	0	750
14	Bhoodan (Collection)	1	3,000	0	0	6	94
15	Bhoodan & Gramraj - Shankarrao Deo.	1	2,000	0	1	0	125
16	Vinobaji's Berhampur speech	1	2,000	0	1	0	125
17	Bhoodan Deepika - Vimala Thakkar.	1	2,000	0	2	0	250
18	J. P. Narain's Appeal	1	2,000	0	2	0	250
Total		39	1,33,200	...	...	...	8,295
English Bhoodan Booklets.							
1	Jeevandan by J. P. Narain	2	6,000	...	...	...	562
	3,000 at 1 anna & 3,000 at 2 As.	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	Revolutionary Bhoodan Yagna	1	2,000	0	4	0	500
3	Principles and Philosophy of Bhoodan.	1	2,000	0	5	0	625
4	The Call of Puri	1	2,000	0	2	0	250
5	A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order.	1	2,000	0	6	0	750
6	The Revolutionary Bhoodan	1	2,000	0	6	0	750
Total		7	16,000	...	...	...	3,437

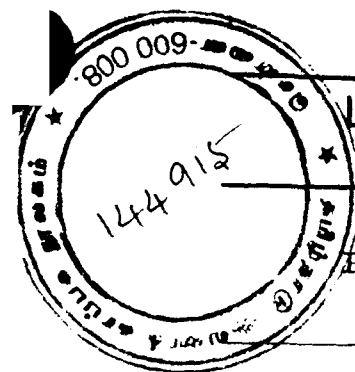
Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.
(Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh)
Books published and sold till 30th April 1955.

Title of the book.	Publication.			Sales.	
	No. of editions.	Copies.	Value. Rs.	Copies.	Value. Rs.
1. Kathayi Ganith Part I ...	3	7,000	2,500	3,231	1,087
2. " Part II ...	3	5,000	2,625	2,964	1,607
3. " Part III ...	1	2,000	1,750	734	642
4. " Part IV ...	1	2,000	2,000	684	684
5. Khaddar Malar Series I (Col- lections from Khadi Jagat).	1	1,000	500	1,000	500
6. " II ...	1	1,000	500	1,000	500
7. " III ...	1	1,000	750	1,000	750
8. Gandhi Vichar Dohan Kishorelal Mashruwala.	2	2,500	6,500	2,500	6,500
9. Navasamskaran ...	2	4,300	3,975	2,500	2,175
10. How to Spin on Takli? (Satyan)	3	8,000	4,500	6,634	3,817
11. How to Sliver easily? (Devdhar).	2	5,000	1,500	4,139	1,285
12. History of the A. I. S. A. ...	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
13. Reorientation Series I (Collec- tions).	1	1,000	750	1,000	750
14. " II ...	1	1,000	500	1,000	500
15. Khaddar Implements (Con- ference proceedings).	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
16. All About Hand-spinning Krishnadas Gandhi.	3	5,000	5,250	4,387	4,637
17. Gandhiji's Kural (Vinobaji's talk)	3	7,000	3,375	7,000	3,375
18. The Revolutionary Charkha (Mazumdar).	2	3,500	1,312	3,500	1,312
19. Ashram Bhajanavali ...	4	15,000	6,250	14,723	6,110
20. Handspinning & Handweaving	1	2,000	3,000	1,391	2,086
21. Kisan, Box, Dubata charkha...	1	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
22. Gut-making ...	1	1,000	500	1,000	500
23. Sarvodayam (Gandhiji) ...	3	11,000	4,450	9,776	4,060
24. Malajala Suddhi ...	2	4,000	2,000	3,139	1,570
25. Vinobaji's Hyderabad Talks...	1	2,000	1,500	2,000	1,500
26. The Programme of the A. I. S. A.	1	2,000	1,000	2,000	1,000
27. Swayampurna Gram ...	2	4,000	1,000	3,773	929
28. The Demand of the Times (English - Mazumdar).	1	1,000	750	1,000	750
29. Revolutionary Charkha (English - Mazumdar).	1	1,000	375	1,000	375
Carried over ...	50	1,03,300	63,112	87,075	53,001

Title of the book,	Publication.			Sales.	
	No. of editions.	Copies.	Value. Rs.	Copies.	Value. Rs.
Brought forward ...	50	1,03,300	63,112	87,075	53,001
30. Pappavin Gandhi (Bapu-Jugatram Dave).	2	8,000	6,000	6,804	5,100
31. Samuhathil Sthrigalin Stha- nam - Gandhiji - compiled by S. Banker.	3	11,000	2,750	9,000	2,250
32. Saffai Vijnan (Mazumdar) ...	2	4,000	2,250	2,593	1,545
33. Sevagram Mugham ...	1	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
34. Vinobaji's talk at Virapandi...	1	2,000	1,000	2,000	1,000
35. Gandhi Katshigal (Kaka Kalelkar).	1	5,000	6,250	3,504	4,375
36. Bapu Enthai (Manu Gandhi)	2	6,000	4,125	3,792	2,469
37. Self-Reliance (Emerson) ...	2	4,000	2,500	3,048	1,750
38. Prayer for Peace ...	1	2,000	250	2,000	250
39. New Programme of A. I. S. A. (English).	1	1,000	625	1,000	625
40. Ashram Itihas (Gandhiji) ...	1	3,000	3,750	2,685	3,350
41. Ramnam (Gandhiji) ...	2	6,000	4,500	3,638	2,700
42. Ethical Religion (Gandhiji) ...	2	6,000	1,500	3,831	960
43. Booker T. Washington ...	1	3,000	1,500	1,974	987
44. Geethai Peruraigal (Vinoba)...	1	3,100	6,975	2,970	6,675
45. Gandhi As A Social Revolu- tionary - English - Wilfred Wellok.	1	1,100	825	1,100	825
46. Emadhu Ba Part I (Vanamala Parikh).	1	3,000	3,750	2,015	2,519
47. " Part II (Sushila Nair)	1	3,000	3,750	1,523	1,904
48. Paruthi Prashna ...	1	1,000	375	1,000	375
49. Khaddar Thatuvamum Sevayum.	1	2,000	1,500	1,372	1,029
50. The Ideology of the Charkha - Gandhiji's writings - compiled by Jajuji (English).	1	2,000	1,750	689	603
51. Rattai Tatva Vilakkam (Translation of No. 50).	1	2,000	2,500	885	1,106
52. Swarajyathin Unmai Por. I...	1	2,000	375	2,000	375
53. " II...	1	2,000	375	2,000	375
54. Idanna Swarajyam?	1	2,000	375	2,000	375
55. Swarajyamum Charkhavum...	1	2,000	1,000	2,000	1,000
56. Khaddar Weaving ...	1	1,000	500		
57. Gandhi and Marx (Mashruwala).	1	2,000	2,500		
58. Gandhiji's Autobiography Abridged.	1	3,000	6,000	238	476
Total ...	87	1,96,500	1,33,662	1,53,736	98,999

11: The following five books were published out of the above in the name of Tamil Nad Gandhi Nidhi in 1953-1955.

Title of the book.	Publication.			Sales.	
	No. of editions.	Copies.	Value. Rs.	Copies.	Value. Rs.
1. Sarvodayam	...	3 000	987	1,776	547
2. Ashram Bhajanavali	...	3,000	1,500	2,728	1,360
3. Sanmarga Samayam (Ethical Religion),	...	3,000	750	831	210
4. Ramnam	...	3,000	2,250	638	450
5. Gandhiji's Autobiography (Abr.).	...	3,000	6,000	238	476
Total	...	15,000	11,437	6,206	3,043



Land Distribution and Sampattidan. (From Reports received till 31-10-1955.)

Province	Land distribution		Sampattidan.	
	Acres.	Families.	Donors.	Annual amount. Rs. A. P.
1. Assam	...	...	...	...
2. Andhra	...	...	...	...
3. Uttar Pradesh	66,433	31,627	4	790- 0-0
4. Utkal	13,210	1,732	128	81,395-12-6
5. Karnatak	458	128	4	483-12-0
6. Kerala	...	...	...	...
7. Gujarat	6,400	2,351	1	120- 0-0
8. Tamil Nad	774	266	27	7,682- 0-0
9. Delhi	90	25	11	3,971 -0-0
10. Punjab - Pepsu	826	205	24	18,861-10-0
11. Bengal	1,563	1,299	324	57,488-13-9
12. Bombay	...	...	570	29,859- 4-3
13. Bihar	44,561	23,470	91	82,057- 3-1
14. Madhya Pradesh	37,930	6,582	372	27,607- 3-9
15. Madhya Bharat	311	...	432	19,004- 8-7
16. Maharashtra	...	...	54	3,017-14-9
17. Mysore	...	...	11	4,205- 0-0
18. Rajasthan	14,514	2,292	...	...
19. Vindhya Pradesh	771	278	233	17,512-15-9
20. Sourashtra	3,496	...	26	3,540-11-0
21. Hyderabad	34,594	7,529	...	...
22. Himachal Pradesh	...	...	5	4,266- 8-0
Total	2,25,931	77,784	2,317	3,11,814- 5- 5

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