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Mahatma Gandhi spinning on the Yervada Box Charkha

**SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA**  
**TANTORE SOUTH INDIA**

# GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

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### Next Sarvodaya Sammelan

The next Annual Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held in the 3rd week of May, in Tamil Nad, somewhere in Chengelpet district. The place and the date will be announced in due course.

★ THE SARVODAYA MONTH ★  
January is a memorable and sacred month. 30th January is an unforgettable day of Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom.

12th February is the sacred day when Mahatma's mortal remains were immersed in the holy waters of India.

The message of Mahatma Gandhi to the world is the great mantra of Sarvodaya, the welfare of all through Truth and Non-violence.

★  
It is for the establishment of Sarvodaya Social Order that Acharya Vinoba is walking during the last four years to spread the message of Sarvodaya through Bhoodan & Sampattidan.

The best way of paying our homage to the Mahatma is to strive to live the life of Sarvodaya and spread it.

★  
In this sacred month our humble appeal to every reader of Sarvodaya is:

1. To offer one hank of self-spun yarn as a token of accepting Sarvodaya ideology.

2. To spread Sarvodaya-Bhoodan literature.

3. To enroll maximum number of Subscribers for Sarvodaya-Bhoodan magazines in the provincial languages and this English monthly.

★  
During the Sarvodaya month from January 10th to February 12th the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya offers the following special concessions.

1. 4 Annas for every annual subscription for English "Sarvodaya" magazine.

2. A commission of 12½% on all orders for Rs. 5 and more of Bhoodan—Sarvodaya literature with advance.

Please send your orders for books with advance and for annual subscriptions for Sarvodaya at Rs. 2-12-0 each directly to:

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore  
(Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh)

# THE POWER OF PRAYER ★

MHATMA GANDHI

MAN'S destined purpose is to conquer old habits, to overcome the evil in him and to restore good to its rightful place. If religion does not teach us how to achieve this conquest, it teaches us nothing. But there is no royal road to success in this the truest enterprise in life. Cowardice is perhaps the greatest vice from which we suffer and is also possibly the greatest violence, certainly far greater than bloodshed and the like that generally go under the name of violence. For it comes from want of faith in God and ignorance of His attributes. I can give my own testimony and say that a heartfelt prayer is undoubtedly the most potent instrument that man possesses for overcoming cowardice and all other bad old habits. Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

We have to make our choice whether we should ally ourselves with the forces of evil or with the forces of good. And to pray to God is nothing but that sacred alliance between God and man whereby he attains his deliverance from the clutches of the prince of darkness. But a heartfelt prayer is not a recitation with the lips. It is yearning from within which expresses itself in every word, every act, every thought of man. When an evil thought successfully assails him, he may know that he has offered but a lip prayer and similarly with regard to an evil word escaping his lips or an

evil act done by him. Real prayer is an absolute shield and protection against this trinity of evils. Success does not always attend the very first effort at such real living prayer. We have to strive against ourselves, we have to believe in spite of ourselves, because months are as our years. We have therefore to cultivate illimitable patience if we will realize the efficacy of prayer. There will be darkness, disappointment and even worse; but we must have courage enough to battle against all these and not succumb to cowardice. There is no such thing as retreat for a man of prayer.

What I am relating is not a fairy tale. I have not drawn an imaginary picture. I have summed up the testimony of men who have by prayer conquered every difficulty in their upward progress, and I have added my own humble testimony that the more I live, the more I realize how much I owe to faith and prayer which is one and the same thing for me. And I am quoting an experience not limited to a few hours, or days or weeks, but extending over an unbroken period of nearly 40 years. I have had my share of disappointments, uttermost darkness, counsels of despair, counsels of caution, subtlest assaults of pride, but I am able to say that my faith,—and I know that it is still little enough, by no means as great as I want it to be,—has ultimately conquered every one of these difficulties up to now. If we have faith in us, if we have a prayerful

heart, we may not tempt God, may not make terms with Him. We must reduce ourselves to a cipher. Not until we have reduced ourselves to nothingness can we conquer the evil in us. God demands nothing less than complete self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom

that is worth having. And when a man thus loses himself, he immediately finds himself in the service of all that lives. It becomes his delight and his recreation. He is a new man, never weary of spending himself in the service of God's creation.

(From "MY RELIGION" by M. K. GANDHI; Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa — and published by Navajivan Publishing House. Price Rs. 2 — Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralayam.)



## Appeal to Support Bhoodan Movement.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

We have put an end to big landlords and zamindars. But the land problem is not solved yet. You know Acharya Vinoba Bhave is carrying on the Bhoodan Movement and he has already received millions of acres of land all over India. That is a remarkable thing which probably would not have happened in other countries. That is the Indian way of tackling even social problems where vested interests come into conflict. So we must certainly encourage the Bhoodan Movement. But that is not enough. We have to proceed otherwise by legislation and other means to complete this work of land reform.

One thing I am particularly anxious about is the reports which I hear from various parts of India that evictions of tenants from land continue to take place. I am greatly worried that this should happen.

(From a speech at Chombal in N. Malabar  
in the last week of Dec. '55)

## Ultimate Aim of Sampatti-dan

ACHARYA VINOBA

It may so appear that Sampattidan work is meant for the selected workers only. Abundant wealth is owned by some exclusive or selected persons and hence it appears that ordinary workers would not be of much avail for this work. There is no doubt that the owners of large fortunes, who live in large cities, are to be made the participants in this Yagna. This constitutes a large part of our work in this field. It is true, therefore, that the services of the ordinary workers could not be engaged in it. But, all the same, it is not true that this is the main or the major part of our work, which, in fact, is to spread the ideology amongst the common people and to reach all through the strength thus generated. Thus, it is in this part of our work that all the workers in the field are needed. The basic idea behind this work should be well understood. In spite of being extremely poor, one has to perform his own duties for Sampattidan. And therefore, the common people have to be approached. I have more faith in the Sampattidan which, when coming to us like the rains in the form of drops, is more valuable and advantageous. It is these rain-drops that make streams and rivers.

### False Value of Wealth

We have to enter into the lives of the rich people in the cities and this can be done through Sampattidan. It has its own importance and significance which must be understood.

Most of the workers think that their chief aim is to inspire those who own enormous wealth and property to relinquish them. The rest of the work, according to them, is but a means to this end. But, it should, in reality, be realised that wealth is to be made valueless or worthless. Quite unnecessarily we attach importance to wealth and thus prove ourselves to be those giving dignity to it. Respect for wealth is coming down in these days. I do not believe that the distribution of wealth under these circumstances is of any great necessity or utility, but, on the contrary, that, if we can do it, our main work is to make the wealth valueless.

### Labour, the only "Currency" of Exchange:

People should have enough strength to refuse to part with anything at the point of revolver, but they have not yet gained such strength. When they do so, they would, likewise, not exchange any article or produce in the lure of currency notes or coins, just as they would refuse to part with anything when threatened with a revolver. What we desire is the attitude that any produce of our labour can be had only in exchange of physical labour and that we cannot and would not give any article in exchange of money.

If people achieve this strength, all the wealth and money would prove to be totally worthless. What is wealth after all? The paper currency printed at the Nasik Press is

being considered wealth at present. But it is not so. I am not talking about Vedanta here, but only of the most modern economics. We can, therefore, make all wealth quite worthless or useless.

It is not at all necessary to envy the rich and wealthy, nor is it essential to redistribute wealth.

### The Real Sampattidan

The whole problem thus assumes a different form. The real form of Sampattidan is Shramdan. Labour alone is wealth. We can, therefore, call Shramdan as Sampattidan. What we have received in Sampattidan in Koraput district in Orissa is both Shramdan and Sampattidan. There the donors would donate the produce of twelve days in a year. It means that they will donate to the society their labour of twelve days every year. To donate the produce of one's labour is the true and pure *dana*, i. e. the gift or donation. This *dana* of the wealth produced by physical labour is divine or 'Daivi' Sampattidan i. e. "Asuri Sampatti" vs "Daivi Sampatti"

### The Golden Way

Sometimes the people, while welcoming us, offer us garlands of flowers. I refuse to accept them and ask them whether they have themselves done the gardening and whether the flowers they had brought were the produce of their own physical labour. Their answer had been that the flowers were purchased. I, then, reminded them that, had the reference in Gita to "Patram, pushpam, palam, toyam" (i. e. the leaf, the flower, the fruit and water) been to the purchased

things, mention would have instead been made of gold, silver, diamonds, etc.

Offering of wealth produced by one's own physical labour has its own importance or value. We have to convince the people that we should produce most of our requirements of life by our own labour and that there would, then, not exist the necessity or utility of wealth as such, which we find to-day. This is how we can make all hoarded wealth useless and worthless.

When I am having talks with the Communist friends, I ask them: "What do you find among the rich which is to be envied of? Do you envy their idleness or lethargy, cowardice and miserliness? If they are industrious, it is then all right if you envy their industriousness and be adroit by so doing." They, then, agree with this view.

### Break the Infatuation for Wealth

This is no *Vedanta*. This is the cobweb of illusion which we are unable to cut ourselves away from and that is why we are attached to wealth. Our friends also accept this point that as long as the social order and concept of our mind would not change, infatuation for wealth also would not end. It is said that this is a difficult task, but that is why we intend to carry it through. From this point of view, therefore, each one of us has the requisite strength and capacity to procure Sampattidan or, in other words, has the capacity and strength to break the power behind wealth.

Someone gave me some money some years ago. I simply threw it

away. There is a story about Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Someone placed a gold coin in his palm while he was asleep. It pained him so much that his hand itself shrank. Was he, do you think, a coward? And was it, therefore, that he felt the pain as if he was bitten by a scorpion? When he was seeking God in the entire universe, did he not see Him in this gold coin also? The fact, however, is that he refused to have what did not belong to all. Air and water are for everyone and, as such, neither of them can be denied, but what has been produced with any specific purpose or exclusive use, is not to be desired by us. This is what Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa did in his private life and it is to be given a social interpretation and shape by us. While having a stroll with a friend once at Wardha, the friend found on the road a gold ornament. When asked as to what was to be done with it, I replied that it may be left where it was found or, alternately, as a true citizen, be handed over to the authorities even though the then government was a foreign one. My advice, however, is to throw it away like an ordinary piece of stone.

#### Perpetuate The Dignity of Labour

In one of my addresses, I had once remarked that the currency notes should be burnt off in Holi festival. Following this advice, a friend actually did so. Complaining about it, someone wrote to Sri Kishorlalbhai that the opinion of Vinoba should not be

taken literally. Occasionally I am giving uncommon answers, so much so that when someone asked me as to what should be done with the Gandhi Memorial Fund, my reply was that it should be drowned into the sea so that inflation may come down. I meant that we intend to make all wealth useless and perpetuate the dignity of labour. Therefore, when Kishorlalbhai desired me to reply to the objection referred to, I had written to him that though my opinion could not be taken literally, the world would not be put to any loss, if someone actually did so!

#### Dignity of Sampattidan:

With this outlook and attitude, we have to go ahead with the work of Sampattidan. When wealth would not be respected, it will flow before your feet and yet you will not even touch it. Herein lies the dignity of Sampattidan which implies that all the wealth is to be made totally useless and devoid of any value.

A friend had remarked the other day that he liked what we said. The rich, however, are not attracted towards it and are afraid of us, because we are talking about an "*aparigrahi Samaj*"—a society based on non-possession. It is true that we have to carry on this work of Sampattidan with this view before us and we want to make wealth devoid of any worth.

(A speech at 'Sampattidan S-ammelan' at Vijayawada on 19-12-1955.)

From Bhoodan Bulletin,  
Hyderabad.)



## ★ Our Next Step ★

ACHARYA VINOBA

The following is from a speech in which Vinobaji replies to a question of a Communist friend who asked whether Vinobaji would launch a still greater movement if Bhoodan fails to solve the land problem. This is adapted from "Bhoodan" Bulletin of the Sarva Seva Sangh published from Hyderabad

To cover and contact five lakhs of our villages scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country, we need a minimum of fifty thousand workers. But not a single party in the country has to-day any blue-print of the plan or any promise of a programme to raise this number of workers.

Over three and a half lakhs donors have contributed their share of land-gifts to us in Bihar to the tune of over 2.3 million acres. This has been possible only because we had an army of selfless workers there. The workers in Andhra—almost all of them—are after Vishal Andhra. The wheels of Bhoomi Kranti are, therefore, moving very slowly over here. Almost nothing is achieved so far in this direction here.

A few in this country are engrossed and entangled in the problem of sticking to power while a good many of others are busy seeking it. In other words, Power, i. e. political authority is the sole centre of attraction. Elections constitute the means to this end, and hence for this purpose it becomes absolutely necessary for them to approach the people and contact the masses. It is thus out of sheer helplessness that they meet them and mix with them for a while. No revolutionary work can, however, be done and accomplished

without continuous and steady work and efforts. The real acid test of the success of Bhoodan work in our eyes is that about two thousand workers are continuously engaged wholeheartedly in this work day in and day out throughout the country. We wonder at this phenomenon particularly at a moment when the trend is just in the other direction for all practical purposes.

#### Our Next Step

With these preliminaries to start with, we shall now revert to the question of the Communist Friend and answer it. Of course, there is not an iota of doubt that we shall take the next step, if the problem remains unsolved and the tangle unresolved after the completion of the first one. But, if the first step does not go the whole hog only because of want of or lack of the adequate number of active workers, how can the next step be contemplated or taken at all?

#### Set Personal Example

The purpose of a mass movement is, invariably, mass contact, contacts with one and all. Unless this is done, we cannot have, say, land-gifts from all in this Yajna. Further, it also calls for sacrifice on the part of the workers. Unless we have ourselves donated land (or Sampattidan, Buddhidan, etc.), we cannot ask or advise and convince others to join this Yajna and offer their share of *Dana*.

In mass movements, there also come up the questions of general mass contact and of generating through it the inherent but dormant and latent strength of the people—*Janashakti*. Till then, we do not wish to waste our energies and time in thinking today about the question. What, then, shall we do after the first step? If we lose ourselves in this tangle, it would distract us and affect our concentration or single-minded devotion on the present phase of our work.

We made concentrated efforts in Bihar and we did achieve concrete results. Though the work is not yet complete there, the atmosphere is definitely ripe for it. The Government is also obliged to do something on such occasions and under such circumstances. The Government failing to rise to such occasions, next steps and future plans can, no doubt, be thought about and thrashed out. But all this depends fundamentally on the pre-requisite condition that the work in hand is first of all carried out with complete devotion, zeal and earnestness.

If you intend to solve the land problem through governmental authority, you will have to take the reins of the government in your hands, or, alternately you will have to impress upon those in power. But, remember, whichever way you decide, you will have to necessarily rely upon mass contacts with the people. You can't avoid it. You contend that Bhoodan is a slow process and as such delays the final accomplishment. We put to you this question. Can you show us another

feasible programme, other than the Bhoodan, which would not and does not have to rely invariably on mass contacts on a large scale? The self-same question of getting workers arises there also, as it does here in this Bhoodan programme. The main point, therefore, is to get workers and train them, if revolution is to be brought about independently and without the assistance of the governmental authority or without recourse to law. We, however, believe that the notable success and glory of Bhoodan lie, not in the collection of land-gifts, but precisely and specifically in the glaring fact that there are nearly two thousand sincere and solid workers engaged to-day in Bhoodan work in the country with single-minded devotion and determination—the workers who think of no other thoughts and who brood over no problems other than those having a bearing upon Bhoodan.

God alone knows when the reins of power would be held by you. Even if you wield power, what would you and can you do at the most? Here in Andhra you were not long ago talking about the ceiling of 20 acres of wet land. To put it in a nutshell, it means that whether the Congress be in power, whether the Socialists be there or whether the Communist Party holds the reins, none of them has the courage to displease the middle class, to dislodge the middle man.

We, on the contrary, are alone who are aiming at the total abolition of the ownership and proprietary rights of the individuals over land.

## SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE & SPIRITUALITY

ACHARYA VINOBA

**T**ODAY '*Rajniti*'—state-craft or political sagacity is drifting downhill to its doom. Rather, it is on the verge of committing suicide. Precisely for this purpose, it seems, it has unearthed unprecedented lethal weapons for wholesale death, destruction and demolition. Small calibre guns and commonplace weapons would suffice for killing (few or many) human beings, but for a fusillade ending in the self-extinction (of the entire human race and civilization), nothing short of high-powered missiles would be enough. That is why '*Rajniti*' has helped the inventions of the Atom and the Hydrogen bombs. And it is because of them that '*Rajniti*' has landed and lost itself in the wilderness. Invented by the human beings, these nuclear weapons have verily turned out to be the enemy of humanity. They are beyond the control of man. '*Rajniti*' is now in a feverish excitement everywhere.

### Peace Parleys of The Big Four

Prompted by the feelings of goodwill and love, the top leaders of the Big Four countries, who own and hoard these weapons of death, had met together for peace parleys some time ago. Who has taught them to love each other? Is it because of any change of heart or conversion caused or effected by the Bible that they feel the pressing need of this cordial courtship and display mutual affection and goodwill? We read in the Bible: ".....for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." and again, not only "Love thy neighbour as thyself", but also "Love your

enemies, .....". They read the Bible in the name of Jesus, but at the same time profess and argue as logicians that all this is quite well and good for the emancipation of the individual alone. If, however, the problems of the society as a whole are to be tackled with and solved, it becomes an obligatory duty to resort to arms and pile up ammunition. They had, thus, ingeniously thrashed a way out and compromised with the teachings and sermons of the Bible.

It is not in the least that only the Westerners have resorted to this clever piece of logic. We in India also are used to say professedly that *Vedanta* is good for deliverance or '*Mukti*', but it is of no avail for the affairs of the worldly life.

### Contradictory Life of the Trader

The trader is chanting the hymns of the *Vedas* at home every morning, noon and night, but resorts to cheating his customers in the course of his business without any hesitation. He harbours the idea that 'business is business', going its own way and, similarly, religion follows its own course within its limited perimeter. When Vinoba asks for land-gift as the inalienable right of the tiller, it is no doubt given to him as a religious act of piety, but when it comes to the paying of wages or the share to the agricultural labourers and tenants, well, the least would be paid to them. Why? Because, it is contended, and quite wrongly, that it is not a matter of any religious concern, but only a question of pure business and worldly wisdom! Not

only that. It is taken for granted and absolutely considered as some sort of reconciliation of both the religion and the worldliness from first to last. And, further, Vinoba would also be pacified! On the one hand, they would not hesitate to take full advantage of the intricacies of the law to evict and throw out their tenants and, on the other hand, would also donate land-gifts to Vinoba for the landless! And, to them, there is no hypocrisy or deceit behind such self-contradicting actions. They have already decided their course of action once for all that the affairs of the world are to be conducted in the exclusive way of worldly wisdom. In their view, it is no contradiction, nor any conflict between the two when they swim on the soft ripples of the River of Religion and when they strut over dry hard land as shrewd business-men. They have decided to be magnanimous in religious but miserly in worldly affairs. They have thus only tried to harmonise one with the other.

The Westerners also took for granted that the dictates and demands of the Church are for the sake of the individual and that a huge stock-pile of arms and ammunition is what is needed for the worldly relations. But now the weapons of war and destruction have so enormously increased and advanced in their destructive power that they are no longer under the control of man. The inevitable result is the confusion and chaos all round.

#### Fear-prompted Peace Parleys

Those who despised others not long ago are now drawn nearer to

each other not out of any love, but out of fear. They now say that nothing can be done or achieved without love. They have thus learnt to talk the language of love, no doubt, but they do so in a bargaining mood and manner of the trader keen to enter a profitable contract. They propose to reduce their armies and military power in proportion to what is done by others. So they talk of reciprocating their love in the exact proportion and measure it is extended to them. Love is thus being weighed and measured, counted and calculated in mathematical terms. But, the truth is: Love does not follow or fall within the purview of any mathematical or statistical pattern of calculations. The characteristic of love is that it transcends them. A mother does not enter into any trade pact with her child that she shall love it only in proportion to what she would be returned in her old age.

#### Science & Spirituality

Westerners do not have what the people of India have. They have vast knowledge of physical sciences and a lot of technological skill, but they are lacking in 'Atmagnan'. Science by itself can successfully add to the piling of arms and perfection of weapons. 'Atmagnan', entirely on its own, raises the individual to the highest spiritual levels. But if you desire solution of social problems by spiritual methods, synthesis of both 'Atmagnan' and 'Vignan' (Science) is imperative and essential.

Such a synthesis has already taken place in India. We have evolved an exclusive method of winning our independence. Struggles for

freedom and independence in the world have been many so far, but the one which was launched here followed an exclusive course of its own. We have this peculiar ingenuity and only we are in a position to avail of it. We will have, however, to show and prove it to the world that major social problems can be solved by employing the means of love and peace.

We have been chanting these hymns of love and peace, but that alone would not and could not be conducive to peace. Those who simply indulge in the idle talks of peace never exhibit any courage and grit to take up and solve the problems of the world in that perspective. The lovers of peace have thus become the members of the *status quo* group. And, those who have taken it upon themselves to achieve it have sought shelter under the might of military strength. We shall, therefore, have to show the way of a peaceful revolution. We shall have to prove conclusively that Peace and Revolution can go well together. The whole world would be redeemed, if we can devise such a scheme and if we accordingly solve any of our major problems by relying solely on this creed of peace. It will then prove itself to be the great saviour of the whole world.

#### Inter-national Land-Problem

The world of to-day is confronted with many a problem. The land problem among them is not limited exclusively to India. It is, in fact, an international problem. Take the instance of Japan and Australia. Population in the former far outweighs the available acreage and,

though just the vice versa in the latter country, the Australians would not allow the Japanese to settle down even in the interiors of their country which are practically unoccupied by them due to excessive heat. It is clear from this that we will have to so prepare the entire human race and the human society that this problem of differentiating between men and men can be successfully solved. People of one country should be permitted to settle in any other country.

We have taken up at present the land problem of the landless in India, but whole countries like Japan—the entire Japanese nation is landless. Only half its population is in a position to live there. The other half must be given an opportunity to settle down in other sparsely populated parts of the world. If they are not, they would resort to aggression. If it is countered by war, they would be subdued for a while, but their problem will be there all the same. Problems facing the world must be solved. Without it all the talks of peace would be meaningless and mere words. Therefore, it is left to India now to show a new path to the world. India can solve her major problems with peace as her creed, both because she has the requisite 'Atmagnan' and because this is the Age of Science.

We wish to emphasise here that this Mission of Bhoodan Yajna which we carry on is truly identified with the creed of peace. It is in complete harmony with the path of Love.

If the land-owning friends in India would, of their own accord and free will, donate, redistribute and share their lands with the landless

(and the rest) in their villages, a great problem will have been solved in the twinkling of an eye by following this path of Love and Peace.

#### Bhoodan leads to Janasakti

The land would no doubt be distributed thus, but we do not attach much importance even to this aspect of the Mission. Land is even otherwise going to be — because it has got to be — redistributed in one way or the other under any and every circumstance and condition, if not by love, then by hatred and violence. It is our endeavour to effect it through love, through 'Janasakti', i.e. strength and power of the people, through the union of hearts. We advocate and insist upon this path simply because we desire at the same time Peace to be established in the whole world. This Bhoodan movement would show a new way to the whole world. Many foreigners come to us to see how Bhoodan works. Two European ladies who had recently joined the Yatra have gone with the conviction that if the land problem in India can be solved with 'Janasakti' and by non-violent means, all the problems of the world also could equally be solved in the same way. Thus, we have today in our hands an opportunity to carry out a great experiment by the synthesis of *Atmagnan* and *Vignan*.

Do not view or look at this Bhoodan movement, therefore, from the point of redistribution of land alone. Far beyond it, look at it how peace can be and would be established in this world through it.

#### Towards World Peace

People desire Peace, but do not feel it or experience their own strength.

We have, therefore, to prove and establish that there is strength both in peace and in peaceful non-violent means—a strength which is superior to what is found in arms, ammunition and violence. The difference, however, between the two is quite striking and marked: The power of peace and of non-violent means is unlimited, while that of the other is limited. Military strength is already proved futile today because the modern weapons of warfare are no longer under the control of man. We have, therefore to show that peaceful and non-violent ways can be of use and hold good for the purpose where the weapons have failed. You have to look at this Bhoodan movement from this perspective and wider outlook. This is why we have said that he who offers land for Bhoodan offers his vote for the Peace of the World.

Today, the Communists also vie with the rest for World Peace, because without it neither Russia can accomplish her cherished dreams, nor can China forge ahead, nor would India make any progress. Every country is in danger, if Peace is in danger. The distances are narrowed down immensely these days and, therefore, nothing can be done or achieved anywhere without World Peace in the first place. Without it, there would never usher in the Sarvodaya Order desired by us all, nor the Socialist Pattern of Pandit Nehru, nor the Communism of the Communists.

— Adapted from Sri Vinobaji's post-prayer speech in Hindi at Rajmahendravaram in Andhra on 15-11-1953.

— From Bhoodan Bulletin.

## The Gospel of the Charkha

SHANKARIAL BANKER

The development of khadi work all over India owes itself to the organising genius of Shri. Shankarial Banker who was the Secretary of the Khadi Board in the beginning and of the All India Spinners' Association later. As a result of overwork his health broke down and he had to resign the secretaryship of the A. I. S. A. in June 1940. Khadi lovers would feel happy to learn that continued rest has helped Shri. Banker to recover his health and that he has come forward to resume active work in the khadi field so dear to him. His speech while inaugurating the Ambar Charkha Training camp in Sabarmati will be read with great interest.

You all know that Gandhiji attached great importance to the Charkha and held it in high esteem. He was so much attached to it that he desired that his birthday should be known as Charkha Jayanti. Why was it so? Only because his life was dedicated to the service of the poor Daridranarayan. He believed that real service of the poor is possible only through the Charkha and other rural industries. He stressed time and again that India cannot progress and prosper without the Charkha. People who are attempting to solve the problem of unemployment are also of the view that it is only the Charkha which will ultimately deliver the goods. When Mahatma Gandhiji spoke about the Charkha, we had no exact figures of the extent of unemployment. But now the extent of the suffering which agricultural labour has to endure is calculable and it has come to light that the comparative figures of their income and expenditure show quite clearly that the condition of these downtrodden people is very bad. The agricultural labourer spends Rs. 107 per annum. Out of this amount he spends Rs. 91 on food, Rs. 7 on clothes and the rest on other primary necessities of life.

The income is far below this amount. The crux of the problem is this: there is large unemployment as well as under-employment among the agricultural population. There is no other means of relief for them except the Charkha and village industries.

#### Unemployment

It is a matter for satisfaction that our National Government is planning for a solution of this big and ugly problem of unemployment and of encouraging the introduction of the Charkha in this great effort. Removal of unemployment does not mean giving bread only. Unemployment is a great disease in itself. It destroys the living energy of individuals. Man does not live on bread alone; he wants to have the joy of living and have the pleasure of life as well. Man possesses creative, artistic and organisational abilities too. If these abilities are properly used he can realise real happiness, i.e. *anand*.

When Khadi work was started, I had opportunities of visiting villages with Sri Rajagopalachari. Rajaji would look with interest at the yarn being spun by womenfolk and would speak encouraging words to them about the handwoven cloth. The

village women were very pleased and happy at Rajaji's appreciation. It is necessary that we must take a sympathetic interest in man's abilities and try to develop them. If we do that, we shall be giving a new lease of life to our village industries.

Gandhiji insisted on the education of the villagers. Although our villagers are uneducated, there is a great latent energy in them. If that latent energy is roused and activated, it can accomplish titanic tasks. At present, due to unemployment, our man power is being wasted. Unemployment problem has to be solved and efforts must be made in that direction. Every individual, whether man or woman, child or elderly person, must find suitable work for himself at the place where he ordinarily resides. There is one means to that end: that is the Charkha.

#### Gospel of the Charkha

Gandhiji preached the gospel of the Charkha. He himself used to spin in Yarrowada Jail six hours a day. And although he had eye trouble and was requested by the Jail Superintendent to take rest, he would not give up spinning. Whenever anybody asked him why he was so much attached to the Charkha, he would answer that Charkha was the foundation of freedom and Swaraj. He would also insist that a specific quantity of yarn must be spun within a specified time and would point out that Keshav, the younger child of Maganbhai, was able to spin 400 yds. an hour, and would ask others to emulate the youngster.

Gandhiji would meditate while spinning and his thoughts were

constantly centred round how to evolve a better and, improved type of Charkha. It was due to his experiments that the Yarrowada Charkha was evolved. He would ask others to invent still better Charkhas and once told Shri Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri of Bombay that whoever invents a better charkha would be given a prize of Rs. 5,000. It was, again due to Gandhiji's efforts that the Charkha Sangh (All India Spinners Association) declared a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 for a better and simple type of a new Charkha.

Many people all over India were attracted and they tried to improve the Charkha. A new type of Charkha was invented by Shri Kale of Kirloskar Company. It was a speciality in itself. It was possible to spin 2,000 yds. of yarn over it in an hour; but the Charkha was very heavy and it was also costly. It was not the type that could be handled by the masses. This Charkha, therefore, was not awarded the prize. Gandhiji told Shri Kale that, though the Charkha was good, it could not be worked in the cottages of the poor people of Bihar, Orissa and Assam as it required a lot of space and further whenever it went wrong the villagers would not be able to mend it themselves. It was suitable only for cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Gandhiji, however, agreed that this Charkha would be useful to weavers of handlooms.

Gandhiji never ceased to think about the evolution of a better and improved type of Charkha. In this connection he would refer to the invention of Singer, whose wife had to

take a lot of trouble in stitching clothes. Her husband was full of pity for her and he ultimately invented the well-known Singers Sewing Machine. Thus Mahatma Gandhi, would hope that the tribulations of millions of our women will be considered by some one and invent a better type of Charkha. Once a friend wrote to him; "why should you be so troubled over the Charkha, when there are so many mills running all over the country?" Gandhiji replied that the matter required a deeper and more serious consideration. He said that with the aid of the Charkha, an individual can produce cloth for himself without using any force on anybody. "The Charkha is the emblem of non-violence."

#### The Incentive

Due to the inspiration that Gandhiji gave, efforts at improving the Charkha continued. Ultimately the efforts of Shri Ekambarnath, a youth from Tamilnad, were successful and he was able to invent what is known as the Ambar Charkha. In the original form, it was an all-metal instrument. But it gave promise of further evolution. Changes were introduced in it and, due to the labours of Shri Krishnadasbhai, Shri Nandlalbhai, Shri Devdharji and others, a standardised model of Ambar Charkha has been developed and presented to us. This Charkha is really very important from many aspects. Its cost is also less and it is so simple that it can be used by villagers with ease. It has great potentialities and it will serve our poor people in many ways. It is possible that further improvements

will be made. The technicians of the city mills, the specialists of Atira and the Technicians of the Mazdoor Mahajan are experimenting on this Charkha.

The Sarva Seva Sangh is busy with programmes for self-sufficiency in cloth and this work will be greatly facilitated by the introduction of Ambar Charkha. The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board sees in it a suitable instrument to place Khadi on the textile map of India and as a means to provide employment on a large scale. At present the total production of mill cloth in the country is, 5,000 million yards, per annum. Yet there is greater demand for cloth in our country. The Khadi & Village Industries' Board has proposed that the country's additional requirements of cloth must be met with the help of Ambar Charkha over the Five Year Plan period. The Central Government and the Planning Commission are also sympathetic. They are ready to help with the necessary funds, provided this Charkha can produce yarn of good quality.

The Ambar Charkha can help to decentralise the textile production. It must be realised that the work is to be undertaken by people who are distributed in small villages all over the country. It will be necessary to contact them and bring home to them the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha in bringing succour and happiness to them. We will have to inspire them so that they will rely on themselves. We will have to train them in the plying of the Ambar Charkha and make arrangements for

adequate supplies of spare parts. The task is not easy. It can be carried to completion only when sufficient number of constructive workers are available to devote their whole time to this work.

#### The Real Aim

The real aim is to make villagers understand their own great potentialities. If we do this, villagers will be organised and they will become a great force. We can progress towards decentralised Swaraj with this organised force.

Previously, too, the Charkha was plied and rural industries were conducted; but their potentialities were unknown to us. But since their potentialities are now known it will not be difficult for the people to take to them and serve themselves.

The work in regard to the Ambar Charkha has to be well-knit and organised. Sometimes we hear from higher circles that if the Ambar Charkha and village industries do not produce the required results in a

stipulated time, we will have to consider other means of economic reconstruction. We are sorry to hear such discordant voices. It is necessary to realise that the Charkha and village industries are suited to Indian conditions and culture. There is no other way to prosperity and future development. Therefore it is necessary that this work must be undertaken with faith and confidence. If we do not adopt this course we may move towards totalitarianism. But our country is wedded to non-violence. We have, therefore, to hold on to the rock of village industries and make their development programme a success. This is my humble opinion. It is the duty of those engaged in the working out of the programme to put to proper use the creative, artistic, and organisational abilities of the people and direct them through the right channels. This is the road towards the achievement of decentralised Swaraj."

(From Khadi-Gramodyog -  
November 1955)



#### Message of Sarvodaya

The philosophy of Sarvodaya applies uniformly to all nations at all times. Let the individual dedicate all his services to the Society and let the society provide opportunity for the individual to blossom. Let every one think that there should be nobody in difficulty. Be happy, when others are happy and be sorry when others are in grief. And this is the way of Sarvodaya.

VINOBA

(A message sent to the Second Ceylon Sarvodaya  
Sammelan held in Oct. '55)

## The Philosophy of Bhoodan

G. R. RAMACHANDRA RAO

(Second Talk at A. L. R., Vijayawada on 12-12-'55)

If Bhoodan were a movement merely for collecting lands from donors and distributing them to landless tillers, then there is room for many honest doubts. It could be called a reactionary move which side-tracks the real economic revolution. It could be suspected to be supporting the party in power, even because Vinobaji is advising people to think not in terms of the Government but in terms of their own social obligations. Possibly our suspicions will come true if Bhoodan movement were confined to the programme of land redistribution. So Vinobaji is warning us against this mishap. He wants every donor, every Bhoodan worker, and in fact, every one who is anxious to find a permanent method for stable peace to understand the new social philosophy underlying the Bhoodan movement.

The item of land donation is but the first step of a big programme which aims at bringing about radical changes and definite improvements in our present economic and political systems, and in our moral concepts. The whole programme of the total social revolution can be visualised, and planned, only when the philosophy of Bhoodan is known and grasped. So Vinobaji insists on a thorough understanding of this philosophy more than upon collecting land donations. The constructive programme, formulated by Mahatma

Gandhi, is based upon this philosophy; yet constructive work which has been going on for some years, is often producing little changes in the life of the people, because the workers are not paying sufficient attention to understand its philosophy.

The fundamental feature of the philosophy of Bhoodan is its human approach to the problems of man, as distinct from the materialistic approach. The same man who can ride over tides and winds with the aid of his materialistic knowledge, is unable to manage his wife and children. The reason for this paradox is obvious. He is applying materialistic laws to human affairs. Herein lies his mistake. Matter is inert, but man is conscious; matter is moved by external force, man moves by internal urge.

The ways of man's life are guided largely by his ambitions, ideologic and sentiments though climate and contour do influence them to some extent. So the right approach to human problems is the psychological one. This is exactly the cardinal principle of the philosophy of Bhoodan. And Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundations of this right kind of philosophy in the modern age when he set forth the plan and principles of Sarvodaya. He proved himself to be correct by achieving amazing success in the field of politics. Now Vinobaji is applying

the same principles to the world of economics and he is attracting the attention of the world again.

The human approach brings prominently into the picture a consideration of the human qualities like love, hate, greed, sympathy, truthfulness and violence. Long experience has shown that the qualities like love, truthfulness and non-violence are conducive to the growth of social harmony whereas hate, greed and violence clash with the interests of others. For instance Patriotism builds up social solidarity within the country, but if it means hate of others, it leads to war with the neighbouring countries. So love, truthfulness and non-violence are not mere virtues, they are real social needs. Just as wholesome food is necessary for the upkeep of the body, so the practice of love is necessary for living in the society. To love is a social obligation and no one can escape it to-day without suffering neglect in times of want and disability. Family has been a security against the frailties of infancy and old age because love pervades throughout the family relationships. Now our needs and interests are growing beyond the limits of our family circles. So we have to love others more, and hate them less in order to live and progress in peace and happiness. Therefore the philosophy of Bhoodan insists upon the development of love as a corollary of the human approach to the problems of man. In fact Vinobaji would like to call Bhoodan movement even as Premdan movement.

When love becomes the dominant feature of our outlook, we find

the glaring inequalities in our society. By an anxiety to give away to others what one has, the practice of love tends to equalise the opportunities for living comfortably. The relations between a mother and her child, and those between a man and his wife are common examples of the equalising tendency of love. In such a case if some live to-day as swanking lords while others toil as sweating labourers, evidently love is lacking in our social relations. If we develop the quality of love, the inequalities begin to diminish. Thus the philosophy of Bhoodan which enunciates the principle of love, promotes equalities in social relations.

Viewed in the background of social relations wherein love predominates, Bhoodan movement does not at all appear to be confined either to land or to gift. In fact, Vinobaji has taken up the agrarian problem at first because it is the pressing and the foremost one here in India. The method of love can as well be applied for the solution of any problem of man. Further, Sarvodaya would not be complete unless in every aspect of man's life, hate is replaced by love. The evolution of the programmes of Sampathdan, Shramadan, Buddhidan and Jeevandan within the Bhoodan movement indicates that the scope of the ideology is as wide as life itself.

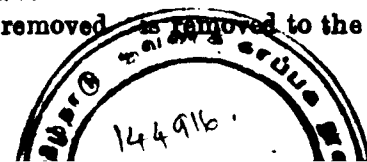
Again 'dan' should not be taken to mean either gift or charity. Vinobaji defines dan as 'Sam-vibhag' which means equitable sharing. So what is asked for in the Bhoodan movement is not a donation of some land or wealth, but a share of what

one has. The share should be given with the same love and in the same proportion as one would give to his brother. Bhoodan is neither a charity nor a donation; it is a process of sharing with others what one has; a social duty and a social right blended together for common enjoyment. It is an extension of the brotherly love and affection to the fellowmen. It is widening the limits of the family to embrace the whole humanity. A worker fails to understand the Bhoodan ideology if he asks for a donation and not for a share; Vinobaji refuses to accept a Bhoodan unless a share is given with brotherly love towards fellowmen.

Far from loving and sharing, the passion for possession is widespread in the society to-day. Respect for private property has come to be a deep-rooted habit as well as a sentiment. The passion for possession is not confined to riches and to richmen. A man who has knowledge or power tries to possess it for himself and to distinguish himself from the rest in that respect. This passion for possession is found in almost all the people to-day though what they possess may vary in kind and quantity. A poor man clings to his rags with as much passion as a richman has for his robes. So if the inequalities which are the result of private property, private knowledge and private power, are to go, the passion for possession should be replaced in all the people by the practice of sharing. The rich man is able to be rich because the social habit respects riches. So the difference between the rich and the poor cannot be removed

unless this habit of respect for private property changes. And persuading people to share their properties is an effective means of changing their habit. That is the reason why Vinobaji is more particular of asking for Bhoodan from the common people than from the rich alone. Once the outlook changes in the people, a social revolution takes place in which there will be no room for inequalities at all and the rich give up their riches automatically. So what matters most in the Bhoodan movement is not the amount of land which is collected but the spread of this revolutionary outlook among the people at large. Those who adopt this revolutionary outlook will at once share their properties with the rest in order to be true to themselves; so much so the amount of land collected will also increase. Thus the collection of land is not the primary object of Bhoodan movement; it is the secondary result of the spread of the revolutionary ideology of Bhoodan. It also serves as an index of the extent to which Bhoodan ideology has been spread and the earnestness with which it has been practised.

Though the amount of land collected is not as important as the spread of the philosophy, it is useful in another way. The poor need not wait to be fed until the whole social revolution is completed. The land as it is collected can be given to them affording immediate relief to the extent land, money, *budhi* and *shrama* are gathered by way of Bhoodan. Its role is similar to the first aid rendered in an accident to the victim before he is removed to the hospital for regular



treatment. Sometimes but for the first aid the patient would have collapsed before the regular treatment was given to him. Thus even as a secondary result, the amount of land collected has a primary significance.

At a stage when the respect for private property is great, the method of sharing assumes the form of Trusteeship. Trusteeship is neither charity nor sacrifice; it is an early state of sharing. As man proceeds with the method of sharing, the quality of love manifests itself more and more while the passion for possession weakens. Gradually private property loses its charm and significance, because social security, developed through sharing, replaces the need of money to buy living comforts. Finally all wealth will be commonly owned, commonly developed and commonly enjoyed. That state of society may appear to be too far now to be real. Yet pursuing the path of sharing we go every step nearer its realisation. The fact that so far more than 800 villages have given up private ownership and have donated all their wealth to the village, by way of *gram-dan*, is proof positive to show that the ideal of Bhoodan is not visionary but practicable.

The practice of love of course revolutionises our present political systems also. The politics of Bhoodan is real democracy. It advises the people to think in terms of their social obligations at first rather than look up to the Government for help. By educating the people in their social obligations through the programme of Bhoodan, we change the hearts of

the people. This change will be permanent because it is internal and self-willed but not external and coerced. The fulfilment of the social obligations brings in immediate relief and no one need wait till some party gets into power. As the people discharge their social obligations, they begin to think in terms of the organisation of the society. Their collective thinking creates a strong public opinion or Janasakti which is the real democratic force. Good democrats consider their representatives as faithful servants and not as masters ruling over them.

A Government which is guided and controlled by a socially conscious public opinion will be for the people and not for any party. It helps the people in the discharge of their social obligations but cannot rule over them coercively. The amount of coercion decreases with the increase in the Social consciousness of the people. Unless the Janasakti or strong public opinion is formed, even a Welfare State, with all its honest intentions, will be tempted by the lethargy of the people to assume totalitarian and dictatorial powers, which in their turn will stifle individual freedom and stultify the personality of the common man.

The method to proceed from the formal democracy of the present day, to the real democracy of the Bhoodan ideology, is the establishment of Gram-Raj or village republics. Gram-raj is basically different from the village Panchayats of to-day. These Panchayats get dribblets of power from the centre and have no obligation to provide full employment to

## LONG LIVE UTKAL!

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

“IT was due to the favourable circumstances in Koraput that Gramdan on such a big scale was possible. You cannot expect that phenomenon to be repeated everywhere.”

The above logic is not at all new to Bhoodan. On Vinobaji's return to Wardha from Telangana, in 1951 many people raised the same sort of doubts regarding Bhoodan's success in other parts of the country. According to them, but for the terrorism of the Communists which enveloped Telangana, Bhoodan, even in that part, would have been impossible. Vinobaji had then and there expressed his surprise at their argument which presumed 'Sarvanash' i.e. total destruction as a precondition to Sarvodaya.

### More Doubts at every Stage

The objections and doubts, however, have been and are being constantly raised and repeated at every new step that unfolds the progressively revolutionary character of the movement. According to these friends, whose criticism had done more service than harm, U. P. and Bihar responded because there were big landlords due to the existence of the Zamindari system there and a similar response was out of question in other parts of the country.

But what about the Gramdan in Utkal? The atmosphere was favourable in that area, is their only reply.

### The Truth Behind it

It has also become a fashion to whisper that the area being inhabited by the Adiwasis, the villages must be

The Philosophy of Bhoodan — (Continued from previous page)

the people. In Gram-Raj all power belongs really to the village committees. They form district, provincial and such committees by a series of indirect elections and delegate such powers to them as are necessary to look after the common interests of groups of villages. Further Gram-Raj provides for full employment through villagisation of land, industries and other means of production.

The philosophy of Bhoodan is attracting attention inside and outside India. Let us hope it will persuade the people everywhere by and by and mix them together into one

human family irrespective of national frontiers and racial prejudices. Then they will realise that all land belongs to all the people. This would pave the way for an even distribution of the World population relieving tensions on densely inhabited regions, just as the members of a family spread themselves over all the living rooms of their home. The day for the realisation of that golden age comes nearer, the sooner we adopt the philosophy of Bhoodan.

(Courtesy — All India Radio  
— Vijayawada)

small and the holdings very small, as if these villages do not form part of the five lakhs of the total number of villages in India! The fact is that these Gramdani villages, like other villages in the country are of average size both big and small. I was myself present at many a redistribution function. I have come across villages ranging from ten to hundred families, with maximum population of one thousand people and with areas measuring from twentyfive acres to five hundred acres and even more. The list sent to me by the Convenor of Utkal Bhoodan Samiti shows an area even in four figures. I have witnessed the villagers formerly in possession of 25 acres accepting only 5 to 7 in return in the process of redistribution according to the members in their families. Srimati Nirmala Deshpande, in her bulletin, narrates how at Dangsuruda, the Naik of the village, who till the other day owned 180 acres, had the next day, having become a member of the village family, gladly accepted only 7 acres, the share according to his quota. The whole village, with one voice and most sincerely requested the Naik to accept at least a few acres more than the rest. "How can I take more?" came the reply: "You have made me the head of the village; mine is, therefore, to accept my due and not more and that too, in the end after every one else had received." His bright eyes, adds Sri Nirmala Behn, only reflected the joy and peace within and revealed how blessed he felt that evening. And such illustrations were being daily multiplied at the land redistribution functions.

### Philosophy of Outlook

As to the oft repeated contention regarding the ripeness of the atmosphere, Vinobaji pointed out that so long as the object was not achieved, one was often shy to acknowledge that the miracle was within the range of possibility. But once it was established, it was often contended that nothing else could have happened. The minds of those that are trained to think that way lack vision. But those who have an insight and think seriously think differently.

### The True Analysis

It will not be out of place to recall in this connection Sri Lokanayak Aney's analysis of this phenomenon. Sri Aney, in his recent Poona speech, said: "When Sri Lokamanya Tilak collected one lakh of rupees for organising public work during those days, it was but a wonderment to us, and Gandhiji's call to the nation to contribute one crore to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the response our Nation gave to that call and fulfilled his demand within the prescribed time limit, was indeed a miracle. And now there was the Bhoodan movement. Imagine the value in terms of money of the 40 lakhs acres of land, which would easily work to crores of rupees, apart from the moral values and forces which the movement has been able to release and establish." The Lokanayak, in his analysis, has come to the same conclusion which is arrived at and often emphasised by Vinobaji: "Our people", adds Sri Aney "can rise to the highest peaks of sacrifice, provided the idea appeals to their

hearts. The renunciation of ownership through Bhoodan and Sampattidan, the contribution of voluntary labour through Shramdan and the unique sacrifices made by our men in Goa - all go to prove but one fact that the heart of the country is still sound."

### Appeal more to the Heart than to the Head

And Vinobaji has not made any secret about it that it was more through his appeal to the heart than to the intellects of the Utkalwasis that they readily embraced the idea of Villagisation and renounced their ownership rights in favour of the society.

### The Only Way

And it has been now conceived and rightly too, not only on the basis of sentiments but on that of scientific planning that voluntary surrender of individual rights is the only remedy for the many evils of the day as exploitation, litigation, unemployment, poverty, inequality, illiteracy and injustice. This renunciation alone can lead us to the Kingdom of

God that is within. And this transformation within is the one basis of the transformation that we want to bring about in the society. The sooner we realise this, the better for all.

### Immortal Utkal

Twenty thousand families, inclusive of the donors and the donees, of the 609 villages of Koraput have participated actively in this *Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan* by surrendering *in toto* their ownership or proprietary rights over land to the tune of a lakh and sixty thousand acres. The land that a while ago was the legal property of a handful of families now belongs to the whole society wherein every one of the families has been granted inalienable right to till the land and claim its due share from the society. This unique *Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan* has been taking concrete shape and form in Utkal for the first time in the history of evolution of man. No doubt, therefore, the name of Utkal, thus immortalised as it is, will go down in the annals of history as something memorable and noteworthy. *Long Live Utkal!*



### Khadi Sales during Deepavali 1954-'55 in Tamil Nad

| Akhil Bharath Serva Seva Sangh. |            | 1954                                  | 1955                                   |
|---------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
|                                 |            | From 1-10-'54 to 24-10-'54. (26 days) | From 15-10-'55 to 14-11-'55, (31 days) |
|                                 |            | Rs.                                   | Rs.                                    |
| 1. Tirupur                      | Vibhag ... | 2,83,952                              | 4,54,999                               |
| 2. Madurai - Ramnad             | " ...      | 1,89,041                              | 2,55,366                               |
| 3. Tanjore                      | " ...      | 1,65,936                              | 1,88,540                               |
| 4. Tirunelveli                  | " ...      | 1,12,881                              | 1,39,151                               |
| 5. Madras                       | " ...      | 67,826                                | 62,688                                 |
| 6. Through Agencies             | " ...      | 44,374                                | 58,664                                 |
| Total ...                       |            | 8,64,010                              | 11,59,408                              |

## The Rationale of Gram-dhan

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM M. A.

WHEN civilised people with their ever widening knowledge of science are busy with the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the destruction of humanity, the people of the mountain region of Koraput have started on a new experiment of social organisation. The backward people of the hilly tracts of Koraput district in Orissa Province have handed over their entire villages as Gramdhan to Vinobaji – the saint wanderer seeking land gifts to be distributed to the land-less. Hundreds of entire villages are now in the hands of this visionary to be distributed back to the villagers on a new moral basis. The landed aristocracy of the village are to share the land of the village with the landless on the basis of perfect equality. Time-honoured notions of property and prestige and status are gone to clear the field for the human brotherhood that is to be formed there. A new social order exalting labour and co-operation and giving no quarter to exploitation or domination is to be founded in these hundreds of villages. This is the wonderful achievement of the land-begging wanderer, who effectively appeals to the heart of the unsophisticated hill-folk. He started with asking for one-sixth of one's landed property but has now demanded and got entire villages as Dhan.

With what hopes have they given up their cherished land, when we their civilised brethren are so obsessed with notions of property and rights? Vinobaji cannot remove the

land, nor is he going to carve out of these villages an estate for himself. He simply transfers to the village the land that he has accepted as dhan, as if writing on a clean slate the villagers for the first time will divide the entire land among themselves equally according to their needs and capacities. It may be that the biggest owner of yesterday gets only the smallest extent to-day, and that the landless wage-earner gets the biggest allotment. Land is now distributed not as a piece of property, but as a means to employ themselves to produce their needs. Work and want are the two tests. The land though distributed among the villagers does not become their private land but continues as community land. The community has the authority to decide what should be grown on land, to serve the interests of the individual as well as that of the community. The village land as the primary source of the essential needs of the community will be worked with a definite plan to achieve self-sufficiency.

The raw produce of nature – agricultural production has to be transformed into the consumption goods for the community. Work on land will not absorb all the available labour of the community, and the rest of labour will be engaged in producing the consumption goods for the community. The goods may be simple, and all the things may not be produced within the village. The villagers can exchange their excess produce for others that they require

in barter. The community able to assess their labour properly, will not under-value the labour of others, and so they will neither lose nor gain by such transactions.

Widows, invalids, cripples and orphans there might be in the village, but the village community will absorb them as members of the community and will take good care of them. The community will not try to live in seclusion but will undertake to fulfil its responsibility to its neighbourhood and to the country at large.

Such a community need not vegetate with mere eating, dressing and sleeping. It will seek true refinement, and work up for the fullness of the lives of the members of the community. Education, culture, fine arts and all others pertaining to refinement will be carefully developed, as the common inheritance of one and all of the community. With the elimination of want and exploitation, with peace and love pervading throughout, these village communities will form the seed-bed of the Sarvodaya order that the Father of the Nation envisaged.

The urban and the modernised men that we are, may wonder and laugh at the foolhardiness of these simple people. We sit in high-powered conferences and indulge in lucid talks, but achieve nothing. The statesmen who sit and participate in these talks want the others to act and take the initiative. They want to gain points over others and to leave them in disadvantage. But these simple villagers, when they find that something is good for them, wait not for others to act but act themselves.

What have these people gained by giving over entirely all their land over which they have been proudly claiming ownership? They have blown to pieces all modern notions of life and compromising morality which pass for high culture. They have so far lived in the midst of virgin nature and are happy. The introduction of civilisation has only tended to reduce their happiness, and they have not yet become its prey as we are. Now they find that their harmonious and full life is being slowly but surely undermined, by our modern refinement. The economic and social problems started by civilisation have only lead them to a wilderness, more frightful than their wild environments. They find that it is quite easy to walk and run with feet on earth than to fly and fall down into the abyss.

Now they clearly find that they can live happily and harmoniously freed of individual possessions, exploitation of others and the easy way of life, which have served only to draw them away from mother Nature. Their limbs are for work, their mind is for co-operation with others and nature, and their faith in God sustains them through thick and thin. Do they not look too primitive? But Truth is always primitive. To those who hug truth misery cannot cause much of inconvenience.

These humble folk who have started on this venture of organising the Sarvodaya Order are the torch-bearers of the true civilisation. With faith in God they will achieve the New Order.

## Samya Yoga Experiment in New Zealand

The magical word "Sarvodaya" has attracted many friends in foreign countries who are either readers of "Sarvodaya" magazine or who have registered themselves as members of the "Sarvodaya Samaj". The "Sarvodaya Samaj" and ourselves have been receiving several interesting letters from them about their reactions to "Sarvodaya", "Bhoodan" etc. and their experiences in the new community life they are experimenting. Here is an interesting letter received by Sri Govindrao of the Sarvodaya Samaj, Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya (Bihar) from sister Daphne W. Jones, New Zealand.

**A**T Lower Moutere, between Motueka and Nelson, more than 50 men, women, and children are working and living together in an unusual experiment at community living. They jointly own the land on which they toil. They receive fixed allowances on which to live. Private profits are unknown. The object of the experiment is to establish from the ground upwards a sound Christian society devoted to the cause of peace on earth and goodwill toward all men.

The project began in 1940. Then there were three adults in the community, with a small section of land, one orchard, and a house. To-day the Riverside Community, as this unusual society is known, owns 540 acres of land. It has 60 acres of orchards, milks 46 cows, runs nearly 1000 sheep, has pigs, poultry and bees, and grows peas for canning and carrots and beans for dehydration. The land supports 10 families with 19 adults, and there are two single men. In the settlement there are 35 children.

Most of the members of the community are Methodists, but there are also Quakers. As well as being very active in church and youth work, all of the members of the community are

bound together in that they are pacifists. "We believe that war is unchristian," said one of them. "Therefore we are setting out to build a good society from the ground up."

Those who after a probationary period become fully-fledged members of the community must surrender any capital they have to the common pool. They, like others in the settlement become entitled to a fixed living allowance. In addition to a free house, firewood, eggs, and such second-grade fruit as becomes available, the family group, which is regarded as the cornerstone of the whole organisation, receives £ 5-15 sh. a week. There is an allowance for each child in the family, rising to 9 sh. a week where the child is at secondary school.

Special allowances are also paid on the birth of a child, and when a child is about to start secondary school. In this way, the community seek to attain economic equality among its members. In many respects the community is self-sufficient. Timber for building purposes is milled on the site by members of the group, who have used it to build a modern fruit-packing shed and a new woolshed.

The fifth house to be built by the community for its members - a wooden house is now nearing completion. It stands in an area that is being developed for housing purposes. As a thesis for his degree, a student in architecture, who is now overseas, prepared a plan for the area. He envisaged 38 houses on the site, in addition to community buildings, and his scheme is being followed by the community. Priority is at present being given to house building, but later a community centre, with library and chapel, is planned.

There are no profits as such. All money made is put back into the land in the form of new development and buildings, or is used for religious and allied activities. A woolshed has recently been erected, and some tough land is being brought into production. Loans, too, have been used to facilitate development.

Members of the community have come from all walks of life. A former teacher and young farmer are engaged in milling timber and in building operations. The man who looks after the sheep was a grocer's assistant before he joined the community. The assistant manager of the community was formerly a printer's apprentice, another chairman, a Workers' Educational Association's secretary. A local preacher in the Methodist Church, the chairman conducts the Country Library Service in the community. Another member of the community, the mother of two children, is a Sunday school teacher

and the secretary of the school committee. In addition, she voluntarily gives six hours of her time each day to packing in the fruit season. The enthusiasm of members of the community is illustrated by a single man who has all the 46 cows milked before the early-morning meeting. After working all day in the packing shed, he is back again in the evening to finish the cows. This man, who was a civil servant before the Second World War, does not draw the full weekly allowance of £ 8 to which he is entitled.

The children also play their part in the community. After school hours they give half an hour's work. The value of their work is credited to a children's club which in true democratic style, determines how the funds shall be used. In addition to providing some pocket money, these funds have bought 100 library books and a pony.

Six of the children have been adopted since birth, and the community has co-operated with the Child Welfare Department in taking some of its charges. A secondary school girl in the community had 11 homes in five years before coming to Lower Moutere. Now the community is considering taking into its fold a man in a Wellington prison, and a patient from Porirua Mental Hospital. An alcoholic who lived in the community for 18 months before joining K Force now wants to come back. Other persons who have been sick or otherwise in trouble have been afforded a home from time to time.



## Abbe Pierre's Revolution of the Heart

A simple French Priest, 42 years old is adopting a marvellous technique of tapping the fountain of love in the common man to play his part in the conquest of human misery. He has an army of workers even as Vinobaji on a mission of peace through 'mobilizing the nation's energy for love of neighbour.' A reader of 'Sarvodaya' has kindly sent a cutting from the American Magazine, JUBILEE containing some of the statements made by Abbe Pierre during his recent tour in America.

One night about sixty years ago, when a despairing ex-convict came to my door, God gave me an idea I had never had before. It was not, "You are suffering, I will help you," but, "I have a great burden. I am terribly tired. Won't you help me?" And this man who had lost all reason to live was given a reason to love.

A little later another event occurred which was, I believe, of paramount importance for the future: It happened the day I saw a mother with her little children evicted from her home and put out on the street. There was no place in the world for her to go. I decided to remove the Blessed Sacrament from the chapel in my house, transfer it to a smaller room in the attic, and invite the mother and children to move into the chapel instead. As I said to my friends: "God is not afraid of the cold."

Later on, men came in greater and greater numbers, and when we had built a house for one family, more and more families came to us begging for shelter. And to those who were the unhappiest of all, the men who had neither wife nor child, the lonely ones, I said, "One saves

oneself when one has started to save others." Thus we began the communities of ragpickers and house-builders, the ragpickers earning the necessary funds to buy materials for the builders.

Altogether, there were 100 families when last winter came. Then, suddenly, this thing (the "Insurrection of kindness") happened that cannot be described this eruption, this explosion that upset a whole nation and reverberated around the whole world. We received 1,00,000 letters and money-orders. We had letters from the New Hebrides and from peasants in Japan; a football team in the Upper Volta sent us the gate receipts from their championship game.

The most marvellous aspect of this revolution of the heart is that it is still going on. We have sold jewels that were dropped into baskets outside movie theatres. One ring sent in anonymously was sold for \$ 3,750. I told this story to a group of 30 or 40 people from different countries whom I met coming over on the ship. When I got back to my cabin I found a big envelope; inside, wrapped in many layers of paper, lay

a ring with a beautiful stone - an anonymous gift.

Through our experience at Emmaus we have made several small but very important discoveries which I would like to share; the responsibility for giving not money but life; for giving love, that mysterious thing that cannot be evaluated by statistics; and finally, for being one with those whom one wants to help. When one undertakes to help those who suffer - without participating in their misfortune - it is not at all certain that one does this through love of them, but rather to do away with squalor and to assuage one's own sense of guilt. The poor sense this instinctively, and they hate you instead of feeling grateful.

Truly to know the condition of the poor, you have to partake of it yourself; sociology and statistics will not avail - we must know as a body would know the suffering of its own limb which is crushed. We need men who are "crazy" enough to become identified, even identical, with those who are suffering. This has been stressed to our volunteers at Emmaus. And they - and all who would follow them - must participate as members of a group, for as individuals they would be overwhelmed and crushed by the terrible weight of human misery.

In our own society, the world of today which is dying for lack of love, we must pray for prophets - men whose hands and pockets may be

empty, but whose hearts are big enough to share the life of the poor - to lead us to that hunger and thirst after justice in which we will find the real peace given by God. And then we must have a house where men can be trained for the building of the cathedral of the future. What is that cathedral? - Homes for every family.

Let me illustrate. In Italy, during a time of terrible poverty, great plans were being made to build a gigantic basilica. From the populace a tide of terrible anger welled up; it reached the Pope, who firmly decided that instead of the basilica a public housing project should be built. It would have been a fearful scandal to have built another church for curious tourists to visit, much as they visited the "picturesque" quarters where people lived like animals and where the souls of thousands of innocent little boys and girls were profaned every day through promiscuity.

This does not mean that we do not need cathedrals. They are necessary. But they can be of use only if the people are alive.

The moment has come to launch with passion an uprising similar to the all-out mobilization of all human and material resources in time of war. Why should it not be possible to mobilize all a nation's energy for love of neighbour, just as it is mobilized when war threatens? A mobilization for peace is just as imperative - in order to save the bodies and souls of those who suffer.

# Sarvodaya Through Bhoodan

JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

In the Bhoodan Yagna we have a mass movement for changing the current out-look and for spreading new ideas. It is not fundamentally a movement for the solution of the land problem of the country. The solution to the land problem of the country, as a result of the movement, would be only in the nature of a by-product. It aims at the socialisation of this process and at spreading new ideas. Just as in 1930 Gandhiji organised the Salt Satyagraha to prepare the people for the Quit India movement, so now Vinoba Bhave started the Bhoodan movement as a means to achieve a noble purpose, namely, changing the outlook of the people for ushering in a Sarvodaya society. The Bhoodan worker, who is entrusted with the work of collecting lands for distributing among the landless is not a beggar but a carrier of new ideas, a new philosophy, a new outlook. Everyone should understand that he could not claim any exclusive right to the land he owned, for he is able to own or cultivate only with the co-operation of his neighbours. It is a social process. When the Bhoodan worker stresses this idea, he does not expect that everyone who understands him is going to surrender all his proprietary rights and become a trustee of what he owns. It is impracticable. The idea is spread and it is being placed before everyone without making any compromise.

We consider the first essential thing for the attainment of the

Sarvodaya ideal, namely, doing good to all, is a thorough change of outlook and approach to life in a non-violent and peaceful way. Once such a change of heart comes about, other things will be easy and will follow as night the day.

In the present set-up there is lack of proper understanding of one another, the emphasis being more on differences than on agreements. The Sarvodaya ideal is "live and let live". Its fundamental principle is truthful service for the good of the people. Science had battered the barrier of time and space, and the human race has now become one family. The challenging problem is how this ideal could be achieved. Two giant powers are thinking of destroying this family in a competitive spirit and it is in this context of current world history that one has to think of the Sarvodaya view.

The good of all could be achieved only of by adjustments of the interests of everyone in such a manner that no one suffers, no one incurs any loss and everyone gains. This ideal could be attained only by change in our outlook and approach to life. Today, our approach to life is self-centred. The approach should be for the good of all. In Sarvodaya every individual regards himself as the servant of the community, always thinking how best he could serve the interests of his fellowmen. There would be no contradiction between one's self-interest

and that of others. If such an attitude is brought about in our thinking all things would follow easily. Further, Sarvodaya is a universal philosophy, which America, Russia or any other country could follow. Then science will come into its own. Science today is used for the good of a few

and not all. This change of heart, outlook etc. could be achieved only through persuasion.

*(From a Press-Report of the speech at Madurai on 31-12-55 while inaugurating the Tamil Nad Students' Bhoodan Conference.)*



## Vinobaji at Vijayawada Conference

VINOBAJI has been walking in Andhra on his Bhoodan Yatra since 1st October. Vijayawada lay on his way which he was to visit on the 16th Dec. Vijayawada is the biggest city in Andhra and it was one of the places suggested as the capital of Andhra. The Bhoodan workers and the Sarva Seva Sangh wanted to avail of Vinobaji's visit to Vijayawada to meet him and have his advice on some of the urgent issues facing them.

The sudden demise of Pujya Shrikrishnadas Jaju who was taking great interest in organising the Sampattidan Yagna and in evolving the technique for it had created a great shock among the workers. As Vinobaji is giving most of his attention to Bhoodan, another has to devote all his time for Sampattidan as Jajuji. Who will take the work that Jajuji had left was, an important issue. Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, the President of the Sarva Seva Sangh had convened a Conference of workers to pay their respects to Jajuji and to decide upon the task of continuing his mission of Sampattidan.

Vinobaji had to prolong his stay at Vijayawada for four days from

16th to 19th to guide the deliberations of the Conference and the meetings of the Sarva Seva Sangh. About five hundred workers from various parts of the country gathered at Gandhinagar, where Vinobaji was camping. It assumed the form of a miniature Sarvodaya Sammelan, as a precursor to the next annual Sammelan which will be held in Tamil Nad in the third week of May 1956. The Andhra Bhoodan Convener, Sri Yerneri Subramaniam and his colleagues made elaborate arrangements for the convenience of all the Bhoodan workers and other visitors. Sri Dhebar, the Congress President, Sri Gulzarilal Nanda, the Planning Minister, Sri Khare of the Hindi Commission were among the other visitors who came to discuss with Vinobaji on the land and other problems.

There were four major issues on which Sarva Seva Sangh had to take a decisions.

The first was with regard to Vinobaji's recent call to the Sarva Seva Sangh to decentralise the Bhoodan movement by divesting itself from the organisational responsibility of directing and financing the work

all over the country. Vinobaji has been suggesting to make it the people's own movement under which those who have no land and those who have will jointly and solemnly declare on a specific date all over India that the land belongs to the village community and not to any individual. This would be a declaration of the non-violent solution of the land problem in India as the first step for peace in the world. This would open a new chapter in the history of the world. There was frank discussion or 'open thinking' as it were at the meeting about the possibilities and the conditions that have yet to be created by more intensive work in the present organisational form for the culmination of the non-violent land revolution that Vinobaji contemplates.

Shri Jaiprakash Narain held that for the revolution to be non-violent it was essential that land is distributed as an outcome of the change of heart of the land-owners. He emphasised the need to increase the number of devoted Jeevandanis for this non-violent revolution.

Vinobaji's lengthy answer was effective in clearing many doubts. His own unshakable conviction in the cause and faith in the thousands of selfless workers who are wandering all over the country with the message of Bhoodan and above all his faith in the people made him feel that "one day Bhoodan non-violent revolution" is not a distant dream but is an immediate possibility. There was

nothing for the Bhoodan workers to argue and discuss but to do after hearing Vinobaji's inspiring speech with the prophetic declaration that India will witness a great event in 1957 even as it is reported to be the expressed words of the Mother of Sri Aurobindo Ashram.

The other important issue at Vijayawada was whether Bhoodan workers can take active part in party-politics. The Bhoodan movement is on non-party lines and therefore has the support of various political parties. With the approach of the next general elections this issue has assumed special importance. After much discussion it was decided that the Provincial Bhoodan Conveners and District Conveners should not take active part by being in the executive of any political party and should not directly or indirectly take part in elections. Shri Jaiprakash Narain has clarified this point in his interview at Gaya during the P. S. P. Conference that his non-participation in politics is not in the sense it is commonly understood. He said "I have decided to withdraw from power politics or party politics" Those who believe in the infinite reservoir of the power of the masses cannot afford to dissipate their energies with power or party politics.

The other issue was regarding the Sampattidan. Vinobaji said that the chief purpose was not merely to distribute what we call as wealth to-day but to render it valueless and freeze it through the establishment of dignity of labour.



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Mahatma Gandhi with Frontier Gandhi

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**SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA**  
**TANTORE SOUTH INDIA**

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## An Appeal For Self-examination

MAHATMA GANDHI

Do we feel that we are marching further forward every day towards our goal? Do we feel that we are more non-violent today than we were when we met a year ago? Have there been fewer occasions when we gave way to irritation and anger? Such questions we have to ask ourselves again and again. For the way of non-violence and truth is sharp as the razor's edge. Its practice is more than our daily food. Rightly taken food sustains the body; rightly practised non-violence sustains the soul. The body food we can only take in measured quantities at and at stated intervals; non-violence, which is the spiritual food, we have to take in continually. There is no such thing as satiation. I have to be conscious every moment that I am pursuing the goal, and have to examine myself in terms of that goal.

The very first step in non-violence is that we cultivate in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, humility, tolerance, loving kindness. Honesty, they say in English, is the best policy. But in terms of non-violence it is not mere policy. Policies may and do change. Non-violence is an unchangeable creed. It has to be pursued in face of violence raging around you. Non-violence with a non-violent man is no merit. In fact it becomes difficult to say whether it is non-violence at all. But when it is pitted against violence, then one realises the difference between the two. This we cannot do unless we are ever wakeful, ever vigilant, ever striving.

From Non-violence in Peace and War: Vol. I—Opening address to the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Delang (Orissa) on 25—3—1938)

# THE SARVODAYA IDEAL

JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

A brief Summary of the speech at Public Library Hall, New Delhi on 19-1-'56  
under the auspices of the Delhi Bhoodan Yagna Samiti)

**S**ARVODAYA implies the greatest good of all as against the greatest good of the greatest number. It stands for a society which would strive for the good of all, and in which every body would be happy. In such a society there would be no distinction of high and low.

Self-interest is the root cause of all conflicts in the world today. Otherwise there is no reason why with all the scientific advancement there should be so much poverty, hunger, misery and exploitation. In Sarvodaya, however, one has to be solicitous of other's interests. Man's nature will have to be changed; values of life will have to be re-valued.

The class conflict and international rivalries haunting the world today are the outcome of social and individual problems. The philosophy of class struggle cannot provide the basis for the establishment of "Sarvodaya Samaj". At the most it can result in the achievement of the greatest good of the greatest number. It cannot achieve the Sarvodaya ideal, the greatest good of all. Moreover, from a struggle that has its origin in self-interest, selflessness can never be born.

In countries like Russia, where social reforms have been brought about through such struggle, there is a marked disparity in incomes, besides the lust for power that has grown

manifold. People are executed and jailed as well. Such a social order bears no relation to the ideal of 'Sarvodaya' as propounded by Gandhiji and as sought to be achieved by Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

The goal of 'Sarvodaya' can be reached only through a change of heart on a mass scale. Purity of means is as essential as the achievement of the goal. Gandhiji asked the people to submerge their individual selfish interest for the welfare of the society as a whole. He taught them what they considered as their wealth was in reality the product of social co-operation and effort. Wealth is produced by the collective effort of society. People must be made to realise that it is because of society that they possess what they have. So we are not entitled to more than what is necessary for our wants as long as there are others in society who are more in wants. Such a mass change in social values cannot be brought about through legislation. It can only give its sanction. Mahatma Gandhi believed that the work of conversion must precede legislation. He did not believe that the Government could be agent for building a new society. That was also why Gandhiji a few days before his death suggested that the Congress should convert itself into a voluntary service organisation and give up political activity.

In the past, relations between man and man were not so intimate because of the great distance separating them. But now the distance has become telescoped and people of different countries are coming together into what may be called "one family". Therefore it is imperative for all to work for the good of the whole society which is the chief idea enshrined in 'Sarvodaya'. It is not a narrow national ideal but an order that includes the whole world and the entire human race.

Considering the state of ceaseless struggle of conflicting motives, there is a great necessity for changing the basis of society. Sarvodaya, with its objective of everybody's welfare, suits our needs too well. Imagine for a moment, our thoughts, like the dream of Adam, came true one morning and we get rid of selfish interest, the outcome would be a society encompassing all the human race, based on the principle of 'Sarvodaya'. In such a society, the whole world would have a share in the wealth amassed by America. Production would not be a problem for any country, for the whole world would produce for the human race as a whole without any distinction. It will be a stage when every one contributes to the idea of one for all and all for one and the danger of H. Bomb, will have disappeared completely.

The outcome of a violent struggle based on the conflict of selfish aims can achieve collectivisation or distribution of land and wealth, but the selfish ends would still remain as a selfish struggle cannot give rise to

unselfishness, which is the essence of 'Sarvodaya'.

Man is a member of the world society and through his wisdom, he can find a basis on which all of them can live in a family. He knows that what he has got is not the result of his own effort alone but that of the whole society. Therefore, he must try to realise that aim and leave his selfish ends.

Sages, from time immemorial have preached the need for discarding selfish ends for the service of humanity at large. Religion, seems to have lost its force because even in its presence, men fall a victim to desire, hunger and poverty. To revive the force of religion, it must be connected with the needs of man. Gandhiji taught us how moral and social values could be practised on mass scale. I feel that the path of changing society in accordance with Mahatma's ideals is an entirely new one, which has hitherto not been attempted in the world. What can be the method of pushing forward the view point of truth? As long as our views are not accompanied by actual movement which affects the lives of the people, no movement for social transformation can achieve a mass character.

I am reminded of the Salt Satyagraha. The small Salt Satyagraha transformed the entire Nation. Indian people, who were afraid of the mighty British Empire, got courage and became fearless. The present Bhoodan Movement aims at generating the same type of spirit in the people which was created by Gandhiji's directive to break salt laws in 1930. Similarly Bhoodan

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## Communists' Interview with Vinobaji

The following is the report of an interview that the Communists of Andhra had with Vinobaji in Jan. '56. . . . . Many interesting questions were raised which were answered by Vinobaji. This report is taken from the Bhoodan Bulletin published from Hyderabad.

### Why Not Organise The Landless?

Replying to the query of the Communists whether it would not be advisable to organise the landless instead of walking from village to village and house to house for collecting land gifts, Vinobaji explained:

"Our meetings are attended by both the landless and the landed. We present our demand for land as a right and in the capacity as the representatives of the landless. As a result, a tide of awakening is evident in the landless of this country. The sales of land have received a set-back because people are confident that they will receive land through Bhoodan. In Orissa the Gram-dan movement has presented a unique phase. Not one or two but all the land-holders in seven hundred villages have surrendered their right of ownership in favour of the society. Could this happen without the awakening of the landless? The deer take to their heels when we try to hunt the tiger. Similarly, the land-holders easily understand our point of view when we speak to them as representatives of the landless."

### Social Transformation.

The Communist friends pointed out how they did not believe in the collective transformation of the society as a whole through the process of Bhoodan though they admitted its efficacy in bringing about a change in the selected few.

Appreciating their point of view Vinobaji said that his was the mission to create an universal awakening and without an exception. That was exactly why he demanded and accepted donations from the poor also. He was, as a matter of fact, trying to form a society which would voluntarily renounce its ownership, at least in part if not in full. It will be an army which will have its moral effect on the society as a whole. That the process has its desired effect has been amply manifested in Bihar, where the price of land has come down below mark. This is not all. The Government of Bihar wanted to fix a ceiling of 30 acres; but their proposed legislation provided facility to retain 300 acres of land in the name of good management. The Bhoodan movement, brought such a pressure on the Government that the suggestion had to be given up totally. The movement thus has its moral effect also. Our approach, therefore, is fourfold. First we try to create the awakening among the people. Secondly, try to bring about a change of heart in the land-holders. Thirdly, we try to bring pressure on the Government and last but not least, we want to raise a non-violent army to be ready to make necessary sacrifices, in case all the above three-fold attempts do not bear the desired fruit."

"The success of our mission," continued Vinobaji, "depends on our

efficiency and on the intensity of our work. There is however no room for any mis-understanding about our goal". Vinobaji made it clear that he did not consider it either a sign of merit or of strength to be either a landless or a poor. "Are there not men among the landless and the poor", he asked, "who are addicted to drink, and void of character, cleanliness, and what not? Our mission is therefore, to convey our ideas to them and inspire them to give to the society whatever they possess—land, wealth, energy, talent, everything. The various donations mentioned above, through their process of self purification will qualify even the poorest of the countrymen, to enroll himself, in the nonviolent army, which we want to form."

### The change of faith among Communists

Regarding their lack of faith in the theory of change of heart, Vinobaji pertinently asked if they themselves did not stand as an illustration of such a change. For, during his first Telangana tour the Communists not only had no faith in this movement but had actively opposed it in various ways. Today this position had changed, and they were now convinced at least of the goodwill of the man as well as his mission; and hence the sympathy that was so much evinced by them in the mission. Vinobaji gave another illustration also. In the beginning, even the constructive workers did not believe that the land-owners would donate lands to anyone else, except to Vinobaji. They were therefore, feeling shy of asking land-donations. "But don't you see

now that even the humblest of the workers does not return empty handed? Would you not call this, a change in their minds?" he asked. The Congress in the beginning tried to find fault with the movement and went to the length of calling it as contrary to the constitution of India because it advocated elimination of personal ownership. But today the same Congress declared that the responsibility of the movement rested not on Vinoba alone but on all of them. Did not Pandit Nehru declare that the Government could not free itself of its responsibility because of this movement? All this change had come about but in four years' time. "Let us compare it to the prolonged struggle of twenty-five years in China, and you will at once realise the influence and the potentiality that the movement has commanded within such a short period. The problem of land is not a small problem. The great awakening that is becoming evident among the masses today does demand serious thinking," he added.

### The Only Two Parties.

Referring to the different political parties in the country, Vinobaji pointed out that as a matter of fact, there existed not many but only two parties—the generous and the miserly. And the latter had penetrated in all the parties. It would indeed be a great achievement if the Communist party got rid of the niggardly element in them. He did not want to reserve to himself what he commonly observed these days that if in a family the father was a Congressman, one of his sons was a Communist while

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# The Objectives of Bhoodan Movement

ACHARYA VINOBA

The following is the report of an interview of Dr Harold Smith and Prof. White of U. S. A. with Vinobaji at Jagireddigudam in Hyderabad on 27-1-56. The questions of the two visitors are commonly raised by many foreigners and this report sent by Sri R. K. Krishnamurthi, the Bhoodan organiser among Students section in Tamilnad will be specially interesting to the foreign readers of Sarvodaya.

## The Basic Motivation

Q. 1. What is the basic spiritual motivation behind this movement? Have those, who have given land undergone a spiritual conversion? Or have questions of prestige, fear of reputation been motivating forces?

Vinobaji:— If we just look to the amount of land obtained it does not give us a right perspective. People are land-hungry and if they are given land their hunger is satisfied but that is not our hunger though we do want land for landless. Land problem exists not only in India but also in Japan and other Asiatic countries. Our main aim is to change the basis of Society. If there is conversion, then that basis is fulfilled; looking from this angle of the movement I have obtained more than I expected. It is true that some have given lands for prestige or with the intention of gaining merit in the other world, still there is a good percentage of people who have given lands with pure motives. I can't say it is spiritual conversion but is out of abundance of their heart which they possessed already. I can't claim that we have spiritually converted people. Spiritual background was already there. The word "education" literally means to 'draw out'. So we have drawn out what was already there. To that extent, I feel satisfied enough.

We all know that fear complex has taken possession of nations' soul. Russia and America are so powerful but still they are afraid of each other. Both big and small nations are afraid of each other. What is the reason? It is because the whole basis of society is altogether wrong.

## The Kingdom of Kindness

It is a competitive society based on the rule of "survival of the fittest". We want to change that basis. We want a kingdom of kindness. Christ said about the kingdom of God is beyond of our capacity. So let us use a word within our comprehension. There is some kindness in present society also but we want a kingdom of kindness. We want that kindness should be the dominating force in society. Land problem can be solved by legislation. But we differentiate between the power of non-violence and power of law. Law is also different from violence, it is some where in between. It might come near to non-violence. But people's force is different from force of law. If we can solve our problems by love and kindness, it will create soul force. Then people might put faith in it. We say we have faith and go to church every Sunday, but still in our innermost selves, we do not have that faith which moved spiritual teachers of the past. The reason of it is that the whole structure

of society is wrong. what is needed to-day is faith in goodness and mutual trust. People sit around the table in the U. N. O. but don't trust each other. It is good that they come together and they may gradually by the same process or by force of circumstances develop that trust. But to-day both sides are increasing armaments. It seems that they are both fatigued. Our humble attempt is to create that power by which society might gain faith. That is why I have often said that every land gift is a vote for world peace.

## The Immediate Objective

Q. 2. What are the objectives of the movement at the present time, immediate and long term objectives?

Vinobaji:— As for immediate objective, I will be satisfied, if enough land for the landless is given. Total land under cultivation in India is 30 crores out of which I ask for 5 crores or one sixth of the total land. There are 5 crore landless people in India. My argument is quite simple. Generally there are 5 persons in every family. I ask to add me as the sixth and give my share. There is also a legendary story of five Pandavas who had a sixth brother whom they forgot and it led to the great war of Mahabharat. So I tell people that if you don't recognise that sixth brother—the poor people in society - then it will create trouble. So one sixth is my immediate objective.

Individual or Co-operative farming?

Q. 3. When whole village gifts are made, are the lands to be redistributed according to need or will they be cultivated co-operatively without any individual ownership?

Vinobaji:— Both together. Land will be distributed according to need but still there will be no ownership. No collectivization but co-operation. After redistribution according to need in all families there would be some land left which will be used for common purposes. People will also get education in co-operation. After every ten or fifteen years there will redistribution according to needs. So there will be no individual ownership but both individual motive for working and co-operation will be there. ... I am always telling the people that land like water and air is free gift of God and so God is its only owner. Our ultimate object is that village land should be managed by village community.

## The Difference between Bhoodan & Community Projects

Q. 4. What is the relation between the Bhoodan Movement and the Community Projects' systematic plan for the villages?

Vinobaji:— Community Projects so far have not dealt with land problem. Perhaps they have left it to me! Their main object is increase of production which is one of our objectives too. But we want equal distribution along with increase of production. I don't agree with the view that production should come first and distribution next.

I think that both should go together as they are not quite apart, from each other but are inter-mingled. A landless person has no incentive for production. People today have lost faith in themselves. We have got Swaraj (independence) but the landless people don't feel it. There is

very little change but not enough change to instil faith in them; so if they are given land, they will get the same prestige and position along with other citizens.

#### Right to Worship Earth with Labour

Our basic principle is that as far as possible, every one should do some field labour. Agriculture serves as a good exercise and keeps us in contact with nature, which is a divine contact. I know that in modern society this is not possible, but in ideal society every one will work in the fields for some time daily. I look upon field labour as a labour of devotion to God. I have done it for several years. and I felt a touch, a presence, which I missed even in the temples.

#### Our experienced Peasantry

Q. 5. Does the Bhoodan Movement envisage providing the peasants

with help and guidance of a technical nature to make his cultivation of the soil more efficient?

Vinobaji:— India has been doing agriculture from time immemorial and though our peasants are uneducated yet they are experienced. But still guidance and improvements of methods etc., is necessary. We are going to do that in Koraput district of Orissa where more than 600 whole village gifts have been made. For that help from the experts is needed. But I am afraid these experts who study in colleges generally try to learn from America and Russia who have got ample land and less people (12-15 acres per head). Our problems are quite different with less land and more people (1 acre per head) and so we have to follow Chinese and Japanese methods. Generally we do not get expert's advice from people in their own circumstances.



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the other, a Socialist, so that the family was always in an advantageous position whichever party came to power. Like a section of the Hindus who in spite of their intense indulgence, did not hesitate to claim themselves as Hindus, the stingy element in the political parties claimed loyalty to their organisations. If the parties are

#### Communists' Interview with Vinobaji

but purged of this element, their organisation will indeed be strong even if the membership is counted in but hundreds instead of in thousands and lakhs. "Bogus members whether they are Communists or Congressmen do not and cannot indeed add to the strength of their respective parties." he asserted.



## Vinobaji with Pressmen

Some of the Press correspondents met Vinobaji at Mangalagiri (Andhra) on 21-12-'55. Vinobaji's answers to several questions are summarised here from the report of the Bhoodan Bulletin issued from Hyderabad on behalf of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh.

#### The Next Step

WE should continue our work as we are doing it today. We believe that the task that we have undertaken can be accomplished by 1957, if all those who have extended their sympathies to it also accord us their active participation in the same. Suppose the work is not completed by the stipulated period. In that case, only at that moment we would think of what our next step would be. The work would not be accomplished, if we begin to think of the next step right from now. The time limit of 1957 is fixed with a view to give momentum to our work now and to see its results. Well, the task which we have undertaken is not an ordinary or minor one. It is the task of radically changing the very social structure and therefore, all the time needed for accomplishing it has to be given.

#### Bhoodan in Andhra

Entering Andhra State for the second time after a lapse of four and a half years, we have been touring the rural areas mostly. From what I have seen of the atmosphere around here during the last two months and a half, I am in a position to say that the enthusiasm of the people of Andhra is in no way less than that seen in other provinces. This has been quite obvious in particular from

the state of mind of the people that attended our prayer meetings at Bezwada. What does it show, when the entire audience listens to our talk with pin-drop silence and rapt attention daily for an hour and a half or so consecutively for four days? It is clear that the people do have their sympathy for Bhoodan and that a new hope is generated among the masses. There is ripe atmosphere, and it is now for the workers to take advantage.

Though nothing in particular had so far been done in the direction of redistributing the Bhoodan lands in Andhra, which was due to the shortage of workers and the smallness of land offerings it is desired all the same that re-distribution work should be started in earnest. It is true that, consequent to redistribution, the enthusiasm of the people would increase enormously. I consider it better and advisable to distribute Bhoodan lands wherever there are only a few workers available.

#### Reconstruction work in Gramdan Villages

Sri Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe has already prepared an elaborate plan for the reconstruction work to be carried out in all the Gramdani villages in Orissa. I wish to say only this much that the entire strength of Sarva Seva Sangh would be employed there. Individual ownership over land has already come to an end

there. Land would now be redistributed on the basis of the size of each family. A few acres would also be reserved for community farming in each village. Inspiration would also be given to take to co-operative farming between two, three or four families according to convenience and everything would be done to give an incentive to increase production. Training would be imparted for levelling the land and for constructing bunds etc. The village people would be offering their share in Sampattidan also. Further, there would also be a marketing shop (or association) in every village through which the produce of the village would be sold and other requirements of the people would be purchased from outside. There would be no private business, but would be owned by all. Efforts would be made to start village industries. The people would produce Khadi to meet their needs.

The Gramdani villages in Orissa are situated mostly in mountainous and forest area and hence its special needs will be considered. There would be arrangements for education in every village. Endeavours would also be made to have a Botanical Garden in every village, if possible. Necessary knowledge and training in in this direction would be given to the villagers. They would be also taught Nature Cure treatment. Essential knowledge about the use of fresh juice of vegetables also would be given.

Similarly efforts would also be made to minimise and reduce the burden of debts of the village as a whole.

Apart from it, all possible help from institutions like Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Sarva Seva Sangh, other institutions of constructive work, business community and Government would also be sought.

Ownership of the land by the whole village would be implemented, whether the Government accepts it as *de jure* or not. Individual ownership would not exist any more in any of these villages. There would be a Village Committee in every village, through which all its affairs will be managed in the lines of 'Gramrajya'. A General Body of all the inhabitants of the village over 21 years of age would be set up. Few people would be elected on its behalf by a unanimous vote. It will be seen in particular that there would not be any tangle of majority versus minority. Concerted efforts would be made to eradicate caste-distinctions, untouchability, etc. Marriages would be performed by the community in a manner that no parents would have to incur debts for the purpose.

Knowledge and information about world affairs and training for special courses in different branches of knowledge would also be given. Everything would be done to introduce and popularise scientific and advanced methods of agriculture. Efforts would be made to wean the villagers from addiction to smoking, and drink. The output of milk would be increased by improved methods of cattle breeding.

There would also be a committee of wise and respected elders in every village for consultation and for advice in all matters.

Elaborate arrangements and facilities for thorough education would also be made in every village, so that every village will have its own University. These days there are one or two universities in each State or province. Just as the people of the village pass their whole life in the village, so also they would be having their entire education in their village itself. Details of this scheme cannot, of course, be settled immediately, but these can be decided upon as from time to time with the gathering of experience. A general idea of the same is given in the Plan framed by Sri Annesaheb Sahasrabuddhe.

There is also a plan to start an Information Bureau. It is not started as yet, but would soon come into existence, so that the village people could be acquainted with the home- and world affairs. Arrangements would be made for the lectures of friends from home and abroad who are interested in this work. We encourage the symyathisers desirous of learning about what is being done there to visit the areas in question.

There few of the inhabitants are Oriyas, few are Telugu-speaking and quite a few are the Kandhas. Multilingual people are living there. It would be heartening, no doubt, if workers from Andhra would go there and dedicate their life for the service of the people. If the reconstruction will be well-carried out there, it will naturally have its beneficial influence on the adjoining areas also. Consequently, Gramdan-idea would spread far and wide just as fire spreads in the jungle from one tree to the other.

#### Congress and Bhoodan

All the political parties are entangled in one or the other problems and complicated issues and, therefore, in spite of their desire to do work, they are unable to do anything positive in this direction. Their eyes are always centered on power and, therefore, neither have they the outlook for constructive work, nor are their activities directed in this channel. Particularly the Congress is over-burdened. It is an organisation laden with a very heavy burden already and, therefore, they should not be burdened further. We are glad in a way that these Congressmen have shown sympathy towards Bhoodan and also gave some time in this connection at the Berhampur A. I. C. C. meeting. As a result circulars are being issued from the top with instructions to carry out Bhoodan work. Had there not been even such circulars, these few workers among them who were engaged in Bhoodan work would have continued. Sympathy of the Congress has thus increased. Well, this Bhoodan work would be completed in the event of getting active sympathies from all the parties. Suppose there is a big stone which we want to remove from its position. All of us intend to lift it. But one is free at 2 o'clock, while the other is free at 3 o'clock and accordingly each is doing his bit during his leisure. There is no doubt that all may get enough physical exercise when they employ their force at their leisure, but the stone would not budge from its position. It would move only if all of them apply their strength simultaneously at the same

time. Assistance must come forth from all quarters simultaneously when such a huge task as Bhoodan is to be accomplished. How many people have extended their sympathies towards this movement? How many of them are convinced that this work is to be carried out sincerely? It is really a very good point, if this work of Bhoodan has won the approval of all the political parties. I can say that it is approved by all of them. All believe and are agreed upon that Diwali should be celebrated as a festival and, as such, it is being celebrated on one day in the year. Nobody is required to give any specific programme for it. I do not believe that Diwali should be necessarily celebrated as a festival, but the people any way do so year in and year out because a definite sentiment attached to it is accepted by all. Similarly, if such a programme is approved by all that the landless must get land and that all land must be redistributed, it would, then, be achieved and accomplished in a single day. Do not think that pioneering work would have to be done in the first place for this work also as its essential in a revolution through violence. Protagonists of such revolutions believe in starting on some fires here and some fires there. Those who indulge in such small-scale violence would be crushed and suppressed by the Government. They, however, fix a "zero hour" and start fires. Everyone would do it wherever he is. There is, however, one very remarkable and striking difference between the violent fire and the non-violent "fire", viz. that the former is destructive while the

latter is creative and soothing and, therefore, the work done through the former would not be lasting whereas that of the latter would be permanent and sustaining.

#### Bhoodan & The 2nd Five-Year Plan

The Planners of the second Five-Year Plan desire land improvement. Sri Gulzarilal Nandaji had met us and he wanted to know from us what help we would be giving to the recipients of Bhoodan lands and what our plans are in this regard. Well, I pay very little attention as such to these second and third five-year plans, because we have ourselves also formulated a Five-Year Plan of our own and we want to complete it by 1957. We would not be able to concentrate on it, if we divert our attention to other plans. Anyway, I know this much that they will have to think about the mass unemployment problem in their plans. And with this, Village industries and allied issues are linked together. It is these issues on which we have been having some talks with them. It is good to have such talks and discussions. But we do not know what assistance, would be forthcoming. Still we hope for something.

#### On Democracy

Democracy has generally to depend upon the committees of experts because it can "neither be good nor bad" as it stands and functions on the votes of all and because it thus assumes the standard and character of the 'level' of the people who voted. It is for this reason that the importance of the experts is increasing in a democratic government

and that almost nothing can be done without them. And that is why no importance or weight is attached to the thoughts and opinions of individuals. As such, our ideas, if they are excellent, are not assimilated or digested and if otherwise, they are not worthy of any consideration. It is thus that only moderate thoughts and ideas falling in line with the middle course find their place and become acceptable under democracy.

#### Bhoodan & Government help

Well, we cherish the hope that the Government or the State would wither away soon and the responsibilities will be assumed by the people at large. We desire that decentralised power, i. e. political authority be vested in every village, wealth be redistributed and all State's functions also be shared. We desire all assistance and help from the State or the Government towards this direction.

Bhasmasur (a mythological demon) was granted a boon (that whatever is touched by his hand would be burnt to ashes). Lord Vishnu had devised an ingenious plan

that Bhasmasur was led to place his hand on his own head and had consequently been reduced to ashes. Lord Shiva in the form of 'democracy' has bestowed upon us the boon of the Vote. We, who are the believers and followers of the Sarvodaya ideology, are in search of such an ingenious policy or plan that this political Power may benevolently destroy itself of its own accord.

Just as the parents give up their responsibilities and management of the affairs of the family willingly so that the young son would shoulder responsibility of the same on his own, so also the Government, if kind and affectionate, should wither away at the earliest for the sake of the people.

#### Dulles, Khrushchev & Goa

Well, in the opinion of Mr. Dulles Goa is not a part of India while Mr. Khrushchev opines that it is so. In my opinion, however, Goa is, firstly, a part of this world of ours and, secondly, it is right in its place. Now you will have to ask the people of Goa as to where it is and where they are.

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#### Bread — The God of The Poor

"I dare not — take before them (the poor) 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 breakfast 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."

Mahatma Gandhi,  
From "Truth is God"—page 22.

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## Some Reflections on Non-violence

SHANTIDAS - LANZO DEL VASTO—(France)

Shri Shantidas (Lanzo del vasto) a French artist and philosopher, attracted by the Bhodan Yagna movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, visited India again in 1953. He toured with Vinobaji for some time and attended the historic Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Budha Gaya in Bihar. Recently he has written in French a book on Vinoba "*Vinoba: ou le nouveau pelerinage*." Sri Marjorie Sykes, Principal of Basic Education Vidyalaya, Sevagram, with his kind permission, is now translating this book in English. Shri Shantidas has kindly permitted us to publish this interesting chapter in 'Sarvodaya'. This original and thought-provoking dialectic on non-violence which was preached and lived by Gandhiji will be read with great interest.

### Vinoba's Punctual Return

One year passed. And after prayer, at sunrise, Vinoba came back, barefoot and bareheaded and naked to the waist, as noiseless as the wind.

It was a Monday, Bapu's day of silence. Vinoba took care not to disturb him, but ran to the kitchen to take his accustomed place among the vegetable cutters.

Bapu, seeing him appear at the eleven o'clock meal, gazed in surprise; then, with laughing eyes, he held out his arms to him. Brother Mahadev meanwhile was talking merrily:

"Here he is again at the end of the year—that shows he keeps his word. And a year to the day, to the very hour—that shows he has a good memory. But remember too that he has come on foot from Benares—and that shows he is good at arithmetic!"

Once more Vinoba took his place at the grindstone, among the cooking pots, by the dunghill, in the garden, with never a sigh of regret for studies cut short. "I have never spent a single day at the Ashram without learning something," he said.

To begin with, the eleven vows are an inexhaustible theme for meditation and discovery. Take the first of them, non-violence; one might cast the sounding-lead into that for years without ever touching bottom.

x                      x                      x

This non-violence, which is sometimes called "passive resistance"—is it passive?—or is it active?

Non-violence means: to say "No!" to violence.

It is an active refusal, not a passive acceptance, of wrong.

Sloth, indifference, neutrality, have no place in non-violence, for they answer to violence neither "Yes" nor "No".

Non-violence is revealed in action.

Non-violence can say with Jesus: I came not to bring peace, but a sword.

x                      x                      x

Non - violence - An Act of Faith

This non-violence, is it war or peace?

When a man lives at peace with peaceable neighbours, we do not say that he is non-violent, any more than we say that "Fire does not moisten" or that "ice does not burn."

When a man is powerless, we cannot say that he is non-violent. The sheep and the rabbit harm nobody, simply because they have no power to do so. Of one who does nothing, there is nothing to be said.

We must never call a coward non-violent. A man who submits to injustice without a struggle, because he is afraid, does not refuse violence, he accepts it; and the man who looks on in silence while a crime is being committed, and does nothing to stop it, becomes the criminal's accomplice in guilt.

What is more, when the violent man arms the coward, and orders him to strike someone weaker than himself, the coward at once turns violent.

All violent men pride themselves on their courage, but most of them are cowards. They fight when they have less to fear from the enemy than from those who lead them into battle. They do their best to kill the enemy, for fear of being killed themselves. When in danger they run away, when cornered they yield.

But the non-violent man is always cornered, always in danger, always ready to be killed. His non-violence consists in refusing to yield, refusing to defend himself, refusing to be silent, refusing to let himself be thrust aside, refusing to let himself be pitied, or forgotten, or forgiven. And if courage fails him, his non-violence is null and void.

The knave who flatters a tyrant, whether for his own safety and profit or in order to set a trap for him, is not dispensing with violence,

he is using the utmost possible violence. Knavery is violence lined with cowardice and furred with treachery.

Non-violence is the extreme opposite of knavery; it is an act of faith in man and trust in God, it is a witnessing to Truth, never to be given up until the enemy is won over.

Its aim is not to destroy the enemy but to awaken his conscience.

Not to put him to flight, but to bring him face to face with himself.

Not to have its foe at its mercy, but to deliver him up to his own judgment.

Not to enslave him, but to free him from his blindness and from the shackles of the misdeeds which follow from it.

Not to humiliate him, but to remind him that his honour demands that he should honour the right.

Not to impose a peace or dictate a law, but to induce him to come to an agreement.

x                      x                      x

Non - violent Struggle or Satyagraha

The non-violent man's hope of bringing his mortal enemy to that point would be nothing but a naive delusion, if it did not rest on a reason so universal in its scope, a truth so deep and all-embracing, that they may well be called very Reason, and very Truth. His hope rests on this fact: that Reason and Truth are valid at all times, in all places, for all mankind.

It follows that they are valid also for the enemy. However insane his

fury, whatever devilry may possess him, he is quite simply a man who deceives himself. The struggle is a dialogue which, if rightly conducted, is going to undeceive him.

A non-violent struggle will pull down one by one the veils of blindness—the veil of hatred and anger, the veil of prejudice and contempt, the veil of fear and mistrust, the veil of stubbornness and prestige, the veil of calculating meanness and selfish interest. Whereas a violent struggle confounds all reasons, embroils all wrongs, and thickens all the veils of blindness, until as men say, only might is right.

The non-violent man's act of faith in Man results in this affirmation: that a man cannot go on fighting once he is obliged to admit to himself that he is wrong.

His act of faith in God is derived logically from the axiom that the God is truth, of righteousness and of love is also the Almighty. The will of God is that truth and righteousness and peace should reign. Only the non-violent man can say: "God wills it!" "God is with us!" "God is my witness and my stay. God is my courage."

The courage he must show is none other than to believe, consistently and with constancy, that this is indeed so and that in good time it will be proved. The strength he must exert is to struggle with all his might to prevent any force which is not of God from entering the world through him.

That is why Gandhiji says that non-violence and truth are one and the same.

That is why the non-violent struggle is also called Satyagraha, Adherence-to-Truth.

The justice of the cause for which the non-violent man campaigns must be clear beyond question. If it is an illusion or a sham, his efforts will be of no avail, however great his courage.

He will be obliged to admit, on his part, that he was wrong. No matter what happens, non-violence always shows that the right side is in the right.

A just cause is not sufficient, the non-violent combatant must be pure enough to make it prevail. If he hides his own faults, if he conceals his purpose, if he boasts or lies, he loses all chance of success.

Yet neither must we conclude that non-violence is only for saints. We must not say, with ill-timed modesty, that it would be presumptuous for ordinary people like ourselves to venture on it. There are Masters of Non-violence, there are also servants and soldiers of non-violence. For the Masters, non-violence is a state of grace, an abode of peace. "When the state of non-violence is reached," says Patanjali "then in the presence of the sage all violence falls away." But every man may become a servant and a soldier of non-violence, non-violence for him will be a virtue, a source of strength for the fight.

A common man can engage in non-violent action under the guidance of a Master, but he will not long remain common. The dross in him will melt away in the heat of battle,

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## The Revolutionary Bhoodan

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

SOME say there is not enough land in this State or in that to be given away to Bhoodan. Such talks leave one wondering, what may they mean! I would not call these arguments captious. Nor would I run to counter them by marshalling facts. I would simply reproduce Vinoba's words which say:

"Those who do not give me land to-day will give tomorrow. They cannot but give. There is no one in India who may refuse."

These are not vain words. Vinoba is not given to rattle. He speaks with confidence. Is this confidence born of faith merely? No. He derives his authority from the confidence reposed in him by the poor, by the masses. To quote Vinoba:

"Large numbers of people come to attend my prayer-meetings. They certainly do not come to earn merit as a passport to the other world. They do come because they have come to believe that what this fellow is doing would do them good in this very life. I do daily read this hope in their eyes."

In another context he has said:

"The entire people are speaking through me."

This sustains him. This makes his words so winged. And a people never lend ears to a message before its time. The idea of equality is in the air. It is knocking at the door. To it Gandhi gave a name and shape. Some one was needed to link this

great idea—Mantra—to an adequate programme. Vinoba gave Sarvodaya a programme such as it demanded. A stroke of genius it was. And it readily caught on and marked off Vinoba as the leader.

And what a leader! One who has no attachment, no desires. One who is ready to throw away his body. Such a one can move mountains. Says he:

"I am weak in body. I have been so from the very start of my life. Vital energies too have grown feeble. But looking to the mind, I find it full of enthusiasm, full of vigour. I feel as though I would throw the world this way, throw the world that way."

For four years now this man who is in his sixtieth year has been on the move covering on an average nine miles a day. Has he, except for the few days at Chandil where he was stricken with malignant malaria, ever failed to keep to the schedule by a day, even by an hour! The sun's unerring precision has marked this movement. Could you believe that this man has an old duodenal ulcer to reckon with? The mind dominates. The spirit dictates and the body obeys.

So all the pre-requisites to a shake-up—the time spirit, the programme, and a rare leader—are there. And this old fossilized society of ours needs a great shake-up.

There is no end to economic bondage and so to social injustice

here. Tillers of land, six crores of them, have no lands of their own. Call them wage-earners, call them serfs. They are there. Social justice has long demanded that lands should be taken away from non-agriculturists and given to tillers. Yet this our Welfare State has dallied too long with this crying problem. And when it has come to legislate, it has made a free-gift of from 25 to 33 acres to non-cultivating landlords besides leaving to them the option to form joint-stock farms running to even 15000 acres, each shareholder entitled to hold 25 acres. This is ending social injustice by clinging fast to it.

Social justice waits and waits. The limit is reached. And at long last it asserts itself. It chooses its time. It finds its leader. And then, bang goes the thing. Telangana's was a near approach. It erred in that it ignored the tradition and cultural heritage of India.

True to her culture, true to her genius India rebounded, sought and found a humane and, therefore, a more dynamic and correct way. And Bhoodan Yagna was born.

What does Bhoodan Yagna stand for? It seeks to bring about a change in the value of life. It seeks to do away with the individual ownership of land vesting it in the village to be jointly held and co-operatively cultivated. Vinoba says:

"What it is all that I am doing? What is my goal? I want to bring about a (1) change of heart, (2) a change in the way of life, (3) a change in the very structure of society. This three-fold change, three-fold revolution is what I am labouring for."

And again:

"I will not be satisfied unless the entire village land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed to the villages."

But how is that to come about? By begging? No. Begging pays not. Begging is anathema to Vinoba. "To make the poor conscious is my mission," says he. He wants the common man to realize that he himself is the maker of his destiny, the guardian of his freedom. He cannot degrade him by begging. He says:

"The slogan, 'Give lands to the poor' jars upon my ear. To say 'Give lands to the poor' is begging. I do hate it. What is dear to me and what I insist on people voicing is: There will be none in our village who has no land."

Land will come by the right thought presented by Vinoba and the sanction that is being forged by it. What is that right thought—great idea? Land does not, any more than air, water or light, belong to any one. It belongs to all. It directly belongs to such as works and worships it with his hands and then indirectly to all. So too is wealth. Vinoba says:

"Capitalism cannot be ended either by love or conflict but by right thought. Conflict leads to ever more conflicts which can only weaken both, while love also cannot bring about a change of things. Love brings forth enthusiasm. Only right thought can initiate and effect a revolution. That is why we do not beg for gifts. We demand a share to which the poor are rightfully entitled. We want

the people to understand and accept the idea that in a just and equitable order of society land must belong to all. We rely more than anything else on the force of this thought for furthering our cause. And yet if conflict becomes necessary, we will not avoid it."

And this right thought Vinoba is doing his very best to reach to every one of the five hundred thousand villages of India. And that before 1957. He reminds us that the year '57 is India's destiny year. In 1757 India lost her independence. In 1857 she made a desperate bid for regaining it. 1957 is fast approaching. And by coincidence the second general election of free India falls that year. The aspirants to dollar suzerainty and the aspirants after rouble world dictatorship are overtly or covertly preparing to win the election for their adherents or likely adherents. Virtually, therefore, the election will be fought as a tug of war between these two contending ideologies. Contending though they are, they are in reality the obverse and reverse of each other. Both of them pin their faith on centralization of industries and administration. That is like seeking to redeem the masses by ever paralyzing them in every respect. As against these two ideologies (if you would still persist in regarding them as two) India under Gandhi offered a third way—that of decentralization both in the sphere of industries and administration. Gandhi called it Sarvodaya. Vinoba is walking the way of Sarvodaya. And he is urging us to, saying that that way lies the good of India and the hope of a perplexed world. The choice is before us, and it has to

be made before 1957. We may go the right way. We may go the wrong way. That will be like turning to light, turning to darkness. That we do not go the wrong way, we do not stray away from Gandhi and betray the masses and disappoint a fear-stricken world that looks to India for light, Vinoba ceaselessly walks on foot from village to village. He knows not rest. He defies rains, he defies storm, he defies chill, he defies the sun, he defies duodenal ulcer pain. On his trek goes. He needs must reach the message of Sarvodaya to every home of every village that there is in India before the fateful year '57 and get from people receipts in acknowledgment of the message understood and accepted by them. And what are those receipts? Danpatras—transfer deeds. He calls them Sarvodaya ballot papers. He must secure for Sarvodaya a convincing victory so that the common man may come to his own. When he gets a lakh or more acres by a single transfer deed, as in Hazaribagh district, he says, "No, that won't do. You must reach the people and secure at least sixty thousand transfer deeds." You can see where his gaze is fixed. The philosophy of Sarvodaya must pervade the whole of India and roll over her borders to the world. India should not mistake a mirage for a cooling, refreshing sheet of water, or a hallucination for a heaven. If she does she goes. That is the alarm Vinoba gives.

Sarvodaya stands for a just social order. And economic equality is the very base of a just social order. If

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## Role of Bhoodan in Modern India

SURESH RAMABHAI

**E**IGHT years of freedom have secured for India an honoured place in the comity of nations. She is recognised as a nation anxious to live at peace with every country in the world without exception. Even towards South Africa, she is seeking to evolve a peaceful way of righting the wrongs of the oppressed people and towards this end has imposed a super-human restraint upon her citizens. This avowed endeavour to retain a peaceful state of mind in the face of deliberate provocations as in the case of Portugal and Pakistan has earned the respectful attention of the world. But we have to go a long way before the radiant light of freedom is enjoyed by our teeming millions. We have not yet been able to redeem the pledge we made to our village-dwelling cousins.

Let us have a look at the situation. Seven out of every ten Indians are villagers. They are the real India: not our English-speaking urban sector. In the political sphere the villager does possess the right to vote. By his preponderant numbers his will expressed through the ballot-box is sovereign. But it has not become a reality to him and he may even look upon it as a legal fiction if this sovereign Indian citizen were to measure his might in terms of odd earthly goods. Politically he is almost inarticulate. Socially he is tied to the rake of caste and faction. Culturally he is caught between a

receding tide of spiritual values and an aggressive urge for aping the town and its ugly ways.

Economically, he has a fascination for riches and the pleasures that riches yield. Only he is so crushed that he cannot lift his head up. Also the current economic system does not consider his needs as primary. It gives more importance to production of things rather than to the needs of man who uses these things.

The growth of unemployment—both urban and rural—has aggravated poverty and social differences. The continued collapse of village industries has made the problem of economic integration between town and village more acute. For instance during the period of the first five year plan, the prices of iron and steel goods, have gone up by nearly ten per cent, while the prices of the peasants' food-grain on his threshing floor have gone down by ten per cent, thus creating a disparity in the price-structure of nearly twenty per cent in five years.

Further, the gulf between manual and mental labour persists as fearfully as ever. The higher the emoluments or earnings of an individual, the less the amount of manual work he does. The wages of our most skilled craftsman, say the carpenter or mason, are far less than those of an engineer, a judge, a professor or a minister. Manual skilled work commands less prestige than clerical quill-driving.

Freedom has come but old stagnant values, crippling standards do hold sway.

It needs little reflection to state that if conditions remain the same as they are, the villager, and with it the whole country, is doomed. Even our hard-won freedom is likely to fall into peril.

All this calls for a change—a transformation of the standing order and a new reorientation of values. Not less important than the need of change is the method of effecting this change. If immoral means or unrighteous methods are adopted to bring this change, it will create far bigger and more intricate problems than it will solve. Again, a stress on moral means unaccompanied by rapid social change will not catch popular imagination and prove futile.

In short, there is need for immediate social change together with change in outlook. This cannot be achieved by stressing class differences and evoking class hatred. A wiping out of the few "haves" by the many "havenots" is not a difficult task. But it will not usher in the required equality and justice. Hatred of possession and love of possession cannot go together. Possessiveness should not be mistaken for wealth. The really rich are those who have risen above the sense of possession and all those who nurse possession as sacred are poor, whether they be monied or not. Unfortunately, possession is as deep-rooted in Indian life as the caste system. Like caste, possession is a formidable obstacle in the revolution

of social units and advancement of human consciousness.

The land-gift movement is an attempt to strike a straight blow at the evil of possession. Taking first things first, its author, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has begun with land. He says it can no more belong to an individual than can do air, water or sky. Its private ownership should be tabooed and it should, therefore, belong to the village as a whole. The ownership of the village land must rest with the village and it must be distributed, by common consent, according to their needs of the various inmates. It is easy to see that if land ceases to be a marketable commodity, is owned by the village and is equitably and unanimously distributed among all residents, it will shake the standing structure to its depths and pave the way for a new one. The whole village will thereby turn into a family and its atmosphere will undergo a metamorphosis. Rivalries and feuds will either be solved in the village itself or disappear. Principles of self-help and mutual aid will govern its life. People will grow the requisite crops and then turn the raw materials into finished goods themselves. Village industries will flourish and the village will cease to dance to the tune of anybody outside. Economic disparities will vanish as also the social. Life would be shared as in a family and family values will pervade the village air. The villager would thus come into his own and fashion his life according to his own free will and taste. Only then would a true democracy follow or people's rule be established.

Obviously no law can bring about this transformation. It can consolidate pieces of land but not fragments of hearts. It can set right the soil of cultivation, but not the soil of mind. Land-gift is not an agency of land-brokers. It is the creed of crusaders resolved to replace old values by new, to establish non-possession as a social coin and to demolish the wall between mental and manual work.

The response that it has evoked during the last four years and a half testifies to the soundness of its philosophy and approach. The donation of more than six hundred villages in a single district of Orissa speaks for

the depth with which it is penetrating the heart of our people. The other day I met a small gathering in a country side of Bihar. I gave them an idea of Vinoba's mission. A white-haired veteran, about seventy-five years old, got up, came forward with his donation and remarked, "I follow what you say. Bhoodan is a way to establish true freedom in our country. And I want to assure you that I would refuse to die until true freedom is established."

The millions of India are now on the move and a new era is in the offing.

(By Courtesy to All India Radio, Allahabad)



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you fail to prevent concentration of capital whether in the hands of a few or of a group or of the State, your heaven of a just social order falls to the ground. Whoever amasses riches amasses them by exploiting labour or by using labour-saving machines. Peasants who cultivate their lands themselves earn enough to satisfy their natural wants but never have much to spare.

That calls for two things, (1) doing away with existing economic inequalities and (2) providing against their reappearance.

Now the unjust distribution of land that there is by far the greatest factor responsible for our economic inequality. For agriculture accounts, for 76 4/5% of our national annual income. Next come small-scale and village industries with 14 1/2%. The third (*viz.*, big industries) contributes 8 4/5%\*. So to attack and liquidate

#### The Revolutionary Bhoodan

the land-farming interests and to so redistribute the land released that no peasant family gets more than it requires and can cultivate by itself, is the first thing essential to the road to a just social order. For the way 76 4/5% will go, 8 4/5% is sure to follow, many of the big industries adjusting themselves to changing condition. And such of them as may have to be maintained will be made innocuous under co-operative management. As to small-scale and village industries, they are aids and are no enemies of economic equality. Vinoba has hit where it was necessary to hit. That is the beauty of the Bhoodan Yagna. And a leader is he who knows when and where to strike.

\* Of the total national annual income of Rs. 6250 crores, Rs. 4800 crores come from agriculture, Rs. 900 crores come from small-scale and village industries, and Rs. 550 crores come from big industries.



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he will be refined like gold that has passed through fire.

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#### The Law of Self - Sacrifice

The soldier is held in honour, in spite of the havoc he causes, because the nature of his duty calls for the exercise of certain virtues—loyalty, devotion, discipline, and above all courage.

But the common soldier of non-violence, by the nature of his duty, must needs show at least a double measure of all these heroic virtues.

The loyalty of the man-at-arms is never to betray or abandon his officers, never to raise his hand against them, is to show them the respect that is their due even when they ill-treat him, punish him and send him to his death. The soldier of non-violence is bound to show the same kind of loyalty even towards the enemy.

The devotion of the man-at-arms is shown in exceptional times of danger and decision, when he offers his life without defence and without hope, to protect the lives of his comrades in arms, to open a way for them, or simply to save his honour. These high deeds, exceptional and glorious for the man-at-arms, are the sole method of combat open to the soldier of non-violence. It is the rule of his life to offer his life.

The discipline of the man-at-arms consists in mastering his fear so as to give free rein to his anger; that of the soldier of non-violence consists in mastering both fear and anger.\*

\*This point is made by Richard Gregg in "The Power of Non-violence."

The courage of the man-at-arms lies in risking his life even while he defends it; that of the soldier of non-violence lies in offering his life undefended.

The man-at-arms must learn to endure a certain amount of suffering: the soldier of non-violence must endure twice that amount. Not by accident but from the nature of the law which binds him. Jesus defines this law with emphasis and precision:

"If a man strike thee on thy right cheek, turn thy left cheek also towards him. If he wishes to take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat also. And if he compels thee to go with him one mile, go two miles with him."

What then is this Law? It is the Law of Sacrifice, established from the Beginning for the redemption of the world. The law is that the innocent shall pay, willingly and in love, for the wrong which the ignorant unwillingly do—say rather, for that which they do through the ill-will which springs from their ignorance.

Of this double measure of suffering, the first is that by which the willing victim expiates his own sins and gains purity of heart: by the second measure of suffering (which it would be natural to render back, evil for evil) he makes expiation for his enemy and for the whole world.

So Satyagraha frees the world from the bondage of violence, from the never-ending alternations of injury and revenge.

Justice alone is not enough. We need that Overflowing Justice whose name is Non-violence or Goodwill, and which issues into Love.

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### Justice and Love

Is non-violence Justice? Is it Love?

If it is love, how can it be just? To love is to show preference, and preference cannot be just. Justice has no preferences. Justice judges coolly, as a man calculates. But who can love coolly and by calculation? Besides, who can love and judge together?

And if non-violence is justice, how can it refrain from the use of force? Justice wears a sword, and she does not wear it in vain.

Justice is the first of the virtues, without which no other can exist. Kindness without justice is weakness, courage without justice is ferocity, prudence without justice is self-indulgence. Justice is the virtue of virtues, and she is a bigger murderer than Sin.

Justice like Kali is black of countenance, her teeth are bared and her tongue lolls out, which is hardly seemly for a goddess of light. She brandishes the pike, and in her ten hands are ten instruments of torture. She wears a necklace of human skulls—which is hardly seemly for a Mother adored.

If one were to place in one scale all the suffering spread abroad at random by the most bloodthirsty and criminal passions, and in the other scale all the pains inflicted in due measure and in cool reason by justice, the terrible scales would go down on the side of justice.

What is that man doing, as he bends over another who lies bound

and screaming? Like an attentive doctor, he seems to be sparing no pains: he busies himself like a zealous friend beside a sickbed. He is an executioner going about his duty in the name of the law. The arm with which he strikes is the arm of justice, arresting evil. The red steel which he plunges into the flesh is to make reparation for evil. If he tortures his fellow, it is to redress wrongs.

These mountains of severed heads, of severed hands, of gouged-out eyes, of bodies burned or boiled, are poles removed from the vulgar dagger of the assassin—for these wounds are inflicted by reason, offered to satisfy Justice.

These prisons, these vaults which are big enough to give the man buried in them room to breathe, so that for thirty years he can neither live nor die, are no good to him nor to anyone else: but they serve to satisfy Justice.

These things are merely the masterpieces of Justice triumphant, of Justice free from anger and from hatred.

There is also a justice which is unleashed and ferocious, the justice which is disputed and which lacks power. This is the double-faced, confused justice of just wars, in which justice is defended by both sides with contradictory arguments, with equal indignation, and with mutually entangled executions.

There each man is judge, executioner or condemned criminal, according to his strength and his luck. And sometimes executioner and victim,

locked together in a fatal embrace, fall into the same abyss.

Justice cannot then be contrasted with Love by saying that one is reason and the other passion, for there is a kind of passionate justice that is even further removed from the passion of love than is justice without passion.

The Goddess of Justice, and the Goddess of Love, are as unlike as night and day, as death and life. The one finds satisfaction in pain and death, the other in pleasure and life.

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But as soon as you turn your back on the first goddess and seek refuge with the second, you behold her beauty growing dark, her kindness changing to a gnashing of teeth; you find to your dismay that there are serpents in the arms which embrace you, daggers and poisons hidden in the hands which caress.

What lover, as a matter of fact, is not ready to strike down anyone who should attack his beloved or insult his love?—ready to strike down his beloved if she deceives him; ready to kill himself, if love deserts him. Love that gives life its savour and meaning.

Justice has her scales, and Love has her swing, which oscillates continually between good and evil. The swing of Love sends a man flying at one stroke from blind craving into the blindness of anger and of scorn.

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There are also other loves, in which there is no drama, no intoxication; loves made up of a lukewarm obscurity, a habitual cosiness, lawful

pleasures; the dim sluggishness of family affection. The couple shut themselves into their burrow with their little ones. Everything outside is an obstacle, a danger, or a prey, and every human being is an object of suspicion or of profit. This self-centered affection is out of tune with everything else. In the woof of things it is a hole: in the fruit of the world it is a "worm that dieth not". Without a cry, without a pang, millions of souls are gently stifled. The moth escapes the candle flame and drowns itself in agonies of honey.

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Lastly there are loves of wider scope, but no less dark: the alliances built on a common hatred, the brotherhood of fellow-conspirators, the loyalty of the gangster to his gang. Whole nations behave like bands of armed robbers, and their brigand chief is an anointed emperor. They lie in wait for other nations, to take them by surprise and devour them. The exploits of this kind of love can only be paralleled by those of the ferocious, unleashed kind of justice.

And in this way the sisters, so unlike, meet and mingle in a bath of blood.

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Yet we know well that peace and salvation can only come from justice and from love.

We know that justice and love neither mingle in evil, nor oppose one another in good, since they are two aspects of the power of the same God, who is at once perfectly just and infinitely good.

If they seem to us to be divided, if in practice we oppose the one to

the other, it is because we are sunk in the world of Ignorance and Sin.

Justice first, say some, lest we flounder in chaos and folly. Once order has been established and reason satisfied by force, we shall have time to think about love.

But this marriage-of-convenience between Reason and Force gives birth to Hatred, who dismisses the dream of Love to an infinite distance, in fact into the other world.

Love first, say others. Let us give Love free rein, let us not be bound by any law. But this love-match of Love with Disorder gives birth to Discord, who kills both Justice and Love.

That is how justice and love end in the same abominations as do hatred and injustice, how the remedies add to the disease.

And for thousands of years, the best of men have been torn between opposing goods, and tear one another to pieces also by reason of this contradiction.

Gandhi has brought us the solution of this age-old dilemma, at the very point in history where the conflict is taking on inhuman and incalculable dimensions. The world has no longer any choice except to follow his lead or to go on to complete destruction.

To set out this solution with mathematical clarity, we will say: In order to eliminate all contradiction between the two major virtues, we must subtract from each whatever they may have in common with their

opposite, evil. And what they may have in common with evil is violence.

If I want to be on the side of the just and good, and to rely on the Divine Might which is the Power of Good, I must leave all violence to the wicked. I must cast back every evil practice into the scale of evil.

If in order to defend or obtain something good, I rely on the forces of evil called Violence, I must necessarily find in the conclusion what I myself have introduced into the premises, and endure in the result, willy-nilly, what I have willed in the means.

If I lie to outwit the liar, and kill to combat the murderer, can I claim that my lies and my murders are better than his? How will God distinguish between my case and the criminals?

The Good and the Bad are not two separate races of mankind. A man is good or bad according to his deeds. If I fight the bad man by doing as he does, I become one with him, and the remedy which I apply so complacently redoubles the disease and is itself the worst evil of all.

On the other hand, if I always use Justice and Love to oppose evil I shall have no need to oppose them to one another.

My rule will then be: never to allow myself to do justice without kindness, or to cherish love without justice.

However reasonable, however expedient it may seem to use force in the service of justice and love, I will

resist this temptation, knowing that it will lead me astray, will cause me to stumble, will bring me into bondage.

x            x            x  
Gandhi's Non-Violence  
to Bridge the Gulf

Gandhi has brought us Non-violence to bridge the gulf between Justice and Charity. The nations have only to pass over!

Not that this was any novelty of his own invention. Jesus Christ had preached it two thousand years before him; the Buddha had taught it five centuries earlier still. No more did he invent it, for the Rishis of Vedic times had recorded it in their books, which in no wise proves that they were the first to know it.

How can a man invent an Eternal Truth? But how can Eternal Truth fail to carry the latest comer, as he grasps it, back to the Beginning of the Ages, and how then can it fail to appear most wonderfully new?

Non-violence is very new, and very old; a thing most faithful to tradition, and most subversive of custom; most holy, and most humble; most subtle, fraught with difficulty, yet most simple; most mild yet most exacting; most bold and yet most wise; most profound, and most naive.

It is a principle which reconciles contraries, and therefore it is a practice which reconciles men.



### ★ A GREAT INIQUITY ★

. What is man? ' says Henry George in one of his speeches

IN the first place he is an animal, a land animal who cannot live without land. All that man produces comes from land: all productive labour, in the final analysis, consists in working up land or materials drawn from land, into such forms as fit them for the satisfaction of human wants and desires. Why, man's very body is drawn from the land. Children of the soil, we come from the land, and to the land we must return. Take away from man all that belongs to the land, and what have you but a disembodied spirit? Therefore he who holds the land on which and from which another man must live, is that man's master: and the man is his slave. The man who holds the land on which I must live can command me to life or to death just as absolutely as though I were his chattel. Talk about abolishing slavery—we have not abolished slavery—we have only abolished one rude form of it, chattel slavery.

(TOLSTOY—From an Essay written in 1905)



## The Loot Through Money Value

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM M. A.,

**M**ODERN mechanical large-scale production has a magic touch of its own to create money values. This statement might look strange, but its truth will be verified when we work out the difference between the money values of agricultural rural produce and the products of large scale industry. Though any number of instances might be given let us confine ourselves to sugar.

A good crop of sugar-cane in an acre, will yield 50 tons of cane and five tons of sugar. The price of the sugar is about 4000 Rs. and the cane-grower is given about Rs. 2000 as the price of cane. The same quantity of cane will yield five tons of gur (jaggery) worth Rs. 1600, and the cane grower will be getting Rs. 1000 as the price of cane. Here is the magic touch, that has enhanced the value of the commodity, and has got more for the cane grower.

The manufacture of gur is a simple process employing rural labour, whereas the manufacture of crystal sugar is a complicated technical process, needing the services of experts and industrialists. For the five tons of gur the cane grower spends Rs. 600, out of which five hundred goes human and bullock labour in rural area. The complicated machinery and the large-scale organisation should normally reduce the cost of production,

but is much more, as to swallow half the value of the produced commodity. At the rates calculated the manufacture of gur takes away 37½ percent of the value of the produced commodity whereas the manufacture of sugar takes away more than 50 per cent of the money value of the commodity! The magic touch while increasing the value of the product has also the subtlety of keeping for itself a major portion of value created by it for itself.

Why the higher price for crystal sugar, and the higher cost of manufacture. Perhaps its gloss and the form – the externals – seduce the world to pay a higher price for it. In fact, food experts analyse it so – sugar is less deficient as food and more harmful for the human body than the gur. But it is in consonance with the modern trend of valuing the form than the spirit, of transferring the wealth of many to the few in the name of social justice, and of the deification of the machine and the technician. Should we not think and act before we are swallowed up.

Price of sugar Rs. 800 a ton.

Price of jaggery Rs. 320 a ton (Rs. 40 for 280 lbs.)

The price of cane offered at the factory gate is about Rs. 39.

The transport charges for a ton of cane may be about Rs. 10.



*Continued from page 261*

or Sampattidan, which is much more comprehensive than the first is intended to infuse a spirit which should enable the people to 'contribute a little now and contribute their all later on' thereby realising the aim of making everybody unselfish, set forth by 'Sarvodaya'. The main idea behind Bhoodan and Sampattidan is that we should bring about a revolution in people's thoughts. In its objective of moral ascent, the Bhoodan movement is making a significant contribution. Thus Bhoodan movement is only a symbolic movement, a programme, to make the people understand the Sarvodaya ideal. Equitable distribution of land is only its secondary aspect. By the small sacrifice that the people make through this and the Sampatti-

dan movement a dynamic change is bound to come about in the whole social structure.

It is as yet too early to say what shape the Sarvodaya society would take ultimately in large cities and towns, where social relationships are much more complicated, but in villages already indications are available of the society that would emerge. In that society, the individual would be an essential part of society working for its progress rather than a self-centred social parasite.

If we do not work for the implementation of Sarvodaya, it would lead to destruction. In fact the world has only one alternative; it must choose between destruction and Sarvodaya.



### Bhoodan Work in Tamil Nad

Intensive work among the College Students has been carried on by Sri K. Arunachalam and Sri R. K. Krishnamurthi during the last six months. As a result a Conference of College Students inclined in Bhoodan work was held at Madurai for 3 days from 31st Dec. to 2nd January. About 150 students took part in it. Sri K. Arunachalam presided. Sri Jaiprakash Narain opened the Conference and addressed the students during the three days answering their questions.

Some of the students offered to work for Bhoodan in the summer vacation and some others offered Sampattidan.

Sri Jaiprakash Narain was entertained at tea by a Committee of hosts.

Sri Jaiprakash addressed the gathering on the Sarvodaya ideology.

Sri Jaiprakash distributed the land of Munandipatti village where all the land-owners had offered their land to the village. On the 4th Jan. Sri Jaiprakash was offered the Gram-dhan at Krishnapuram in Palani Tq. This is the third village which is offered as Gram-dhan in Tamilnad.

Sri Vimala Thakkar did yatras in Dharapuram Taluk for ten days from 5th January. Seven groups of Bhoodan workers covered the various parts of the Taluk. They visited 266 villages walking 812 miles in all. They received 1248 acres as Bhoodan. 270 persons offered Sampattidan of Rs. 6087-8-0. 174 persons gave Sadan-dan.



## Jai Prakash Narain at the MADURAI STUDENTS' BHOODAN CONFERENCE

### The Sarvodaya Ideal

Sri Narayan said that the word 'Sarvodaya' was coined by Mahatma Gandhi to connote an ideal which went farther than the current ideal of democracy, i.e., one ensuring the greatest good of the greatest number, and sought to secure the greatest good of all. It would not be difficult for any one to appreciate. He said that the 'Sarvodaya' ideal could be achieved only in a non-violent society, and if there was to be the greatest good of all, then there could be no inequality. Therefore, 'Sarvodaya' meant the utmost possible freedom, equality and non-violence. 'Sarvodaya' would be based on mutual co-operation and if there was to be any competition it would be a competition in doing good to others. Attempts made in other countries to create a free and equalitarian society through violent revolutions, he said, had not proved successful. In all those societies one found that freedom was severely curtailed and even equality had not been achieved.

The biggest problems to-day, Sri Narayan said, were of an economic character. If they were solved, they would have solved everything. Discussing the current economic ideas, Sri Narayan pointed out that to-day success was measured by the wealth that one had. Self-interest came above the interests of others and one did not care whether his neighbour

was starving. Acharya Vinoba Bhave wanted to change these ideas by placing other ideas in juxtaposition to them. He held that self-interest, was the cause of conflicts in society, injustice and exploitation, capitalism, imperialism and world wars. 'Sarvodaya' wanted to get rid of this, he added.

### Village Ownership as against Collective Farming

Expressing himself against collective farming in villages where the entire land was donated for Bhoodan (Gram Dan Villages), Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan told that there was a chance of a new kind of bureaucracy developing in collective farming which would be a danger to village democracy. In collective farming, the cultivators would be reduced to the status of labourers. Even assuming that those who manage a collective farm are honest, power will come to be concentrated in the hands of the middle class and the educated who will become managers of these farms in the present conditions of our country. This would result in the cultivators not taking any real interest in the management of the collective farm. Soviet Russia collective farms had become sources of totalitarian power and of exploitation. He had been told on good authority that, if farmers in Russia were given an opportunity to express themselves freely, a vast majority of the members

of these collective farms would vote for breaking up these collective farms. In view of the limitations of the availability of land and the large increase in the population of this country, mechanised farming had no meaning. He declared, "since we believe in real people's democracy, since we want the people to manage their own affairs themselves and to be as self-dependent, self-governing and self-reliant as possible, we rule out the idea of collective farming."

Sri Narayan added, however, he believed in collective ownership of all the lands in a village. He said that the best mode of cultivating the collectively owned lands was for the village assembly to allot plots of land to each family according to its resources and co-operate in such things as finance and marketing. The best possible mode of agricultural production in a Gram Dhan village, he said, would be on the principles of common ownership. As the *per capita* ratio of land was very low in our country our people could not be solely dependent on agriculture to ensure a satisfactory standard of living. Nor was it possible for large-scale industries to give employment, for, even, with the rapid industrialisation of the country, only a very small proportion of the rising population could be absorbed in the industries. The home and the village industries, therefore, were the only avenues, through which they could solve the problems of unemployment.

(Adapted from the report in "Hindu", Madras.)

### Distribution of Poverty

To a criticism that Bhoodan was nothing more than distribution of poverty, Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan replied. "If India is a poor country there is nothing wrong in distributing poverty. The phrase 'distribution of poverty' is a meaningless one. We should distribute what we have. It is immaterial whether it is poverty or property. The material thing is we should share what we have whether it is much or little. He added, he was however, not a worshipper of poverty. He denounced worship of poverty as much as 'vulgar display of wealth.'

Sri Narayan speaking on the ways of ushering a Sarvodaya society in this country said that true socialism as envisaged under Sarvodaya could not be achieved by the abolition of capitalism and nationalisation of industries. The capitalism we have in the world to-day is more like State Capitalism than Socialism. In a nationalised industry the State functions as the capitalist with all the evils of capitalism such as exploitation, inequality of incomes, bureaucracy, centralised management and lack of industrial democracy". He said that in the socialist set-up that existed in the world to-day, means often tended to become ends. Sarvodaya was the best form of socialism in which there would be the utmost possible scope for initiative of everyone. He concluded that in a socialist society as understood by them today these things were very drastically limited.



## ★ All India Bhoodan News ★

**Hyderabad:—** Donations received from 2nd Jan. to 20th Jan. during Vinobaji's Padayatra are 13,661 acres; Total donations up to 29th Jan. are 1,27,660 acres. Yearly total Sampattidan upto 31st Dec. '55 is Rs. 25,230 by 521 donors.

**Andhra:—** Donation received from 1st Oct. 1955 to 1st January, is 56, during Vinobaji's Padayatra are 18,553 acres; total donations up to 1st Jan. 50,759 acres.

**Bombay:—** Donations received up to 31-12-55: Bhoodan 571 acres 27 Cuthas; Sampattidan 475 donations worth Rs. 1,24,947 yearly; Koopdan: (Well-Fund) Rs. 5,259/-; Earmarked fund: Rs. 2,504/-.

**Bihar:** 534 acres were distributed among 436 families in the districts of Saran, Singhbhoom, Darbhanga and Purnea. In Purnea alone 13,866 acres, were distributed among 6656 families, in the month of December, 1955.

### Uttar Pradesh

Three hundred and forty acres of land were distributed in U. P. in the districts of Banda, Shahjahanpur and in Azangarh in Gorakhpur District.

Shri Vichitra Narayan Sharma, P. W. D. Minister, received Bhoodan of 229 acres, Sadhandan worth Rs. 594/-, and yearly Sampatidan of Rs. 694/-.

**Maharashtra:—** In Thana district, during 23 days of Padayatra, 126 acres were received from 31 donors and 277 acres were distributed among 41 families. 619 acres of land were received in Khandesh, during the one month yatra in Maharashtra,

conducted by Shri Appasahab Patwarhan. 111 acres were received during the yatra in Ratnagiri district. The Rashttra Sevadal workers collected 107 donors besides Sadhandan of Rs. 2610/-.

Total land collected by Rashttra Sevadal workers during their padyatra of 1,700 miles, last year, is 1254 acres received from 500 donors. 87 acres were donated by twenty two donors during the walking yatra party in Shiroshi Taluq in Maharashtra, from 29th December, 1955 to 3rd January, 1956. About sixteen acres were distributed on the spot.

More than 500 acres were received during the preparatory week, prior to the intensive collection drive in Ramtek tahsil. A workers camp attended by fifty workers was conducted at Ramtek before launching the drive.

### Vinobaji's Yatra In Hyderabad.

| Date.   | Place of halt. | Miles Walked |
|---------|----------------|--------------|
| 20-1-55 | Kerrapudi      | 10½          |
| 21-1-56 | Velugupalli    | 8            |
| 22-1-56 | Jagireddiguda  | 8            |
| 23-1-56 | Erukulapada    | 5            |
| 24-1-56 | Vallala        | 8            |
| 25-1-56 | Katamgur       | 8            |
| 26-1-56 | Narkatpally    | 9            |
| 27-1-56 | Ramananpet     | 9            |
| 28-1-56 | Kesawaram      | 8            |
| 29-1-56 | Venkamamadi    | 8            |
| 30-1-56 | Pochampalli    | 6            |
| 31-1-56 | Batasingaram   | 8            |
| 1-2-56  | Rapole         | 8            |
| 2-2-56  | Ibrahimpatam   | 8            |
| 3-2-56  | Turkayamjal    | 8            |
| 4-2-56  | Sarunagar      | 8            |
| 5-2-56  | Hyderabad City | 8            |

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### Attributes of Ahimsa



Himsa does not need to be taught. Man as animal is violent, but as Spirit is non-violent. The moment he awakes to the Spirit within, he cannot remain violent. Either he progresses towards Ahimsa or rushes to his doom. That is why the prophets and *avatars* have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice, etc.—all attributes of Ahimsa.

—Mahatma Gandhi  
in "My Religion"

**SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA**  
**TANTORE** **SOUTH INDIA**

# GANDHIAN SARVODAYA LITERATURE

| GANDHIJI'S WRITINGS                                      |         | Published by others.--                                       |         |
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## To Our Readers

This number of "Sarvodaya" is published on the 5th March instead of the 1st as usual owing to several difficulties on account of Mahamakham etc. We regret very much for the unavoidable delay.

Editor, "Sarvodaya".

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## April Number of 'Sarvodaya'

The readers are requested to note that next number of Sarvodaya will be published on 5th April.

## "SARVODAYA"

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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

# The Science of Non-violence

— MAHATMA GANDHI —

WHEN a person claims to be non-violent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrongdoer. Thus non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives. It therefore embraces even sub-human life not excluding noxious insects or beasts. They have not been created to feed our destructive propensities. If we only knew the mind of the Creator, we should find their proper place in His creation. Non-violence is therefore in its active form goodwill towards all life. It is pure love. I read it in the Hindu scriptures, in the Bible, in the Quran.

Non-violence is a perfect state. It is a goal towards which all mankind moves naturally though unconsciously. Man does not become divine when he personifies innocence in himself. Only then does he become truly man. In our present state we are partly men and partly beasts, and in our ignorance and even arrogance say that we truly fulfil the purpose of our species, when we deliver blow for blow and develop the measure of anger required for the purpose. We pretend to believe that retaliation is the law of our being, whereas in every scripture we find that retaliation is nowhere obligatory but only

permissible. It is restraint that is obligatory. Retaliation is indulgence requiring elaborate regulating. Restraint is the law of our being. For, highest perfection is unattainable without highest restraint. Suffering is thus the badge of the human tribe.

The goal ever recedes from us. The greater the progress, the greater the recognition of our unworthiness. Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment. Full effort is full victory.

★

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honour, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

*From "My Religion"*

★

## To Subscribers

Subscribers are requested to note the subscription number given before the address on the wrapper. Any complaint of non-receipt of any number of the magazine should be made before the end of that month quoting the subscription number.

# The Growing Ganges of Bhoodan

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

(A speech inaugurating the Bhoodan Yatra led by Dr. Sushila Nayyar at Cape Comorin on 2nd February 1956).

## Swaraj— Means to a Greater End

I am glad to associate myself with this function. I have watched the Bhoodan Movement from its inception not only with great admiration but also with great interest.

It is sometimes forgotten that Mahatma Gandhi did not regard the attainment of independence as the sole objective for which we were working. He looked upon Swaraj as a means to another end. That greater objective was no less than the creation of a new order of society, an order in which there will be no exploitation, in which all human relations will be governed and controlled not by outside authority but by the power of love. And it was for this reason that even for the attainment of Swaraj he prescribed non-violence as the only method to be used. It is true that we were unarmed and not in a position to fight the British power. Other countries more or less similarly situated have taken recourse to arms and succeeded; succeeded in attaining freedom for themselves, freedom of a limited nature—political freedom. Gandhiji wanted not only political freedom, the freedom of the individual, but the subordination of the individual to a higher power. In the very early days of the non-co-operation movement some high-placed Englishmen said that by disarming his own followers, Gandhiji has practically disarmed the British power. In the early days it was difficult to believe that we will succeed. But Gandhiji never had any doubt in his mind.

There might be set-backs but there can be no failure. And so it ultimately came about that we got our Swaraj. But the kind of society which he wanted to establish, he did not live to establish. Most unfortunately for us, and I believe, unfortunately for the world, he was taken away at a time when he was just in a position to give his message to the world.

## The Trusteeship Doctrine

He had this in view, that he would make the poor rich, but not by dispossessing the rich. He would make the poor rich not only in the sense of material riches, but also spiritually. For this purpose, he suggested that those who were rich should treat themselves as trustees of the poor. In other words, every rich man should dispossess himself of his own. He should hold the riches not for his own individual enjoyment but for the benefit of all.

## Revolution By Love

Land has always been regarded as one of the richest and most precious possessions of man. Vinoba Bhave wanted the people to dispossess themselves of this most precious of possessions. There are countries in which people have been dispossessed of their land. But they were dispossessed as a result of revolution, bloody revolution. Here the same thing is happening not with bloodshed but with love. Vinoba Bhave is thus trying to fulfil what is left incomplete by Gandhiji.

It is only a symbolic movement. Because land is so much valued he

had attacked land. It really means a revolution in our life. If the movement succeeds the world will be a different world. When people come to dispossess themselves of the most precious possession, you can easily imagine, they can dispossess themselves for the sake of others so that those who have not also have a share.

That it has made an appeal is evident from the fact that so much land has already been given in response to the appeal of Vinoba Bhave. I wonder if there can be any other illustration in history where 46 lakhs acres of land has been made a free gift by the owners. Remember that these gifts have been made by people who are very rich as well as by people who are poor.

Five years' work is to the credit of Vinoba Bhave in this movement. We have now about a year and eight months left when the target is to be reached. Every movement takes time to get to its tempo. The Swaraj movement which was started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920—21 ultimately reached its objective in 1947. This is the second phase of the same movement started by Gandhiji which Vinoba Bhave is trying to complete. Let me hope that it will gather momentum as it goes on. It has the advantage of a very useful and impressive past.

We had a kind of sacrifice that was called for for the Swaraj movement. The country did not hesitate to make the sacrifices at that time. The sacrifice that was demanded was largely of personal liberty. But sometimes people value liberty more than their lives. This time it is the demand of the property that is being

made. Let us hope that the sacrifices that have been made in the past will be made now also. Above all, let us remember that Gandhiji's spirit is watching what is happening in this country. The work that was left incomplete by him has to be completed now.

The Government is trying to fulfil it in its own way. Effort is being made to have peace all the world over. And our country is playing its own part in the maintenance of peace. Let this other side of the movement also go ahead with greater pace. It is essentially a non-official movement. Although we have received messages of good wishes from the Prime Minister of India and I as President, am present here to-day, we are participating ourselves not as government, but as humble servants of the country. If the government were in it, it will lose much of its value. I would therefore ask each one of you to give your full contribution to it. I wish godspeed to those who are undertaking this journey.

We have had other yatras of great historic movements. The great Satyagraha of '30 was started with a yatra by Mahatma Gandhi. This movement has itself started with a yatra by Vinoba Bhave. This yatra has not ended and is not going to end before its objective is reached.

Just as the Ganga rises in the Himalayas as a small streamlet, but gathers force and volume as it goes along, so this movement which was started five years ago is going to gather momentum as it proceeds. This yatra which is going to start under the leadership of Sushila Nayyar will serve as one of the tributaries of the Ganga of this movement. Let us pray for the success of this movement.

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## The Message of Mahatma's Nirvan Day

### Vinobaji's speech at Pochampalli on 30th Jan:'56

Vinobaji was in a mood of self-introspection on the Sarvodaya Day—30th January—when he entered for the second time the historic Pochampalli village which gave him the vision of Bhoodan Yagna nearly five years ago. He was in a mental agony at the recent outbursts of violence particularly in Bihar which has offered largest Bhoodan and Orissa which has led the way in Gramdan. As Vinobaji says about himself all those who claim to follow him have to pray saying "we have faltered somewhere and that is why the air is not well prepared for non-violence and we pray that our language should be with more of love, sweetness and truth"

Both, the date and this place have a great significance. They provide us with good motivations. This is an extraordinary gathering, such a large number to sit in prayer in so perfect a silence. It is a rare sight for the local people to find hundreds of ladies, gentlemen and children of different religions deep in meditation. To-day, the Nirvana day of Bapu, is not the occasion for any speech. To-day is the day for silent meditation. It is due to the influence of Bapu that all the Ministers and privileged persons assembled here, feeling themselves as servants, are squatting on the bare ground along with the commoners. Brahmins, Rishis and Maharajas, used to keep themselves aloof and above the people but Bapu's teachings have brought them all at par with their country men.

#### His Greatness

It is difficult for me to speak about Bapu. I have been the most fortunate person to work and live under his guidance. Most of us think that those living under the shade of other great men don't grow like small plants under the shade of a big tree. But that did not apply to great souls although it was true in the cases of ambitious people. Great souls are

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like cows to a calf. So was Bapu who nourished all of us who came to work under him. He raised thousands from lowliness to greatness and from vice to goodness. Himself feeling the humblest he was receptive and responsive to a child even. (Tears here spoke the language of the heart inaudible to the ears.)

To be born as a man, to long for mukti (liberation) and to enjoy a great man's guardianship—these three have been enumerated by Shankaracharya as the best fortunes for a man. It is difficult to find a *gyani* on earth with the qualities of a *stithapragnan* which were just now recited in the prayer. But I have seen in my life one soul who had almost reached the mark and that was Bapu. All Ministers are at their posts due to them. So long as we are aware of this fact, there is no reason why we should falter.

#### Agony and the Warning

Self-introspection is a regular practice with me. I often become introvert and my soul assures me that I have never deviated and I have put in maximum efforts to stick to the path shown by Bapu. Perfect vigilance has been observed by me during the last eight years. But I declare

I have not achieved success and I accept my defeat. People might say that I got lakhs of acres in Bhoodan and hundreds of villages in Gramdan. It has given immense hope to the people but I confess that I am in a terrible agony. I felt Bhoodan will be a means to establish peace. Two years before, I could hardly visualise the deep-rooted bitterness in India. But now I find disorder in Bihar where we got maximum land in Bhoodan and shootings in public meetings in Orissa where we got hundreds of Gramdams. There have been so many out-breaks of violence in the different provinces of the country. I feel Bhoodan has influenced the villages but not the people of cities which are polluted with the foul-air left by the last two world wars. Linguistic reorganisation of the States has been a nominal issue to manifest the deep rooted violence which raises its head in students' agitations and labour disputes also. As a foot pressed on the bed of a tank, apparently clean, brings the mud upward, so violence lying deep in the hearts of the people come out under any excuse even different from the States Reorganisation.

So many people attribute the national independence to the 1942 struggle which demonstrated the people's faith in violence. Had we realized the strength of non-violence then these events after Swaraj would not have occurred. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs did such deeds as were shameful to the Nation. Same elements are coming up to-day. Our nationalism is in danger, when our citizens still feel they are only to be

residents of a particular province or a town. So many acres of land collected is no credit to Bhoodan movement which aims to bring home the excellence of non-violence. (Tears interrupt his speech). We have raised the call for world peace. I have declared that every *danapatra* is a vote for world peace. Two experiments are being tried to-day. Pandit Nehru is trying in the international sphere whereas Bhoodan is being tried in the national field. But the present violent events in the country are a blot on both. I fail to find words to speak any further due to my mental agony, although the teachings of my Master give me strength to remain calm. I fully realise that agony is no remedy. Let us not run away with the impression that we are safe because we have achieved freedom. (tears.....) Leave alone the world peace, even our Swaraj will perish in no time. We must be aware and vigilant that our freedom is in danger if we can't settle our national problems peacefully.

#### The Prayer

It is really painful that the people and the government, both indulge in violence. Firing in Orissa has been declared unjust and unreasonable by Shri Maltidevi Chawdhry, the wife of Chief Minister of Orissa who was in the crowd at the moment. I don't want to find fault with anybody but will accuse Bhoodan for that. I have faltered somewhere and that is why the air is not well prepared for non-violence and I pray to God that my language should be with more of love, sweetness and truth.

#### The Hope

Our city people are influenced by the world forces but I am convinced that we will create such an atmosphere in our country that it will influence the world. Manu had predicted that the people of the world will learn the art of life from this country which is the meeting place of so many religions. Vedic culture was born here. Buddhism flourished here. Muslims brought the idea of equality and Christians contributed to the creed of Service. India thus presents a sweet synthesis which has brought to Bhoodan the success it has been able to achieve so far and is becoming the hope of the world.

#### The Pledge

But it is not enough. We pledge to-day on Bapu's Nirvan day to constantly purify our minds. All of us should forget our differences of caste and religion since they are not going to continue against the tide of time. Political parties and the method of elections bring the new differences which don't allow the servants of society to come together even for a good mission and serve the country which is weak and poor. Elections, a Western import, has broken asunder every village and town into pieces. Country's strength is being lost in conflicts which are found even within a single party.

#### The Choice

We need a broad outlook about life and the world. In this Atomic age a new force is rising which can both build or destroy life. We can make Heaven or Hell of this earth by its use, proper or otherwise. When such dangers dangle like sword over

our heads, why pick up such little disputes like those over Belgaum where people don't want to be included in Karnatak and feel miserable at that. The medium of a regional language facilitates public work and helps in better administration, but intermixture of language at certain places brings the people together by bonds of love. It pains me to find people indulging in petty quarrels due to narrow vision about the forces operating in the world full of dangerous situations. Kashmir is burning, Goa is still unsettled. Formosa, Korea, Indochina are still smouldering. Middle East conflicts are still persisting. There is so much of malice deep in our hearts. We will be heading towards total destruction if we indulge in quarrels about linguistic reorganisation of the provinces and petty elections.

People from all parties freely talk out all things to me. They don't hesitate to wash their dirty clothes in the Ganges as it were. If we put an end to all this rot, a comprehensive outlook will follow to guide us to solve our national problems peacefully which will further enable us to solve the world problems easily.

#### Telangana's Pride

This place Pochampalli, the Gangotri of Bhoodan Yagna is a place of pride in Telangana. If all the political workers join together they can accomplish this work within four months. My demand is simple. I ask only one-sixth for Daridra Narayan; there cannot be a cheaper bargain for the sake of revolution. But it will not be possible so long as the city people are not converted to this

ideology. So far there has been heart conversion in the villages and not in the cities. Possibilities of our success are sure to increase if our workers enter the hearts of the city people. They can then achieve what has never been done before.

But all this does not make me pessimistic in the least. I am temperamentally not a pessimist; darkness outside makes my inner candle brighter. I have analysed the proposition before you. This place Pochampalli has done a lot of good work. No wonder it becomes a centre of pilgrimage for the people of India.

#### Our Responsibility

I feel Gandhiji is looking at us, whether he is merged in God or he is apart due to some attachments with India. I feel sure God is with us and wants India to show the way of peace to the world. It has not been possible to go to cities due to so many reasons. Literature has not reached every home there. It is true that world influences can't be checked from penetrating India but it is equally true that none can check India's influence from spreading abroad. What is the form of the influence coming from outside? It is darkness! and darkness can't attack light. It is only light that can take the offensive. Bharat is full of new awakening; its freedom has been achieved through exemplary means, even though our methods were not so perfect; yet they were based on truth.

#### Science & Spirituality

Science alone flows in the West. India where both science and

spirituality meet and flow side by side is sure to prosper and rise to the heights of fame. Science and spirituality both are attacking the present set up of values. Science takes the objective side; spirituality takes the subjective side, neglecting the objective one. Mind too is an objective entity and can be handled like the watch which I daily set right before going to sleep. Spirituality lays down that we can remove the defects of our minds which should be observed rather than obeyed. Those who ennoble their minds are sure to win. Mind torn by hatred and attachment doesn't help. It is to be made zero; and India is going to experiment in that line. Brains of Europe and America busy otherwise are not balanced. Weapons solve no problems. Yet they are not prepared to dispense with them. So they are in suspense. Even if they give up faith in violence, they don't stick to non-violence either. Their intellect is tired. At this juncture only those who keep the balance will save themselves and the world.

#### India's Mission

All the political parties work on the mental plane. India is not a field fit for their experiment. They will go with the winds and India's own ideology will stay. India has become the meeting place of science and spirituality. God wants peace to be established in the world through India. We have to resolve the differences between Russia and America and make them friends with each other.



## An Interview with Vinoba

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

Many of the foreigners who visit India, are anxious to know how far India has been influenced by Gandhiji's non-violence. Here is a report of an interview of a young visitor from Holland, with Vinobaji who points out the growing perceptible influence of Gandhiji in India to-day in the national and international sphere.

A young man hailing from Holland, having travelled widely in India, met Vinoba the other day and put to him the straight question burning in his heart. "How far, do you feel, does Mahatma Gandhi's influence go in to-day's India?"

"The effect of great men", said Vinoba, "takes long, very long to appear. It goes very deep and far. Don't you see that Buddha's importance is being realised all over the world now after 2,500 years. You can't measure the same within a span of ten or twenty years. Nevertheless, I am very much heartened by the fact that Gandhiji's influence is rising in India daily."

Perhaps never had the Dutch youth come across such an optimistic observation. He listened with attention.

#### Gandhiji's Growing Influence in India

"I see", continued Vinoba, "four definite symptoms that lead me to this view. First, the evolution of the idea of Bhoodan Yagna and its appreciation by the people. Doubtless one may say that 'dan' (generosity) and 'prem' (love) have their own appeal to the Indian people and they may attribute this appreciation of Bhoodan to Indian culture. Viewed in that light, Mahatma

Gandhi himself is a product of Indian culture. Could India be deprived of her culture, Mahatma Gandhi would never have been born. Thus though you may hold Indian culture responsible for the Bhoodan appeal, yet the influence of Gandhiji is conspicuously in it.

"Secondly we find that mutual relations in the world to-day are improving on account of India. At any rate, bitterness is decreasing. Whatever be her weight, India is throwing it on the side of peace and World freedom and refuses to align herself with any violent Block. I regard this as a distinct influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Thirdly, the Government of India has slowly come to realise the role of village industries. None will deny that our friends in office are inspired not only by Gandhiji but by Western countries too. Whence they could not totally agree with Gandhiji's views on village industries and the like. But the pressure of Indian situation and the steady growth of the Sarvodaya ideology are producing their own effect in such a way as to lead the Government to take up village industries too. Again, you may say that this is not so much due to Gandhiji's influence as to the force of Indian conditions. But Gandhiji's views are a product of

Indian conditions and suit them very remarkably. This does not mean that his views are unsuited to the world without. The economics of Sarvodaya that he gave us is applicable to the whole world and is going to save it. But, for India it is a prime necessity. Otherwise, her people will not be able even to make their two ends meet.

#### The Greatest of Gandhiji's Influences

"But to me the greatest influence of Gandhiji is visible in quite a different thing, viz., the single-minded devotion of hundreds of workers to the Bhoodan movement. With no material temptations before them, they are working in it with a missionary enthusiasm. You know that hundreds of villages have been offered in Bhoodan in the Koraput district of Orissa. This is largely due to the incessant labour put in by the workers during the last rainy season. Undaunted by Malaria for which Koraput is notorious, they—both men and women workers—worked zealously. In case anyone fell ill he or she went to the hospital; but no sooner were they discharged than they ran back to their post of duty. It was a marvellous scene what I saw there from June to September last. Moved purely by a religious spirit, both men and women carried Bhoodan message from village to village. I am certain that this is all due to Gandhiji's influence. And in the last resort, this is due to God—with whose name on his lips Gandhiji cast off his mortal shell."

Our friend had heard of the wonderful response that Bhoodan

received in Koraput as also of the new work about to start there. He was not quite sure whether this would bring some clash with the Government, for the lines of work were obviously different. Vinoba's reference to Koraput encouraged him to clear his doubt: "Won't you come in conflict with the Government if your ideals of decentralisation and Gram-Raj are worked out on a large scale?"

#### Will not Gram-Raj lead to conflict with State?

Pleased at his question, Vinoba replied, "We may and we may not. And if we do, it will be a conflict of love. Suppose that the Government-sponsored plans did not fructify, and we felt it necessary to go to the people telling them that the Government were wrong, it would mean a conflict. But our conflict will be one of love. We want to change the Government itself."

"In the beginning there were many apprehensions about Bhoodan. Some people, both in Government and without, thought that distribution of lands obtained in small donations would bring new problems instead. But the development of Bhoodan into Gram-Dan has produced happy reactions all over, including Delhi. I am sure that if Bhoodan develops in the direction of Gram-dan, we would be able to transform the Government early. Suppose this were not the case and a clash does come, I worry little. I am not afraid of it because my method is of non-violence."

"But even if there be no ground for the Government to oppose us, our

opposition to the Government is positive and always there. We do not believe in the very institution of centralised Government. This can materialise after we create that type of will-power in the people. If we create it, the government will have to change accordingly. You will thereby see that this is a fundamental point of principle. And on this point, my opposition is there with all the Governments in the World, not excluding our own."

#### Application of Bhoodan Principle to Europe

This implied a universal application of the Bhoodan ideology. But coming, as our friend did, from a small and prosperous country like Holland, he could not see how Bhoodan could make any headway in Europe. So he did some loud thinking on the subject: "In most of the Western countries there doesn't exist a problem of big landlords and landless people as in India. Social conditions are quite good, too. But we face a hectic mechanisation of our countryside and towns, and also of our ways of living and thinking. How do you visualise these problems could be solved?"

"Bhoodan covers all this", remarked Vinoba. "In fact, I have repeatedly said that land-distribution alone is not Bhoodan. A no less important part of it is village industries, i. e. the village people should lead a life supported by industries. To talk of village industries is not to insist on old tools and implements. All improvements in tools in keeping with the local conditions are welcome."

And I want people to lead a simple happy life by working on these improved tools. But some are, wrongly, afraid that a plea for simplicity denotes a denial of plenty, comfort and splendour.

"Recently Sardar Panikkar has ridiculed the idealism of individual perfection at the cost of society. Well, I want to say that I am out for all sorts of happiness and growth. But I also want that every individual must have a living contact with Nature, that there should be no exploitation and that there should be no disparities in the society. Granting these three essentials, all abundance or prosperity is very welcome. And on this triple basis—non-exploitation, balanced distribution and living contact with Nature—I want simplicity and the villages to stand on their feet."

"Our Shastras which teach us to lead a life of high simplicity bid us to produce more and more food and more things. Simplicity is not poverty or living in any way one likes. With the aforesaid three conditions intact, I am prepared to give you an open charter to develop as you choose and increase your wealth, health and happiness. I believe that work has to be done all over the world in this light, especially in Europe and America."

#### The World Tension

Then our friend turned to the subject nearest to his heart. In the last War, he had suffered immensely. He passed several years in a Japanese concentration camp which proved to be the grave of a large number of

people, including his own father. One could see a thirst for peace in his eyes. He asked Vinoba, "How do you feel World tension could be relaxed?"

"There are", rejoined Vinoba, "two ways of it: international and national. As regards the former, representatives of all nations of the world can meet together and discuss their problems. The U.N.O. is already there. I am glad that sixteen countries have been newly admitted to it. But it is sheer injustice not to allow in it as big a country as China. Long before the Government of India recognised the new Chinese Republic, I had declared that she must find a place in the U.N.O. I feel that any delay in this regard is dangerous to World-peace."

"There can be no peace without mutual confidence. We must trust one another. Should we distrust while sitting together in the U.N.O. there can be no progress at all. When the U.S.S.R. expresses its readiness to offer a correct picture of her armed forces and to relinquish Atomic weapons, she must be trusted by the U.S.A. and both must proceed together ahead. I am happy to note that His Holiness the Pope has made a like suggestion."

#### The Civil Power and State-Power

"This is the task for the representatives of different nations. But much has to be done inside every country itself. There are local problems all over. Steps must be taken to solve these problems by civil power or the self-reliant power of the people, not by the legal or military power of

the State concerned. I make a difference between the civil power and the State-power. It can be said that all that a State does is done by her people. But I am not going to call the same an achievement of civil power. Recently in Andhra the Government had launched a very good project as Nagarjunasagar. The credit for it goes to the Government, to those who are there at the behest of the people, and in a way it goes to the people themselves. Yet I won't call it a work of civil power. On the other hand, if village people unite together to dig wells, it will be civil power. And its civil character will remain untarnished even if the Government were to help them in it. On these lines, we must show our capacity to meet our local issues in a manner independent of the State."

"Thus World tension would be relaxed and peace be established when we work through our representatives in international chambers and through civil power inside our own countries."

#### Can Non-violence solve Israel-Arab Dispute?

It came all as a new book to our Dutch visitor. He was amazed that though Vinoba was talking of World peace, the word "Non-violence" did not occur at all. So he came forward with a more practical illustration: "Do you think non-violence could be applied to the dispute between Israel and the Arab countries?"

"Surely", said Vinoba. "Both the Arabs and the Jews are an ancient people, each blessed with a noble heritage and a great scripture. Non-violence is bound to work on

such civilised and cultured people. But I believe and know that non-violence proves as effective on savages too. But the condition is that both the Jews and the Arabs must not be influenced by any other country. The tragedy is that whenever two countries are faced with a problem they associate themselves with different powers. We all know how Pakistan came under American influence. Had India also followed the same course, Indo-Pakistan differences would have aggravated further. I value Pandit Nehru's sagacious statesmanship to refuse to go under anybody's shelter. Likewise, I feel that if the Arabs and the Jews once cast off their foreign shelters, they can meet their problem by non-violence."

#### India's Role as a Mediator

This set our Dutch friend a thinking. He felt that India, the home of non-violence, must offer her services for this job. He said, "Since India is getting more and more good influence as a mediator between the big powers, I think India would be the only country that can mediate in this dispute too and save the Middle East from a horrible disaster." And with a twinkle in his eyes, he submitted: "Would you be ready to use your influence to mediate in this dispute?"

Vinoba smiled and added, "India's is in a very humble position. But if she were to adopt a different attitude and claim to solve all problems of the World, the World would gain nothing and India would positively go down. Though there are

tendencies of non-violence in India, yet it cannot be said that she has tackled all her problems by non-violence. India has, therefore a definite limitation and it is her duty to devote her energy to solve her own problems non-violently. In case she arrogates to herself the job of settling World disputes, she should be nowhere and the World would be faced with a very dangerous situation. An atmosphere of fear rather than of peace would then dominate the globe. But if any country were to demand her service, India should willingly offer them and go to its service. But she can render no service to the World by merely talking of peace. She must first resolve her own conflicts and get rid of the manifold forces that disturb her peace. She can render effective and useful service to the World only after she has set her own house in order by truthful and non-violent means."

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By  
PYARELAL

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# Sarvodaya in Mahabharata

Dr. SUSHILA NAYYAR

Bhoodan does not aim at land distribution only. It aims to revolutionise all the values that govern the society and State to-day. The philosophy of Sarvodaya is not new to India. Nor is the Marxian ideal of "Stateless State" an alien idea imported into Sarvodaya concept. Sri Sushila Nayyar describes how it is deeply embedded in the Indian epic of Mahabharata in her article in the Special Congress Number of the "Economic Review" of the A. I. C. C. from which this is published.

INDIA had accepted Gandhiji's leadership to attain freedom through non-violent means. However, non-violence has been accepted by most as an expedient policy, and not as a creed. The result was that while we acclaimed ourselves for our courage in facing the British bullets non-violently, we took up arms against our own brethren at the time of the partition of India. Hindus and Muslims became dehumanised, and the resulting blot on the fair face of India would have disfigured her completely if Gandhiji had not intervened and laid down his life in the attempt of saving India's honour.

The shock of his martyrdom brought us back to our senses, but it was not enough to free our heart of all traces of violence. There was injustice, exploitation and, in some parts of India, the Communists came forth to fight injustice with the traditional weapons of violence. There was terror let loose in the district of Telangana. The violence of the people was put down by the Government with a heavy hand so that the terror became all the more terrible.

Vinobaji had been carrying on experiments of *Kanchan Mukti*—freedom from money—at his Ashram at Paunar. He walked to Hyderabad to

participate in the Sarvodaya Sammelan in 1951; and on his way back he walked through the districts of Telangana. It was here that the idea of Bhoodan movement was born. It is a way of bringing about economic revolution through wholly non-violent means. There are doubts expressed by many people as to why so many persons should waste their time and energy in walking on foot to collect land. It would be far simpler to take away the land from the landlords by passing an Act of Parliament or by passing necessary land legislation in the State Legislatures.

## The Objectives of Bhoodan

They forget that the object of Bhoodan movement is not merely the collection of land or money in the form of Sampattidan. The underlying idea is the furtherance of the philosophy of Sarvodaya to bring about a non-violent revolution in the hearts of men so that they would give up a portion of what they have for their brethren of their own free will. It is an effort to make the masses realise that they are members of one family and thus they owe a duty towards everyone living in the country, and ultimately towards all those living anywhere in the world. Dispossessing the moneyed classes

forcibly is not going to revolutionise the thinking of men since after some time the disparities are likely to reappear. We have before us the instance of Soviet Russia. Although they had a mighty revolution and there was a tremendous amount of bloodshed so as to put an end to all forms of injustice and exploitation and equalise the rich and poor, there are very big disparities of income in that country today. Similarly, France, which started with the noble ideals of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, has not been able to live those ideals as they had hoped to. The very violence by which these revolutions were brought about, defeated the object for which they were born, to a very large extent. The ideal of attaining the greatest good of all cannot be realized unless there is a non-violent revolution and the hearts of men are changed so that they find greater joy in working for the good of all than in working for their own individual good.

## Sarvodaya in Mahabharata

The objective of Boodan movement has expanded into the attainment of a social order free from exploitation and free from governmental control. The latter thought seems to frighten people when they are faced with it for the first time. Is it not visionary?, they ask. Is it not utterly impracticable to think of a social order without government? Do we want anarchism? Much of this fear is based on lack of understanding of the basic philosophy which dislikes government control. Children have to be made to do the right things, but mature people do

them of their own accord. The goal of a Welfare State is good in the infancy of a nation, but when that nation becomes mature, it wants the State to interfere with its life as little as possible. This idea is not new. It has been beautifully described in the Mahabharata. The great sage Narada visited the court of the righteous king, Yudhishtira. Yudhishtira asked the sage: "You have travelled all over the universe. Have you seen a government better than mine anywhere? I would like to know, so that I can improve. I have tried my best to give good government to my people. I have ensured justice for all, everyone gets his due and the wrong-doers are punished. What can I do to make my government better, O' sage?" Narada smiled and said, "Yes, O' King. I have seen a kingdom which is far superior to yours.

*Na thathra raajo aasith, na cha  
dando na dandikah,  
Swabhavena cha dharmagnah  
rakshanti parasparam.*

In that kingdom; O! there is no king. There are none to punish and none to receive punishment. Every one knows his duty and they all serve and protect one another".

This is the ultimate ideal of Sarvodaya. Not only do we want equal opportunity for all to develop their talents so that they can make their fullest contribution to the welfare of all; not only do we want everyone to have his or her needs fulfilled in the form of opportunities to work—creative work, not mere drudgery—to have food and clothes, shelter, opportunities for education,

## Pandit Nehru on Bhoodan

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru distributed 1,000 acres in Nilambur during his recent Kerala tour. He evinced great interest in the movement. The distribution was done in a big public meeting. He very warmly shook hands with the Adivasi who was chosen as the representative of the donees. He made the following reference during his speech which mainly dealt with the harm done by the communal bodies taking part in politics:

"You saw that I distributed a *pramanapatra* to a landless Adivasi friend just now.

"I am glad to be associated with the Bhoomidan movement here at Nilambur. It was a particularly happy thought to have chosen an Adivasi, of all people, to receive this *pramanapatra* from me. I congratulate the donors on their generosity and wish this worthy example will be copied by others as well. I congratulate too all those who received this land as also the Bhoodan workers who arranged this function."

During a speech in another public meeting in Malabar where he

was dealing with eviction of tenants by land-lords he spoke the following about the Bhoodan movement:

"We have put an end to big landlords and Zamindars. But the land problem is not solved yet. You know Acharya Vinoba Bhave is carrying on the Bhoodan movement. His is the best method for the solution of the land problem in our country. He has already received millions of acres of land all over India. That is a remarkable thing which probably would not have happened in other countries. That is the Indian way of tackling even social problems where vested interests come into conflict. So we must certainly encourage the Bhoodan movement. But that is not enough. We have to proceed otherwise by legislation and other means to complete this work of land reform."

The land distributed by Panditji is very rich and fertile and steps are being taken to rehabilitate the donees before the next monsoons.

(Extract from a letter from Sri E. Ikkanda Warriar, Convener, Kerala Bhoodan Yagna Samiti, Trichur.)

*Continued from page 309*

medical care and to have some leisure to pursue hobbies, but we also want every member of the society to become so mature that the State would really and truly wither away. A great philosopher has said: "That Government is best which governs the least". But such a government can only be had by people who have become mature in mind who can take their responsibilities and discharge them of

their own accord. Creation of such a social order is the objective of Sarvodaya, and it is to the attainment of this objective that we have to pledge ourselves now on January 26th (Republic Day) and particularly on January 30, so that we shall neither rest nor let those, over whom we have influence, to rest till the goal is reached

"A. I. C. C. *Economic Review*"  
Feb. 1956.

## The Intellectual Revolution of Bhoodan

Sir RUSTOM MASANI

"ACCEPT, O Lord, the fruits of our labour, grant us New Life and raise among us *Rishis* who may enrich our lives with the wealth of wisdom!"

In Vedic times people prayed fervently for the advent of great *Rishis*. India was accordingly blessed with sages from age to age. One of the great truths that has come down from those great teachers is that there is a spark of the divine within every individual. As part of the substratum of his being, there is latent in every man the spirit of goodness. It may be buried under the animality persisting in man, but it is there all the same, at times moribund, at times alive. The light that lighteth every human being coming from the invisible world to this phenomenal world cannot be put out. There is no hamlet so forlorn, runs a saying of a Japanese spiritual teacher, that the rays of the moon fail to reach it, nor is there any man who, were the windows of his thought opened, cannot perceive the truth and take it to his heart.

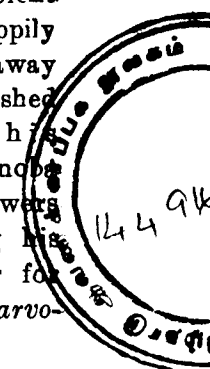
Firm in his faith in the innate goodness of man, Gandhiji evolved his philosophy of *Sarvodaya*, the Uplift of All, without exception. It implied that the lowliest and the last was to be the first to receive attention. It was the earnest desire of Gandhiji to dedicate, after obtaining *Swaraj* (Self-rule), the remaining years of his life to constructive work for the evolution

of a society rooted in the principles of *Sarvodaya*. *Swaraj*, for him, was to be the first step towards the goal of the ideal social order of his dream—*Ram Rajya*. But was the independence obtained the *Purna* (complete) *Swaraj* of his dream? Could it be called *dharma*, that which binds members of a society together? Was it not *adharma*, breaking the body politic asunder and involving the people in fratricidal massacres? How could he reconcile himself to a *Swaraj* which was anything but non-violent and was in no way complete? Happily for him, he was mercifully taken away from the scene of enmity, bloodshed and atrocity, which lacerated his heart. On his chosen disciple, Vinoba Bhave, and on other devoted followers devolved the duty of continuing his work and inaugurating the order for which he had coined the name *Sarvodaya*.

Without much loss of time those faithful followers set up a Brotherhood and called it the *Sarvodaya Samaj*. Its principal aim was to evolve a society based on truth and non-violence, a society in which there could be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for development for individuals as well as groups.

The *Bhoodan Yajna* launched by Vinobaji is but the first step towards the coveted goal.

In man's selfishness and greed, deep-seated in his heart, lies the root



of all forms of injustice and tyranny and of all forces of violence. Unless those roots are removed, there is no hope for an order based on love and brotherhood. How often in the history of India have the prospects of peaceful renovation of society been ruined by sudden outbursts of clashes and conflicts of interests. The latest illustration is the squabble all over India over the recommendations made by the State Reorganization Commission. Humiliating as is this spectacle of disagreement and disunity, at the time of writing this article the outlook is most distressing for those who subscribe to the Gandhian way of life. It seems as though the spirit infused by the master is dead, his gospel of love and non-violence completely forgotten. But we may be sure good sense and goodness will ultimately prevail. Remembering the message of the *Rishis*, restated and reinforced by Gandhiji and Vinobaji, let us not lose faith in the innate goodness of man and his ultimate destiny; let us turn from the depressing wrangle on the Commission's report to the cheering spectacle of the purification and conversion of hearts that has been taking place during the last five years in rural India, forming over eighty per cent of the total population of the country. Therein lies the hope for the evolution of the ideal order longed for by humanity.

Such an order could not, however, be evolved merely by fighting exploitation and injustice. Gandhiji realized that it was necessary to have a concrete programme of constructive work for the purpose—the translation

of moral values into practice on a mass scale. In order that dire poverty and gross inequality and exploitation might be eliminated, men should be taught and made to give up voluntarily and cheerfully their self-interest and self-love. To that end, Vinobaji took up the land problem and asked every landowner, big or small, to give a portion of his holding lovingly for distribution among landless labourers. It soon developed into a mass movement, so that Bhoodan has now become a comprehensive term for all sorts of gifts and corporate activities for the betterment of the population. It comprises *sampattidan* (gift of wealth), *sadhanadan* (gift of implements and other aids to cultivation), *shramadan* (gift of manual labour), *premadan* (gift of love) and *buddhidan* (gift of one's intelligence and intellectual labour)—all logical developments of the movement for equitable distribution of land as one of the principal factors in the reorganization of society. The message emphasizing the general principle that land is a gift of nature and therefore belongs to God, that is to say, to society, and that everyone who works on it must have a share in it, is spreading from village to village. That is the intellectual revolution brought about by *Bhoodan*, a change in man's conception of the values of life. A revolution in the relationships among men naturally follows.

To eradicate selfishness and greed one has to go to its root in the human heart. To hope to remove such propensities by suppression, legislation or other means of coercion would be of no avail. It might only push them

below the surface. The only effective way to wean man from selfishness and greed is by a change of heart, by conversion. Vinoba has a magic key with him, the key of love, which opens the door of every home and every heart. As the sacrificial fire lit by him is mounting higher and higher, the number of conversions of people is also soaring higher and higher from day to day.

*Dan* does not merely mean gift or bounty. In its scriptural sense it signifies a process of growing by giving, growing rich in spirit. By offering *dan*, the owner obliges none. He obliges himself, as it means purification of his heart. It means also peace of mind. It is only a token of human brotherhood and love, a recognition and manifestation of one's appreciation of the doctrine that

whatever comes to one comes from God and must be held for God, in other words, for the service of society. In a sense, therefore, it means purification and conversion not only of the donor but also of the recipient of the gift and of society generally. The donor thus becomes a significant factor in bringing about the revolutionary change in human relationships and in establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. That Kingdom remains still an ideal. *Bhoodan* seeks to make it a reality by developing the Sarvodaya concept of the good of all. In that process one witnesses daily instances of miraculous change of heart and feels that in rural India at least the spirit of Gandhiji is still alive.

With Courtesy to "Aryan Path"



### Let us wash our own Linen.

There are about five crores of families engaged in constructive work; for, is there any greater constructive worker than the Kisan? It is indeed a hypocrisy to claim that we, accustomed to present big reports of our work to the public, are doing a greater service than the Kisan, who never thinks in terms of publicity. In his anxiety to offer you his hospitality he will not care even to starve himself. But have you ever heard him uttering a word about it? Political workers, on the contrary when they accompany me in their constituencies they will immediately include in their diaries, that they had spent three precious days for Bhoodan in Baba's company. Let us realise, before it is too late that we have to wash our own linen. Consciously or unconsciously we happen to fall in the category of the exploiters. While we claim to serve, we survive only through exploitation.

Hyderabad, }  
6—2—56. }

VINOBA.

# India and The Machine

## Is it to be God or Devil?

WILFRED WELLOCK

Rapid industrial development in the East on Western lines is a matter of grave concern to many in the West who had to face two World Wars as a result of the industrial revolution. Mr. Wellock who has been warning the East of the perils of imitating the soulless mechanical industrialisation of the West has sent us this special article for 'Sarvodaya' at the suggestion of a discussion group in England of which Mr. Wellock is a member.

Prime Minister Nehru, when opening the Indian Industrial Fair last October, stated that the machine had brought the world to an age of potential if not actual abundance. There was therefore no further need for conflict. India was on the threshold of an Industrial Revolution, yet even before she crossed it there loomed up the atomic revolution. The machine was inevitable, but if it led to unemployment new avenues of employment should be discovered. Mr. Nehru then added: "The big machine was both God and Devil at the same time. What was needed was to extract its god-like qualities."

Those words of Mr. Nehru describe exactly what is happening in the West to-day. In the West, especially in America, but also, in a less degree, in Britain and Western Europe, there is abundance. This abundance is now being assured by automatic machinery. The extension of automation naturally causes unemployment, but by practising what is now called an "expanding economy" new gadgets are invented, the mass production of which absorbs the unemployed caused by automation.

To this process of an expanding economy there would appear to be no end. In the U. S. A., where automation is most advanced, living standards are double those of any other country, and probably thirty times higher than those of India, for instance.

Two questions arise here. First, are these high and ever-rising living standards good for mankind, and second, can they continue indefinitely?

### Is the Ever-rising Standard of Living Good?

On the first question all the facts go to show that abundance does not insure or even lead to happiness and well-being. The time always comes when for reasons of health and well-being we must distinguish between sufficiency and surplus or over-abundance. In America there is over-abundance, and thus overspending, over-eating, over-dressing and an over-rating of gadgets. In regard to food wastage, in one area an official examination of the bins into which the people throw their wastes, and their unwanted goods, it was ascertained that the wastage of food averaged 18 pounds per week for a family of

four persons. Discarded clothing, toys, gadgets etc. reach fantastic totals.

As these conditions would indicate, abundance is not attended by contentment and moderation. People develop devouring tendencies, and increasingly look to spending and consuming for their reliefs, pleasures and entertainment. Accordingly they are never satisfied, never contented, but restless, in need of change, buying something or going somewhere. They thus become the easy victims of advertising, so that with all their big incomes they have never enough. Hence getting more and more money becomes their chief concern. Even so they overspend by means of hire-purchase, thus mortgaging considerable percentages of future earnings to the extent of many years. Then, when debt begins to hang over them like a heavy cloud, they become depressed and wonder if ever they will regain their freedom, and what will happen to their hire-purchase belongings should unemployment or sickness or death overtake them or their families.

I have seen all these tendencies in operation in the U. S. A. in recent years, and now they are spreading with great rapidity in Britain, also and in Western Europe.

### Can the Expanding Economy Continue?

I now come to the second question: can this expanding economy continue indefinitely?

I do not think it can, either from the moral or the material standpoint. To-day the United States is using

almost as much raw material of all kinds as the rest of the world taken together. She has six times more motor cars than the rest of mankind. Indeed she is using up her own natural resources so rapidly that she is calling upon external sources at an ever-increasing rate.

To-day American political leaders are holding up the American way of life as the sure means of saving the world from Communism. But what would happen if the whole world were from now on to concentrate on attaining America's living standards? For how long would the natural resources required be forthcoming? No one knows. The issue has never been faced. What is clear, is that before very long the international scramble for the monopolistic control of vital supplies would be such as to threaten war very soon. Consider the oil supplies, for example, and the conflict that is now raging in the Middle East for their possession. What would be the situation should the demand for oil be doubled or trebled during the next ten years as well it might, were materialism to spread as it now threatens to do, to the ends of the earth.

Then there is the question of markets. Raw materials must be bought by means of exports. Yet to-day the competition for markets, or the sale of exports in order to buy vital raw materials, is becoming as fierce as it was in 1914 and in 1939. This issue of markets for exports is Britain's biggest problem at present, and before long it will be America's biggest problem. Moreover, as the

under-developed countries, industrially speaking, step up their industrial production, and eventually make their own machinery, they will import less while they will want to retain for their own use raw materials which now they are selling to the Western Powers.

It may well be, therefore, that while the East develops and prospers, the West will be faced with unemployment and economic breakdown, followed by the spread of Communism and possibly the third world-war.

This is the vicious circle into which a materialistic civilisation inevitably drives nations. It is the logical conclusion of an expanding economy, which thinks only in terms of material advancement.

#### The Devil in the Machine

To use Mr. Nehru's phrase, this result is the Devil in the machine. The product of the machine has become more important than the human beings who serve it. More and more goods, but more and more robots, human beings robbed of their creative functions, repetitive workers whose labour is monotonous, tedious and unsatisfying. Hence they work for money only, and are thus transformed into materialists. Their lives tend to be made up of earning and spending money. Thus man, made in the image of God, and intended for creative labour, is transformed into a machine, or mass-man, a mere devourer of wealth in what is essentially a materialistic civilisation.

I am not opposed to the power machine, but it must not be allowed to become God, and to deprive men of

the right to develop as whole human beings, body, mind and spirit. Man has always perfected his tools, and I believe there is a place even for the automatic machine, but the emphasis in production must always be on quality, distinction, character and beauty. It is man's privilege to make beautiful homes, inspiring neighbourhoods and nations composed of an infinite variety of small communities, each community with a character and spirit of its own, due to the nature of the local genius.

#### The Right to Creative Living

The right to creative living is the right to become a whole, or fully developed, person; and the right and liberty to live as a whole person is more important than the right to become rich, which in the West often tends to become the primary freedom. In the West, the aim to become rich has led to machine worship whence the machine becomes God and man descends to the sub-human level and becomes a robot, or mass-man. The outcome is giant machines, giant business concerns, and giant cities. Whereas with few exceptions, machines, workshops and communities should be small, as only then has the common man a chance to develop, to express his soul, his imagination and emotions in his daily labour.

India, on the threshold of her industrial revolution, must now decide whether the machine is to assist man to develop his creative or god-like powers, or force him into the slavery of sub-human functioning. Water may be stored, electricity be generated and iron and steel be produced,

by great works. What is important is that the water, the electricity and the iron and steel shall in the main be sent into her villages, where human genius in its infinite variety of manifestations may express the grandeur and the exuberance of the human spirit: in productions of great beauty to serve and delight the people of India for generations, add lustre to her name through the ages, and in the process achieve a level of culture in her democracy which will enable her to play her maximum part in saving world civilisation from utter destruction in nuclear warfare.

The issue: God or Devil in the machine, is the outstanding issue in India today! ★ ★

### All India Land Distribution & Sampattidan.

| Province.            | Upto           | Land distribution |                     | Sampattidan received. |       |                |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------|----------------|
|                      |                | Acres.            | To No. of families. | Annual amount. Rs     | A. P. | No. of Donors. |
| 1. Assam             | ...            | ...               | ...                 | ...                   | ...   | ...            |
| 2. Andhra            | ... 30-8-55    | 59                | 77                  | 790                   | 0 0   | 4              |
| 3. Uttar Pradesh     | ... 31-12-55 * | 1,12,271          | 33,536              | 3,272                 | 6 0   | 659            |
| 4. Utkal             | ... 30-11-55   | 36,900            | 5,532               | 24,803                | 1 9   | 2,236          |
| 5. Karnatak          | ... 31-12-55   | 471               | 136                 | 689                   | 2 8   | 39             |
| 6. Kerala            | ... 31-12-55   | 1,383             | 402                 | 1,796                 | 7 4   | 182            |
| 7. Gujarat           | ... 31-12-55   | 7,834             | 2,737               | 7,682                 | 0 0   | 27             |
| 8. Thamilnad         | ... 31-12-55   | 914               | 334                 | 12,419                | 9 0   | 506            |
| 9. Delhi             | ... 31-10-55   | 90                | 25                  | 18,861                | 10 0  | 24             |
| 10. Punjab-Pepsu     | ... 30-11-55   | 826               | 205                 | 58,170                | 13 4  | 330            |
| 11. Bengal           | ... 31-12-55   | 1,833             | 1,510               | 20,423                | 1 0   | 764            |
| 12. Bombay           | ... 31-12-55   | ...               | ...                 | 1,24,947              | 0 0   | 475            |
| 13. Bihar            | ... 31-12-55   | 62,013            | 34,341              | 32,572                | 15 9  | 780            |
| 14. Madhya Pradesh   | ... 31-12-55   | 41,427            | 7,806               | 19,324                | 14 7  | 438            |
| 15. Madhya Bharat    | ... 30-11-55   | 678               | 173                 | 14,651                | 6 3   | 577            |
| 16. Maharashtra      | ... 31-12-55   | 3,351             | ...                 | 4,205                 | 0 0   | 11             |
| 17. Mysore           | ... 31-22-55   | ...               | ...                 | 424                   | 6 0   | 10             |
| 18. Rajasthan        | ... 31-12-55   | 16,629            | 2,791               | 30,937                | 1 6   | 471            |
| 19. Vindhya Pradesh  | ... 31-12-55   | 860               | 312                 | 3,725                 | 8 0   | ...            |
| 20. Sourashtra       | ... 31-12-55   | 5,818             | 703                 | ...                   | ...   | ...            |
| 21. Himachal Pradesh | ... 31-12-55   | 21                | 8                   | 1,050                 | 0 0   | ...            |
| 22. Hyderabad        | ... 31-12-55   | 37,044            | 7,610               | 25,229                | 4 9   | 521            |
|                      |                | 3,30,422          | 98,238              | 4,59,075              | 11 11 | 8,054          |

\* 43416 acres of land given to Gram Samaj is also included in it.

NOTE :—42,31,853 acres of land from 5,18,569 donors and 924 whole villages (Gram dan) have been received upto 31-12-1955.

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA,  
Office Secretary.

# Religion in Everyday Life

— Miss MURIEL LESTER —

The following is the gist of the speech at the first Regional Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held at Allahabad from 31st October 1955. Miss Muriel Lester is on her eighth tour round the world on a mission of reconciliation. The speech revolves around the essential teachings of all religions which form the basis of Sarvodaya philosophy. We are indebted to "Arunodayam" published by Christavashram, Manganam, T. C. State (India).

AT the outset the speaker pointed out that this half century was marked by an awakening of the common man and an up-surge of passion for freedom—national, economic, social. More interesting still was the claim for spiritual freedom: a refusal any longer to take religion at second hand. She further added that there was impatience at hearing beautiful phrases quoted in prayers, or sung in hymns, or read from holy books which were immediately contradicted in the everyday life of ordinary people. She thought that during the fifty years young people have gone much deeper than that and gradually come to realise that they must not say the words: "Our Father" which implied the brotherhood of the whole human race unless they were going to begin at once to implement that brotherhood in their daily habits.

Of course this meant that in one country after another individuals began to refuse to join the Army, Navy or Air Force. How could they kill or learn to kill? How could they hate when the cross of Christ was the symbol of God's way of facing evil. All the great religions teach that evil 'can't be overcome by evil means.' The only way to face it is by its complete opposite, i. e., understanding

compassion, the Spirit of Truth, Love unlimited. This led them to cross the class barriers and throw in their lot with the poorest and lowliest and lost.

The attempt to implement religion in everyday life led to the founding of the F. O. R. in 1914. Just before the first World War there had been a great gathering in Switzerland of Christians coming from East and West, North and South. They had no idea as they prayed together and rejoiced in their unity and contributed, each from his own experience, to their corporate worship and found peace and joy in their fellowship that the world cataclysm was upon them. As the war was announced they had to go back to their own countries, perhaps to be ordered to kill each other.

One German and one English man dared to adopt God's way of overcoming evil. They decided that each as soon as he got back home should write a clear statement of his conviction that Christ's law rather than that of any Government must be obeyed; that, one who follows Christ cannot look on his fellow human beings as enemies: that whatever happened—loss of vote, of job, of friends—of liberty of life, they refused to support the military any

way. This should not be a merely negative stand. They would offer themselves for service, however lowly or dangerous, so long as it was constructive and right outside the military machine.

## Origin of F. O. R.

The German sent his statement to all his brother ministers. He was immediately arrested, courtmartialled and condemned to death. But due to certain powerful influences, he was set free. Later Hitler tried to kill him but could not. He is still an active leader of the F. O. R. in Europe. In England the statement appeared in the religious press. Hundreds sent in their names wanting to join in such a witness. A conference was held in Cambridge in January 1914. Here after much prayer and thought the F. O. R. came into being.

Brother Paul, a German Roman Catholic priest and member of the F. O. R. was jailed for three months and his hands were tied. He however, managed to translate the Epistle to the Romans just three days before he was beheaded. The Church has tried to escape, through theological wrangling of the gospel of love. Gandhiji, the greatest man since Christ, rightly points out that a living faith in God means acceptance of brotherhood of man, hence the acceptance of the gospel of love. Gandhiji rightly criticises those who merely do lip service to the teachings of Jesus, when he says, "I hear the living Christ saying: those so called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my 'Father's'

name in vain for they disobey the central command of my Father. That central command is: Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind and with all thy soul, and *Love thy neighbour as thyself*". The follower of ahimsa must conquer the tyrant by Love. He points out that Jesus who set the seal of his own blood upon His precepts, "Love thy enemy", "Resist not evil", practised non-violence par excellence.

Finally the speaker referred to Bapuji's 'Pick and Shovel Brigade,' working with hands for three months each year. Land grabbing is the greatest cause of war when as a matter of fact all land belongs to God. (Vinobaji is nobly carrying on that mission and is hoping to work the greatest social transformation for peace.)

★

## CHEAP

### Bhoodan Booklets at 4 As. each

1. A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order.  
BY JAIPRAKASH NARAIN
2. The Voice of Vinoba—being a few speeches in Andhra Yatra.
3. The Revolutionary Bhoodan: Speeches and Statements of eminent persons.
4. Bhoodan in Foreigners' Eyes.  
(under print)

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore

## Bhoodan at International Level

Mr. Donald Gibson, a student of the Sydney University, recently interviewed Acharya Bhave and asked for clarification of his remarks that "Australia should give help to the Japanese brothers since we believe in universal brotherhood". The following is a press report of the interview.

"Today nations claim that land belongs to them? But, I say, that it does not belong to any individual, village or nation. It belongs to God. Man should be welcome everywhere, he wants to settle" said Acharya Bhave and added that this principle did not apply to land only but to property also.

"I cannot claim that Australia should welcome Japan, but still I wish, when the Japanese want land and when land hunger is there, they must be offered land with large-heartedness, which is the primary need to put a stop to world wars. It is not only a question of Japan and Australia but wherever there is surplus land and, if there are people demanding land, there should be help forthcoming from all nations."

When asked why the Japanese should be mentioned in particular when Australia was allowing immigration of Britons and Europeans, Acharya Bhave replied. "The world is one and humanity is one. I press that reservation and preference for some people only, who are Europeans, is based on narrowness of mind. There must not be any discrimination between Europeans and others. If a number of civilisations came together there is much scope for progress and, humanity can benefit a lot by that".

### Combined Duty.

When Mr. Gibson drew Acharya Bhave's attention to the disparity in living standards and the fact that Australia had exerted a lot to develop her economy, Acharya Bhave said he knew difficulties were there. Even then differences should go and land should be offered generously. That was a combined duty of the world. Australia and Japan should take the initiative, and "make a declaration if we feel that on the whole humanity is one family".

He added: "I know there are difficulties and it is a huge task requiring great effort but still the offers should come. It can be a cry in the wilderness on my part, but I feel that in Australia, the land in the interior, which is barren and undeveloped—on which the Australians themselves do not like to settle due to the hot climate they cannot bear—should be offered to the Japanese if they prefer to go there.

"It should be admitted that the land belongs to God, and man should get land wherever it was available. We will cross the hurdles that may befall in the way, but we must understand the basic principles and if that is admitted, my work is over".

*"Indian Express"*

## Andhra Preparing for Vinobaji's Yatra

**T**HIRTY-FIVE families owning between themselves the entire land in Kadiripuram village, Sirvel taluk, Kurnool District, have decided to donate their lands to Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

The gift deeds concerning the land have already been drawn up, and they will be presented to Acharya Vinoba Bhave on Mar. 11 when he reaches Kurnool from Hyderabad to commence his walking tour of Rayalaseema.

Sri R. K. Ramalinga Reddi, Organiser, Andhra Bhoodan Samithi, said the people of Chagalmarri firka, consisting of six villages, in Sirvel taluk, had agreed to donate portions of their lands to Bhoodan Yagna. They had drawn up the gift deeds which would be presented to Acharya Vinoba Bhave on the same day at Kurnool.

Inaugurating the Anantapur District Bhoodan Yagna Conference on Sunday at Daddhitota, a village in Tadpatri taluk, Mr. A. B. Nageswara Rao, Minister for local Administration, Andhra, declared that Bhoodan movement was the only way to solve effectively the land problem peacefully. He hoped landowners will make liberal land gifts to benefit the landless poor. He was glad that this district had assigned so far 70,000 acres of Government waste lands to poor families and that the assignment work was being accelerated to complete the work before May.

Mr. C. Subbarayudu M. L. A., who presided, pointed out that vast

tracts of fertile lands owned by the rich lay fallow for years together. He advised the owners to retain the extent of land which they could cultivate themselves, and contribute the rest to be distributed among the landless poor for the poor and for stepping up food production.

Sri G. Gopala Reddi, Chief Minister, welcomed the delegates, and announced a gift of 10 acres by the villagers.

Sri M. N. Radhakrishna, District Sanchalak, Chittoor Bhoodan Committee, said: So far 7,500 acres have been collected in the district, against a target of 10,000.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave will address the members of the Andhra Legislative Assembly on Bhoodan during his visit to the State capital on March 11 and 12, said Sri Prabhakarji, Convener, Andhra Bhoodan Samithi. This will be the first time that Vinobaji will address the legislators belonging to all political parties.

Prabhakarjee also said that presidents of District Congress Committees in Rayalaseema area would be meeting at Kurnool to discuss the steps to be taken in connection with the proposed tour of Vinobaji in Rayalaseema districts.

One hundred and eighty-six poor people in Macherla have sent in their 'danpatras' to the Andhra Bhoodan Samithi. They have contributed from 2 to 10 cents each, it is learnt. ★

## Dr. Rajendra Prasad Inaugurates Bhoodan Yatra at Cape Comorin

**I**N pleasant morning weather of the land's end at Cape Comorin, the President Rajendra Prasad walked a few yards leading a batch of Sarvodaya workers on the "non-violent path" for the "creation of a new order of society".

The *Pada Yatra*, which will be a forerunner to similar yatras from other places in the country to fulfil the Bhoodan target of five crore acres before Gandhi Jayanti of 1957, started its trek from the sea-shore after a two-minute silent prayer for the success of the mission. The ten-member team included an American, Mr. Petar F. Winant, Sri Pyarelal and two women besides Dr. Sushila Nayyar. This yatra will converge at Wardha twenty months hence spreading the message of Bhoodan on the way.

Addressing the large gathering assembled at the sea front, Dr. Prasad described the Bhoodan movement as "a revolution in our life" and said if the movement succeeded the world would be a different one.

Blessing the movement the President said that it would "gather momentum as it proceeds just as the Ganges gathers force and volume as it flows on".

Walking a few yards from the "Gandhi Ghat", where a memorial to the Father of the Nation is springing up, Dr. Prasad said that this was the second phase of the Swaraj movement started by Gandhiji which Acharya Bhave was trying to complete.

That the movement had made an appeal was evident from the fact that so much land had already been contributed, he said and he wondered if there could be any other illustration in history where 46 lakhs acres of land had been made a free gift by landowners.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said he had watched the Bhoodan movement from its inception not only with great admiration but with great interest.

Wishing the team "godspeed" Dr. Rajendra Prasad reminded the people that Gandhiji's spirit was watching what was happening in the country. He hoped that the spirit of sacrifice shown by the people during the freedom struggle would manifest itself again and everyone would contribute his share for the fulfilment of this noble mission.

Dr. Prasad concluded his speech praying for the success of the 'yatra' under the leadership of Dr. Sushila Nayyar.

Messages wishing the mission success were received from among others the Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, Acharya Vinobha Bhave, Dr. B. V. Keshker, Union Information Minister, Governors of Andhra and Bihar and the Chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, Dr. Ravi Shanker Shukla.

### First Gram Dan.

The first *gram dan* (village gift) to be made in Kerala was announced at the function. The village, situated some 20 miles south of Trivandrum has an area of 100 acres and consists of 52 families.

★ ★

## With Jaiprakash Narain

CHANDRAPRAKASH, Sarva Seva Sangh, Gaya.

(The following is from the letters of Chandraprakashji who is following Sri Jaiprakash Narain's tour).

This Sarvodaya Mela Day I had the privilege of being at Sri Jaiprakash's village. Since last year Sri J. P. has been celebrating solemnly the Mela in his own village. Sant Tukdojee laid the foundation of Gandhighar to be built in the village under Gandhi Nidhi Scheme. Amber Charkha and other village industries' exhibits were displayed. A heap of *Sutanjali* (yarn offerings) covering an area of 5 feet×5 feet was gathered. More than fifty village women joined the spinning competition. In the after-noon meeting there was prayer conducted by Kasturba Gram Sevikas.

Sri Jaiprakash spoke at length appreciating Sant Tukdojee as one different from those living in the Himalayas. He appealed to his village people to stand up for the reconstruction work instead of looking towards the Government for all. Tukdojee gave a moving recital of Bhajans.

★

I must try to write for you, as I have been privileged to work with Sri Jaiprakash's tour. At Beza-wada, Vinobhaji blessed him for his resolve to confine himself to Bihar. Vinobha holds Bihar as a test zone.

Till the ensuing Sammelan he is out to see that the villages, where land donations had been obtained by Vinoba, rise up to the occasion and by their own effort share the obtained land with the landless. Gradually

they are to learn that the whole village land is theirs, and that there is no master. All those who like to till get an equal opportunity to serve the soil. I was with him in his Champaran tour. He addressed about a dozen public meetings, met group of workers for a close understanding of their difficulties, discussed with them the need of asking people not to look towards the Government for every want but join hands among themselves and try to live for one another. In this district he has spoken at length over his new idea of labour organisation. Labour is for the service of the society by helping for production, and not for a few chips received as wages.

Laxaul is the border place for Nepal. What a rousing reception! Red caps flocked to the train which carried him there. He was invited to tea by an ex-noble of Nepal territory. They talked to him and agreed to work for Sarvodaya.

Now his next tour begins on 2nd March and he has been booked till 18th April. Now he goes round the whole province thus. Next round will take him to places where people show readiness to prepare for Gramraj by providing land and implements for every one in their villages as a first step. He received hundreds of Sampatti Dan patras as token gifts by that section which represents the masses, which are yearning for this new social order.

★ ★

## Eighth Sarvodaya Sammelan

THE Annual Sarvodaya Sammelan has been generally held in the province in which Vinobaji happens to be on his Yatra in the months of April—May. As Vinobaji enters Tamil Nad on 12th May through Andhra it has become the special privilege of Tamilnad to take up the responsibility of making arrangements for the Sammelan in the last week of May.

There was a preliminary meeting at Madras on 27th February to constitute a Reception Committee for the Sammelan. Sri Siddaraj Dhadda and Sri Vallabhaswami, Joint Secretaries of the Sarva Seva Sangh attended the meeting. Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman presided. The Chief Minister and three other Ministers of Madras State, besides a large number of legislators and Sarvodaya workers attended the meeting. Unlike other Conferences the Sarvodaya Conference is observing its own standard of austerity and self-service. Those who attend pay a nominal amount for boarding and

lodging. Still the net cost of accommodation and boarding besides the preliminary organisational work is expected to amount to a lakh of rupees. It has been customary in the previous Sammelans for the local State Governments to take interest in such Conferences and to provide facilities for water, light etc. through their departments. Sri Kamraj said that it is the duty of Tamil Nad to make the Sammelan successful and also to collect maximum Bhoodan for Vinobaji during his ensuing Tamil-Nad tour. A Reception Committee was constituted with about 100 persons drawn from Madras and other districts, including the Ministers. Sri S. Jagannathan was proposed to be the President with Sri K. Kamraj and Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar as Vice-Presidents of the Reception Committee.

It was decided to hold the Sammelan in Conjeevaram, one of the sacred places of South India and the original seat of Sri Sankaracharya.

## THE HARIJAN WEEKLY

The sudden news of the cessation of the "Harijan", English weekly together with its other Gujarati and Hindi editions from 1st March will be shocking to all those of the Gandhian epoch who were looking to 'Harijan' for guidance and inspiration week after week. Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement with the Sarvodaya ideals which is considered as the

continuation of Gandhian revolution would have amply justified the continual service of the "Harijan" had there been support from sufficient number of subscribers. As the management has taken the decision finally without inviting opinion of the general readers or the Sarva Seva Sangh, any comment or suggestion at this stage will be purposeless. We are giving below for information the

final instructions to the subscribers given in the "Harijan" of 25-2-'56:—

"Readers will have learnt about the decision of the Trust to cease publication of all the three editions of *Harijan* from their new year, i. e. March, 1956. Subscribers will, therefore, be entitled to the return of the unused balance of their subscription. As soon as possible they will be individually informed of the amount due to them.

We request them to select any of the following courses for the return of unused subscription and let us have their instruction accordingly.

1. Transfer of subscription to either *Lokjivan* (Fortnightly) or *Shikshan Ane Sahitya* (Monthly), both in Gujarati.

(*Lokjivan* annual subscription Rs. 3/-;

*Shikshan Ane Sahitya* annual subscription Rs. 4/-) or

2. Navajivan Trust's books of equivalent value. (Postage free). Subscribers may select books of their choice from the list of books to be sent separately along with the intimation about the amount due to them.

3. Return of amount by M. O.

We shall wait until the end of April, 1956 for instructions. In cases where we do not know the choice by this time, we shall remit the sum to either periodical noted in 1 above.

JIVANJI D. DESAI,  
Managing Trustee."

## ★ All India Bhoodan News ★

**Madhya Pradesh:** During Padayatra, in the first week of January in Chattisgarh district, 533 donors from 125 villages donated 600 acres of land, Pandit Bhagwan Prasad gave away all his land, eight acres, as also one pair of bullocks, one cow and one horse as Sadhandana.

**Mysore:** The Sarvodaya Fortnight in Mysore this year was marked by the first Distribution of Bhoodan lands undertaken by the Mysore State Bhoodan Yajna Samithi at Abbalathi Village in Periyapatna Taluk in Mysore District on February 8th. Sri Tagadur Ramachandra Rao presided over the function.

Abbalathi is an Inam village consisting 600 acres of land out of which the land lord, Sri F. Galiffe of Bangalore, has contributed 100 acres as Bhoodan. He had suggested that this land may be earmarked for distribution among landless *Kadukurubas*, a tribal people inhabiting the forests of the area which Acharya Vinobaji had

approved. Fifteen families of 78 souls in all were the recipients of this land.

**Uttar Pradesh:** 82 Acres were distributed among 21 families in Ettah district.

**Madhya Bharat:** During the period ending 13th Jan., 260 Bighas were distributed among 64 families in Ratlam Disirict.

**Gujrat:** During the period ending 15th January, 666 acres were distributed among 230 families in the districts of Bharuch, Surat & Mehsang.

**Cutch:** Pdt. Ravishankar Maharaj, during his Akhand Padyatra in Banaskanta district collected 4310 Bighas and distributed 2064 Bighas among 356 families.

**Maharashtra:** During 23 days' padyatra in January, 277 acres were distributed among 41 landless families, and 126 acres were collected from 31 donors.

**Kerala:**

The high-light in December was the distribution by Sri Pandit Nehru of 1000 acres of land in Nilambur, South Malabar, to about 250 families of the landless poor. In the course of his speech the Prime Minister said that he was happy to associate himself with the Bhoodan Movement.

On the 5th January '56 Sri Jayaprakash visited Kerala to inaugurate the Intensive Area at Mootati, North Malabar. To take advantage of his presence, a meeting of the Bhoodan Workers in Kerala had been organised in Mootadi. Almost all the District and Taluk organisers (numbering about 400 attended the meeting. Sri Jayaprakash addressed them and explained the future programme of Bhoodan work in the light of the decisions taken at Vijayawada.

His main speech at the public meeting was also devoted to elucidate the real significance of the Bhoodan Movement in the context of the Intensive Area Scheme.

*Figures as on 31-12-'55*

|                        |               |
|------------------------|---------------|
| Lands Collected ...    | 28,414 acres  |
| No. of Danapathras ... | 4,331         |
| Lands Distributed ...  | 1,383 acres   |
| No. of Families ...    | 402           |
| Sampattidan—           |               |
| No. of Donors ...      | 112           |
| Annual Amount ...      | Rs. 1,796-7-4 |
| Jivan Danies ...       | 107           |

The Kerala Sarvodaya Sammelan was held in Thrikkur village near Tiruchur on the 1st, 2nd & 3rd March '56 when Shri Siddaraj Dhadda, and Sri Vallabhsami, Joint Secretaries of the Sarva Seva Sangh addressed at the Conference. There was the Kerala Women's Conference on the second day attended by the

leading lady workers of Kerala. All the constructive workers in Basic Education, Kasthurba Memorial Centres, and in other field in Kerala participated in the Sarvodaya Conference.

**Bihar.**

| District        | Land Distributed Acres. | No of families |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Santhal Pargana | 200                     | 84             |
| Darbhanga       | 653                     | 1081           |
| Champanan       | 1714                    | 2149           |
| Saran           | 100                     | 115            |
| Gaya            | 1401                    | 522            |
| Bhagalpur       | 138                     | 29             |
|                 | 4206                    | 3980           |

Rajasthan: 870 Bighas of land were distributed in four districts and 3,747 Bighas of Bhoodan were received in three districts.

**Vinobaji's Yatra in Andhra**

| Date.   | Place of halt. | Walking Miles. |
|---------|----------------|----------------|
| 11-3-56 | Kurnool        | 6              |
| 12-3-56 | Pedapodu       | 5              |
| 13-3-56 | Nagalapuram    | 6½             |
| 14-3-56 | Amodaguntla    | 7              |
| 15-3-56 | Kodunur        | 6              |
| 16-3-56 | Pulkurti       | 8              |
| 17-3-56 | Peddamariveedu | 8              |
| 18-3-56 | Yenniganur     | 8              |
| 19-3-56 | Peddakadanur   | 8              |
| 20-3-56 | Kappata        | 6              |
| 21-3-56 | Adoni          | 6              |
| 22-3-56 | "              | 6              |
| 23-3-56 | Kannarachedu   | 8              |
| 24-3-56 | Alur           | 8              |
| 25-3-56 | Nagaridona     | 7              |
| 26-3-56 | Chippagiri     | 6              |
| 27-3-56 | Guntakal       | 6              |

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### ★ To Our Readers ★

**WE** are happy to announce that the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh has decided at its meeting in Adoni on 22-3-'56 to start a English Weekly with the name *Bhoodan Yagna* under the editorship of Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Sri Rao Sahib Patwardhan has kindly agreed to shoulder the responsibility of conducting the Weekly as the Managing Editor. The Weekly will be published from Poona and the first number is expected to be published on 18th April 1956.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has also decided that this Monthly 'Sarvodaya' should continue in its present form and should serve as a real Digest in future.

Further details of subscription etc. for the English Weekly will be informed in due course.



### Vinobaji's Yatra in Anantapur District (Andhra).

| Date.   | Place of halt.     | Miles |
|---------|--------------------|-------|
| 29-3-56 | Guntakkal ...      | —     |
| 30-3-56 | Konakandla ...     | 5     |
| 31-3-56 | Ragulapadu ...     | 8     |
| 1-4-56  | Uravakonda ...     | 7     |
| 2-4-56  | Pennobalam ...     | 8     |
| 3-4-56  | Jallipalli ...     | 7     |
| 4-4-56  | Koderu ...         | 8     |
| 5-4-56  | Rachanippalli ...  | 8     |
| 6-4-56  | Anantapur ...      | 6     |
| 7-4-56  | Korrapadu ...      | 8     |
| 8-4-56  | Bandamidepalli ... | 6     |
| 9-4-56  | Nayanapalli ...    | 7     |
| 10-4-56 | Mutchukotte ...    | 7     |
| 11-4-56 | Tadpatri ...       | 9     |

# Mahatma—Master of Trifles

— PYARELAL —

Mahatma Gandhi is ever known as the Apostle of Truth and Non-violence and the architect of Indian freedom. But it is forgotten how the Mahatma was struggling to perfect himself and others even through small trifles. Here is a picture how the Mahatma was laying brick after 'brick for the edifice of Swaraj' from the pages of 'Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase' by Pyarelal. We are indebted to the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, who are the publishers of this book.

Gandhiji paid a surprise visit to his chum's dormitory. A pen and ink-pot lying on a mat in the middle of the room caught his eye as soon as he entered the room. The ink-pot was rather measly. He examined the nib of the pen—it was scratchy; the cotton stuffing in a quilt in a bed-roll was lumpy; a torn bed-sheet was indifferently mended; some boys had insufficient winter clothing. He had intended to give not more than five minutes to the visit. He spent forty-five instead, inspecting and explaining things. He set down his observations in a note later:

"The torn bed-sheets should have been patched up or doubled and turned into a quilt; I did much blanket quilting whilst I was in prison in the Transval. Such blankets are warm and lasting... Torn rags...should be washed and tidily kept. They can be used for patching torn clothes...And, why should not those who have more than their requirement in winter clothing be taught to part with their superfluous clothing to those who are insufficiently provided? That would be a fine object-lesson in mutual aid."

"All these may appear to you to be trifles," the note proceeded "but all big things are made up of trifles. My entire life has been built

on trifles. To the extent to which we have neglected to inculcate the importance of little things on our boys, we have failed or rather...I have failed. For it was I who launched the experiment of Nai Talim but could not find time to conduct it myself and had to leave it to others. A sense of cleanliness, tidiness and sanitation, in my opinion, constitutes the very core of Nai Talim. To cultivate it involves no expense. All it needs is a keen observant eye and artistic sense"

"If you tell me", the note concluded, "that in this way you cannot do justice to more than one or two boys, I will say," then have one or two only and no more". By undertaking more than we can properly manage, *we introduce into our soul the taint of untruth.*"

It was so typical of Gandhiji:

"To see a World in a grain  
of sand,  
And a Heaven in a wild  
flower,  
Hold Infinity in the palm of  
your hand,  
And Eternity in an hour..."

"I have today laid another brick in the edifice of Swaraj," he remarked later in the day, referring to the episode.

★

## The Duty of The State Vinobaji's Address to Andhra Legislators

This is the gist of Vinobaji's address to the Legislators of Andhra at Kurnool on 12-3-'56.

AFTER Swaraj our duties and responsibilities have increased. We achieved freedom through a particular way—through non-violence. We have an ancient culture which has this special trait that it remains fresh and new through all times. Very many races have come to India and merged with her people. She has absorbed all people in her fold. The culture of each got blended and the common culture has become full and sweet. With this result she harbours no enmity to any but lives in love and peace with all. The world is naturally looking to India for light and hence our responsibility is all the more.

The entire world is now in a restless condition. It is in the grip of suspense and fear. When the mind is not at ease, no work can be done. The great nations, through their great talents attempted many researches in the field of Science. Deadly weapons were piled one over the other. Of course they desire peace. They hoped they could attain it by keeping the balance of power. Two great world wars are over. The people are getting disillusioned. A third is in the offing and attempts are being made now to avert it. These nations have now begun to lose their faith in violence. But they have not begun to believe in non-violence. When the mind is wavering the man becomes incapable of acting.

He has to choose a particular way and then only he can act.

Different ideologies were tried in Western countries. The people do not seem to have firm faith in any one of them. Of course, maximum efforts were made, yet no clear path is before them. They are in the dark and looking to India for light and guidance. This is the reason why I say, our responsibility has become all the more.

Under these circumstances our State and the politicians have to take each and every step with great caution and deep forethought. It is the greatest Dharma of the State to run the best administration. Merely keeping peace and order in general and attempting some changes here and there without much disturbance cannot be called the best administration. An administrator who thinks in terms of 'as far as possible' cannot claim to bring in the best administration. It is not enough that our people get some comfort and are not put to much difficulties. Our culture demands more. 'Peace and Order' alone is not our ideal. Our standard of life has fallen very low. It has to be raised. But raising the standard is not enough. It is but a minor thing. There are greater things to be done, if we are to live up to the culture we have inherited. Hence I say our responsibility is now greater and all the more.

### Inspire Fearlessness

Our political science states that the foremost Dharma of the State and political workers is the task of inspiring *fearlessness* in the citizens. Githa has given a superior place to fearlessness even than to spiritual knowledge. It is equally an attribute of the philosopher as well as of the politician.

An administration that maintains the general peace and order, will of course, attempt to give some comfort to the people. But it cannot be said that the State has done its real duty unless and until the citizens are made fearless. The entire world, to-day, is in such a state of fear as it never was. There is not a single nation that is not in its grip. Only that individual who in his own capacity and also as the representative of the society demonstrates fearlessness, can save the world from this state of fear, suspense and confusion. I am clearly of this view that if we do not succeed to make society fearless there is no need either for the State or government.

You have seen how many firings have been resorted to in our cities after swaraj. I am not finding fault with any. You may say such instances are very few though there were the likelihood and chances for many more. Of course I admit those who resorted to it have done it with great restraint and under the call of duty. But it is a fact that men were shot at. It happened because our society and men have not become fearless. So it becomes the duty of the State to make the citizens feel and live fearless.

### The Root Cause of Fear

Now let us analyse the root causes that engender fear in our people. Two are the main reasons—one our extreme poverty and the other want of unity and co-operation in the people. It is the duty of the State to eradicate both.

### Service to the Last

After Swaraj the State should have diverted its attention and efforts to eradicate this despairing poverty in our midst, to reach first and foremost those who are at the bottom and in suffering. All public institutions and the State should have rushed up to them with help and relief. Oft I have been enquiring friends as to what portion of the amount allotted for the welfare work by the State, reached these people at the bottom. We call God, Lord of the Universe, Lord of Earth because He protects all. But He is equally addressed as the 'Lord of the afflicted and suffering'. So our State should be the protector of the poor and suffering. But what we see today is just the opposite. Take for instance the electricity service. First it caters to the needs of the cities and towns. Then it is extended to the nearest villages. Even in the villages do all get the benefit of it? No. Only those who are rich and have funds to pay for it get benefited by it. To remote villages it is not yet supplied at all. Many are under the impression that this Baba, a disciple of Gandhiji is against the use of electricity and he is only for village industries. I may tell you that I am even for Atomic Energy. See what the sun does. He sends his rays first to the cottages which have no doors even and then only to

the buildings in cities and towns and last to the massive mansions of the rich. It is his special nature that he emits his rays first to the benefit of those who are in need of them most.

### Education denied to the Poor

The same is the history with regard to education. Have we made any attempts to educate those who were kept in absolute ignorance for the last so many centuries? What was the plan that our ancients had in carrying on this work. Then teachers wandered from village to village and imparted education at the doors to the villagers. And what is the position today? Can the poor people of the villages ever approach the rich professors of the day, who are considered to be the learned men?

I can enumerate many instances like these. Since I am wandering from village to village, I chanced to see many of the State Community Project areas. Recently I met Mr. Dey. He also said that the funds of the Project schemes are spent only in those areas which can contribute a share towards it. After all who is there but Parvathy to go and offer her hand to Lord Sankara? All parents rush up to the rich to offer their daughters in marriage.

### The language of the Five Year Plan

A copy of the Five Year Plan was sent to me and I was asked to give my opinion on it. When I said that I was unable to understand its language, I was asked to inform in which language I would like to have. I said that Bapu had said that the Kasturba Trust funds should be spent

only in villages with less than 2,000 population. Had Bapu any ill-will against the city people? He only wished that the fund should definitely go to the benefit of the most afflicted of the suffering people. Accordingly I said I could understand the language of the Five Year Plan if only the entire fund under the same goes to the benefit and good of the many small villages in our country.

There is a story. We were in jail. The political prisoners began to lose weight heavily. Some became terribly lean and the attention of the superior authorities was drawn to this. The Jailor was asked to explain. He weighed all the prisoners again and reported that there is a rise of 1 lb. on an average for the two thousand prisoners. Of course, there is the increase in the average but at the same time when taken individually, what a fall and loss of weight was there in many of the prisoners. The average is not the standard to detect whether there is danger or not.

### Change the System of Education

Now I will come to the next point, the want of co-operation and unity among our people. Our Nation is made up of many races, and that is the main reason why the desired unity has not yet been achieved. And the political workers and the State has to find out the means and methods to bring it. The only possible way is to change the system of education. It is surprising to find that the old system of education which was there under the foreign rule is yet continued and not changed. The English

people wanted some to help them in their administration and gave such a kind of education to a few that would suit their needs and purpose. And those who got that education began to develop a sort of aloofness from the general mass. With the result that a clear wall had risen up between the educated classes and the uneducated masses. If the same type of education continues to-day, how can the people get united and co-operate with each other? If education is imparted through work and that with no difference of rich and poor,

unity and co-operation will naturally and automatically develop.

Let me remind you all that you are the representatives of the people and hence you should always be in close contact with the people and co-operate with them.

Of course I am not going to talk now about the work I have been doing for the last five years as I had talked enough on the subject already. I may remind you that it is for the benefit both to the State and to Society. Think deeply on it and I trust you will make your own contributions.



### What is Ramarajya?

Ramarajya has been defined by many great men. What are its attributes?

*Vaira na kar kaahu san koye,  
Ramapratap Vishamatha Ghoye.*

None feels any illwill towards any, nor does he do any harm to others. Nowhere is there any difficulty or conflict. None is superior, none is inferior. All live as equals by mutual love.

These are the chief features of Ramarajya. Each considers the other as his friend. Each loves his neighbour. Neighbouring villages and provinces remain always in friendly terms. There will be no individual occupying a higher status. None thinks he is a subordinate. None suffers for want of food. Nobody thinks of hoarding for the future. There is equal care for the welfare of all. In short all live as equals as loving brothers.

This Ramarajya first we have to establish in our individual hearts. Lust, anger, malice, greed, etc. — all these are in us. Besides, we cling on to many bad habits. We cannot establish Ramarajya till all these evils are not purged from ourselves. We should clean our hearts and make them pure.

Without Ramarajya world peace is impossible. People and nations will suffer as long as Ramarajya is not established.

VINOBA

(From a speech in Kadirpur — Hyderabad — 22-2-'56)

## Jayaprakash—Bhoodan & Politics

— SURESH RAMABHAI —

“THE lady is protesting too much” so said to Jayaprakash Babu an old friend who met him after a pretty long period. Jayaprakash smiled and submitted, “Well the press people always ask me only one question whenever they see me: ‘When do you return to politics?’” As my answer is invariably the same: ‘I am in politics, not in power or party-politics,’ you find it in the papers every now and then.” The stunning departure of Acharya Narendra Dev has again brought the question to the fore.

“Acharya’s last message to me,” replied Jayaprakash, “Was in connection with the States Re-organisation. So far as my views about politics are concerned, he knew them very well. We had discussed the same at length. There is thus no question of my taking up the leadership of P. S. P.”

But Jayaprakash dealt with this question at length in his public meeting in the evening. He said, “We obtained Swaraj under Gandhiji’s leadership and obtained it in so short a period that we were not perhaps even fit for the same. But we must not forget that on the advent of Swaraj, Gandhiji did not accept any power himself. George Washington who fought for America’s freedom became America’s first President. Lenin who led the Russian revolution became U. S. S. R.’s first Prime Minister. There are so many other instances in history. But

Gandhiji’s is the unique example of having refused to accept any post in free India. Why did he do so? Can we say that he shirked the responsibility of office? Can we say that he felt himself unequal to the task? No, his choice was definite and deliberate. While cabinet nominations were going on in New Delhi, Gandhiji was tramping in the countryside of Bengal and Bihar. Why? Simply because he knew that legal authority would not help him to establish such society as promised the good of all people, the *Sarvodaya* pattern of society. Society, he felt, could be changed only if the people underwent a transformation. Any idea of changing society without changing man is futile even as that of building a pucca house with old and raw bricks. Thus the method that Gandhiji sought to usher social change was more fundamental, deep and far-reaching.”

He went on: “Gandhiji was the greatest statesman India has ever known. Our politicians of to-day all learnt politics at his feet. But Gandhiji did not touch the ruling machinery even with a pair of tongs. If law could bring grist to the mill of the people he would have certainly accepted office. Law cannot be instrumental in changing socio-economic values or outlook towards life. That is impossible without a basic change—change at the root.

“Pandit Jawaharlal is the most powerful man of modern India. But

if he were to enact a law to-day that people should speak nothing but truth, shall all of us turn into Hariish-chandras? Can we at the bidding of his law cast away our acquisitiveness and become selfless? Had it been true, politics would have enjoyed the highest status in life. There would have been no need of religion; nor that of saints and prophets. Law would have issued orders to us to do this and that, turn left and right, and we would have negotiated the highest summits!

"Law requires citizens to pay income-tax. But do they pay it honestly? They keep two accounts: one for themselves, while the other for the income-tax inspectors. Law forbids drinking. But they do drink. Thus law or politics cannot bring about the real change. That can be accomplished only when you work on Gandhiji's lines or as Vinobaji is doing to-day. Public opinion or *Jan-shakti* must be built up by the method of love and conversion."

Later, Jayaprakash added, "It is in this light that you must look at Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement. Land distribution is not his objective. We all know Gandhiji broke the salt-law. His aim was not to make salt but to infuse such strength in the people as could enable them to be free of foreign yoke. And when he saw that we had equipped ourselves well, he, twelve years later, gave the call 'Do or Die', and within five years we were free. Likewise, Vinobaji has given us a programme to-day with the object of establishing a new society, Sarvodaya Samaj. This programme

will be followed by another. And so on until we reach the goal."

What Jayaprakash feels and thinks is clear from the above. Politics in free India is meaningless if it does not seek to mould the people anew and prove the way for a new social edifice. Also no legal or armed might can succeed in helping or educating the people to give their life a fresh tone. It is interesting to recall that when somebody asked the great Lokmanya what portfolio he would take up in Swaraj, forth came the reply, "I would like to be a professor of Mathematics or shall study the Vedas."

The place of politics in new India was defined by Vinoba the other day in his post-prayer speech. He said, "So long as a country is not free, all strength must be concentrated towards securing political power. But once the latter is attained every effort must be directed towards the achievement of social and economic revolution. Hence if you feel that strength lies merely in capturing political power, I must then say that you have missed the secret of Swaraj. You should, therefore, understand that those who offer life for Bhoodan Yagna based on a non-violent revolution do not at all renounce their basic objective of achieving radical social change. The Bhoodan movement seeks to wipe off the present party-differences and establish what I call '*Loka-niti*', or discover the new dynamics of social action which is not a by-product of Government policy."



## Vinobaji in Andhra Capital

ACHARYA Bhava was accorded a rousing reception on 11th March when he re-entered Andhra on the second lap of his Bhoodan Yagna during which he will cover 400 miles in sun-scorched Rayalaseema by foot. Nearly 10,000 people gathered on the banks of the Tungabhadra in Kurnool to welcome Acharya Bhava, who crossed the river from Alampur, his last camp in Hyderabad, eight miles from Kurnool. Huge crowds, which had thronged the sands of the Tungabhadra overlooking the Sai Baba temple at Kurnool, sent up cheers shouting "Vinobaji-ki-jai".

Acharya Bhava was received by Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Chief Minister. Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddi, Deputy Chief Minister, Dr. A. B. Nageswara Rao, Minister for Local Administration, Mr. S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao, Vice-President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress, and the Bhoodan and Bharat Sevak Samaj workers and representatives of a number of institutions besides many legislators.

### "Maharshi on Foot"

Seeing a plateful of fruits kept beside him on the dais, Acharya Bhava threw them one by one on all sides, as the people joyfully held out their hands for them.

In a short speech, Mr. Gopala Reddi welcomed Acharya Bhava. He said they were all in the presence of a "Maharshi on foot, who reminds us of the glorious vedic age" and stressed the need for land offering to relieve the land hunger among the landless.

Addressing the gathering, Acharya Bhava said he had spent four months on the banks of the Tungabhadra in his boyhood 56 years ago. The Tungabhadra is a noble river befitting its name and one was reminded of its many great associations in the past. He mentioned that Hanuman had lived on its banks, and it was there also that the Vijayanagar empire had flourished. He recalled how when he commenced his tour of Andhra in October last many Andhra leaders expressed their keen desire to participate in the movement. But since then, these leaders had to visit Delhi frequently in connection with the reorganisation of States. He was now happy, Acharya Bhava said, that he was re-entering Andhra after the decision to form Visalandhra was announced.

### Largeness of Heart

While he appreciated those who thought in terms of largeness ("Visalathwam") he felt it was more important that they should develop large heartedness. In this connection, he recalled his companionship with Sri Gopala Reddi in the Vellore Jail when the latter was learning Bengalee. Acharya Bhava said there was no narrow-mindedness in the Chief Minister of Andhra.

Supporting the plea for the formation of States on a linguistic basis, he said that Swaraj would be real to the ryots when the affairs of the State were conducted in their own language. But they should also

guard against exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness. "You must think of Visalandhra in a large-hearted way. That large-heartedness will be put to the test in this Bhoodan-Yagna."

"Though very little had been achieved by way of Bhoodan, yet what little had been done had attracted the attention of the world" said Acharya Bhave. If it could be shown that the way of peace was effective, it would allay the apprehension in the world about the future.

He recalled how five years ago, when the Bhoodan movement was initiated in Telangana, the Communists had printed a pamphlet alleging that he was an agent of the capitalists and asking the people not to be deceived by his appearance. Only a few days back, some people from Russia came to Telangana and took some films. "This change has come about because it is our creed to love everyone," he said.

#### Do not yield to Threats

He referred to some complaints brought to his notice that Bhoodan workers were threatening people to donate land. He said it would grieve him immensely if anybody were to be threatened or coerced into donating land. "I carry with me only the authority of love," he said, and added: "If anyone comes to you and threatens, you can tell him that Vinoba has asked you not to donate land under pressure. This is purely a matter of love and not compulsion."

In Andhra, he said, nothing could be done in a calculated way.

The Andhras might not take up anything at all, but if they took up anything, they would not rest until the task was completed. Maharashtrians also were like Andhras, but they were calculative. Acharya Bhave said that Andhras were warriors and heroes and they took after Hanuman who had lived in Andhra for some time. He reminded them of the incident in the Ramayana when not knowing how to pick out 'sanjivi' for reviving the unconscious Lakshmana, Hanuman had pulled out a whole mountain so that what was wanted could be taken and the rest left out. He hoped that Andhras would also follow this example and donate all their land so that what was wanted for Bhoodan could be taken and the rest returned to them. 1,116 danapatras were presented to Acharya Bhave.

Acharya Bhave was then taken in procession along a decorated route with arches containing the names of villages which had contributed to Bhoodan.

Addressing a meeting of merchants, lawyers and doctors of the Kurnool town, Acharya Bhave said the real meaning of sampathdan was to make the well-to-do to realise that he had a duty to an extra member of his family, the Daridranarayana.

#### Sampathdan

Explaining the origin and progress of the sampathdan movement, Acharya Bhave said that so far an amount of Rs. 4,25,000 was collected. He did not possess a single pie, as he received no money. What all he got were the 'sampathdan patras'. He

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## The Descent of Man

WILFRED WELLOCK

Mr. Wellock is shocked to hear about the closing down of the "Harijan" Weekly and wonders "whether it is a sign that India is succumbing to the materialistic values that now dominate in the West." Mr. Wellock can feel assured that the Bhoodan movement today under the leadership of Acharya Vinoba towards Sarvodaya Order is taking the country nearer to the Gandhian ideals than at any time before.

THE descent of man is not an infrequent occurrence in the history of mankind. It often occurs to some extent and then, as the result of the meteoric appearance of some saint or Seer, a Gandhi for example, a recovery is effected, when a revival supersedes the passing of a civilisation.

This process of the descent of man may be witnessed in many parts of the Western world today: In the fear inspired imperialist policies of Britain and France, in the policies of most Western States, with which I want specially to deal in this article.

Prosperity is able to cover a multitude of sins, which are often more deadly than those of poverty. But prosperity can afford to cover its deeds with the garments of respectability.

Western prosperity, it is claimed, is the result of the cheapening of production. *But the latter is attended by the cheapening of men.* The situation now exists in Britain and America where repetitive labour, well-organised by Trades Unions, as in the assembling of motor cars, can command as big salaries and even bigger than are paid to skilled and professional workers. These big wages are the incentive to perform dull, uninteresting jobs which develop

no skill, none of the higher faculties: reason, imagination, nor do they call upon the emotions. Whereas work ought to develop the whole man and yield deep satisfaction, repetitive labour uses only a modicum of man's powers, whence he becomes a fragmented person.

This fragmented man develops no initiative or power to undertake responsibility. Indeed, the time comes when he shrinks from responsibility. In consequence, he loses the power to provide the means of using his time profitably, but is completely dependent upon external stimuli for his reliefs to the monotony of his daily labour. In other words, he relies wholly upon money for providing him with the wherewithal of a tolerable existence. He must buy on tap all his entertainment, his self-indulgences and his participations in mass excitements, mass sport, etc.

Now this type of person represents the descent of man in our Western Industrial Democracies. But when the day of economic crisis arrives, and big money is no longer available, his life goes to pieces, when he will go into any camp, Communist, or Fascist, that will promise him money.

"Harijan" was one of the very few organs in India which revealed a clear understanding of this consequence of Western Industrialism for which reason it came as a great shock to me to learn that this organ, founded by Gandhi, had to pass out of circulation for lack of support.

Many Indians support village industries as against mass-production industry for India, on the ground that it is the only means by which to employ the great numbers of wholly or partly unemployed peasants in India within a reasonable space of time. That argument is absolutely sound, but it is by no means the only argument in favour of small-scale industries in villages or small communities. A far more important, long-range reason is that mass-production industry does two evil things:

it fragments the minds of a considerable percentage of the population, and by over-stressing the importance of money, it tends to swing the minds of entire nations to the worship of material values, and to neglect the far more vital life-producing spiritual values, especially the creative and social values of giving one's best service to the well-being of society.

I should here like to pay my tribute to the valiant services of Sri. Maganbhai P. Desai in upholding Gandhiji's creative industrial ideal for the common man, instead of for a few experts, as in the West. For I cannot help wondering whether the passing of Harijan is a sign that India is succumbing to the materialistic values that now dominate in the West. I trust not. But let Indians take warning. ★

#### VINOBAJI IN ANDHRA CAPITAL

advised the donors to spend it for a good cause, with a clean heart. That was why, he said, he claimed a bank of his in every house. He did not propose to audit the accounts regarding the manner in which the contributed monies were spent. His only auditor was Chitraguptha, who would audit the accounts free of cost.

He appealed to the merchants to lead the path of dharma. He recalled the saying that 'Dharmo rakshathi rakshatha' and said that whoever protected dharma would be protected by dharma.

Vinobaji said that the traders and merchants were treated by the public with contempt and said that

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this was due to the unjust and unholy manner they did their business. He said that merchants were the servants of the kisans, and as such, could not be wealthier than their masters—the kisans. Acharya Bhavé said that he had been asked by some friends as to what he would do in case the persons who promised contributions did not fulfil their promises. 'I have no police nor do I go to Courts' he said. "But there is God above. He is in my hands. Even the Government, with all its mighty forces, does not possess that power, which I possess. But I will not ask God to punish the man who broke his promise, but will rather request Him to pardon him and give him good sense" he added. ★

## Appeal to College Students To participate in Bhoodan Movement

JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

Sri Jaiprakash Narain spent three days at the Conference of Tamilnad College Students held at Madura on 31st Jan., 1st & 2nd Feb. '56. This is one of his talks to the students appealing to them to take part in the great Bhoodan Movement by following some of the five-fold programme he placed before them.

THE Sarvodaya movement, is a movement for social reconstruction and in this movement the students should play and are expected to play a great role. In the national movement the students participated at various levels. A few gave up everything including their study and threw themselves whole-heartedly into the freedom-struggle. There are others, who participated in various partial ways. Some responded to the call of Mahatmaji and temporarily gave up their studies for a year or two and joined the Satyagraha movement. That was at the higher level of participation. There were other levels—joined in demonstrations, boycott or hartal programmes etc., etc., and some acted as volunteers in conferences for a few days. Now, likewise, in the Sarvodaya movement students are participating and are expected to participate in all levels. We have some students and we expect this number will grow. I am happy that this conference will add to their numbers.

Students should give up their studies in the educational institutions in which they are studying and must plunge into the Sarvodaya movement for whole time, not for few years. They should decide to dedicate their lives for the Bhoodan movement—

a movement of reconstruction. As a result of the Constructive programme, every village has a chance of development. Every one of the Gram-dan villages requires a constructive worker. There are students who have understood this ideology of Sarvodaya so well and have accepted it whole-heartedly, and they have decided that they should give up everything for Sarvodaya. I am happy to find, that the Sarvodaya movement has grown and if it is understood, we will have hundreds of thousands of students coming finally to join it and will come like workers of other movements. Patriotic young men, self-respecting young men and young women joined the freedom movement in one capacity or another.

After freedom there is no stimulus. To-day a Government job has become an object of ambition, whereas in the Sarvodaya movement there is no such thing. This period is much more difficult for the Sarvodaya people to ask young men particularly when the Government employment offers a more comfortable life, a better job, a better pay and conditions of work than what Sarvodaya offers. Sarvodaya reminds sacrifice of life from the beginning to the end. The reconstruction of the country is more dependent on these self-sacrificing

social workers—Sarvodaya workers, Bhoodan workers and Constructive workers. The creation of a new Social Order will bring about a social and economic reconstruction of our society. All this cannot be done by the paid employees of the State, and they will not be able to reconstruct this new India for which we are aiming. For this, voluntary self-sacrificing workers are necessary and they are needed in not only hundreds and thousands but many hundred-thousands. There should be a worker in every village in the country in every group of villages.

#### The Need for Trained workers

Suppose, we take a young man from the University and place him in a village and ask him to take up the work of reconstruction. He cannot do it because he has not received any training. So they have to learn and they have to be taught. If we are to undertake this all-side development, a worker should know something about agriculture, a knowledge of animal husbandry and dairy etc. Some knowledge of education, administration and health, and different kinds of industries is necessary. It is not possible for one worker to know about all things. Therefore we will have to find out more workers in course of time. There is no organised institution which can undertake this task. This will have to be done only by trained people. There is nothing more worthy for the young men and women of this country than this character of self-sacrificing, revolutionary, reconstructive work which the Sarvodaya movement gives. Those of you who think of the

country, of the future of our nation should seriously consider, whether Sarvodaya is the field of activities. I think that for every patriotic young man it should be so that there should be no hesitation in choosing his future on this line. When Gandhiji started the Salt Satyagraha some youngmen came and joined the struggle. Likewise, here is this movement. The establishment of Sarvodaya society may take time but Shri Vinobaji said that Bhoodan Yagna should be completed by the end of '57 and he is asking for volunteers to dedicate all their time for the next year. We are asking for lands and people are giving. In our experience of 4½ years, the movement has gone through various stages. If this idea of Bhoodan is properly put to the people, they give lands. If we go to every village, talk to them and if we put the ideas in the right way, people would willingly make donations of land and it would not be difficult to collect 1/6 of the total land of the country.

#### Our Target for 1957

Bihar is a test case. Vinobaji wanted in Bihar 32 lakhs of acres on the basis of 1/6. Vinobaji toured for 27 months and was able to collect 23 lakhs of acres. The remaining 9 lakhs of land will also be collected within a stipulated period. The 5 crores of acres can be collected in the country. Therefore, friends, when Vinobaji said that by the end of 1957, we should fulfil this part of the movement, we should see to that. Let us approach every villager and let us express and explain about our Bhoodan Yagna. By the end of 1957 there should be no tiller left landless. He

is placing before us a practical programme. If we are able to or if the people are able to distribute their lands in every village, then the agrarian revolution cannot but be fulfilled. A great part would have been completed but yet a greater part still will be remaining to be done.

Shri Vinobaj went to Orissa. There he set before him another task. I, for one moment, do not think and believe that Vinobaji has placed before us an impracticable programme. If there are workers in Tamilnad to take his message of Bhoodan down to every village, to every house, and if they properly explain the ideas, I do not doubt that in 1957 in Tamilnad the problem of redistribution of land to the landless will not be over. Therefore Vinobaji asks for revolutionary workers for these two years. Those of you who are willing to plunge into the Sarvodaya movement can put off your college studies for one or two years. Keep your eyes open; keep your ears open and be alert. Decide to join this movement before the end of 1957, leaving aside the question what you will do after that. If you find the movement satisfactory, you may continue after 1957 and you may become a servant of the people for life. But if you find afterwards that you should go back to your college, and if you find greater attraction there you may do so. This will be one of the programmes for the students to participate in the movement.

#### My Experience in Student Days

When I was a student I went abroad and had my education there. I went to the fields, farms and factories; polished shoes, washed

dishes and did all kinds of jobs. I think I can say now, I have learnt as much from that part of life, as I could learn from the University. An ordinary factory hand is no less valuable than one from the University. I was better equipped to face the task of life. Let me say to you if you decide to give up your college for one year and if you give one year to Bhoodan, I assure you that in that one year you will learn much more than probably what you will learn in 4 years in your college. When you go back to the college after that one year, your personality would have developed very much.

You will look about the world with different eyes. So, I should suggest that, even as a part of our education, let our college students decide after their four years of college study to give one year for Bhoodan work. If I were in Jawaharlal Nehruji's position, I will use the Prime Minister's office to impress every student of this country to dedicate their lives for social work. I hope you will take this seriously. One year of your College studies is to be dedicated to this movement not only in the interest of the country but in your own interest.

In college you can form a study circle, or a study class where you can discuss and study the problems. You may draw your friends into your circles, and you may make it into a wide circle in course of time. The members of this study circles can utilise their energies in the nation building activities in the rural parts of our country. Bhoodan work can be

taken as a main work in the rural as well as in the urban areas.

#### Contribute to Sampath-dan

I think some amongst you and most of our students come from lower class family. We call ourselves lower middle class. There are, of course, students coming from higher middle class and rich class also. In Bhoodan movement there is another Dan called Sampath Dan. The amount received through Sampath Dan will be utilised for purchasing agricultural implements, bullock and digging wells for the peasants, who have received lands. Vinobaji says that 5 crores of acres of lands and 500 crores of rupees should be collected before the end of 1957. This means that all should have the tendency of sharing with others. Many of you can make savings and contribute some thing to this movement. You can give Sampath Dan out of your expenses or income. One pie of every rupee that you spend can be given as Sampath-Dan to this movement. Every one of you should make this small effort.

#### Khadi - A symbol of Decentralised Economy

Why should you wear Khadi? The Sarvodaya idea is a simple idea. Sarvodaya is a way of life and should be understood by all - the farmer, the labourer and everyone. Every civilized country, every Welfare State has to make some provision for the unemployed. If it cannot find employment for them, it cannot however call itself a Sarvodaya State. It must give them some work with which they could earn for a comfortable living. Every

civilized Government has to do this now. Some democrats, who do not believe in Khadi, say now that they are prepared to spend crores and crores of rupees on Khadi because they feel that Khadi gives employment or some kind of employment to the people. So far as Sarvodaya is concerned Khadi should be given its own place, that is its own independent place apart from the question of employment. Khadi is a symbol of decentralised economy and self-sufficient economy. You should accept the philosophy as a measure of unemployment drive. We have a different responsibility towards our unemployed brethren. This sympathy, as I have spoken to you can be used or may be shown through buying Khadi. This buying Khadi gives work to the poor of the country. The money spent on the mill cloth goes to the mill owners and the cloth dealers. A very small amount of it, goes to the workers as wages.

#### Appeal to Students

To put it in a nutshell, study Sarvodaya literature; organise study circles in all your colleges; make contributions of Sampath-Dan; give such time out of your vacations as can be possible to the movement; give at least one year of your College career to the Bhoodan movement; give up year College and join Sarvodaya movement. I hope every one of you will consider this and will try to put it into practice. I do expect everyone of you will decide to contribute atleast one or two years of your College life to the movement.



## Progress of a Pilgrimage

JAIPRAKASH NARAIN

This is the foreward by Sri Jaiprakash Narain to the latest book in English written by the well-known writer Sri Suresh Ramabhai. This book is graphic account of Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan Yatra in Bihar for 27 months when 23 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan were collected. This period represents a distinct phase of the movement when concentrated work brought the land-problem within actual solution in the State of Bihar.

VINOBA, so much like Gandhiji, is also so unlike him. Gandhiji through the columns of his famous weeklies, poured out his ideas in a ceaseless stream that flowed over all the land. He wrote in forceful, elegant English which commanded the attention and respect even of those who were not with him, and which brought his ideas to the very doorstep of every educated person. He was a matchless publicist and propagandist in the best sense of those terms.

Vinoba is very different. He shuns publicity and seeks the anonymity of seclusion and retirement. He does not allow any Mahadev Dessai or Pyarelal to develop near him. Every young man or woman of promise he sends away to work in their own fields. He hardly has a secretariat. Though in his early days he has written voluminously, he hardly writes these days, and when he does, it is always in the Indian languages. Linguist as he is, his command over English is remarkable, but he rarely uses the language. Nevertheless, he too, like Gandhiji, ceaselessly pours out his ideas in his post-prayer discourses. Those who have heard him know what a treat it is to follow the razor-like keenness of his mind, the depth and boldness of his thinking

and the simplicity and felicity of expression. It is in these discourses that new ideas are formulated, doubts are removed, criticism is answered. A record of these discourses would be a record of the development of Gandhian thought since the death of Mahatma Gandhi. A record of his walking tour would be a record of the progress of the unique moral and social revolution he has set in motion.

There are few such records kept for the reasons given above. The records are fewer still in the English language. Suresh Ramabhai's '*Vinoba and His Mission*' was the first English record of the progress of this great movement and its ideology.

Vinoba's pilgrimage goes on relentlessly. His ideas strike root in the soil, go deeper and many branches issue forth. From Bhoodan have sprung *Sampatti-dan*, *buddhi-dan*, *shram-dan*, *Gram-dan*. New ground is ever being broken, new experiments are being launched. Vinoba's trek through Bihar—the longest trek that he made in any State—a trek of twenty-seven months—has a very special significance. A great experiment was successfully carried out in Bihar. As is well-known, Vinoba started his movement in disturbed Telangana, and it was suspected by

many that the land-gifts there had been made because of the background of Communist terror. Later phases of the movement showed that the people responded to Vinoba's call irrespective of whether there was or not this background. Doubting Thomases however went on questioning whether land enough for the country's landless could be obtained merely for the asking. Vinoba decided to make Bihar a test-case and an example. He stayed in Bihar more than twenty-seven months. Workers from other States were called and concerted drive was made. The movement went deeper than anywhere else. New branches sprouted forth. Sampatti-dan was inaugurated at Patna. Jeevan-dan began at Bodh-Gaya. Two All India Sarvodaya Congresses met in Bihar. Many important discussions were held, and many distinguished visitors came to meet Vinoba. The district of Gaya—the land where the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment—was selected for intensive work. Congress and P. S. P. Parties, Ministers of the State rallied to Vinoba's banner. Rajas and Maharajas came with their gifts of lakhs of acres, and millions of the poor came to have his *darshan*. When Vinoba left Bihar at the end of 1954, nearly twenty-three lakhs of acres had been collected. Twenty-three lakhs in a single State in the brief span of twenty-seven months! It was verily a miracle. If this could be done in Bihar, it would be done in every other State. All that was needed was patient, devoted work. Bihar was an answer to the doubting Thomases, to those who have no faith

in man's goodness and who believe that the only method of changing man and society was that of compulsion. Bihar exemplified the victory of the method of love and reason.

A thrilling account of this exciting experiment is given in this second book by Suresh Ramabhai, *Progress of a Pilgrimage*. A Hindi edition of the book has already appeared under the title, "*Sant Vinoba Ki Anand Yatra*." "*Progress of a Pilgrimage*" has eleven chapters, each dealing with a typical phase of the pilgrimage. There are three maps indicating Vinoba's trek through Bihar, and in the two appendices are given a statistical account of the land-gifts obtained in Bihar, and important provisions of the Bihar Bhoodan Yagna Act. An alphabetical Index at the end would be found valuable by readers who would want to refer to particular matters of interest. *Progress of a Pilgrimage* is an important and valuable addition to the literature on this subject of world-wide interest and should be found useful in every part of the world.

★ **Progress of A Pilgrimage** ★

Being a graphic account of Vinobaji's Yatra in Bihar for 27 months when 23 lakhs of acres were received as Bhoodan

By Suresh Ramabhai

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## THE PLEDGE FOR 18TH APRIL

for

### The Non-violent Revolution of Bhoodan

(Issued by the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh)

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

Freedom came. But poverty and plenty continued to exist side by side. Exploitation showed little signs of abating and the people developed the unhealthy habit of looking to the State with expectant eyes. They did not grow conscious of their own strength. Those who served the people, were continually searching for non-violent solution of this situation. It was on this background that the Bhoodan Yagna movement came, none too early. It opened the way for non-violence. The atmosphere began to echo with demand of enough land to the landless by the end of 1957 as the first step and for the ultimate elimination of the very idea of ownership of property.

It is, therefore, high time now for the whole of India to remove, in the words of Tulsidas, "the bigness of the big and the smallness of the small", through the means of love and peace and thereby to give a powerful impetus to the cause of World Peace, which is in great jeopardy every moment.

Therefore, we, the citizens of India, every woman and man among us, take a solemn pledge to devote all our efforts for bringing about a non-violent land revolution (Bhoomi Kranti) and not to rest till the goal is reached. We will dedicate all our active sympathy, talents, co-operation and endeavour to the fulfilment of the Bhoodan Yagna; and as a token of this we will contribute an adequate portion of our wealth whether in land, money, labour or time, so that this great Yagna, which aims at putting an end to inequality and achieving economic independence in our Motherland, fulfils its mission.

## An interesting Discussion

GOVINDA RAO, Sarvodaya Samaj, Gaya.

IT was with a mixed feeling that I first saw Mrs. Sinclair, 67 year aged friend of Mr. J. Krishnamurthi. Dwarkoji and Surendraji both had pressed me to visit her—I was therefore expecting some better illumination of J. K.'s teachings in my meeting. I was myself being in a state of introspection, eager to see if any direct help would be possible for me through her. But this also I knew that she was not directly engaged in any social services nor was she very enthusiastic about Bhoodan activities. I did not know how far my time would be properly utilised in merely going to speak with her.

I met her for hardly fifteen minutes the first time on 18th January '56. Her brisk walking, quiet and yet living eyes, grey-green in appearance, wrinkled but healthy face told me that she was more alive than I had ever imagined. After introducing, Surendraji requested me to ask her some questions.

I: "Every religion has tried to describe an ideal state, an ideal personality. Do not ideals help the mind to progress?"

Mrs. Sinclair: "No. They bind the vision. We imagine something we do not possess and then, without understanding what it is that we have, we go after things having no reality. What great men experienced can never be understood by only repeating their words, or enchanting some hymns. It has to be lived. In

picturing to ourselves how we 'should' be, we lose sight of what we 'are': this causes confusion. Hence, idealising should be avoided! One must live from moment to moment."

I immediately realised the limitations of words—for what she conveyed to me in those few minutes, I could hardly have understood by a laborious reading of any number of books! My time was up, and I left her that day.

On 30th January, I was called upon to see Ambadasji, who was leaving Bodhgaya that day. In the evening, I joined Surendraji who used to have regular evening walks with her. Once again I was requested to set the ball rolling.

I: "What is experience? What is consciousness? and what is awareness?"

Mrs. Sinclair: "Sensations give rise to impressions in the mind. An image or a picture is thus formed within. Identification with those pictures or images constitutes an experience. Since life is ever-changing, unceasingly moving, impressions undergo constant and unceasing rapid change from moment to moment. Due to the rapidity of these changes, an illusion of continuity is formed. This is the feeling of 'I'—which is the fundamental illusion! This individualised perception is "consciousness". When one tries to see this process, one begins to analyse, sort

out the impressions, one within; as one searches deeper and deeper, trying to see this process clear intellect begins to work. Still further on the intellect which upto now was individualised, begins to act as a pure human intelligence—and then it perceives the futility of all reason, the futility of itself—and it drops out: one is then simply "aware"! There is no consciousness! Consciousness is individualised intelligence.

In awareness, there is simply the movement going on—without the identification. There is no feeling of 'pleasure or pain, good or bad, higher or lower; one is alive to the whole process of 'being' and becoming' from moment to moment. The moment the identification takes place, consciousness sets in. Consciousness is not bad in itself it has its relative value. But awareness is something totally different. It cannot be defined. Tremendous energy is released when one is alive to all this process.

In life, nothing has any absolute existence. Everything is relative. To be alive is to understand one's relation with the world. One must understand oneself in relation with the totality. When one understands the process, one becomes aware to it.

Listening to her was an experience for me. I did not feel I was talking or hearing or anything like that; I felt like experiencing the whole talk.

"We have talked with each other. This has not been a conversation, but an experience for me—I said.

"You are right. This is communion—direct experience." She said.

"Words are but poor vehicles for conveying one's meaning," I remarked, "It is the direct contact that helps."

"You are right." She nodded.

This is the substance of what I heard from her during my three days' stay at Bodhgaya. I count it as an invaluable event in my life. As I reflect back on those impressions, something within myself appears to have underwent a change! My mental make-up does not appear to be the same as before: it is not possible for me to bring my "old" being back to itself!

The illusion of "I".



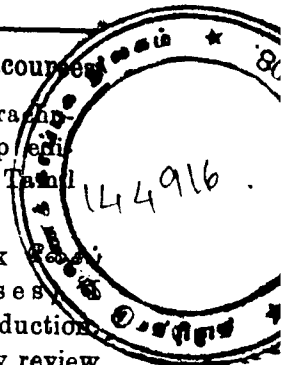
Rajaji on Vinobaji's 'Gita Discourses'

In a letter to Sarvodaya Prarthana Samithi regarding the cheap edition of "Gita Discourses" in Tamil, Rajaji wrote as follows:—

Your letter and the book *பேருரைகள்* (Gita Discourses) congratulate you on this production. I cannot presume to write any review of such a book. A reviewer pretends to be more learned than the author of the book reviewed. How then can I review this book which contains Sri Vinobaji's thoughts on the Gita? Vinobaji is a best disciple and a scholar in his own right. His book must stand self-demonstrated.

MADRAS, }  
10-1-'56.

C. Rajagopalachariar.



Gandhiji

## Foreign Friends on Bhoodan—Sarvodaya

The Bhoodan movement with the Sarvodaya ideal has been growingly attracting the admiration of many foreigners during the last five years. Many have walked with Vinobaji and have talked over Radios and have contributed in leading journals giving their impressions. Mr. Hallam Tennyson has written recently a book "The Saint on the March."

The "Sarvodaya" monthly has many subscribers outside India, some of whom have written interesting letters which reflect their reaction on the Sarvodaya ideal. It is but natural that the war-weary West should look up to the East for the new dawn of spiritual hope and peace. We would like to share with our readers interesting portions from some of their letters.

May I take this occasion to congratulate you on the excellence of your publication. Sarvodaya fills a very real need of the English speaking public outside of India. I have found especially useful information which it gives on the progress of Vinobaji's work in Bhoodan and Gramdan, both in my teaching at the University of California (Government and Politics in South Asia) and in the Indian Press Digests.

Shasta Road, } Miss) Joan  
Berkeley } V. Bondurant, Phd.  
S. California, } Associate Editor,  
Dec. 7h 1955. } *Indian Press Digests*  
University of California.



I am only recently becoming more acquainted with your great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. The more I learn about him, the more I love him and see what a great need the world has for his methods 'Satyagraha' and through Gandhi I am learning to respect and love the Indian people more and more.

3950 The Ree, }  
St. Louis 10, } Robert Rudolph,  
Missouri. }  
10-11-55. }



I participate in the widely shared experience of doing certain things because of Gandhiji's inspiration. Thus I find Vinoba's life and work very refreshing, and I remember him in my daily prayers, feeling very close, though so far, to him and his close friends. In my own work, as a professor of soil science (specializing in soil map making), I go through many routines common to a society built on money exchange and material wealth. Yet I take delight in riding a bus instead of driving a car to work; in walking a mile or so in many instances, instead of riding a bus, in this city of 1,00,000 persons. I take pleasure in scavenging... picking up paper wrappers thrown down carelessly on the sidewalks. Scavenging is an unpopular activity here, and hardly understood to have any spiritual value. I also enjoy avoiding the eating of meat, practice in meditation. In giving to worthy causes, I have this year, together with my wife, for the first time reached the goal of donating the 1/6th of my income.

619 Riverside Drive }  
Madison 4, Wisconsin } Francil D. HOLE  
26-2-55. }



It is difficult to interpret conditions in India to my associates. Few of them know anything about agriculture. Wealthy farmers in the middle-West are being paid for crops which cannot be sold because there is a surplus. Now Eisenhower proposes that they be paid for not raising crops.

Teachers, like myself, do not earn as much as factory workers, whose minimum wage is Dollars-50 per hour. Thank you for your excellent little magazine which gives a picture of life in India which few Americans know.

454 Walnut Street, Mrs. Alice L. Marjockt  
Newtonville,  
Massachusetts,  
1-11-55



Although every number contains heartening news and both comforting and challenging thoughts from the leaders of the movement, I must say I especially appreciated the November number. The summary report of Acharya Vinoba's speech on "Decentralised Swaraj" and the statement of Dr. Zakir Hussain on the "True Aim of Education" were of particular interest to me. If Vinoba's philosophy of government, Zakir's philosophy of education can come to prevail in India then your country deserves to take the foremost place of leadership in Humanity's thinking.

These men may have added nothing essential to the thinking of Gandhi on these subjects, and Gandhi may have added nothing to the essential teachings found in India's sacred Scriptures. Nevertheless, each time another mind fully grasps the principles involved and then embodies the

teachings in his own unique phraseology, attuning his emphasis to fit the current occasions, new Life appears bearing witness to God, and bearing fresh hope for mankind."

Star Route-Limeport Wendal Bull  
Pennsylvania.—U. S. A.



I would like to know if the action of Vinoba Bhave continues, otherwise my eventual article would be an hymn of the past and not of the present. Do they still "offer" him land? Is he still at the head of the movement? I don't insist on asking if he still travels on foot, because it is an external detail. This action was of course prepared by his walking, and his contact with the details of his policy, as well as by the higher considerations which embraced his policy as a whole. But now that the preparation is done, it matters little whether he travels on foot or he drives.

I beg your pardon for giving you so much trouble, but I would be delighted to have a letter from you.

Instituto }  
Farmaceutico Vitoral } Raffaella Por  
Perugia, }  
16-1-56. }



We enjoy reading Sarvodaya, and sometimes have read articles from it in our dining room where we have the common meals, we are particularly interested in the movement and growth towards community and the full sharing of all possessions

which seems to be taking place there.  
It is a great joy to hear of this.

Society of Brothers,  
Woodcrest, Rifton, }  
New York, }  
21-1-56 }

Heinrich  
Arnold.

★

Dear Friends,

We wish to subscribe to Sarvodaya magazine. Will you please use the rest of the \*money to help settle a Harijan family on some of Vinoba's land?

I know of no work in all the world so fine as what you are doing. May it be the beginning of a true world-wide revolution of love.

We are a part of a group of Friends (Quackers) who are beginning a Co-operative farm. We are seeking the good life. We are trying to find the way of love in all of our relationships with one another and with the world. We are seeking also the simple life. We know that we are not living true brotherhood as long as our brothers in India are starving, the Doukhobers in Canada are discriminated against and men lie in prison friendless. We want our children to grow and seek what true brotherhood means. We want to keep contact with you and somehow, sometime one of our children might feel that service with you is the life for him.

May you grow strong in your work and all become saints, not just followers of a saint. For that is what the world now requires. We must all step up to a higher consciousness or be destroyed.

In loving fellowship  
John and Anne Rush  
Argentina

\* They have enclosed a cheque for fifty Dollars.

★

Hopital Interdepartmental  
HYERES (Var) France.

Allow me to tell you that many French people are eagerly following the economic and spiritual effort of transformation and rejuvenation initiated a few years ago by Acharya Vinoba and his disciples.

You have many friends in France, i. e., indeed, the best of them being, in my opinion Lanza del Vasto, who wrote an excellent book on Vinoba, and continually crosses our country explaining Bhoodan, Gramdan etc., to thousands of people.

We are a great number here to wish with all our heart the success of the non-violent revolution which is going on in India. With the aim of setting up human intercourse no longer on selfishness, but of active brotherhood and mutual service, substituting a "Sathvic" life to the present "Rajasic" one.

But we cannot help feeling anxious about the final issue of this glorious and peaceful fight aiming to release India from her low economical standing, besides keeping her far from so called "occidental civilization", that sort of mechanised and "atomised" Leviathan which is about to dehumanise even those who try to resist it! (That does not mean that we are enemies of "real" progress!)

I feel assured to be in agreement with your French brethren in conveying to the great apostle - Acharya Vinoba Bhave and all his supporters my wishes and cheers, for the triumph of their magnificent ideal.

Ch Andrieu

★

161, Webster St.,  
San Francisco 17, California

I was originally introduced to your magazine by a member of a group of Indians who were touring U. S. in 1952. Two of the Indians, a Mr. Khaja Gafoor of the Social Service Dept., Hyderabad; and the head of publicity for the Hyderabad Govt., were, I think, the ones who aided me to know your magazine. I have been very grateful for the opportunity. I have had to be acquainted with your magazine and to the nature of the fine work you are doing in India.

Your magazine, telling me of the great heroic efforts underway in India, have inspired and helped me very much. Every time I receive a copy of your magazine I feel very inspired. At the time when I received my first copy of the Sarvodaya I was then extremely perplexed about the state of world affairs. That was about early 1953. How happy I was to receive a gleam of shining light, in the form of your Sarvodaya during those black-looking times, with world affairs so sinister appearing. At that time I was working on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona, with atomic-bomb tests going on only a few miles away (in the next state).

I am glad to tell you that the spiritual outlook or spiritual "potential" appears better today in U. S. A. today. There seems to be the slight beginnings of a spiritual renaissance in U. S. which is just starting. It will not be very evident probably for years or decades. I think that India—the example of India, of the Indian people, of Gandhi, of

Hindu teachings—have helped a great deal in U. S. in getting the first flickerings of this spiritual flame to start. I think your present work in India—the workers of all in the non-violence movement—cannot but permeate, also, in some way the American outlook.

I do not want, however, to appear complacent. The spiritual battle is by no means won yet in U. S. To know what should be done, and then to do it are entirely different matters. Many Americans feel today that spiritual things should be over and higher than anything else; but to carry out this in practice is so far not done and will not be done for a long time. It was only when the Roman Empire grew very rotten that the people turned to Christianity; and it will only be when people realize the dreadfulness of our times that they will completely turn to things of the spirit and ways of the spirit. India has helped us so much—think only of how Emerson, Thoreau, etc., were influenced, and then of our modern people influenced by Hindu thought and ideas. There are, both in England and in U. S., an active group of people now introducing, bit by bit, Oriental views and outlooks.

Who could fail to be inspired reading about Vinobaji's work in India? I have been so impressed by his striving. So let me assure you again how much I value your magazine.

With my esteem to the fine work your magazine and movement is doing.

Adeline Gray

★

## ★ TOLERANCE ★

RONALD M. HEFFER, Sussex, England

When used in engineering, this word means a permissible margin of error. There is no absolute value for it, and it varies not merely with different branches of the trade, but according to the article manufactured. It has also varied historically, and, with improved techniques, accepted specifications tend to progress in accuracy; that is, less and less tolerance of error is allowed. Tolerance then may be generally defined as permissible margin of error.

If his concept be translated into terms of human personality, it is perhaps logical to expect some similar progressive movement, however slow. Thus, we tolerate, even with amusement, the furious anger of a dog who sees a cat in his master's apple tree, but we expect self-control, and would sternly censure violence, on the part of its owner who later sees a boy climbing the tree.

The rather hackneyed and generalised injunction to "be tolerant" is not therefore, of quite such universal application; nor so invariably virtuous, as is often supposed. We have to recognise that "tolerance" is not one of the absolute values, such as Love, Truth, or Beauty.

When, in the name of religion, or "brotherly love", one is urged to

be tolerant towards SIN (the injunction "Resist not evil" being often misunderstood and misapplied to this end), we have an anomalous situation that is perhaps the main support of entrenched and traditional evil,

Thus one finds that forthright attacks on such unmitigated atrocities as the flaying alive of lambs for their silky coats, or the ghastly tortures of animals to test new drugs (including poison gases) are "watered down", or more often rejected outright by newspaper and other editors. The excuses put forward really mean that arguments of any cogency, if they are of the "idealistic" type, are likely to be regarded as "an intolerant attitude" or "too controversial".

This cynical insincerity has been associated with the toleration throughout history of all that is vile by those who lack courage.

True tolerance of course, is to refrain from making absolute moral judgments of the evildoer himself, whilst using every moral argument and method to condemn and suppress the wrong deed. This does not necessitate being mealy-mouthed: "O ye generation of vipers!" said Jesus, in condemning hypocrisy.



## The Kingdom of Compassion Vinobaji's Call to the Commercial Community

A CHARYA VINOBA'S appeal to the Trading Community to come forward for establishing the kingdom of compassion at Adoni on 23-3-'56 appeared to be a marvellous mastery of the technique of non-violence. During the last five years of his Bhoodan Yatra Vinobaji would have addressed at least 2,000 meetings. In each speech there has been a flash of a new idea, a new shade or a new emphasis on the old familiar ideals. But the speech at Adoni on 23rd March was a unique one. He exalted the Vaisya or the trading community to a height reminding them that they were traditionally the messengers of compassion and that they could now establish the kingdom of compassion through the Bhoodan movement. Vinobaji traced the cultural heritage of India from the days of Buddha when the trading community spread the message of compassion abroad. India is the only country in the world he said, which can claim to have deliberately eschewed non-vegetarian food purely out of compassion for sub-human lives. Buddha's message is of compassion. Lord Ishwara is looked upon as incarnation of compassion. Jesus and Mohamed are adored as prophets of compassion and peace. It is the Mercantile Community that is serving the society with compassion and their remarkable managerial efficiency. Vinobaji said that he could not understand the distinction that is made now as the private

sector and public sector. This is inconceivable in the Sarvodaya ideology. When compassion is considered as a virtue for one individual how can it be different in its application to social level? How can compassion in the individual turn into worship of power of violence in the social plane? Therefore Vinobaji called the commercial community to come forward, and take over the 43 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan and take the responsibility to make them cultivable for the landless with their rich managing capacity, and traditional compassion, consistent with the rich heritage of the country. Vinobaji said that the moksha that is mentioned for those who are enlightened by study of the scriptures and *Gnana* is assured to the trading community also who do their task as a compassionate service to society. Vinobaji recalled the infinite faith that Mahatma Gandhi had reposed in the Vaisya—the trading class. Vinobaji was choked with emotional tears as he described Mahatma Gandhi as the the superb combination of the Brahmin in his enlightenment, a Kshatriya or warrior in his undaunted courage, a Vaisya in his compassion and a Sudra in his selfless service to humanity.

Vinobaji rose to a spiritual height and glorified in his characteristic way as the messengers of compassion, the trading community which

is unfortunately the most notoriously suspected by the Government, and distrusted by the society, who are mistaken as squeezers of the producers as well as the consumers, and who have earned the odium of black-marketers during the days of control. The words of capitalism and exploitation appear to have been specially coined for them! It is only possible for mystic saints like Vinobaji to see the divinity of compassion in the hearts of the trading community and appeal straight to their hearts to take up their Swadharma of compassion in coming forward at this epoch-making

period of Bhoodan movement not for strengthening the State with its law and violence, but for the establishment of the kingdom of compassion through Bhoodan not only in India but in the world over.

This speech for an hour was heard by an audience of ten thousand in rapt attention. Most of them belonged to trading community and who knows that a large number of them at Adoni and elsewhere will not respond to the call of Vinoba for the consummation of the Sarvodaya ideal even as the landlords?



## The Eighth Sarvodaya Sammelan

IT is the privilege of TamilNad or Madras State to organise for the Eighth Sarvodaya Sammelan. The venue chosen is Kanchipuram, which is popularly known as Kanchi. It is said to be one of the seven *Mokshapuris* or sacred places of liberation. The other six are Ayodhya, Mathura, Dwaraka, Haridwar, Avantika and Kashi which are all in North India. The seventh alone is in the south. There is the ancient temple of Kamakshi or *Parasakti* (Goddess of the Universe). This is the original seat of Adi Sankaracharya. The place has historical resemblance to Bodh-Gaya in some respects.

This is a Municipal Town of Chengelpet District and one of the important pilgrim centres of the south. Those who visit Rameswaram do not miss this.

It is only for some reasons of convenience that this place of pilgrimage had to be selected for the Sammelan. Many preferred to have it at Madras City. For some other reasons

it would have been inappropriate if not difficult to hold it at Madras City. Conjeevaram is only about 50 miles by train or bus from Madras City and can be considered in a way, a suburb of Madras City. The Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held on May 27th, 28th and 29th.

It is a happy coincidence that the All India Basic Education Conference also will be held at Conjeevaram on 30th & 31st May immediately after the Sammelan.

The railway concessions of single fare for double journey will be available to all those who attend the Sammelan and the Basic Education Conference. Those who intend visiting, whether registered *Sevaks* of the Sarvodaya Samaj or not, have to apply for the certificate for Railway concession to the Secretary, Sarvodaya Samaj, Buniyadganj, Gaya or to the Reception Committee 8th Sarvodaya Sammelan, Conjeevaram (Madras State).



## THE SARVODAYA SAMAJ

The Sarvodaya Samaj or Free Brotherhood of the world was started as the fittest memorial in March 1948. The Servants of the Samaj used to gather once in a year for free exchange of views and experience. The Eighth Sarvodaya conference is to meet at Conjeevaram (50 miles from Madras) on 27th, 28th, 29th May 1956.

### 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, offering full scope for the development of the individuals as well as groups.

### Basic Principle :

Insistence on the purity of the Means as that of the Ends.

### Programme :

For the achievement of the Aim, the following programme will be followed.

1. Communal harmony (fellowship between followers of different faiths and sects),
2. Removal of untouchability,
3. Abolition of class distinctions,
4. Prohibition,
5. Promotion of khadi and other home industries,
6. Village sanitation,
7. Basic Education,
8. Equality of status and rights for men and women,

### 9. Health and hygiene.

10. Development of provincial languages,
11. Removal of provincialism,
12. Propagation of Hindustani as the national language,
13. Economic equality,
14. Development of agriculture,
15. Organization of Labour,
16. Welfare of Aborigines,
17. Organization of students,
18. Service of leprosy patients,
19. Relief-work,
20. Cow protection,
21. Naturopathy,
22. & Other similar activities,

### Brotherhood :

Whoever accepts the above Aim and the Basic Principle and endeavours to follow them is eligible for the brotherhood of the Samaj. On sending his or her name and address to the Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj, Gaya, Bihar 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.

## ★ All India Bhoodan News ★

**Rajasthan:** Sri Badrinarayan is a big business magnate in Bombay. He is a great Bhoodan enthusiast. He has already given a greater portion of his wealth as sampatidan. Recently he toured with some of his friends in many villages of Nagor district (Rajasthan). He received Tani village as "Gram Dan". He invited Sri Jai Prakash Narayan to his own village Ledi. From 250 houses he could collect 150 Sampath Dan Patras besides very many Bhoodan Patras.

### Srikrishnapura :

The Tani village of Rodu District in Rajasthan which was offered as full 'Gram Dan' is now re-named as *Sri Krishnapura* in memory of the services of the late Sri Srikrishnadas Jaju.

In Bhilwada district in the last week of February 246 bigas of land were distributed among 33 families in the villages of Shyampura, and Ganowly. In the third week of February in Nagor village 390 bigas were distributed among 31 families.

Under the presidentship of Sri GokulBhai Bhat the Bhoodan Samithi and the Bhoodan Board of Rajasthan had its sittings on the 17th and 18th February. Sri Sidharaj Dhadda, Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh, and Sri RadhaKrishna Bajaj, Sanchalak of the publication department of the Sarva Seva Sangh were present. It was decided in this meeting that in the coming year at least 200 Gram Raj conferences be held and many Yatras be undertaken. It was also decided to sell in the coming

year 12,000 rupees worth of books to spread Bhoodan ideals, and to distribute before the end of May '56 all the lands collected in the districts of Udaipur and Jaipur. On the 4th February Sri GokulBhai Bhat distributed 101 Bigas of land in the village of Maleda in Jaipur district. In this village with this distribution there is not a single family left without land.

**Uttar Pradesh :** Sri Baba Ragava Das completed his tour of Badhayu district on the 13th March and began touring in Bareilly district. In his camps at Badhayu district he received 109 danpatras of 44 acres and Rs. 1196 for Sadhan Dan and about Rs. 538 annual Sampat Dan. Till the end of March in his non-stop tour in Uttar Pradesh he was able to collect about 37,300 acres of land from about 6,800 donors.

### Madhya Bharat:

In Ratlam district under the guidance of Sri Acharya Deepachandra Jain distribution work was carried on. By 15th of March lands were distributed in the villages of Chandhavatha, Badmala, Nippania, and Kesarpur. To-day in all these villages there is not a single individual without land.

**Madhya Pradesh :** By the end of February in Jubbulpore district about 38 batches of workers toured in 318 villages and received about 1500 acres of land from 640 donors. About Rs. 250 Sampath Dan Patras annually for a period of five years were received from 10 donors.

**Gujarat:** Sant Ravi Shanker Maharaj toured in Sabharkhanda village in the first three weeks of

February. He received 274 acres of land, 107 Sampath Dan patras and Rs. 4497 for Sadhan-Dan besides cows, bulls and ploughs. He distributed 32 bigas of land among 13 families.

**Bihar:** The villagers of Ghapro of Santhal Pargana distributed all the lands in the village equally among them by themselves on the 4th of March. Every individual has left for Community cultivation all the lands in his possession except 3 bigas which he has kept for self cultivation.

In the district of Monghyer there was a 'Gram Raj' sammelan at Sikhandar on the 12th of March; Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh presided over the function and appealed to all to devote their entire time for Bhoodan work.

Sri Jai Prakash Narayan presided over the Gram Raj Sammelan on the 9th and 10th March held at Nagar in Gaya district. Sri Dada Dharmadhikari inaugurated the conference. The conference decided to distribute within a week all the lands received in the 700 villages of Gaya.

**Maharashtra:** By the end of December 1955 in Thana district 1867 acres of land were distributed. 412 families received 1640 acres of land in distribution in Ratnagiri, Colaba, North Satara, and in East and West Khandesh. Sri Appa Sahib Patwardhan toured in the district of Ratnagiri in connection with distribution work and distributed lands in every camp.

### Hyderabad:

Total Sales of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature effected by the Hyderabad Bhoodan Yajna Samiti during the tour of Sri Acharya Vinoba Bhave in this State in January and February last amounts to over Rs. 7,500. This includes the sale of over 5,000 copies of Sri Vinobaji's "GEETA PRAVACHAN" in almost

all the regional languages of the country. Sale of other low-priced Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature amounts to over 7,000 books and booklets, in Hindi, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu and other languages.

**Bihar:** On the 5th of February, 1956, Badhara, a village in Santhal Paragana, gave all its land in Bhoodan.

Earlier in middle of January, Chakwa, another village, had also surrendered all its land.

**Andhra:** Ayyavari Pallay, a village in Cuddapah district has surrendered all its land, 340 acres, to Bhoodan. The formal ceremony of donating the danpatras took place when Vinobaji visited the place during his Andhra tour.

**Utkal:** Like Koraput and Ganjam the well known districts of Utkal, where more than 900 villages have surrendered their total land in Bhoodan, Sundargarh, another district, has also made a beginning and villages have given all their total land for re-distribution through Bhoodan. It is hoped that many more villages will follow suit.

**Kerala:** At the All-Kerala Conference at Trikkur near Trichur (T. C. State) the Bhoodan workers of Kerala decided to carry on intensive work in the distribution of the Bhoodan lands in the spread of Bhoodan Sarvodaya literature, and collection of sampattidan. They fixed definite targets for each district and apportioned the duties to the various groups of workers in each district, who should fulfil it before this April 18th. Brisk work is going on everywhere.

The Bhoodan workers have themselves decided to make first their own contributions of sampattidan before approaching others for the collection of the same.

Interesting reports are pouring in from workers touring in the forest ranges of the Vyanad area. From

## Sarva Seva Sangh Meeting at Adoni

**T**HE Managing Committee of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh had its periodical meeting at Adoni on 21st to 23rd March availing of the presence of Vinobaji for consultation. Along with this there was an informal meeting of some of those who had already published the Principles of Sarvodaya Plan six years ago to reconsider it in the light of the Bhoodan movement and its varied implications. At the previous meeting at Bezvada in December it was considered advisable to convene a joint meeting of representatives of political parties and Sarvodaya workers for a free exchange of views on the various national issues of the day like the Second Five Year Plan, Ambar Charkha etc. from their respective angles of view. This would help for better mutual understanding speaking to each other instead of each other indirectly. It would so enable them to iron out the differences in approach. At Adoni

there was informal free discussion centered round Ambar Charkha, The Second Five Year Plan, The Sarvodaya Plan etc.

Sri Dhebar Bhai, President of the Congress, Sri Jaiprakash Narain, Sri J. C. Kumarappa, Sri Vaikunt Mehta, Chairman of the All India Khadi & Village Industries Board, Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, President, and other members of the Sarva Seva Sangh participated in the discussion which continued for two days on 23rd and 24th March. The meeting was not intended to take any decision on an agreed policy. But such meetings and cordial discussions would undoubtedly influence other friends in the direction of Sarvodaya approach to and evaluation of the paramount problems of the day.

It is hoped that the Adoni meeting has paved the way for more meetings of the kind.

(Continued from previous page)

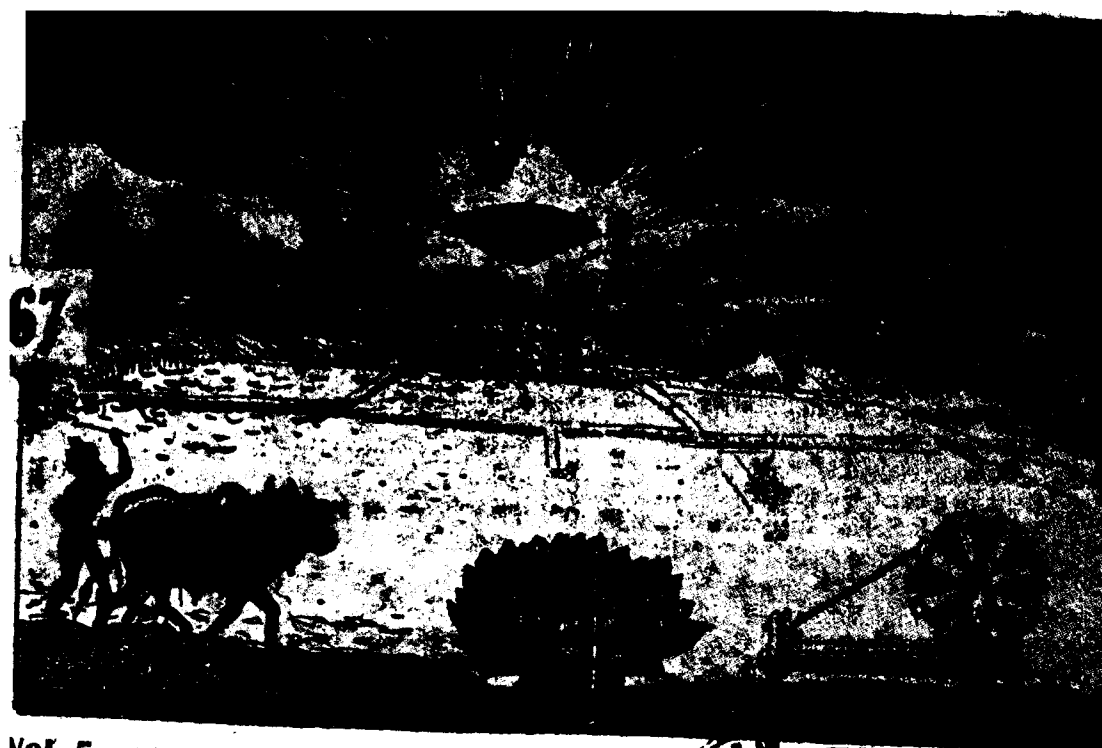
Tamilnad 82.60 acres of land from 17 donors and Rs. 178/- of sampathidan are collected. In the hilly ranges on the eastern side of the Kurumbranad taluk of Malabar another batch was being urged and they could also collect lands and money towards Bhoodan and sampathidan from even the hard working agriculturists who have recently cleared some forests invested with wild elephants, tigers etc.

**TamilNad:** Vinobaji's impending visit to Tamilnad has given a great impetus to Bhoodan movement. Sri S. Jagannathan the TamilNad Bhoodan Convener and his colleagues are concentrating on intensive work in Chengelpet district for propaganda and collection of Bhoodan and Sampathidan. Efforts are being made to offer a Gramdan of hundred villages

**ALL INDIA BHOODAN NEWS**  
when Vinobaji enters TamilNad on 12th May near Tiruvellore.

Sri S. R. Subramaniam, Sri K. Arunachalam, Sri R. T. P. Subramania Nadar, Sri R. K. Krishnamurti, and others are all making an intensive drive for taking the message of Bhoodan—Sarvodaya to every ward of the Madras City before Vinobaji visits the city on his way to Conjevaram in the last week of May. Though all Bhoodan workers in the districts are all withdrawn for work in Chengelpet district and Madras City Yatras are carried on by the Khadi workers of the Sarva Seva Sangh in the other districts. The total Bhoodan in Tamilnad till 29-2-56 is 47,092 acres received from 12,998 donors.

Editor: N. Ramaswami, Associate Editor: M. Karthiayani Ammal, B. A., B. L.,  
For Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dakshina Bharat Prakashan of Sarva Seva Sangh) Tanjore



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### My Religion

"You must watch my life—how I live, eat, sit, talk, behave in general. The sum total of all those in me is my religion."

Gandhiji.

From "Mahatma Gandhi—Last Phase —Vol. I.)



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On account of the Sarvodaya Sammelan in the last week of May the publication of the next June number of "Sarvodaya" will be on the 13th June '56 instead on the 1st June. We hope to cover the proceedings of the Sammelan in the next number Sarvodaya.

## SARVODAYA

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**Sarvodaya Prachuralayam,**  
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# THE SPIRIT OF SWADESHI

MAHATMA GANDHI

Vinobaji is reminding us often about the Swadeshi spirit which is seriously lacking in our life and in the Government's Plans particularly after independence. Let us recall the words of Mahatma Gandhi in the last phase of his life which Shri Pyarelal has given in his first volume of Mahatma Gandhi. We are indebted to the Navajivan Trust, its publishers.

Gandhiji defined Swadeshi as "that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote". In other words it means a recognition of the special duty and obligation that one owes towards one's immediate environment. Thus "a votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment, and try to help his neighbours" as his first charge. He would not allow himself to be "lured by the distant scene and run to the ends of the earth for service" throwing his own little world of neighbours and dependents out of gear, and more probably than not disturbing the atmosphere in the new place by his "gratuitous knight errantry".

★

"Could a man discriminate in favour of his immediate neighbours to the exclusion of others and yet identify himself with the whole of humanity?"

Gandhiji answered that one could serve the whole of humanity through service of one's neighbours, the condition being that the service of the neighbours was in no way selfish and did not involve the exploitation of any

other human being. The neighbours would then understand the spirit in which service was rendered and they would give their services to their neighbours in turn. "If individual sacrifice is a living sacrifice, it will grow snow-ball-wise, gathering strength and momentum in geometrical progression till it encircles the whole earth."

"In free India whose interest shall be supreme? If a neighbouring State is in want, would India adopt an attitude of isolationism, saying that her own needs must come first?"

"A truly independent and free India would rush to the help of her neighbours in distress. A man whose spirit of sacrifice does not go beyond his own community, himself becomes, and makes his community selfish. The logical sequel of self-sacrifice is that the individual sacrifices himself for the community, the community for the district, the district for the Province, the Province for the nation, and the nation for the world. A drop torn from the ocean perishes without doing any good. As a part of the ocean, it shares the glory of carrying on its bosom whole fleets of mighty ships.

# Vinobaji's Visit & Sammelan

A CHARYA VINOBA'S visit to Tamilnad was some nine years ago in 1949 mainly in connection with the Basic Education Conference in Periyanaikanpalayam. He visited some of the constructive institutions in the south. Tamilnad has been eagerly looking forward to his visit ever since Vinobaji began his revolutionary Bhoodan Yatra. Tamilnad feels twice blessed with his Yatra in Tamilnad from 12th May and also with the holding of the All India Sarvodaya Sammelan on the 26th, 27th, 28th May at Conjeevaram.

It is needless to say about the mission of the non-violent revolution for which Vinobaji has been walking through the country from province to province during the last five years and the whole world has been watching with wonder at this One Man's unique revolution.

When Vinobaji was propagating the Bhoodan singlehandedly in 1951 the constructive workers of Uttar Pradesh came forward first and assured to collect 5 lakhs of acres in their province. Later came the Sarva Seva Sangh which adopted at the Kashi Sammelan in 1952 Bhoodan as the National Movement with an immediate target of 25 lakhs of acres for 1954 and an ultimate target of 5 crores of acres before 1957. So far over 43 lakhs of acres have been received from 5 lakhs of donors.

Vinobaji found a new turn to the movement in Orissa with Gram-dan of about 200 villages.

The Sammelan unlike a political conference does not pass any resolution. But it is a free fellowship of all those who share with Gandhiji the creed of truth and non-violence and meet as fellow-pilgrims for sharing of their thoughts and experience.

At the Eighth Sarvodaya Sammelan the following subjects will come up for discussion: (1) Planning for the villages which are offered as Gram-dan (2) Sampattidan (3) The Second Five Year Plan and Sarvodaya Plan (4) Programme of work among students (5) among working classes and (6) in urban areas. The Sammelan will divide into six groups for discussing each subject as in the previous Sammelans. The Sarvodaya Sevaks are requested to present a brief note on the subjects in which they are interested at the Sammelan.

Tamilnad is sufficiently familiar with the ideology of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya philosophy. Tamil Nad the birth place of the great Tiruvalluvar, Acharyas like Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa, the great Nayanmars and Alwars, will surely rise to the occasion by responding to Vinobaji's call to everyone to share all his land, wealth and any faculty for the welfare of society. Vinobaji, an admiring student of Tamil has high hopes in Tamilnad and we pray that it will give a lead to the whole India by actual establishment of Gram-Raj of Mahatma Gandhi's dream.

## Plan for Village Self-sufficiency

ACHARYA VINOD

See the pages of History and it can be seen that many good things were done here in India, which the other nations of the world never even dreamt of attempting. But today in free and Independent India, even the very First Five Year Plan has ended in failure. The unemployment problem has become keener than it was five years ago. The poor man's condition is getting worse and worse as days advance.

### The Failure of the First Plan

The Second Five Year Plan is drafted and it is before us. Thus the First Plan is over and the Government is getting ready to launch the Second Plan. Till today the poverty among the suffering masses is not reduced, no relief has reached them and where is the guarantee that conditions will be better by the end of the Second Five Year? Those who are at the helm of Government affairs say "What shall we do, the population has increased". May I ask them this question: "Were you not aware of the fact that the population would increase as years go by? At the time of drafting the First Plan, were you hoping that a large number of our people will be wiped away by some un-toward event of Nature beyond the control of human power or by some hidden hand of Providence?" We see that it is the self-same people who were entrusted with the responsibility by the people to draw the First Plan, now coming forward and without the

slightest hesitation, and compunction state, "We are not to be blamed, the population has increased". I say this is wholly an absurd and silly excuse. It doesn't befit the dignity of the Government officials who profess to serve the people, to give such irresponsible answers. They advise the people to control the growth of population. Certainly the people who are the masters, will question the officers who are only their servants thus: 'You have no right to inquire us as to the number of members in our family and to dictate to us like this'. It is none of your job. Your duty is to find the means to provide feed and employment for all. You are not our Guru (Teacher). Our master is some one else and we will act as per His guidance. You are only the servants and how can you pose as teachers?" Will any master tolerate his servant if he puts similar questions and offers such advices. That servant will certainly be sent out from his post of duty.

Of course we have to consider the problem of the increasing population. But it is an independent idea, a purely personal one. They who thought of the plan and drafted it, should have taken notice of the increasing population year by year and should have assessed the increase during this five year period, even at the very beginning. Even today when the Second Five Year Plan is drafted the authors say "More jobs

## PLAN FOR VILLAGE SELF-SUFFICIENCY

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will be created during this period'. This shows they do not know how to draw a plan for an increasing population and how to execute it. Any plan drawn on the basis of the increased population of to-day, will not, when executed, improve a bit the existing conditions.

### Provide food First

Our Legislators, and the members of the Planning body sit there at Delhi. They never step out to the villages and even see the starving millions. And they draw the plan for village uplift. They read and refer to the books written in England and America and they could think only on the lines mentioned there. The tradition, culture, social and economic conditions, the hereditary professions and crafts, the capacity of the people, and their deficiencies, all these have to be taken into consideration when drafting a plan for the country. Those incharge of the Government indeed say with a certain amount of pride, "We desire to raise the standard of living of the masses!". May I ask them "Should not they be provided with food first to satisfy their hunger? The people are half-dead being in the grip of poverty. Under such conditions which should be done first, either to give them food and revive the life in them or to raise the standard of life? The standard of life will shoot up only when every one gets enough to eat.

### Keep alive before raising Standard

Thus the first responsibility of the Government is to find food for

one and all and infuse life in the people. When this is achieved, we shall think and decide how much milk, ghee, fruits, etc, have to be given. Provide them with food and good drinking water and then proceed installing radio sets and spending for cultural programmes.

### Follow Swadeshi Spirit

It is now forty years since the Swadeshi movement was started. Gandhiji gave all importance to it and used to repeat again and again that the things produced in the villages by the villagers are cent per cent Swadeshi. But with the achievement of freedom and self-government all ideas about Swadeshi were forgotten. Some have even begun to ask, "Is not the ideal of Swadeshi a narrow and exclusive attitude of mind? We must think on international level. We must consider the entire world as ours." I am surprised to find these people coming to teach us Vedanta. When we observe the Swadeshi Dharma, how do other nations suffer thereby? How does it affect the international friendship?

In short the Plan should be one which will make each village a self-sufficient unit with regard to food, cloth and education etc. This will not in any way militate against the interest of any nation in the world.

Bhoodan is to achieve that goal of village self-sufficiency.

(From a speech in Andhra on 19-8-'56)

## Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Sarvodaya is often said to have no politics. There is politics but it is superior to that of political parties. Sarvodaya wields power, but it is not the power of the State but the power of the people who empower the State. Sarvodaya is a challenge to the present political democracy and offers an effective corrective to it by arousing and consolidating the mass strength through incessant service of selfless workers with altruistic motives. This is how Gandhiji aimed to convert the Congress into Lok Seva Sangh. Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan has enlarged on the sphere of politics in Sarvodaya in his illuminating talk at the Political Department of the Patna University on 3-3-'56.

**S**ARVODAYA does not accept the present technique of democracy, the method of elections and party organization. It goes much further. Sarvodaya believes in direct democracy and in self-reliance of the people. It wants to do away with centralized control and party Government. Lenin has said that the centralized organization and state can be independent, should be independent. They tried this in a measure in Yugoslavia. A few good men were taken in Government even though they were not members of the Communist Party. They desired that the Communist Party should restrict itself to serving the people. Educating the people and keeping them wide awake should be its task. They should not directly participate in the governance of the country, but they could not carry out this experiment.

Gandhiji had also desired that the Congress should be a party that devotes itself exclusively to the service of the people. Gandhiji was a seer. He could see far ahead. He wanted to use the Congress organization for establishing a non-violent society. He wanted to establish a Sarvodaya

Samaj, that is, a society which will act on the principle of "Unto this Last". He wanted the Congress to take up the work of ending all exploitation and inequality. If Congress assumed power, it would be difficult to carry on the experiment of non-violence. If the Congress had accepted his advice and restricted itself to service, a force would have been created in the land which could have tamed power in a measure. In a Welfare State, the bureaucracy becomes all powerful. Democracy can be effective only when there is the organized strength of a class of men who are thoroughly dis-interested and devoted to the well-being of the people.

A feeling has got abroad that nothing worth-while can be done unless one is in power. We see around us a mad rush for power. The ultimate objective of service is often over-looked. Bhoodan shows the other way. Bhoodan workers are expected to keep away from all electioneering. It is a non-party organization. All parties are welcome to join it. Its platform cannot be used for any party propaganda. It is an association of

those who wish to serve. The people's strength it wants to create cannot be brought into existence by legislation. It wants every adult to actively participate in the village democracy. The people must be awake, self-reliant and think for themselves. The village panchayat must have the capacity to discuss all matters vitally connected with the village life. If the five lakhs of villages in India have direct democracy like this, then alone people can feel the glow of freedom.

This idea of autonomous village republics is considered utopian or retrograde by the self-styled revolutionaries. If we believe in de-centralization and if we want the power to reach the lowest unit, there is no other way. Political parties cannot do this, because they are themselves centralized. Few important people decide most important party questions; they develop their own vested interests.

When revolution succeeded in Russia, the Soviets were the units and it was expected that real power will lie with them but it did not happen. Self-reliance alone can guard freedom. The immediate needs of a region must be satisfied in the region itself. Different regions can help one another by barter. We have not, I must confess, been able to work out a similar plan for the towns. There is no community life in the town. Two neighbours do not know one another. We have first to create some community life. The Municipality, if they extend their activities beyond sanitation, lighting and water-supply and interest themselves in the

more immediate problems of the citizens like illness, un-employment, village-industries etc., they can be units of real self-government. Direct democracy can also be experimented with.

The elections to-day are at best a technique of finding out or approximating majority. It is a rough and ready way of gauging the public opinion. Ours is a poor country, and electioneering is a rich man's pastime. Unless the whole method of electioneering is changed, the poor man can never have a chance. Indirect elections on a pyramidal pattern would definitely be better. The Late C. R. Das and Dr. Bhagwan Das have been pleading for this pattern since the last 30 years. Even in the lowest unit, decisions will be taken not by a majority, but by a general consensus of opinion, that is unanimously: there may be difference in view point but when it comes to some action, all must agree to participate.

There is saying in India that when five men speak with one voice, it is God's voice. The Akali Sikhs have to elect their chief by a unanimous vote. As long as there is any difference all exert themselves to find a solution that will be acceptable to all. It means deep meditation and sincere co-operation.

There was a small movement in Europe called 'Communities of Work'. It was quite popular in Central Europe. There were large 'Communities of Work' in Poland, Holland and Italy. In these 'Communities' they do not use any coins

or currency. There is a 'total valuation' of all work. If a person works for six hours and goes to some school or college for one hour he is supposed to have worked for seven hours and is entitled to be paid for it. They decide every thing by common consent and not by a majority vote.

We want the State to wither away. We can march towards a "Free Society" only when in our day-to-day life, we are self-reliant and have learnt the art of co-operation. Centralized power can never take us towards a 'free society'. If we want to found a society of the 'Free and Equal' then we have got to create units of self-sufficient and self-reliant villages and learn to take unanimous decisions. That means we have to create reservoirs of non-violent strength of the people.

Vinobaji is trying to direct the Bhoodan movement in the real sense of the word. He wants the People to be conscious of their responsibility. —The people of the village should solve the land problem on their own initiative and strength. The more we are free of centralized guidance and rule, the nearer we shall be to the Free Society.

The University is a centre of education. We believe that education should not be in the hands of the Government. People should themselves organize the education of their children.

A system of education that is in the hands of a bureaucracy cannot impart the sense of responsibility and duty which is necessary for the members of a free society. We do

not want to repeat the mistakes that Western democracies have done. We do not want to imitate their technique blindly. Our Constitution has been copied from the democratic Constitutions of many Western countries. It is a collection or a patchwork. It lacks 'wholeness'. It develops a split-personality in its citizens. It cannot lead to Sarvodaya. Most people in our country are confused. Parrotlike, we talk of political freedom and economic planning but we seem to have no basic principles. As a result, we have lost originality of thought.

Our dependence on the Government is increasing. We are weakening democracy and strengthening the authoritarian trend in our political and social life. There is no dogmatism in Sarvodaya. Its insistence is on the well-being of all.

I wish to tell you that the 'Sarvodaya Idea' is something that academicians may begin to study seriously. It is worthy of their attention and study. (From 'Bhoodan').

★

#### Bhoodan Booklets

|                                          |       |
|------------------------------------------|-------|
| ★ A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order    | As. 4 |
| ★ The Voice of Vinoba                    | As. 4 |
| ★ The Revolutionary Bhoodan              | As. 4 |
| ★ The Principles & Philosophy of Bhoodan | As. 4 |
| ★ Jeevandan                              | As. 4 |

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,  
(Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh)  
24, Srinivasapuram, Tanjore.

## The Three Aspects of Nai Talim

ACHARYA VINOBA

This is a report of Vinobaji's address to the Basic Education Committee of the Hyderabad State Government which met him at Shivarampalli (Hyderabad) on 7-2-'56. We are indebted to the Bhoodan Bulletin from Hyderabad dated 20-3-'56.

The Government or Talimi Sangh may conduct Nai Talim but neither of them could claim to own it. The idea belongs to him who having been convinced of it, acts on it, no matter there are some flaws in its implementation. So far as the concept is concerned, in my view, the form adopted by the Government or the Talimi Sangh has no importance. I had, therefore, stated in the conference of the Talimi Sangh held at Periyankam-Palayam that Talimi Sangh was a small thing compared to Nai Talim itself.

### Economic Aspect

Nai Talim has certain fundamental concepts. Different values have been attached to the physical and the mental labour in the present day society, which Nai Talim refuses to accept. According to Nai Talim any service performed by man, whether mental or physical, has a moral value while the remuneration received has only material value. Anything which is moral can never be evaluated. Obviously it will be a wrong question to ask how many hours make a mile. In material terms one could here ask for yards and not for the hours, because being different entities they are inconvertible. Suppose a person rescues a man from drowning. It is physical labour and not mental, involving only ten minutes. Should he therefore be paid an anna as the

wage for ten minutes? He would reject even Rs. 100, for, he would say that it is not a matter for compensation. Similarly any act, physical or mental, if useful to society assumes moral value without any bearing on the economic aspect. Economic value is related to individual hunger. One having hunger to be satisfied with Rs. 2 has a right to food worth Rs. 2. It is therefore, the duty of the society to pay him that amount, be he a carpenter, a farmer, a teacher, a judge, or a minister.

It is surprising that the Government while recognizing Nai Talim accepts gradation. For that the fault lies with the society and not with the State. The education having all these gradations, compromises with the environment. Christians who go to the church on Sunday for prayers would that day willingly offer their left cheek on being smitten on the right but would engage themselves on Monday in the preparation of Atom and Hydrogen bombs, because of the understanding that some principles which are good for individuals do not fit in the structure of society. Similarly Muslims utter the word *Salam* as Islam means peace. Their flag holds the calm and tranquil symbol of Moon and Stars, and not of the burning Sun. They realize God in the form of Rahim (merciful) and Rahman but are prepared

to cut the throat even at the slightest incitement. In like manner Hindus also have compromised with certain evils. Nai Talim cannot do the same as it aims at overhauling the entire structure of society.....

Recently the Congress raised the voice of socialistic pattern of society. It is a good thing. But we have seen the capitalists using this ideology for their own ends. At the time of adopting this resolution Maulana Azad even pointed out that the society will not be very much disturbed by it. As a matter of fact Hitler also used to say that his was the National Socialism. That is why I said that socialism was in danger. They have chosen such a vague term that it can be interpreted in any manner. Now-a days even the term Sarvodaya has come to such a kind of use.

If Nai Talim is to meet the same fate, people conversant with its concept will say that it is quite independent of what is going on in its name today. The economic aspect of new education aims at closing the gulf between physical and mental labour.

### Spiritual Aspect

The spiritual aspect of Nai Talim is that it does not differentiate knowledge and action, but treats them as one. It is wrong to call one superior to the other. The education that lays down that knowledge and action are one is new education. One is not aware that he is breathing open and fresh air. To day the factory workers have to labour for eight hours a day in closed rooms devoid of light and fresh air. Their work has no relation to knowledge. That is

why they are provided with recreation in picture houses. Their work does not give joy. Under Nai Talim there will not be separate hours for work and recreation. Nai Talim will combine Truth, knowledge and joy. They will be identified in one. The natural way of acquiring knowledge is gaining it while working. While nursing the sick one can conduct experiments and thus simultaneously serve and study. How could it be possible for a doctor to conduct research without attending on the patient? Just as research and experiments are inseparable, so are the work and its pleasure. If work is separated from its pleasure, the former will become dry and the latter superficial.

I am reminded of an incident in my childhood. We used to get holiday both for the birth and the death of a king. We children used to feel delighted on holiday only. We therefore became complete philosophers as we believed that death and birth were illusions and holiday was the only reality. We could not grasp how two opposite things, birth and death, could produce one and the same result, namely holiday. The fact that the students derived pleasure out of holiday implied that they treated the school as a jail. We wish not only one day in a week but all the seven days the children should enjoy.

Some time ago a controversy arose in Nagpur, whether a professor should teach for 24 periods a week or for 20 only. I told that I would not be able to teach for more than 2 hours a day. Pupils also cannot take lessons for more than 2 hours because they have to

employ the whole day for contemplation and introspection. Mental and physical exercises should be combined. Why should the professors have any objection if they are required to take 12 periods a week and work in the field for the remaining time? But if anybody mentions this, the professor thinks that something extraneous has been thrust on him. He will not realize that farming offers an opportunity to identify oneself with nature and acquire knowledge. Farming is brimming with life. Where one experiences truth, knowledge and enjoyment as one, it implies new education.

### Social Aspect

The social aspect of Nai Talim is that all human beings are equal. Therefore, various social class and community differences are baseless. If we accept this, all things like Nationalism etc. would come to an end. Nai Talim and these differences cannot go together. Bhoodan Yagna claims that land belongs to all. This claim can go to the extent that the entire land in the world belongs to the humanity as a whole and no country can claim ownership of the land existing within its boundaries. There is much of land in Australia where the population is sparse whereas in Japan, the population is thick and the land is less. But the Australians to-day, do not allow the Japanese to enter their country. The Bhoodan Yagna says that, these things would not continue. In Nai Talim, we do not make any social difference between ..... one human being and the other human being. To day's social structure is based on various differences. Nai

Talim is therefore, bound to create revolutionary changes in the social field in India. All children in this country should eat, play and study together. We would leave the evils of different religions and accept all things good. To say nothing about religion is being considered as the secular attitude. But Nai Talim stands against all those evils which go on in the name of religion.

### The Test

You are all teachers of Nai Talim, official or unofficial. Therefore, I make a suggestion to you. According to your qualifications, you are drawing different salaries. Let the Government take its own time to change. But you should decide to pool your salaries and spend them collectively. If this cannot be done, what would you teach to the students? Everyone should get food according to his appetite. To-morrow, if some one says that he would eat 10 bananas because he has got higher qualifications then the result would be very dangerous. A commander-in-chief having a weak digestion might be given annas 3 per day, whereas a sturdy soldier should get even Rs 3 per day in view of his greater appetite. One should get as much as he can digest.

If at all we have got anything which will thus entirely change the existing social, economic and religious structure, and raise an all-round revolt, it is the Nai Talim. In Bhoodan Yagna, we say that the concept of land ownership is wrong, but along with it, we do not point out the defects in the various spheres. Thus our revolt is only one sided. But Nai Talim opposes

today's entire social structure. I keep two touchstones before the teachers of Nai Talim. (1) All teachers should live as one family by collecting their salaries together and (2) the teachers should not send their children to other schools. A real teacher should teach his son as his first disciple. The Shastras have laid down that the eldest son is the first disciple who is fit to receive education.

### The Maternal affection

One thing more. Many a time it so happens that although the husband is a teacher of Nai Talim, his wife remains completely unconcerned. She either simply carries on the work of cooking or lives in a different city with her children. This is not becoming of a teacher of Nai Talim. Nai Talim should

teach maternal affection also. The students should get an advantage both from their teacher and his wife. A husband and a wife should co-operate with each other and they should have a common duty to perform. A teacher's wife should work with him and show maternal affection to the students. She too makes progress in the field of knowledge and action. I do not think family and school as different. They are one.

The river Ganges while flowing, does not take into account how much thirst does a human being have. She goes on flowing, and people consume according to their needs. Similarly, I have placed my thoughts before you. You may accept them according to your choice and capacity.

### Tolstoy on Land - Problem

'Social reform is not to be secured by noise and shouting, by complaints and denunciation, by the formation of parties or the making of revolutions,' wrote Henry George, 'but by the awakening of thought and the progress of ideas. Until there be correct thought there cannot be right action, and when there is correct thought right action will follow.'

'The great work of the present for every man and every organisation of men who would improve social conditions is the work of education, the propagation of ideas. It is only as it aids this that anything else can avail.....'

If the great work of freeing the land is to be accomplished, that same feeling must arise among people of the possessing classes, and must arise to such an extent that people will be ready to sacrifice everything simply to free themselves from the sin in which they have lived and are living.

To talk in various assemblies and committees about improving the condition of the people while possessing hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of acres, trading in land, and benefitting in this or that way from landed property, and living luxuriously thanks to the oppression of the people that arises from that evident and cruel injustice—without being willing to sacrifice one's own exceptional advantages obtained from that same injustice—is not only not a good thing, it is both harmful and horrid, and is condemned by common sense, honesty and Christianity.

From his Essay—"A Great Iniquity"

## BASIC EDUCATION

### Answer to some Questions

ACHARYA VINOBA

After addressing the Basic Education Committee of the Hyderabad State, Vinobaji answered certain important questions that were raised by the members of the Committee. They will be of special interest in stimulating deep thinking to help the deliberations of the ensuing All India Basic Education Conference at Conjeevaram (Madras State) on 30th and 31st May '56.

**Question 1:**— Do you want that the Government should not at all take up the Nai Talim in its hands?

**Vinobaji:**— Just as there is a standard 'yard' kept in London Museum to give an idea of accurate measurement, similarly we have got a conception of standard method of education. You may measure with it and find out whether your methods are according to that standard or not. We do not insist that you should be along with us on our path. You may keep behind, but you must try to find out how far you can minimise the distance between us. We ask for Bhoodan without pressure and people offer it out of love. In the same way we have placed a proposition before you. If you, teachers, pool up your salaries for spending collectively and decide to educate your children in Basic Schools alone, it would not only influence the Government but would also make your education most effective.

### The Psychology of children

**Question 2:**— The ideal of Basic education is indeed good. But the students are not coming forward in good numbers to avail of this system. What is to be done then?

**Vinobaji:**— The thing worth considering is whether the students come forward in less number to accept

the new ideology of the teachers. My experience is that it is the teachers who lag behind. Now-a-days the atmosphere is such that all students are ready to accept good ideas. But in view of the present system of education the student who would not desire for a holiday would be a fool. My experience of childhood was that the number of holidays we got was found by me to be insufficient.

I used to attend the first period only to get my presence registered but afterwards I used to leave the class and roam. If I would have been completely educated there, I would not have started to-day on the mission of Bhoodan Yagna. To me, that education was so uninteresting that one day I left the college for good. To-day, it so happens that while it rains outside the children are shut up in a class room. It is written in Manu Smriti that the children should play in the rains. When the education system would change, the children would not ask for holidays. I would show them stars in the nights, and would also tell them the stories of Vashista and Viswamitra and then they would feel interested. When I would say that some stars are visible only at four in the morning they would get up at that time, and would approach me to show the stars. If our education

system is good, students get mad after their teachers. Children possess the instinct of hero worship, and the teacher can well become their hero. Therefore, it is the experience of the entire world that the respect paid to the teacher is greater even than that paid to the parents. But the Gurus or teachers should also be worthy of that honour. I have heard that, nowadays, boys feel difficulty in learning Sanskrit. But it is my experience that if I teach Sanskrit even for a day, they feel interested. I have said that to make Sanskrit uninteresting is itself an art! To make such a charming subject uninspiring would certainly demand a special skill!

But when, as it happens nowadays, the students are introduced to a host of grammatical forms and rules in the very beginning of teaching language, they naturally get frightened.

As a start, they ought to be taught beautiful Sanskrit poems which would inspire delight in them. But the fact is that the whole system of present day education is misguided. Under such conditions, students remain alive only because they get holidays. You expect them to remember only 33 percent of whatever you teach them. It is really a great boon for the students that you allow them to forget 67 per cent of what has been taught.

**How to Co-relate Medical Education?**

*Question III:—* How technical education such as medical etc. can be co-related to Basic Education?

*Vinobaji:—* Basic education being the foundation, the entire structure

in it would have to be constructed similarly. The entire system of education would have to be changed. If the base is quadrilateral the building cannot be triangular. In the medical colleges of today only those herbs which are not produced in India are made known to the students, while the ready-made medicines go on coming from abroad, whereas our students should be given knowledge of such herbs which grow in India. To-day the Medical Colleges have become only agencies of foreign medicine. In the days of war, many medicines, coming from foreign countries, were not good. This does not mean that the boycott of the foreign medicine is suggested. However, what is desired is that there should be some contact also with the indigenous systems of treatment. What is really needed is that the Medical College should have contact with some villages so that the people living there could derive its benefit and become healthy. Thus the institution can have close relation with the neighbouring environment.

**The qualities of Teachers**

*Question IV:—* You have placed an ideal before us, but most of the teachers being orthodox, cannot assimilate all those ideas.

*Vinobaji:—* In my opinion, those who have not done any meritorious act in their lives have no right to become teachers. After having passed that test, that is, after 45 years of his age, one should become a teacher. But to-day we find that inexperienced youths take to teaching. Those who teach politics, have no experience of

it. Again, nobody can guarantee that a teacher of Commerce would become a successful businessman if he is asked to enter that profession. I would say that, only he who had been a successful businessman should after certain age, become a teacher of commerce. Birlaji should become professor of commerce, and Pandit Nehru professor of politics. It is not enough that the teachers have experience. They should have at the same time given up 'Grahasthashram', for 'Vamprasthashram.' But now-a-days teaching has become a profession. Unlike certain independent rooms in a house such as a bedroom for sleeping or a kitchen for cooking there cannot be a particular room for breathing air. In all rooms air is necessary. According to our plan, every one, after doing meritorious work for 25 years, would adopt 'Vanaprasthashram' and become a teacher for some years. Thus it would not be necessary to pay more salary to the teachers because they would be given pension for their families and would not find difficulty in adjusting in that low salary.

**The Ideal of Vanaprastha-ashram**

*Question V:—* How would teachers be ready to work on low salaries?

*Vinobaji:—* After 30 years of service, you agree to take pension, and adjust your family expenses accordingly. Similarly, all the Government servants would be asked to serve as teachers for 10 years after having attained the age of 45 years. They would be allowed to retire after serving for 25 years instead of 30 years. But they would have to serve as

teachers for the next 10 years on a salary equivalent to their pension. Thus they would be adjusting their life according to their income. If you ask how would it be possible socially, I may mention the concrete example of our Balubhai\*. There should be such ideals. That is why 'Vanaprasthashram' is important. After a certain age, husband and wife should live as brother and sister and then alone it is possible. When such thought would be initiated, it would grow into a plan. After all, this thing is not impossible as floating a stone on water. To-day because we know that the entire current is against us, we feel disheartened. We enjoy fighting with the difficulties. The knowledge of having to break a mountain before us inspires and encourages us. Moreover, after submitting to lust to a certain limit, there is pleasure in controlling our passion. Such determined self-control gives happiness. Otherwise a man becomes lethargic and weak. If everyone wants to observe celibacy throughout his life, it would cause difficulty to one and all. But, after spending 10-20 years of one's life in a certain way, and having got children, if one adopts 'Vanaprasthashram', it would not be an impractical programme. For the development of children, and, for the self-development also, the husband and wife should control their passions. The body is to be protected, otherwise it will prematurely decay. Instead of adopting 'Sanyas' after getting certificate from doctor, it would be

\* Old associate of Acharya Vinoba Bhave presently convener Bhoodan Samiti, west Khandesh District.

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better to be free from passions earlier. Otherwise there would be no charm or interest in life. Therefore, a man should get out of 'Grahasthashram' or married life before the strength in his limbs is lost, otherwise he would not live long. If you serve your children thinking them identical with God, it would give you satisfaction and good health. Who would not wish a long life? Those who have found out 'Vanaprasthashram' for controlling the passions, did not do an impossible job. This is not at all impracticable. 'Srutikars' have coined the word Vanaprasthashram. The sociology prepared by them contains this word. "Upanishad" have dealt with 'Brahamavidya' and salvation. Therefore, the experienced persons have mentioned 'Vanaprasthashram' in their sociology which is quite natural and according to the laws of nature. That is why, we are not disappointed. These programmes, which were implemented by our ancestors, are not difficult to be followed at least in India.

I have done the initiation work of 'Vanaprasthashram.' A husband and a wife who desired to observe the sacred rule of celibacy approached when they were unsuccessful in their attempt. I suggested that if they believed in religion they should be initiated into 'Vanaprasthashram'. I told the husband that he had accepted a wife in marriage with whom he had no previous relation. During his marriage ceremony he had declared before the Fire God, that he was holding her hand as his wife, and he would be responsible for her religious, economic and matrimonial duties. He

did all this ritually. Therefore, I suggested that when even after taking decision, it was becoming impossible to observe celibacy, they would perhaps be able to do it if their decision is given a religious sanction. I told them that if they would adopt 'Vanaprasthashram' before Fire and take a vow to that effect in presence of a gathering they would be more able to observe restraint. They felt happy over my suggestion and adopted 'Vanaprasthashram' through me. There is a tendency which believes in doing every thing ritually, and there can also be a tendency, which does not believe so, as it does not require such formality. What I want to stress is that the 'Vanaprasthashram' is not difficult, because the atmosphere and environment of India have nursed the idea. It is also consistent with our culture.

(From Bhoodan Bulletin)

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## Moksha or The Real Freedom

ESME Wynne—TYSON

Our readers are familiar with the writer who has been contributing articles to 'Sarvodaya'. She is also a student of Gandhiji's Sarvodaya philosophy. She emphasises on the contents of true freedom which should be a self-government or God-government as a result of internal changes in the individual. Such internal revolution of heart and mind of the individual is what is aimed at by the Sarvodaya philosophy. The author has interpreted 'Chit' in the phrase 'Sat Chit Ananda' as non-attachment.

IN reviewing mankind's struggle for freedom throughout the ages one is forcibly reminded of that remarkable book which was said, by one critic, to be "pure metaphysics", *Alice Through the Looking-Glass*, by Lewis Carroll, in which whenever she wished to grasp an object and walked towards it, the heroine found it receded into the distance and disappeared. Whereas if she turned her back on it and went in the opposite direction, she found herself in possession of it.

The great religions of the East have always taught that we live in a looking-glass world of *maya* in which the Truth seems reversed, and this doctrine is certainly confirmed by the spectacle of man's centuries-old quest for freedom, perpetually sought but never found in the squirrel-cage pattern of revolution and counter-revolution. Through this method slavery has outwardly changed its forms but inwardly it has remained unchanged, for its nature is always fundamentally the same, — the bondage induced by false self-identification.

Deluded by the senses and regarding his physical nature and the world of *maya* as real, man imagines that he may attain freedom by perfecting

this body and altering the conditions of the world. Therefore he goes straight for these objectives only to find when he believes he has grasped them that nothing has changed and that he is surrounded by as much imperfection as ever.

If at this point he turns to religion for help, he will be told in different language by seers of both East and West that he is walking in the wrong direction. That he must turn his back on his problems if he is to solve them, and fix his gaze on the Real instead of on the illusory. But how often he replies that the spiritual hypothesis is all very well in its place, but *first* we must put material conditions right and when that is done men may have time to listen to what religion has to say. But those 'lost in the world', hypnotised by belief in the reality of external things, caught in what the Sufis call 'The Web', would not be able to hear even if they listened. For the acceptance of the material hypothesis makes understanding and acceptance of the spiritual hypothesis impossible. Either man is merely a material being whose one hope is to improve things external to himself, or he is essentially spiritual and can only improve conditions by improving and purifying his own spiritual condition.

The failure of the former hypothesis which has been accepted and acted upon by the majority of people throughout centuries, and has now brought us through the ever mounting violence induced by revolution and counter-revolution to the crisis of the H Bomb, strongly suggests that the latter hypothesis which has never been tried except in the case of a few mystics, saints and seers of East and West, may be the true one. Those who insist that man must first free himself from wrong economic or political conditions before he can give his attention to the things of the Spirit, overlook the fact that Jesus Christ preached his Gospel of Love during the Roman occupation of his country, using his Truth-power (Satyagraha) freely to heal the sick and the sinning, and that Gandhiji's Gospel of Non-violence was first heard when India was under the British Raj.

Truth being eternal and Freedom's very self, it is impervious to external conditions and political situations which are only passing phases in the ever-changing world of *maya*. It was for this reason that Jesus of Nazareth did not attempt to oppose the Roman rule, for he knew that until pride, national and personal, greed, fear, violence, love of power, ignorance, craving and lust were eliminated from the hearts of his people, to dethrone one tyrant would only be to enthrone another for tyranny, or external government, will always continue in some form or another until men practice self-government by God-government. And at least the Romans did not try to

undermine and interfere with the religion of the countries they occupied.

Aware that control must first be engendered inwardly if the inevitable tyranny of external rule were to be dispensed with, the seers and Avatars have always concentrated upon showing man, by precept and example, how to govern himself. But to the man mesmerised by materiality these instructions have seemed too austere, too difficult, and he has listened, instead, to the reformers who tell him that there is an easier method, that of altering things external to himself. And for every one follower of the Prophets the Reformer claims his million. Hence the persisting discontent among those who believe that they are already free as well as from those who are still under the political control of earthly governments of which they disapprove.

Before there can be any hope of altering this situation two things must be clearly understood: first, that those who believe themselves to be free are still in bondage, and, secondly, what it is from which they all wish to be free.

Because we in the West have outlawed physical slavery in the lands that have been under our control, because we are not living in a police state, because we can still say what we think, can still move from one point of space to another without undue interference, we quite erroneously imagine that we are free. But this, like many of our suppositions, is an illusion. The Master we claim as our own has given us the one and only receipt for true freedom in the

words: "Ye shall know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free." And if our sense of freedom is not established on this basis we can know that it is illusory. While we are in bondage to the world of *maya* and forced to meet its demands, while we are enslaved by our own passions and desires, our attachment to externals, our likes and dislikes, our affections and fears, we are not free. For that from which mankind wishes to be free is finally: from all that is unlike the Good, the True and the Beautiful.

But the difficulty here lies in the fact that what to the sensual man seems good, true and beautiful is the very reverse of real Goodness. Truth and Beauty, and it is only by knowledge (Jnana-Yoga) that he may learn to distinguish between the false and the true. In the light of this Divine Science—the Truth which alone can set us free—much that seems good and right and natural to the children of this world, is found to be binding enslavement. Especially is this the case with sex-love, *Eros*, which apes the divine *Agape*, but produces totally different results. Tolstoy made this clear in his essay, *An Afterword to the Kreutzer Sonata*, when he wrote:

"The Christian idea is that of love to God and to one's fellowmen: it is the renunciation of oneself for the service of God and one's neighbour; whereas sexual love, marriage, is a service of self, and consequently in any case an obstacle to the service of God and man ..."

An opinion that was echoed in Gandhiji's *Autobiography* (p 264) where he wrote:

"I pondered over *brahmacharya*...

I had not realized then how indispensable it was for self-realization, but I clearly saw that one aspiring to serve humanity with his whole soul could not do without it."

But it is in the threefold name of SAT CHIT ANANDA that the secret of true freedom for all mankind lies. CHIT, non-attachment, is the link between the supreme Goodness, Truth and Beauty expressed by SAT and the Bliss, ANANDA, that comes through the attainment of these things which are what all men are seeking when they demand Freedom.

Both East and West on the higher levels of religion teach this Truth, the East in its negative form of non-attachment, the refusal to identify the self with *rajasa* and *tamas*, and the naughting of the sense of 'I'; the West in the positive form of complete attachment to the Good, the True and the Beautiful, and refusing to allow anything unlike these God-attributes to darken consciousness (although this, of course, is also implied in the *Sattvika* knowledge of the East), and the relinquishing of the lower sense of 'I' for the true Ego. Both methods have the same aim: the aspirant's complete at-one-ment with Reality whereby alone he may be freed from the imperfections of unreality that have induced his sense of enslavement. But to Western ears the constant references to the need for extinguishing the 'I' suggests a negation of life, a vacuum. Whereas it is logically argued that to come into at-one-ment with all that is Good, True and Beautiful would be

immensely to enlarge, while purifying, the sense of ego, which seemed, through ignorance to be fragmentary, but, through Knowledge is seen as Whole. This point of view was well illustrated by C. W. Leadbeater when he wrote of the expansion of consciousness known as Nirvana:

"Sir Edwin Arnold wrote of that beatific condition that 'the dew-drop slips into the shining sea'. Those who have passed through that most marvellous of experiences know that, paradoxical as it may seem, the sensation is exactly the reverse, and that a far closer description would be that the OCEAN HAD SOMEHOW BEEN POURED INTO THE DROP. The consciousness, wide as the sea, with 'its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere', is a great and glorious fact; but when a man attains it, it seems to him that his consciousness has widened to take in all that, not that he is merged into something else."

And this description certainly bears out the Buddha's own definition of Nirvana as 'all-knowingness'.

We see, therefore, that Freedom is a paradox for it can only be experienced when we wholly yield to the Law of the God of Love, surrendering entirely to the rule of the Good, the True and the Beautiful, and by relinquishing all that is unreal - however real and pleasurable it may have seemed to the delusive senses-for what is eternally Real.

Gandhiji translates Clause 28 of Discourse XIII of the Bhagavad Gita:

"He who sees the same God everywhere merges in Him and sees nought

else; he thus does not yield to passion, does not become his own foe and thus attains Freedom."

St Paul describes the way to full liberation in the words:

"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."

Thus do East and West meet eternally in a shared concept of what constitutes true *Moksha*.

★

#### Some Books on Basic Education

|                                                              |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---|----|
| Educational Reconstruction.                                  | 2 | 0  |
| The Latest Fad (J. B. Kripalani)                             | 1 | 8  |
| Nai Talim & the Social Order                                 | 0 | 8  |
| "Boimondau"—A French Community of Work                       | 1 | 8  |
| Plan & Practice (Shanta Narulkar)                            | 1 | 8  |
| Suggestions for a Post-Graduate Training Course in Nai Talim | 0 | 8  |
| Syllabus for Pre-Basic Teachers                              | 0 | 12 |
| Basic School Syllabus—                                       |   |    |
| Grades I to VIII                                             | 1 | 8  |
| Grades I to V                                                | 1 | 8  |
| Revised Syllabus for Training of Teachers                    | 1 | 0  |
| A Picture & Programme of Adult Education                     | 0 | 12 |
| Nai Talim Sevagram—Album                                     |   |    |
| English                                                      | 3 | 0  |
| Tamil                                                        | 2 | 8  |
| Nai Talim at Sevagram                                        | 0 | 4  |
| Resolutions & Findings of the 7th Conference                 | 0 | 6  |

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Write for complete list to:  
Srvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore

## How Factory makes Land Fallow

PHILLIP JANSON

Mr. Alfred Knaus is a German Volunteer of the Service Civil International now working in Pakistan. He is a regular reader of Sarvodaya. He has sent us a translation of an article from the German Weekly "Christ and Welt". This pathetic picture shows how the land has become fallow in many villages on account of factories which have uprooted the agricultural and social structure of the peasantry. The baneful effect of money with the illusive rise of modern standard of life of insatiable wants has broken the peace of the villages. This should serve as a warning to India which is under the grip of glamorous industrialisation, particularly as it comes from highly industrialised Germany, the victim of two world wars.

IN many villages of the Rheinpfalz (province of W. Germany) fallow fields and unreaped meadows have reached such a high number that it gives the impression of a dying farm. This has been stated by a high official of the Ministry of Agriculture. Here is an instance in the district Pirmasens.

The shoe industry which plays a most important part in this area draws more and more people from the villages to the factories. In one community of the district 60 per cent of the arable land is already fallow. In another village in the same district the rest of the villagers who are not yet gripped by the shoe industry is at present leaving the land to get better jobs in a newly built shoe factory. The land remains uncultivated. The villagers try to sell their land but nobody is interested. Only one of the boys who finished eight years' compulsory education in 1954 decided to become a farmer. His parents are in possession of 6 Hektar (about 15 acres) land of their own and 3 Hektar on lease. They could buy much more land if they would have enough money. Their son is the target of mockery by the young folk of his

village. They call him "boor" as an offence day by day. The neighbours of this family pity or insult the parents because they do not allow the son to go to the factory. He is wholeheartedly a farmer but nobody seems to be able to understand him.

The village structure has changed considerably since 1945. Once a village of mixed population—farmers, forest hands, factory hands, who carried on besides a little farming just enough for self-supporting—is now preponderantly a village of industrial workers. Work on the fields became "backward, stupid and not more popular". Craftsman like saddlers and shoemakers died out, a blacksmith is not more rentable. Urgent constructing of field-paths has been put aside since the community spent DM 110,000—(about Rs. 125,000) for building a factory as the majority of the rural district council are industry workers. The few villagers who remained farmers don't get any help, not even day-labourers during the harvest season. They are forced to use machines.

A very "intelligent" worker of a shoe factory, a member of the rural district council, put forward a theory to

explain this process. Representing his colleagues he said: "the dirty farm labour is not liked any more by sensible people as the work in the factory is much better paid." To the question what would be if nobody would grow grain, potatoes, fruits etc. and if no milk would be supplied he answered: "Those who produce industrial goods can export them in exchange of foodstuffs. In case of need the science has to invent chemical extracts and pills as a substitute for bread, butter etc."

What a future is carried in the mind of such people!

#### Growing criminality

Hand in hand with the change of the structure another dangerous process is going on. Before 1945 the criminality was very low in this village. During the last ten years, along with the turning away from farming, the criminality is rising in a frightening speed. Thefts, house-breaking, plundering of parking cars, destroying of orchards, damage of forest houses, sexual offences, threatening the school teachers and rudeness of the youth is rapidly increasing. The elder generation of the village declared unanimously the only reason for these evils is the turning away from the agriculture to the industry. The young folk spends too much money. They strive after more and more to satisfy all their wants.

The juveniles of both sexes working in the factories get already in the first week of their employment a salary of DM 15 to DM 20. Their wants grow from year to year. Three

of four restaurants in the village are keeping television sets. Every night the young people are sitting there. The son of the farmer family cannot join. He has neither time nor money for it. He is also not in the possession of a motor-cycle like his brothers in factories. The latter tease him by calling "poor fellow".

The widow of a small landholder and forest hand (he was holding-together his farm by working in the forest) getting pension has sold her fields and meadows. For the money she purchased a modern kitchen and furniture for a modern home including linoleum. The work on the field which had been done by herself along with her daughter and son-in-law, a factory hand, became too much, too hard and too inconvenient. Being asked why she invested the proceeds of her fields and meadows in furniture etc. she answered: "We also want to live like the elegant and rich people". The example of her neighbour, who works in the factory and modernised his whole household has made her imitate it. Similar cases exist in villages nearby. Good and durable household effects, inherited from generation to generation, has been thrown away or burnt. The villages are changing their faces. The life becomes city like.

In the schools the children do not eat any more bread and apples (or other fruits of the country) but, at least children of the factory hands, rolls with chocolates, cake etc. The money is squandered. The butchers of the village do not know what kind of sausages they have to prepare as

their customers are too sophisticated. Nothing is good enough and the prices are "too high"!

#### Old customs disappearing:

Every year in the end of October the village is celebrating parish fair. The so-called "Kerb" is a national feast and celebrated by everybody. But also that became another aspect. The old customs of this village feast died out. The news-papers are nowadays making propaganda for it. The bands do not play any more old folk dances but Jazz.

A police-man in duty said: "I am happy when this revel is over. It brings only raw deals for the police as every year. There are thefts, mischievously damages of village property, indecent assaults and traffic accidents. Before the war there were no such things. At that time we had no factories here and not too much money. The money—that is the curse. The people here do not know how to handle it. If they would have to economise like me and many others they would not act so silly."

Can it go on like that?

## All India Bhoodan.

### Bhoo dan Received and Distributed till 31st March '56

| Name of Province.    | Land Collection. |                | Land Distribution. |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
|                      | Acres.           | No. of Donors. | Acres.             | No. of Families. |
| 1. Bihar             | 24,41,684        | 2,99,390       | 85,690             | 10,680           |
| 2. Uttar Pradesh     | 5,76,728         | 24,709         | 1,14,174           | 24,189           |
| 3. Rajasthan         | 3,74,667         | 5,760          | 18,049             | 48,511           |
| 4. Utka!             | 2,85,029         | 92,715         | 41,378             | 35,233           |
| 5. Hyderabad         | 1,52,664         | 8,437          | 37,044             | 25,229           |
| 6. Madhya Pradesh    | 1,35,265         | 31,045         | 41,907             | 19,325           |
| 7. Andhra            | 50,754           | ...            | ...                | ...              |
| 8. Madhya Bharat     | 47,505           | 5,939          | 678                | 14,651           |
| 9. Tamil Nad         | 47,092           | 12,998         | 4,582              | 17,271           |
| 10. Gujarat          | 44,252           | ...            | 10,886             | 7,682            |
| 11. Maharashtra      | 30,846           | 7,235          | 3,983              | 42               |
| 12. Sourashtra       | 30,819           | ...            | 5,818              | ...              |
| 13. Kerala           | 28,465           | 4,364          | 1,426              | 4,379            |
| 14. Punjab - Pepsu   | 15,497           | 3,563          | 1,010              | 53,705           |
| 15. Bengal           | 11,580           | 6,550          | 1,963              | 20,817           |
| 16. Karnatak         | 8,729            | 768            | 559                | 1,212            |
| 17. Delhi            | 9,388            | 222            | 157                | 14,899           |
| 18. Mysore           | 9,065            | ...            | 100                | 424              |
| 19. Vindhya Pradesh  | 8,370            | 1,668          | 927                | 4,394            |
| 20. Himachal Pradesh | 1,564            | 1,112          | 21                 | 1,050            |
| 21. Assam            | 1,950            | ...            | ...                | ...              |
| 22. Bombay           | 578              | 10             | ...                | 1,26,554         |
| Total ...            | 43,05,544        | 5,05,485       | 3,70,355           | 4,30,249         |

Total number of Villages donated : 1037

# Do We Learn By Doing?

K. ARUNACHALAM, M. A.

Sri K. Arunachalam is one of the few authorities on Basic Education in Tamil Nad. There will be very few among the Educational Officers or Headmasters of Basic Teachers' Training Schools who had not had their training under the expert guidance of Sri K. Arunachalam. He is the Principal of the Teachers' Training College in Sri Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Coimbatore District. He has been in the Bhoodan Movement during the last one year specially working among the College students. We are indebted to him for this instructive article which he could write amidst his heavy work as the Secretary of the ensuing All India Basic Education Conference at Conjeevaram.

**L**EARNING by doing is a commonplace maxim in pedagogy. The idea is that activity is one of the essential elements of human nature. Human beings "do" more than anything else. But this does not mean that they get educated by every one of these activities. Our experiences show that people who are "doing" all the time do not automatically become learned or educated. In other words mere doing does not lead to learning. If this were so everyone in the street would have been a learned or educated person. 'Doing' results in learning when it is accompanied by appropriate conditions. The 'doing' ought to be planned, carried out to the finish, and properly evaluated. The participant should keep his eyes and senses wide-awake while 'doing' and consolidate all the gains at every stage.

Only in an atmosphere of mutuality does learning blossom. It is necessary that there be several minds at work. Very often it is said that human beings need a social milieu if they are to develop. The interaction of two or more minds is one of the necessary conditions for modifications or change. So it has been rightly claimed that the house, the

playground, places of worship, the market-place are all equally valid educational institutions like the school.

Modern methods of teaching emphasise direct experience in the education of children. Many systems of education are satisfied with giving contrived experience. This means that adults predetermine the facts and skills to be learnt by the children and they contrive some experience to give them the necessary understanding. On the other hand Basic Education attempts to educate children for life. It is believed that the proper living of the present life is the surest way of preparing them for the future. The necessary facts and skills are acquired through their life-activities. For instance, devotional songs. This means that they develop the skill of singing while at the same time they acquire the knowledge and appreciation of the science of music. During their morning oblations habits of keeping themselves and their surroundings clean are formed and they get to know the art of doing so as well. Dealing with tools and raw-materials during their school activities they learn about and appreciate man and nature. In the recreation and reading that follow their physical work they

## DO WE LEARN BY DOING?

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learn to relax, to co-operate with other people, develop aesthetic tastes, and get an insight into the works of their forefathers.

To get the maximum educational value out of these activities, each activity should be worked into a scheme of correlated studies which will naturally contain the following divisions:— aim, planning, preparation, execution, finishing, recording, evaluation or assessment, habits and attitudes formed and correlated teaching. When the aim is made clear there is motivation which brings enthusiasm, energy and joy into the work. To overcome the tendency to start several activities jumping from one to another leaving all unfinished, we stress the finishing of the activity. When the activity is completed and the results seen, we experience the joy of having created something. This is an important requirement for success in life. The last step, assessment and evaluation, helps us to improve on ourselves. Though other methods of teaching might have all these steps, basic education puts an immensely greater emphasis on these points which means that education becomes realistic.

White-washing is a common activity in any community. In a camp of university graduates we were much harassed by bugs in the lecture-room. So the necessity for white-washing the room became urgent. The activity was planned as below:—

I. AIMS:— 1. To meet the need to keep the class-room neat and tidy, free from bugs and other insects through white-washing. 2. To

explore the possibility of organising white-washing as an educational activity. 3. To study the administrative aspects of the activity. To help in the cultivation of:

(i) habits of cleanliness (ii) love of manual work (iii) self-reliance and (iv) planned co-operative work.

II. PLANNING:— Place to be white-washed, area to be computed—estimate of materials required and cost, agency for procuring them—Time required—allotment of work—Precautions to be taken in regard to hands, eyes, flooring, windows and doors and other fixtures of class-room and to the use of tools and accessories—considerations of preliminary operation—finishing operations—design for waist-line—formulation of a self-assessment card.

III. PREPARATION:— Purchasing of chunamb and collection of tools and accessories i.g., ladder, brushes, buckets, drum for slaking lime, gunnies, sand, brooms, cob-web remover; actual allotment of work among the members of the community

IV. EXECUTION:— 1. clearing the room and cleaning it. 2. slaking lime and keeping it ready. 3. spreading gunnies or sand on the floor. 4. Filling up the bucket and distribution. 5. White-washing.

V. FINISHING:— 1. Removing all spots on fittings e.g., doors, windows 2. cleaning the floor 3. preparing an attractive border along the walls and the floor 4. Drawing up the waist line. 5. Decoration of the floor. 6. Cleaning all vessels, tools and

accessories and restoring them back to their respective places.

VI. RECORDING:— 1. preparation of mustering roll. 2. work sheet of materials, quantity, cost etc. 3. work record.

VII. ASSESSMENT:— 1. Report of group leader to be presented and assessed in class—How far the plan drawn up was carried out—filling up of a self-assessment card.

VIII. HABITS AND ATTITUDES:—

Habits:— 1. Sensitiveness to environmental cleanliness. 2. Sense of orderliness and beauty 3. Dignity of labour and dignifying labour 4. Self-reliance 5. Co-operative planned work. 6. Economic use and avoidance of waste 7. Use of bye-products.

IX. CORRELATED STUDIES:

(a) Psychology (1) work as a means of learning; development of thinking and reasoning (2) motivation in learning (3) Methods of evaluation.

(b) Sociology; Removal of causes of physical discomforts leading to the easing of human relationships; conformity to desirable local customs and usages.

(c) Principles:— (1) Development of the capacity for self-reliance. (2) Education through life.

(d) Organisation and administration; Maintenance of school buildings—agency for the upkeep of buildings—degree of possible self-support—Prompt self-help to prevent serious damage.

(e) Methods — Correlated methods of instruction based on direct

experience—through an activity of the social environment.

(f) i. Language:— Oral expression during planning; written expression through reports writing and autobiography of "lime" & "Brush"

ii. Number-work:— Measurement of areas—Ratio-calculation of cost—Value of labour-comparison with local estimates.

iii. General Science:— Sources of lime stone, sea-shells, hard and soft waters, lime-stone sacking the chemistry of it—Test for co-solubility of lime-alkalies and acids—Litmus Test—The use of lime water for rendering first-aid in the case of burns (carron oil). Lime water as gripe water, Lime and Insecticides—Mixing lime with "Robin Blue"

iv. Social Studies:— Visit to a Lime Kiln and observation and study of the workers there—occasions when white-washing is done on a universal scale in the locality—study of local usages in regard to white-washing as between house-owners and tenants—lime-stone quarries in the locality—soil variations in the locality.

v. Art:— Decoration and design through stencilling and natural colours—wastline drawing and kolam. Floral designs.

X. NOTE TO TEACHERS:— If some of these items of correlated knowledge are beyond the capacity of the teachers, they may secure the co-operation of local persons who may contribute them out of their own knowledge and experience.

When the work was finished there was universal exultation over  
(Continued in page 395)

## Lord Buddha's Intervention in Battle-field

When Lord Buddha's 2500th Birthday is to be celebrated all over the world on 24th May 1956 let us recall an incident in his life when he intervened in the battlefield and averted the war between two north Indian clans, the Sakyas to which the Buddha himself belonged and the Koliyas, another clan. On patiently enquiring into true cause for provocation of the war it was discovered that it was over nothing. This shows how enmity and quarrels whether in society or in State are traceable to trifling causes.

It is said that at one time two powerful clans of Northern India, the Sakyas (to which the Buddha himself belonged) and the Koliyas, who had lived peacefully for many years, suddenly started preparing for war against each other. Hate stories had circulated on either side till the people rose in arms, clamouring for revenge for imaginary offences. Their armies marched to the field of battle and prepared for action. Then the Buddha himself appeared in their midst. He went and sat down on a log of wood lying in the battlefield. The news spread and the kings of the rival clans hastened to pay homage to him.

The chief of the Koliyas knelt on one side and the chief of the Sakyas on the other. The Buddha addressed the King of the Koliyas: "Friend", he asked gently, "what has brought you here? Why have you seen fit to declare war?"

"Sire", answered the king of the Koliyas, "it is a sinister trick. The Sakyas have long taunted us with this and that, called us cowards and cattle-grazers and impious ones, for they said 'You have not produced a Prince of Light, a god among men...'"

"But what, friend," interrupted the Buddha, "was the act, the word or dream that caused you to declare war?"

"Prince among men," answered the King of the Koliyas, "I will tell you...rather, with your permission, I will command my Prime Minister to tell you, because he knows everything about it".

So the Prime Minister was summoned and his master bade him tell the Buddha why it was necessary for the Koliyas to declare war.

"Prince among men," the Prime Minister answered, "We declared war because the Sakyas have been taunting us in act, word and deed".

"And pray what may that be?" asked the Buddha.

The Prime Minister looked embarrassed: "Prince among men", he said, "I will ask my Secretary to explain it all. He understands every circumstance of the case".

So the Secretary was summoned; "You are to explain to the Exalted One the reasons for our declaring war on the Sakyas", commanded the Prime Minister.

"Prince among men", answered the Secretary, "such taunts have been spat at us—they called us cowards and cattle-grazers—that we said we would fight when the occasion came. After all, we too, are warriors".

"But, my friend", said the Buddha gently, "tell me about the taunts".

"My memory fails me, Exalted One ... but my Personal Assistant knows all about it. May I call him?"

"By all means", replied the Buddha, "if you are sure he can explain the matter".

"Oh, I am sure he can explain. He has a very excellent memory".

But, alas, the Personal Assistant's memory also failed him: "I am sorry," he said, "I cannot recall. We were going to war, and therefore I am sure that it must have been a very grave matter..."

"Surely you can remember...", prodded the Secretary.

"Well, I do seem to recall," said the poor Assistant more and more nervously, "that it was about some water."

This was considered so funny that even the crows at night laughed. But the Buddha did not laugh. Patiently, he continued to enquire of them "on what ground did the Koliyas declare war on the Sakyas."

"Call the Chief Clerk", commanded the Prime Minister. And the Chief Clerk was summoned and asked the reason for war.

"I am sorry," he replied, "I cannot recall, but the Deputy Recorder is bound to know." So the Deputy Recorder was summoned, and the Sub-recorder, and his assistant and the head of the district. Finally in desperation they called the headman of the village, Ananda Simhala, who happened to be serving with the troops ready to go into battle. He was brought before the Buddha who said to him:

"My friend, why did you say this and that against the Sakyas and want to make war on them?"

"Prince, it was like this," replied the village headman. "For one, two and three years there have been no rains, and the village has been silent with misery. The waters of the river have trickled away until there was no more left that could be sucked up by a thirsty bull. And we have many bulls, as you know."

"Yes," said the Buddha gently, "but continue, my friend."

"Well, Prince among men", said Ananda Sinhala, "I heard that the Sakyas had been building a dam of stone and mud to bring water to their fields. And I cried vengeance on these sons of men, that they should have water while we have famine. So the next day I went to the village office and I gave a coconut and flowers to the clerk and he said 'Yes' and he spoke to his Chief, and his Chief to his Chief, and his Chief to the biggest Chief, until..."

"Until what?" asked the Buddha.

"Well, until I scarcely had time to go and don my sword and buckle on my armour the council at the Village hall had declared war. You see, Father of all men, we are poor. And I, as headman of the village have seen much misery."

Suddenly the village headman stopped and looked shame-facedly at the ground. There was a long silence until the Buddha spoke: "You see friends, you go to war about a bit of water that does not even exist. Go, ignorant men, and you follow the noble fateful path of deliverance. Enmity is not appeased through enmity but through faith and understanding. This is the eternal law." Thus was peace established between the Sakyas and the Koliyas.

(From UNESCO)

## ★ NEWS AND NOTES ★

### "Bhoodan"—(English Weekly)

The Bhoodan Yagna has been growing from day to day during the last five years. There are already many weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies on Bhoodan in provincial languages. But there is no English journal for propagating Bhoodan mission in English except the monthly "Sarvodaya" from Tanjore. The English "Harijan" weekly which was helping the cause of Bhoodan has also been recently stopped. Therefore the need for an English weekly solely devoted for Bhoodan is growingly felt to take its message to the English reading classes in India and to others outside India who are keenly interested in the Bhoodan Yagna and its ideology. The public will very much welcome the English weekly "Bhoodan" started under auspices of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Sarva Seva

Sangh. Shari Dharendra Mazumdar, the President of the Sangh is its editor. Shri Rao Sahib Patwardhan, formerly a member of the Press commission has kindly undertaken the responsibility of the editorial management of the weekly. There is also a small editorial board to help.

The first issue was published on the 18th April '56, the Land Revolution Day. It is published from Poona. Its annual subscription is Rs 6/ only. It is the duty of all Sarvodaya Sevaks to strive to secure the largest circulation of this official weekly Organ of the Bhoodan movement, for propagating the Bhoodan-Sarvodaya ideology among the intelligentsia.

Subscriptions may be sent by money order to the Editor, "Bhoodan," 374, Shaniwar Peth, Poona-2, (India)

### DO WE LEARN BY DOING? (Continued from previous page 392)

the accomplishment. Statements like the following were shouted about:—

"I could never have believed that I was capable of so much work."  
"How beautiful the room looks!"  
"I don't think even skilled workmen could have done this work so well".

"How many things I have learnt through this activity"

"This has left an indelible impression on me. I can never forget

the interesting talk Dr. C. gave on bugs".

Had this activity been carried out without planning, the participants would have gained some skill but not the knowledge that went with it.

And the learning became vital not because the work was done, but because the members participated in the planning, execution, recording and assessment—all with a purpose.

### Late Sri Manilal Gandhi

Death has snatched away Sri Manilal Gandhi, the second son of Mahatma Gandhi on 4th April at Phoenix in Africa. He continued his father's mission in South Africa as the Editor of Gandhiji's "Indian Opinion". He was the doughty champion of the cause of the coloured people of Africa as a Satyagrahi. He had won the hearts of many Westerners by his austere and idealistic way of life. Before we could pay our respects to the great departed soul we received a letter from a kind lady friend in England, Esme Wynne-Tyson expressing her grief. We are giving the letter below which shows the high esteem in which Sri Manilal was held by many Westerners.

"I have just read the saddening news in 'Peace News' about Manilal Gandhi. What a grave loss this seems to the cause of peace, and how he will be missed by those who knew and loved him! I have never yet met anyone who has met or known him who did NOT love him; and that is a wonderful thing to have achieved. I only met him through the post but I am so grateful that I have a letter from him, confirming that my understanding of his father's philosophy was accurate, i.e. the synonymous nature of Ahimsa, Brahmacharya and Satyagraha and the impossibility of separating these in successful practice (a fact which you also confirmed in your letter of Jan 17th 1956). This is so important to me as I am constantly having arguments with pacifists and humanitarians both here and in America who will not accept the

important discipline of Brahmacharya, and think they have done enough when they stand for Ahimsa alone. In a letter from Manilal I can detect his disillusionment even with his co-workers who were so far from being Brahmacharis that they could not even detach themselves from cigarette smoking. ....

"Primarily I write to offer you my sympathies in this your great human loss, although if you will re-read my book *This is Life Eternal* you will, I think, feel as I do that both Manilal and his father will already have put off many limitations and may be able to help us far better when invisible than they did by their personal presence. But only if we are willing to progress from the principles laid down."

### Bhcodan Yatra from Cape Comorin

The Bhcodan Pada Yatra Jatha which left Cape Comorin in February last and had come to Palladam on their way to Kancheepuram to be in time for Sarvodaya Sammelan in the last week of May was joined by Dr. Sushila Nayyar on 17th April, and the party resumed their yatra to Tirupur on the 18th morning.

Prior to their departure, a public meeting was held on 17-4-56 at Palladam, where the party was met by Sri. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, who spoke on the aims and objects of the Bhcodan movement. The proceedings began with prayer by Mr. Kuriyan Paul. Sri P. S. Ramaswami, M. L. A., Secretary, T.N.C.C., presided. The following is the gist of the speech of Sri C. Subramaniam:

"The Bhcodan movement is a Gandhian way of bringing about mental revolution with regard to land-holdings in the country. Other countries have achieved political and economic revolution through violent means. But our culture and tradition and philosophy, as expounded by Gandhiji and other great saints of our country, have taught us to win our opponents' hearts through love and self-purification. That is how they won their political freedom, and the result of it is that their erstwhile rulers have become their friends. This Bhcodan movement seeks to remove the economic inequalities pertaining to land and to create a society where there would be no exploitation of the poor by the rich or of the weak by the strong.

"Land belongs to God. It is public property. One man alone cannot eat all the food that is produced on his land. Therefore the land that produces food for thousands must be shared by thousands. Our people are passionately attached to their land. There are ever so many instances of murders being committed over trivial quarrels over the possession of a narrow strip of land and of parties going to the Privy Council in olden days to establish their rights over landed property, however small in value. Vinobaji is telling us that it is not just to own more land than one needed, and pleads for voluntary surrender of land. When he started this great movement the people were very sceptical about its practicability even as the people doubted Gandhiji's winning freedom through his Salt-

satyagraha. But now 38 lakhs acres have been collected by Vinobaji. When this land problem gets solved inequality in other spheres of our economic life will get automatically solved, so that the dream of establishing a Socialistic pattern of society would become a reality, achieved in the most peaceful way.

"The Communists may suggest a legislation for land reform. But coercion in any form would leave bitterness behind, which it would be difficult to efface. Vinobaji would enter Tamil Nad on May 12. I hope our landed proprietors will imbibe the philosophy of the Bhcodan movement and welcome Vinobaji and help his movement.

"I hope that Tamil Nad which has led the way in Khadi work, will also take lead in the Bhcodan movement."

Dr. Sushila Nayyar and other members of the yatra then addressed the meeting.

The jatha consists of 15 members, of whom six are ladies. Since starting from Cape Comorin, the Yatra party had collected 326 acres of land, including six acres collected at Palladam.

### Sampattidan from England

Here is an extract of an interesting news item from the "Indian Express". It shows how the spirit of voluntary sharing by the "Haves" with the 'Have-nots,' not only in their own country but with those in other parts of the world, has appealed to the eminent intellectuals of Britain.

"Seven prominent Britons have appealed for money to help the

Bhoodan movement of Acharya Vinoba Bhave and have launched a fund in Britain.

The signatories to a letter in the "Manchester Guardian" making the appeal include the philosopher Bertrand Russell and two Ministers in former Labour Governments — the Earl of Listowel and Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker.

Lord Birdwood, who retired from the Indian Army, Lady (Isobel) Cripps, widow of the late Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Malcolm Darling, a former Financial Commissioner for the Punjab, and Mr. Hallam Tennyson, the author, of "Saint on the March" are also signatories of the appeal.

They desire that villagers benefiting from land distribution who "need funds with which to purchase tools and equipment" for building irrigation wells and channels should be helped.

The letter has mentioned as this an opportunity for that co-operation between ordinary people in different Commonwealth countries that must be the mainspring of our Commonwealth.

The money collected in Britain will go only to those villages where voluntary labour squads have been formed ready to start digging. They have a list of such villages with the names of reliable villagers already put at our disposal by the Bhoodan movement. The appeal states that—

"Britain, with the long history of the connection with India, might well

give an eager and widespread response to this constructive self-help programme".

#### The Annual Sarvodaya Sammelans

"The Sarvodaya Samaj was started as the fittest memorial to Mahatma Gandhi at the Conference held in Sevagram in March 1948. It was also decided then to hold an annual "Mela" or a convention of Sarvodaya Sevaks of the Sarvodaya Samaj at a particular place between January to April.

There have been seven Sarvodaya Sammelan till now and the eighth Sammelan is to meet at Conjeevaram in Madras State on 26th, 27th, 28th May 1956. We are giving below details about the previous seven Sammelans.

The First Sarvodaya Sammelan was held at Rao, in Indore in 1949 March, 8th - 11th.

The Second Sammelan was held at Angul in Orissa State on April 6th - 13th, 1950.

The Third Sammelan was in Shivarampalli in (Hyderabad State) on 8th - 11th April 1951.

The Fourth Sammelan was held in Savapuri near Kashi (Uttar Pradesh State) in April 1952.

The Fifth Sammelan met in Chandil (Bihar) in March 1953.

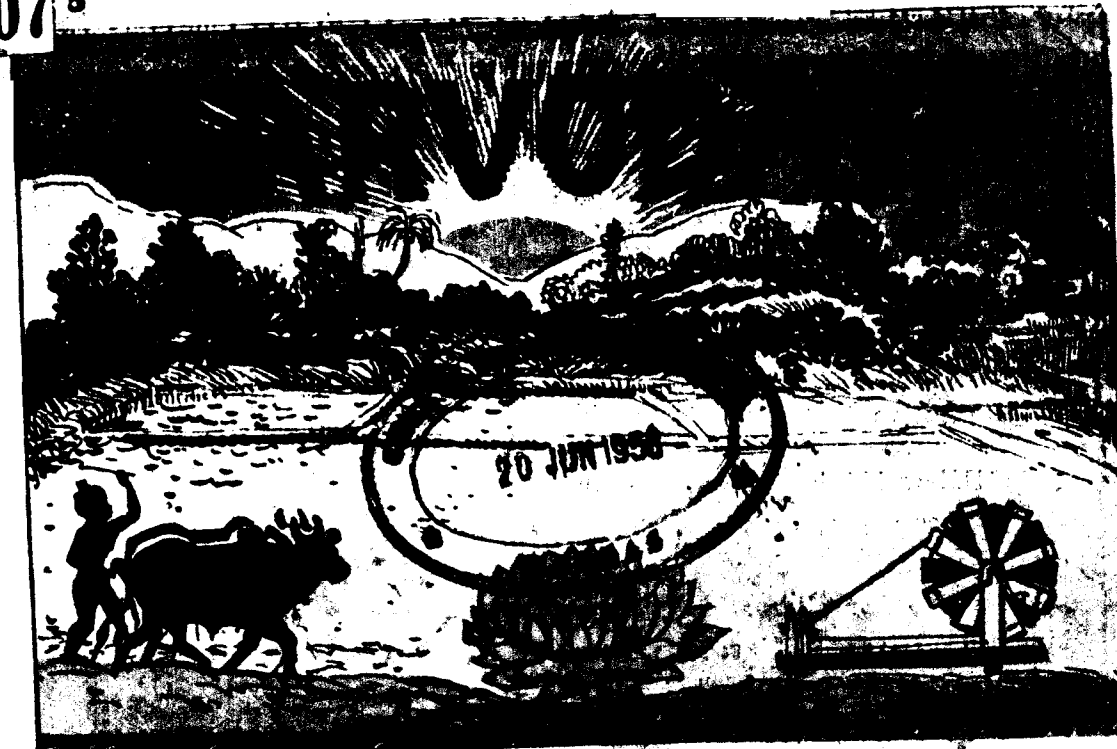
The Sixth Sammelan was in Bodh Gaya in Bihar in March 1954.

The Seventh Sammelan was held in Puri (Orissa) in April 1955.

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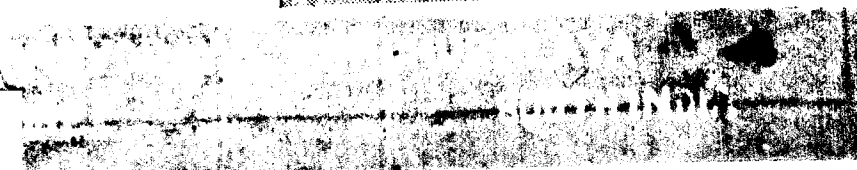


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# AHIMSA.

" Ahimsa is the extreme limit of forgiveness. But forgiveness is the quality of the brave. Ahimsa is impossible without fearlessness. "

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Mahatma Gandhi.



## THE SARVODAYA CALL TO THE NATION

The Sarvodaya Sammelan does not pass any resolution. It is the Sarva Seva Sangh that makes a resolution of policy and principles in the light of the discussion at the Sammelan. The following is the resolution of the Sangh placed at the Coimbatore Sarvodaya Sammelan on 29th May 1956 read by Sri Dhirendra Majumdar.

### No Alternative

“THE world is beginning to accept non-violence. Science has created a situation in the world where there is no other alternative. Mankind can survive only if it accepts non-violence. Men's minds, however, still have a lingering faith in violence. The world is realising the futility of modern war, yet the social and political life continues to accept petty violence. We see it almost every day. On flimsy pretext there is a tendency to break out in violence. The Government reacts in the same way. They too believe in small violence. If our aim is to create a peaceful and non-violent society, then violence big and small must end.

### Stop All Petty Violence

“Workers have to be alert and understand the day-to-day problems and find out a non-violent method of solving them. They must create such an atmosphere in the country where there will be no occasion for

violence. Unfortunately if violence breaks out, they must rush forth and try to stop it even at the cost of their lives.

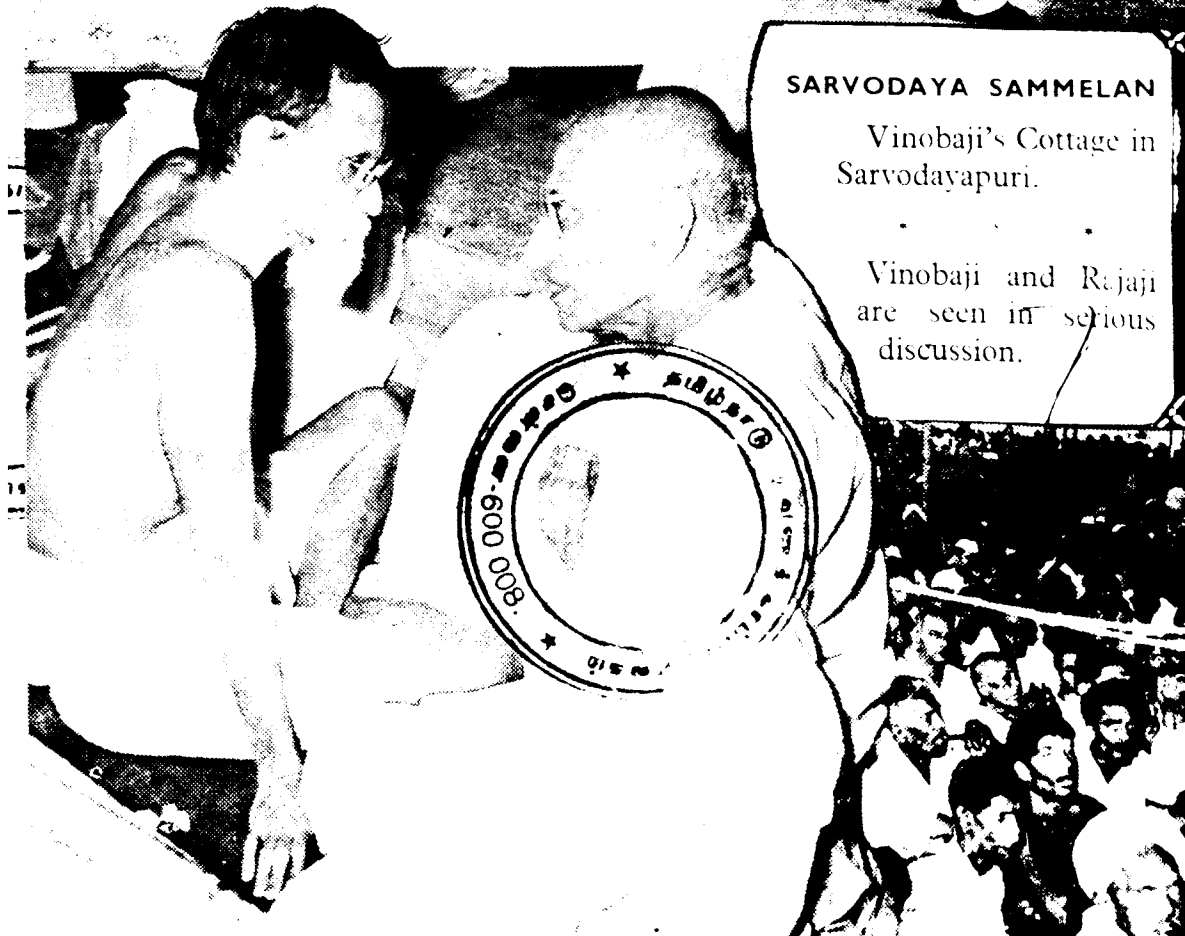
“But a more effective way of creating non-violent atmosphere is to carry out the constructive programme and create the Swaraj of Gandhiji's dreams.

“The Bhoodan movement has shown the way of establishing that Swaraj.

### The Experience of Five Years

“Experience of the last five years has been very encouraging. It strengthens the faith of the workers in creating the society of the free and the equal. We feel confident that by 1957 Bhoodan revolution would be successful. We have been able to get 24 lakhs of acres of land in Bihar. This is a proof if any is needed that our appeal is capable of getting proper response. In Orissa nearly thousand villages have been given in Bhoodan and the idea of individual ownership

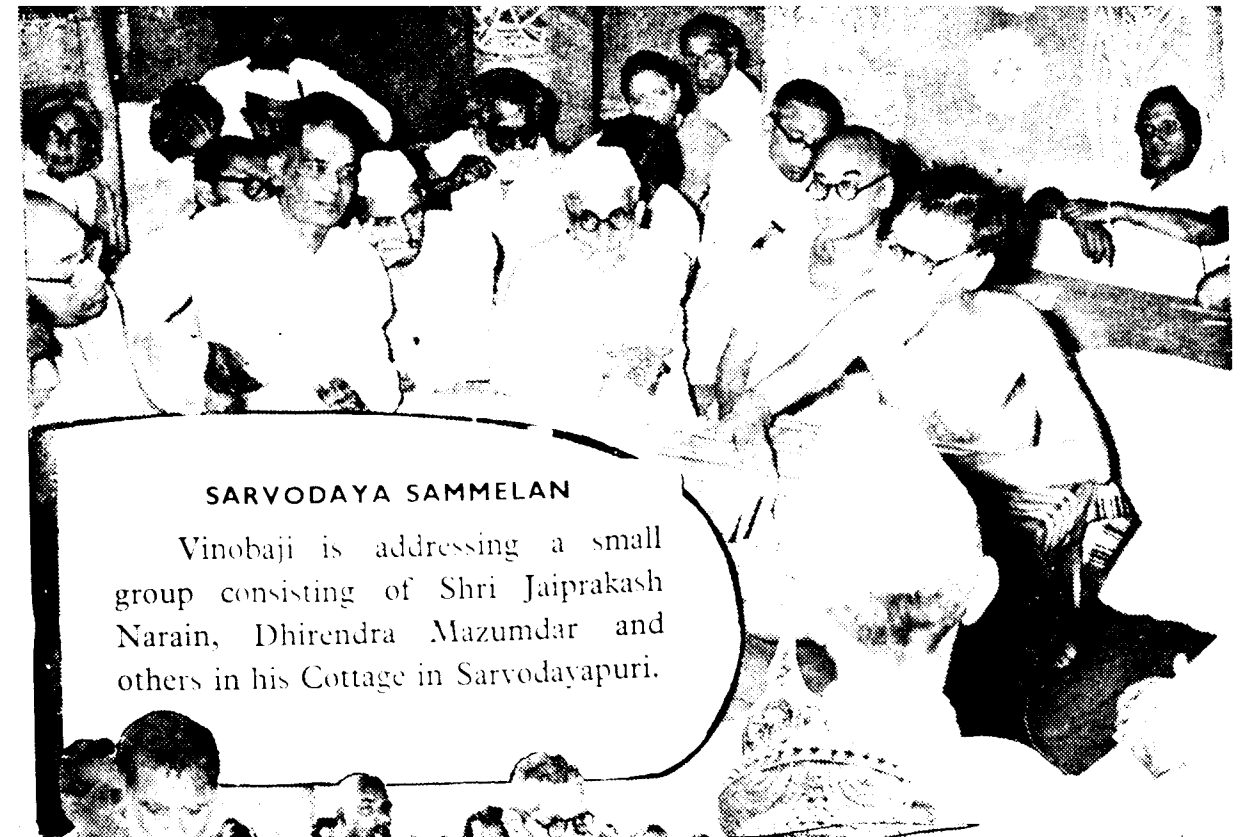
*(Continued in cover page 8)*



#### SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

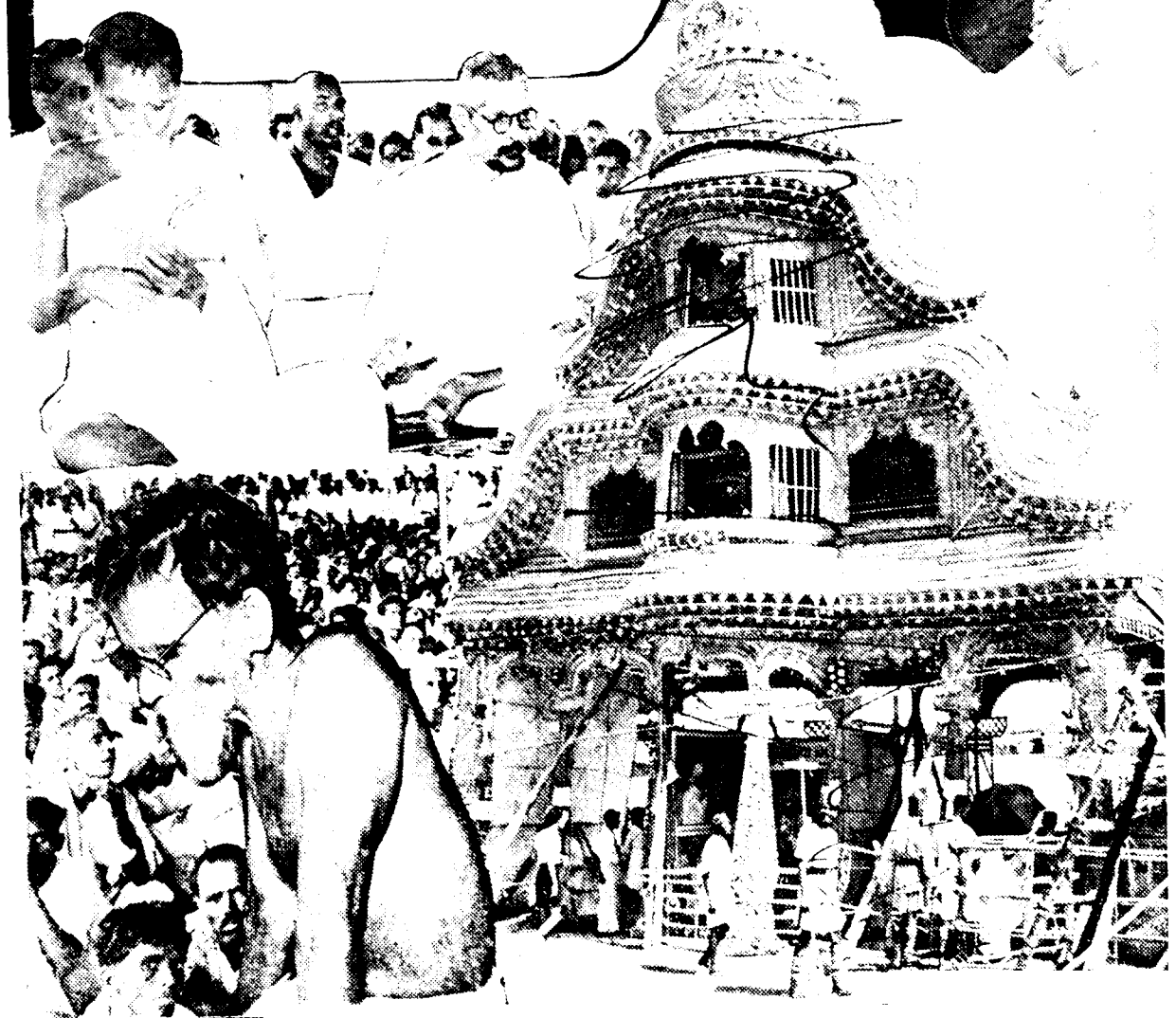
Vinobaji's Cottage in Sarvodayapuri.

Vinobaji and Rajaji are seen in serious discussion.



#### SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

Vinobaji is addressing a small group consisting of Shri Jaiprakash Narain, Dharendra Mazumdar and others in his Cottage in Sarvodayapuri.



# SARVODAYA

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## ★ Completion of Fifth Year ★

The "Sarvodaya" Monthly completes its Fifth Year with this number and we are thankful to all friends in India and outside who have been extending their continual support and co-operation during the last five years.

The index of contents of 436 pages of the fifth volume will give an idea of the principles and policy which have been guiding us in the editing of this Monthly.

It has been often suggested to us to increase the annual subscription considering the size of the Magazine but we feel that any increase in subscription will add to the strain of many of our subscribers who are regular readers with devotion to the cause.

We are trying our best to improve the quality of printing and get-up of the Magazine in the course of the sixth year.

## TO OUR READERS

WE regret for the delay in publishing this number of 'Sarvodaya.' The change in the management in the press in which 'Sarvodaya' is printed has created certain difficulties in timely publication. The next issue is expected to be published in the second week of July 1956.

## The Kancheepuram Sarvodaya Sammelan

**T**HE eighth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Kancheepuram in the last week of May, the hottest month in Tamilnad, was the greatest of the Sammelans held so far. Much importance is attached to this as we are nearing the year 1957 when the Bhoodan movement should reach its fulfilment according to our pledge at Puri Sammelan. This being the first of the Sammelans held in South India has attracted the largest number of Sevaks from the other parts. The holding of the Eleventh All India Basic Education Conference immediately after the Sammelan has drawn a large number of educationists working under Government and outside as volunteers and delegates for the Conference. Thus in all there were about 8,000 Sarvodaya Sevaks or delegates who participated in the Sammelan.

Though the Bhoodan workers have invited the Sammelan in Tamilnad the initiative for organising the Sammelan lay on the shoulders of the chief Minister and his colleagues, besides the Director of Public Instruction and his department, as the Bhoodan workers were actively engaged in preparing the atmosphere for Vinobaji's yatra in Chenglepet district and Madras City. It will be no exaggeration to say that the vast arrangements involved in creating a temporary township for about 10,000 Sevaks and for a spacious prayer ground

for accommodating about a lakh of people could not have been possible but for the personal interest taken and daily attention given by Sri Kamaraj and Sri N. D. Sundara Vadivelu, the Director of Public Instruction. All facilities for lighting, water, sanitary convenience etc. were provided at the State level and construction, and boarding expenses had to be met from collections made in the districts. The Tamilnad Congress Committee gave Rs. 10,000 as its contribution. The Education Minister had already agreed to help for the Basic Education Conference just as other States had done for the previous conferences. Any small deficit in the Sammelan and the conference could have been met possibly with the contribution from the Government and public collections.

A temporary township was created in the name of Sarvodaya-puri on the banks of the Vegavathi river not far from the town. A bulldozer had to work for about a fortnight for clearing and levelling the ground of about 40 acres. Another adjoining ground of 5 acres was secured for the Sarvodaya Exhibition. A special prayer ground was prepared adjoining the Sankaracharya Mutt. Special credit is due to the departments of electricity, engineering and health in speeding up the arrangements in the shortest time.

The band of active organisers from the non-official group consisted of Sri. K. Arunachalam, Principal of the Periyanaikampalayam Basic Training College, of Sri. N. Ramakrishna Iyer, M. L. A. Sri. Thangavelu Mudaliar, Municipal Chairman and many others of the locality. Sri. A. L. Sambandam, M. L. A., who was in charge of the boarding arrangements should be congratulated for the satisfactory catering service. About 200 headmasters and assistants of Basic Training Schools and about 600 students undergoing training in Teachers' schools served as organisers and volunteers. The Sammelan can claim to have been mostly managed by the officials and non-officials working in the field of Basic education in Tamilnad. There were about 200 Bhoodan workers who were more engaged in the propaganda work in connection with Vinobaji's yatra. The Sammelan was indeed surcharged with the atmosphere of Nai Talim.

On account of sudden and heavy rains just two days earlier to the Sammelan the sheds intended for about 4000 delegates were damaged and the whole ground was filled with water. This caused great inconvenience to the delegates who began to arrive earlier before the sheds could be repaired.

The Sammelan commenced at 2-30 P. M. on the 27th May with sacrificial spinning. 2,000 persons took part in spinning. After prayer Shri. Vallabaswami announced that Shri. Appa Sahib Patwardhan would preside over the Sammelan. Sri. Kaka Kalelker spoke a few

words introducing Shri. Appa Sahib referring to his sacrifice and service to the Nation since the days of non-co-operation. Sri S. Jaganathan, The Tamilnad Bhoodan Convener who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee read his welcome address in Tamil and Hindi. Rajaji was already invited by Vinobaji and the Sarva Seva Sangh. He had already consented to spare a day for the Sammelan. This is the first occasion when Rajaji attended the All India Sarvodaya Sammelan though he had presided over the Tamilnad Sammelan last year. Rajaji's speech for about 45 minutes was in the form of both as a welcome address and an inaugural speech. His Tamil speech was translated in Hindi and was heard in pin-drop silence.

Shri Appa Sahib Patwardhan addressed the Sammelan on the Bhoodan and the true spirit of Swadeshi. After his speech the evening session of the Sammelan ended at 6 p. m. The evening prayer was held in the spacious midan. Vinobaji's post-prayer speech referred to Rajaji's advice about unilateral disarmament.

In the morning session of the second day Vinobaji spoke for hundred minutes. This is an important speech which has helped in the deliberations in the Sammelan. Some of the workers of several provinces spoke about their experiences in Bhoodan work. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan spoke for nearly two hours in Hindi. Unfortunately this was not translated in Tamil for want of time. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan was over-powered with feelings

when he made a reference to Vinobaji's fast and appealed to him to suspend walking yatra during the fast. Vinobaji unfolded his four-fold programme in Tamilnad at the evening prayer meeting.

On the third day morning on 29th may the Conveners of the five sectional conferences read their reports of the discussions and their conclusion. The group discussions considered the following five subjects. 1. Planning for the Gramdan villages. 2. Sampattidan 3. Second five year plan and Sarvodaya plan. 4. Programme of work among students. 5. Among working classes and Intelligentsia in urban areas.

In the afternoon session Sri Anna Saheb Sahasrabudhe spoke on the plan of development taken up in the Gram-dan villages in Koraput district in Orissa. Later Sri Dhebar Bhai, President of the Congress addressed the Sammelan and paid a tribute to Vinobaji who could attract the largest number of dedicated workers for selfless service for Sarvodaya ideal. He said that no other organisation or any individual can claim such a large following unallured by power, job or money. Sri Dhebar assured full Congress support for the Bhoodan movement.

Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, the President of the Sarva Seva Sangh read the policy statement and commended it to the Sammelan as truly reflecting the inner urge of not only of the people of this country but of the people of the whole world.

After Sri Mazumdar's speech Dr. R a j e n d r a Prasad who

was keenly following the two days' proceedings said that this kind of a voluntary movement of gifts of all that one has, is a revolutionary one.

The Sammelan concluded with the post-prayer speech of Acharya Vinoba. He had to answer certain points raised by Sri Dhebar. Vinobaji dilated on the internal contradiction in the two terms of Raja-Neethi and the true import of "Satyam Eva Jayathe". This concluding prayer speech was at the same high level as at Bodh-Gaya when he spoke on Danda-Shakthi and Jana-Shakthi.

Thus concluded the momentous Sammelan of about eight thousand workers wandering in the nooks and corners of the country, sans name, fame, job, power or money who gather once a year in the name of Mahatma Gandhi for self-introspection and to gather new strength for another year of toil.

Kancheepuram Sammelan has given a definite message and if followed it is bound to take us to the destined goal in the next year according to our pledge.

The Press of Madras deserves all congratulations for prompt, correct and lengthy reports of the proceedings and the speeches of the Sammelan. Most of the speeches given here are taken and adapted from the press reports of the 'Hindu' and the "Indian Express" to whom we are very grateful.

For want of time and space we could not fully cover the proceedings of the Sammelan and the Basic Education Conference. The next issue of the "Sarvodaya" will cover all these features.

## DISARMAMENT OR THE POWER OF PEACE

positive. It must have the power of resisting evil. If we settle our internal situation on these lines they will generate a force which will be irresistible. Many desire peace. But the important thing is the development of the power and the dynamic strength associated with it. Let us therefore declare that we will reduce our military strength in our own country whatever our neighbours may do. That Pakistan is increasing her armaments is not something about which we should be anxious. Any nation that multiplies its armaments is bound to be destroyed. It will be a matter for regret if our neighbour takes the path of destruction. But we, Indians, can prevent our neighbour from taking that path by ourselves adopting a policy of peace.

Those who run the Government of India, no doubt, know all these. They know many other things that we in the Sarvodaya Samaj might not know. I am not criticising any one. I am only suggesting that we should subject our minds to critical examination and come to proper conclusions.

Today's election methods and our social and economic policies have relation to all that I have said today. We can escape from evil only by devoting attention to the thoughts that I have placed before you.

Pakistan is thinking that India's strength has grown and so she wants to increase her armament. India also thinks likewise. This is a vicious circle and it should be broken.

Of course, mutual discussions and talks between nations may do

some good. But real and lasting peace will not result out of it. It will result only from every nation unilaterally reducing its armaments. Talks between Governments will not mend the situation. We have to advance boldly on the path of peace with full faith in peace. If there is darkness all around we should be bold enough to supply light ourselves. I am indeed happy to know that Rajaji thinks likewise.

If the Sarvodaya Samaj spreads this idea all over the country I am sure that courage would be infused into the Government to take actions on the lines suggested now.

Of course, there are many issues before the Government. But other issues in comparison to this issue pale into insignificance. Sarvodaya Samaj must realise its responsibilities in this context.



### Our Bhoodan Booklets

- |                                        |           |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|
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| 2 Revolutionary Bhoodan                | ... 0 6 0 |
| 3 Bhoodan to Gramdan                   | ... 0 6 0 |
| 4 Bhoodan As Seen by the West          | ... 0 6 0 |
| 5 Vinoba Bhave on World Peace          | ... 0 2 0 |
| 6 Vinoba's Voice in Madras city        | ... 0 3 0 |
| 7 A Picture of Sarvodaya Social order  | ... 0 4 0 |
| 8 Jeevandan (Revised)                  | ... 0 4 0 |
| (Postage Extra)                        |           |

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,  
Tanjore. (S. India)

# Establishment of Gram-Raj

ACHARYA VINOBA

Vinobaji addressed the Sammelan in the morning session on the second day (28th May). In his hundred minute speech he critically analysed the burning problems of the day facing the country from the stand-point of pure Sarvodaya idealism.

MY attention is now engaged in how to establish genuine Gram Raj in the Gram Dan villages.

I am happy to state that in Andhra, a key centre of communist activity, many Communists have come to show a sympathetic and helpful attitude to Bhoodan and Gram Dan movements. Some have even begun to participate in them. Some people express fears about communists' participation. I have complete self-confidence and I am sure of myself. It is only when a person is not sure of his grounds that he mistrusts others. I am fully prepared to welcome any one who expresses willingness to co-operate with me. Gramdan has opened up a new horizon not only for India but for the entire world.

## Country-wide Land-distribution on a single Day

Some people ask me how I am going to distribute the lands I have collected. The task of distribution is more difficult than the work of collection. It may take some time to distribute a few villages. Will it not be far better to distribute all the lands in the country on a single day? If you just think a bit, you will realise that it is not an impossible idea. Have we not seen the rains drenching the plains of the entire country on a single day? Does not

the sun shine on all our homes on the same day? People every where in this country celebrate Deepavali on the Same day. *If only proper consciousness is aroused in the people this task of distributing all the lands in the country on a single day is not impossible of achievement. It must happen, it can happen, and it will happen.*

## The Collective Leadership

Russia is now engaged in re-writing her history. The hero of yesterday has become the trampled hero today. The experiment in Russia has a great value for the Bhoodan movement. It has created the new concept of collective leadership. The Bhoodan movement has now the opportunity of putting to test the concept of collective leadership. By the very nature of the method we adopt, that is, *Pada Yatra*, individual leadership becomes inconceivable. The local people are the leaders in this movement. Even they are only workers and not leaders. If they approach the land-owners as leaders and not as workers they will not be able to obtain land gifts. The devotional literature of our country contains numerous songs wherein the *Bhaktas* pray to God with humble solicitude to wake him up from His eternal slumber.

Revolutionary ideas originate at one place but are carried with the breeze to the entire world. Buddha, though he spoke only Pali and traversed only the area between Prayag and Gaya, has come to be recognised as a world teacher. Sivaji in spite of his legendary courage only ruled over a tiny territory. He did not become an all-India leader. Only those who practised what they preached, became National Leaders.

I am happy to see the enormous confidence of the Bhoodan workers of Madhya Pradesh. By the grace of God veteran leaders of the country are not taking part in the Bhoodan movement. Perhaps they want new leaders to come up. The workers have now chosen the path of collective effort, and *Jana-sevakathwam*—collective service.

Rajaji stated yesterday that people now-a-days are exhibiting many evil qualities. What Rajaji observed is only a manifestation on the surface because in the present structure of the society, the greed for money has taken possession of the people. Beneath the diseased exterior all of us have the same human nature, pure and sublime. Do we throw away a cabbage because its outer skin is rotten? It is the environment that corrupts man. It is because we have ceased to respect the dignity of labour that this state of affairs has come about.

## The Dawn of Satya-yuga

A great Dharmic revolution is now taking place in the country. People are once again turning to the path of righteousness. The Satya Yuga has already dawned. Every

one is eager to lend a helping hand to his suffering brethren. Fourteen students of Bombay have walked 750 miles on Pada Yatra. According to shastras if a person is sleeping he is in *Kaliyuga*, if he wakes up from his bed he is *Dwapara Yuga*, if he gets on to his feet he is in *Tretha Yuga*, and once he begins to walk, he is in *Krita Yuga* i. e. Satyayuga. These boys who came on Pada Yatra from Bombay to collect Bhoodan gifts are now living not in *Kaliyuga* but in *Kritayuga*.

Can you accuse the students of indiscipline? It is a transferred epithet to blame the students for all the faults of their educational system. With my experience during the last five years I feel sure that a new awakening among the masses in India is evident. I am also happy to note that those who are to receive land gifts show a desire to make some kind of Dan. The response from the business community for my appeal for gifts is also very encouraging. There is this criticism that I have often been cheated by some land-owners who donated lands because those very same persons indulged in evicting the peasants and tyrannising them. For the last five years the Government has been trumpeting that it is going to introduce land-reform legislation. The land owners are afraid on this account. Miserliness and fear have combined to bring about this situation.

## Recent-Disturbances

I am very sad over the recent disturbances in the country as a result of the proposals for the re-organisation of States. I do admit,

it is a defeat for Bhoodan movement, in so far as it has not shown much interest in the cities. I would like to say again and again that there is nothing wrong in linguistic states. If the affairs of the people are not conducted in their own language Swaraj has no meaning for them. Those who day in and out accuse the advocates of the linguistic states as narrow-minded are to be blamed for the disturbances. If you constantly call a man as a sinner he will become a sinner even if he is not a already one. This is the teaching of the Upanishads. The demand for linguistic states was put forward by good people. Recent events have given them an opportunity to think. So far we have been honouring wrong persons. If those who indulged in violence during the days of 1942 were justified in their acts because their cause was good, they who indulged in violence during the disturbances can also justify their position because they believed in a cause which they consider as just.

#### Admixture of Violence and Non-violence

In many homes I find portraits of Gandhi and Subash Bose hanging side by side. I have great respect for Bose's patriotism and his many other qualities. But the fact that the portraits of the two leaders hung side by side implies that the people feel that India's freedom was achieved partly through non-violence and partly through violence. It is like paying homage to both violence and non-violence at the same time. The world is in the same predicament to-day.

In Europe and America, people are fast losing faith in violence

because they have realised that violence did not solve any problem. When '*himsa*' becomes '*Athi-himsa*' (excessive himsa) only evil flows from it. But the people of the West have not yet accepted Ahimsa. They are sitting on the fence. This neutrality between violence and non-violence is a dangerous thing. It reflects a wavering temper. One cannot take a decision if one totally believes either in violence or in non-violence. But when a person is in a state of indecision, he will not be able to take any step forward.

The people of India do not believe in 'violence on a big scale'. They do not also have the facilities for acquiring the means of "large-scale destruction". But still they believe in "violence on a small-scale". It is surprising. Naturally, this attitude of the people is reflected in the Government.

#### Place of Satyagraha in Democracy

During the last five or seven years, the police have fired a number of times. In some cases no enquiries were held at all and in other cases enquiries were held. I do not want to say whether firing is advisable or not. I do not want to say that firing should not be treated as something common and natural. If there is violence on the part of the people, the Government also resorts to violence. Both sides believe in "minor violence." This is a sad state of affairs. The only antidote to this position is that the spirit of Satyagraha should permeate the people.

Satyagraha is a "majestic idea". There is nothing better to bring salvation to the world. But

even this has become a threat, now-a-days. It has been divorced from its constructive aspect. It has been degraded so much that some people have even begun to say that there is no place for Satyagraha in a democracy. There is place for armies in a democracy but not for Satyagraha.

During the pre-independence era, everything we did had a negative aspect. It was then a question of "end or mend". The same slogan cannot hold good after the achievement of Swaraj. We cannot now ask our businessmen or the wealthy to "quit India". We have, therefore, yet to understand fully the principle of Satyagraha and to develop a definition. Even Gandhiji did not lay down a "science of Satyagraha" because it is an evolving idea.

#### My Mission in Tamilnad

I have not fixed a time limit for my stay in Tamil Nad because I want to do the Bhoodan work extensively here and also because I want to integrate Bhoodan work with other forms of constructive work like Khadi development, Harijan welfare, and Basic education.

Wherever I go my comforts are carefully attended to. But the same consideration is not always extended to those silent workers who have dedicated their life to this mission.

(When Vinobaji said this with a warmth of feeling that overpowered him he was visibly moved and tears trickled down his cheeks. The large gathering and those on the dais sat in tense suspense for two minutes).



#### VINOBA ON ATHEISM.

Referring to the complaint that atheism was spreading Vinobaji declared that one who uttered the name of God but had no love or compassion for his neighbour could not be called an *asthika* (believer). "By Bhoodan we hope to change men's hearts to compassion. God, can be left to take care of himself. We can best help ourselves by taking care of our neighbours"

# Appeal for Concentrated Work

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan made a moving appeal to the Sarvodaya Sevaks to concentrate on the fulfilment of the target of 5 crore acres by 1957, in his long Hindi speech on 28th May at the Sarvodaya Sammelan. This is only a summary of his speech.

Vinobaji has taken us by surprise with the sudden announcement of his three day fast. He has left us no chance to persuade him against it. He has also left us guessing whether he would continue his pada-yatra during the fast or rest. It is our duty to stop him, if he continues his walk during the three days of his fast. If the sagely Acharya feels the need for self-purification, where are we, a bundle of imperfections?

The Bhoodan movement is yet another contribution of India to the world. It is a boon to India herself, and collection and distribution of the targeted five crore of land represents the first stage in the land revolution.

## The Ideal of Gram-Raj

Only a year is left over for the completion of the first stage. Can we achieve the target? That is the one problem engaging our attention. There are many workers who feel diffident and I would remind them of the total success achieved in Bihar and some other areas. With the blessing of Acharya Vinoba Bihar has realised her target and has given shape to a new idea, namely Gram-dan. By donating 800 villages in one district alone, Orissa has set an example to others.

While assessing the progress of the movement we will realise

that the success of Bhoodan movement does not depend solely on the acreage we collect. Much more important is the extent of the psychological revolution we bring about amongst the people. From this angle, there are sure signs of a favourable atmosphere for the success of this movement. Our leader is tramping from place to place spreading the message of Bhoodan. He is advancing from step to step and he gives us new ideas.

In Tamil Nad, Acharya Bhava has given the call for the establishment of Gram Raj. It is my wish that this conception of Gandhiji should take shape here.

With the blessings of Vinobaji and a favourable atmosphere in the country, the movement has made appreciable progress. Except for Vinobaji, all others engaged in Bhoodan work are drawn from the rank and file. It is a national pledge we have taken, and I have no doubt that we would honour it.

## The Government's Duty

The Bhoodan movement has the backing of all parties in the country. The Congress has accepted it and the Socialists have backed it. When the entire people are behind the movement why then has Government not yet come into it? It is as much their responsibility as it is the people's to carry

the Bhoodan movement to success. The Bhoodan saint has been braving rain and sun, and wandering from place to place. Is it not Government's duty to share the responsibility, and lighten the burden?

Government should begin to share the responsibility by offering their own lands for Bhoodan. In Madras State, there are one lakh of acres of Government land and the Chief Minister Sri. Kamaraj should take steps to distribute them to the landless immediately. Our targeted date is drawing near, and with Government lands going to Bhoodan, I have no doubt that we can reach the target.

## The Duty of the Workers

The success of the movement depends mainly on our own strength. Have we the necessary strength and have the Bhoodan workers exerted their utmost? Let each of the ten thousand workers who have assembled for the Sammelan from far and wide search his heart and answer the question. Surely we have not exerted our best. I am myself an example and I have not done my best. Let each of us do some introspecting without expecting a new lead from the Acharya.

## The Real Strength

The strength I refer to is not the physical or numerical strength, but the soul force. It is inner purity or purity of the heart. If we search our hearts and cleanse it of its impurities, I have no doubt we can do more for Bhoodan.

The doubts raised by some of the Bhoodan workers show that they have not yet fully understood the

philosophy of Bhoodan. It is the noblest of ideas; austerity, sincerity and courage of conviction are what the movement demands of us. It also demands of us a sentimental and emotional approach.

## Intensive work in Towns

I should draw the attention of the Sarvodaya workers to one aspect to which we have not yet paid attention. It is our neglect of towns which today form the centres of modern civilization. We have not yet taken our movement to the "intellectuals" and the townsmen are yet quite strangers to the philosophy. Bhoodan workers must devote their special attention on this and must do intensive work in towns and cities.

In spite of the progress of the Bhoodan movement, the ill-feeling between the landlord and tenant is still sharp in villages. The reason is that some people look upon it as a movement of the landless. These people believe in class-war and talk in terms of an organisation of the landless against landlords. That is a wrong conception of the whole philosophy of Bhoodan.

The strength, in Bhoodan language, is not mass sanction but moral strength. We believe in change of heart — hearts of not only the rich but also of the poor.

## Cast off "Mine" and "Thine"

The hearts of the poor need as much change as those of the rich. Though without land or money, the poor still think in terms of "mine" and "thine". The poor clings to his small piece of land or the little purse with as much force as the rich.

They should, therefore, rid themselves of this attitude before asking the rich to give up their lands or wealth. If this change of heart is brought about, the "Sarvodaya" society will become a reality.

China and Russia, are standing examples of the failures of revolutions brought by physical force. In spite of the Russian revolution, the

greatest in history, there are disparities in that land. The root cause of all inequalities is therefore greed for money. Even the great Stalin had to bend low before greed, and that is why the revolution in Russia failed to achieve its object. And yet they imagine that expropriation of the rich will take them to their goal.



## TWELVE POINTS FOR JEEVANDANIS

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan has outlined a twelve-point *pledge* for those engaged in *Jeevandan*. Acharya Vinoba Bhave to whom it was communicated has approved of it. The *Jeevandan* idea was propounded by Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan at the Gaya Sammelan.

This pledge was mentioned in the 2nd day's Session of Sammelan at Conjeevaram. According to the programme, (1) those who are in possession of lands should give a reasonable portion of their land as donation; (2) part of their income or produce should be given as Sam-pathidan; (3) there should be faith in labour and a regular programme for productive labour should be evolved; (4) Khadi should be worn habitually, with a regular spinning habit in which all members of the family will take part; (5) articles produced by village industries should be used; (6) intoxicants should be given up; (7) they should engage

themselves in eradication of untouchability; (8) disputes should be settled by Panchayat; (9) landlords should not evict tenants; (10) there should be no participation in elections as candidates by those making *Jeevandan*; (11) must actively co-operate in Bhoodan; and (12) there should be similar participation by them in constructive activities.

Sri Narayan has also given a programme for *Jeevandan* followers who are pursuing some profession in cities. Lawyers, it has been suggested, should take a pledge that they would not accept or plead false causes. Doctors have been advised that they should take fees just sufficient to keep them going. Businessmen should not indulge in black-marketing and they should not evade paying taxes. Intellectuals should propagate the Bhoodan ideology and give some part of their time to this.



## Four-fold Programme in Tamilnad

ACHARYA VINOBA

Vinobaji declared in a moving speech after the evening prayer on 28th May at Conjeevaram his determination to serve Tamilnad for achieving his four-fold programme. This programme includes Bhoodan, eradication of caste differences, spreading Basic Education and for the total uplift of the villages for Gramodayam. The following is the summary of his speech.

### Have come to serve Tamil Nad

I have come to Tamil Nad – the feet of Bharatha Matha – to serve the people. Bhoodan is a movement which has won the approbation of all people. I am sure this mission will reach its fulfilment here. More than the Bhoodan movement I am interested in being of service to the people of Tamil Nad. I am preparing myself for that.

In the session to day we heard our friends of the South speak in broken Hindi. We were all delighted to hear that not because the people from the South spoke faulty Hindi but because the love they have developed for Hindi. This has given them all an opportunity to demonstrate the unity of the country.

The Hindi Prachar Sabha has been propagating Hindi in the South during the last thirty five years and it is now time we have a two-way traffic. People from North should take up the work of studying Tamil. This is the foremost task now, as all of us are the sons of Bharatha Matha and should live together.

### Do away with caste distinctions

At one time the entire educational system in the country was in the hands of Jains. It was even said that the literature of the first

Tamil Sangham was brought out by Jains. This shows that there was a literary current flowing through the country. The course of the current however changed sometimes proceeding from the North to the South and at other times from the South to the North. The two great Bhakthi cults of south India that of Ramanuja and Sankaracharya spread all over the north. Thus we see that a bond of love always existed between the North and the South. There is the cultural unity of the country and it is our own duty to demonstrate it. For this purpose we should take steps first to eradicate caste distinctions. The caste system might have had its use in olden days when it was evolved. But the system has now to be given an honourable send off. I wish to engage myself in this task.

### Spread Nai Talim

The next item to which I wish to devote my time is the spread of Nai Talim in the villages. Just as the first letter is the basis of the entire alphabet, so states the *kural*, God is the fountain-head of the universe. The same statement has been expressed in Gita also. A country which placed *Aksharam* and God on a par cannot be an illiterate country. But in our country there are crores of people who are illiterate and the lakhs of people

## SARVODAYA

who are literate have an education which has no substance or virility and which is of no use for anything. It has bred unemployment, squabbles and Communism. I do not mean to say that Communism is bad. But any thing which is born out of unemployment is bad. Communism has its roots in jealousy of the well-to-do. Education that we should give to the people should be virile and purposeful. To achieve this I would propagate the Basic Education system and explain its features to every villager. Further with a view to provide employment for the villagers I will engage them in the promotion of the village industries. I want to put into

practice the ideal of Gramodaya in Tamil Nad.

### The ideal of Gramodayam

All these programmes will be carried out by us along with Bhoodan movement through which the gulf between the rich and the poor can be bridged. Unity of the country can be developed and Hindi and Tamil can be brought close together. It is my desire to set up a model village in TamilNad and demonstrate how villages should progress and prosper. Constructive workers' organisations and Hindi Prachar Sabha should give me their co-operation.



### THE PURPOSE OF MY FAST

Addressing his last prayer meeting at Kancheepuram on the 6th June Vinobaji expressed his determination to serve Tamilnad with all his devotion;

"Such devotion can be true only if it is pure. It was for this purpose the short fast was taken. Purification is a long process and is not realised through two or three fasts. But it needed a *Sankalpa* which was possible through this fast. I will proceed in the hope of full co-operation from all my brothers and sisters of Tamilnad in this mission.

"I have not the least intention of performing any miracle; nothing indeed like that. I have quite the contrary in my mind. I am not going to do anything myself. It is God's will and the will of all that is going to achieve results. I realise that there is a great hope in Tamilnad. This hope and faith are significant of the people's self-confidence. As for me, I am going to be but an instrument".

—VINOBA

From "Indian Express" June 9th.

## A Great Revolutionary Movement

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD

(Summary of the speech at the Sarvodaya Sammelan in the afternoon of 29th May 1956)

During the last two days I have been hearing you speak about the progress of your movement and seeing you at work. The cry everywhere is Sampattidan. Bhoomidan, Sramadan, and Jeevandan. I may tell you at once that I have come here not to give but to take. If I take a part of your message with me I would be more than satisfied.

From the beginning I was convinced that Bhoodan is a great revolutionary movement, and my stay with you has only strengthened my conviction. There have been many types of revolutions but yours is unique. Your movement is revolutionary in its method as it is in its objectives.

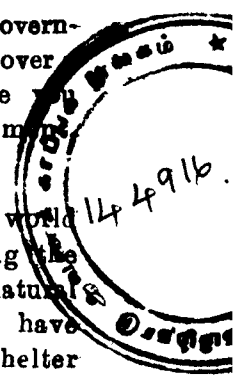
### The Craze for Wealth

The present-day world knows not anything but one cry: how to get rich, how to amass wealth. The cry is the same whether it is from an individual or from a nation. If it is not possible for a nation or country to achieve progress through her own efforts, her thought is turned towards aggression or exploitation of a weaker country. But your movement knows not taking but only giving. You asked for Bhoodan and got it. Next you asked for Gramdan and you got it too. Now you want Sramadan and Sampattidan. You want people to give

out of their own free will. Coercion is anathema to you, and you do not want to accept anything from unwilling hands. You do not even want the help of legislation. Your experience has been that you can ask for everything and get it. Therefore it is my wish that your movement will succeed without Government help or invocation of Government authority. I may tell you that you have achieved in a few years what government was not able to achieve over long period. The huge acreage you have collected justifies my statement.

### Control of Wants

All the countries in the world face the same problem of raising the standard of living. It is but natural that India where people do not have enough food, clothing and shelter should also want to raise the standard of life of her people. It is no wonder therefore that the Government in this country concentrate on the problem. But in this they must beware of a danger. It is one thing to work for a minimum standard of living, and quite a different thing to work for it, without a limit on our wants. While backward countries make attempts to reach the standard of advanced ones, the latter however attempt higher limits. This process goes on and on and there is no end to it.



This is a problem which deserves our serious consideration. As science and civilisation advance our wants also multiply rapidly. This is a never-ending process. It is like putting out fire by pouring ghee. Fire can be put out only by water and your Bhoodan is like water. It will bring the fire under control, and that is why I give it the highest place.

#### The Vicious Circle

The advance of all countries is going on to a set pattern. Two hundred years ago we had the steam age and later electricity replaced it. Now we have atomic energy and no country wants to go back to the steam age. Every nation wants that its technological advance keeps pace with her wants. And with every advance our wants also multiply. If we are able to cry a halt at some stage there will be no problem in the world. But is it possible? I have my own doubts and therefore the problem before us is how to stop this vicious circle. We should all remember that this avarice of nations to satisfy the multiplying wants of the people is the root cause of all troubles. It is at the bottom of all wars. And it also explains the armaments race.

#### The fire of Greed

This fire-greed of nations to satisfy the multiplying wants of people must be put out and I firmly believe that the only way is through the practice of the ideal of non-possession—*Aparigraha*. Whether it is Sampatti dan or Bhoodan it revolves round the name philosophy. We must be firm in our conviction and set an example to the world.

#### Philosophy of Non-possession

The world is beginning to realise this significance of the movement and understand the philosophy of non-possession. It has already captured the imagination of the great thinkers in other countries. The large number of delegates here from foreign countries is a proof that the world is watching us and is ready to take the message. Bhoodan is an international movement. It is unique as it is noble. I have no doubt that the message of Bhoodan would spread far and wide.

My advice to you is that you should not be disheartened, if the Government does not take up your movement. Had there ever been in recorded history a single successful movement started by the Government? On the other hand history is full of revolutions against the Government. Did not Lord Buddha renounce his kingdom before spreading his gospel? Jesus Christ was not a King nor was prophet Mohammed. All the rich heritage we now enjoy were left behind by Rishis and Sadhus—they were not the work of kings.

No revolution ever achieved permanent results. But the benefits of your movements will be everlasting. I have no doubt about it and I want that you should go ahead with courage and confidence. Your movement will be fruitful not only to India, but to the world.

★

## The Contradiction in Raj-Neethi

ACHARYA VINOBA

(A condensed version of the Hindi speech after prayer on 29-5-56, the last day of the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Kancheepuram).

Let all the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj now and herein take a decision that they will think and work in terms of *Praja Neeti* and *Loka Neeti* and not of *Raj Neeti*. The ideology of *Raj Neeti* that is now current among the rulers of the modern world will no longer hold good.

Did not Mahatma Gandhi seek to spiritualise politics? Did not Gandhiji for the first time in the modern world seek to place politics on a Dharmic basis?

#### Raj-Neethi

The very term Raj Neethi is a contradiction in terms. When you stress Raja Neethi too much, *Neethi* falls to the ground and when you think of 'Neethi' the concept of 'Raj' disappears.

The new dispensation can be brought about by all people developing '*Sowmanasya*' (Goodwill towards others). If all the people in India develop this attitude of mind it will give me confidence to advocate the throwing away altogether of all arms by India. I want you all to join me in this quest in this attempt to evolve the new shakti (strength) of the people,

#### Create Moral Sanction

Our Government has not yet suggested that world Powers should each give up its armaments. It

is true such a suggestion from her will affect her also for it is easy to preach to others.

If our Government puts this principle of reduction of armaments into practice themselves it will bring high moral status for India in the world. Even today India's voice is heard distinctly in the world. If India does not solve the problem next door to her, then her voice will not have the sanction which it will otherwise have.

#### Truth Alone Wins

Our Government has taken as its motto '*Satyameva Jayathe*' (Truth alone wins). But in practice the Government seem to proceed on the principle that *Satya* plus arms would win. The world *Eva* (only) seems to have become non-significant.

It will be an act of intelligence as well as courage if India reduces her armaments. This act will enhance her reputation and prestige in the world. It will make her powerful in the real sense.

I do not want to oppose anything done by the Government. I know Government are charged with a grave responsibility. They fully know everything concerning the State. It is also our duty to show full faith in our leaders who desire and enjoy the support of the people.

## Appeal to Government

I would like to explain to one and all and those in charge of the Government the Sarvodaya point of view quite clearly. If all of us join together and tell the Prime Minister that if India reduces her armaments her power will actually increase then it will produce the desired effect. Many in our midst who believe in Sarvodaya, want an increase in Indian military power. That was why Rajaji used harsh words and suggested that if one wanted to oppose Pakistan one should quit the Sarvodaya Samaj. I am really surprised to find the wonderful strength and courage that Rajaji possesses. That power in him is not that of his body but that of the *Atma*. And that is the power that would enable us all to carry on.

## Satva-Guna and Karuna

I am happy to note that there is a preponderance of *Satva Guna* in this Sammelan in comparison with previous ones. It is from this *Satva Guna* that the real power of man springs, and not from violence, as is commonly believed. It gives rise to the quality known as *Karuna* -- that is compassion for those in trouble.

We should develop a feeling of *Karuna* for Pakistan in her present condition. She is beset with many administrative troubles and very often, to divert the attention of the masses from the vital problems for which the solutions are not being found by her, she raises the Kashmir issue. Many in India are afraid that Pakistan will attack India. I feel that Pakistan will not do so until America makes her do so.

We should all get rid of the mentality of calling ourselves as belonging to particular sect, community, caste, province, language etc., We must get rid of all party differences. These labels cut us off from the people, I may particularly appeal to the womenfolk to take an active part in the reconstruction work.

*Raj-Neethi = State Politics*

*Lok-Neethi = People's Politics*

Sevaks of Sarvodaya Samaj  
who attended the Conjeevaram  
Sarvodaya Sammelan.

|                  |           |
|------------------|-----------|
| Tamil Nad        | No. 1,216 |
| Bihar            | ... 1,026 |
| Uttar Pradesh    | ... 576   |
| Madhya Pradesh   | ... 555   |
| Bengal           | ... 373   |
| Utkal            | ... 339   |
| Kerala           | ... 328   |
| Karnatak         | ... 282   |
| Gujarat          | ... 272   |
| Bombay           | ... 253   |
| Madhya Bharat    | ... 211   |
| Sourashtra       | ... 191   |
| Rajasthan        | ... 178   |
| Maharashtra      | ... 168   |
| Vindhya Pradesh  | ... 164   |
| Andhra           | ... 146   |
| Mysore           | ... 139   |
| Hyderabad        | ... 109   |
| Punjab-Pepsu     | ... 96    |
| Assam            | ... 76    |
| Delhi            | ... 39    |
| Himachal Pradesh | ... 3     |
| Total            | ... 6,740 |

## Vinobaji's Three-Day Fast

VINOBAJI who began his three day fast on 1st June broke his fast on the morning of 4th June after prayer. Bhajans in eight languages were sung. Vinobaji was hearing the recitation of Tamil Thevaram by the singers while tears rolled down his cheeks. At about 8 A. M. Vinobaji broke his fast taking four ounces of cocoanut water mixed with honey.

Addressing the gathering Vinobaji said that he enjoyed Bhajan so much that tears rolled down his cheeks. He did not get tears when he ate good food, nor when he abstained from food. It was obvious that food for the body was valueless and food for the *Atma* was alone valuable. He had asked for Bhajans from as many languages as possible because he wanted the whole of India to co-operate with him in Bhoodan work.

Vinobaji continued saying that Sarvodaya ideal of Gandhiji could be attained only through Bhoodan which was the very foundation of Sarvodaya. All true followers of Gandhiji should co-operate with him so that history might record that Gandhiji's followers brought the Bhoodan movement to success. Vinobaji then recited the Tamil song of Appar "*Namarkkum Kudi-allom : Namanai Anjom*" meaning "we are not subject to anybody, we are not afraid of Yama (the God of death) himself", and remarked that that was the sort of fearlessness India possessed based on love and Ahimsa. Fearlessness was ancient virtue of our people. The Gita said

fearlessness was the basis of courage. Courage could not be attained without ahimsa. Himsa or violence always bred fear as in the case of ferocious lion, which constantly looked back in fear. Vinobaji pointed out that modern weapons of war had made the world full of fears more than ever before. Violence and fearlessness could not go together. He wanted to encourage the growth of Ahimsa and love through Bhoodan and prayed to God to give them the strength to do so.

Vinobaji had undertaken many fasts before. His experience in all these fasts was that the mind attained calmness during a fast. Except for some weakness the recent fast was passed through without any difficulty.

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## The Warning of Materialistic Socialism

WILFRED WELLOCK

THE history of Western Socialism offers a warning to the East, that unless spiritual values are kept steadily in mind, a fine spiritual concept may degenerate with a materialistic concept and agitation.

India, on the threshold of an industrial revolution, would do well to consider the tendencies and the outcome of the industrial revolution that has been in process in the West for nearly two centuries.

The primary aims of the Industrial Revolution in the West was to increase and cheapen production, and thus increase consumption and also profits.

From the first the workers revolted against the loss of responsibility, and of the right and opportunity to work creatively, as industrial specialisation advanced. From that revolt came Trade Unionism, the Co-operative movement, Socialism, and eventually Communism.

In Britain, the Socialist pioneers were inspired by the concept of a 'free and equal' society, in contrast with the class dominated society, with its ladder of social distinctions which were based not on spiritual merit but on the amount of one's possessions.

Workers, as wage-earners and operatives, occupied a lower social status than employers and owners of capital, and to this condition Socialism was a protest. William Morris, the

poet-artist socialist pioneer protested against this social condition and stoutly upheld the right of every worker to the dignity of a responsible, creative citizen and to a voice in the control and in the objectives of the industry in which he served.

But the new tide of money-making swept all before it, and by degrees gave birth to a materialism that dragged into its on-rush nearly all the forces and movements, including the Socialist Movement, which had originated as a protest against its material injustices, also its spiritual injustices.

In consequence, an essentially materialistic way of life dominates the West today almost from end to end. Even the churches, for the most part, accept the new materialism as a "high-consumption way of life" which is not incompatible, except in exaggerated forms, with Christianity. An American recently stated that many Americans identified the American "way of life" with Christianity.

Thus in Britain, as in the West generally, to-day there is taking place a struggle for increased spending power which embraces the entire community, from the richest to the poorest. No matter how high the income of any social section, it is not enough "to make ends meet", whence follows a clamant demand to increase it. Even the richest people are no

longer shy or reticent in making demands for more income. Every profession now openly asserts its claims for bigger and bigger salaries in terms and in a manner which would have been considered rather vulgar a few years ago.

The spending of money has become a mania, while wants multiply much faster than income increases. Hence there is perpetual unrest from the top to the bottom of society. Such a state of affairs has never existed before from the dawn of civilisation on this planet.

Whither is it leading? No one knows. The fever of spending is now such that more and ever more

goods are being bought on credit, now known as "hire-purchase" trading, both here and in America. This has now reached such dimensions that in the U. S. A. one family in five is seriously in debt—and that in the richest, highest-income country in the world, while in Britain consumption now exceeds production, whence the Government has had to put checks on spending and consumption.

This is materialism running riot. Are the people happier in consequence? Not at all. They are restless, and worried by debt amidst plenty, and the satisfactions of creative social and neighbourly living are theirs no longer.



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*Continued from the previous cover page.*

## THE SARVODAYA CALL TO THE NATION

has become shaky. In many villages people have distributed the land on their own initiative. In Madhya Pradesh areas of intensive work have yielded equally satisfactory results. Ordinary workers have been getting and distributing lands without the guidance of leaders.

### Dynamics of Satyagraha

"All this fills us with hope and enthusiasm. Our target now is the creation of Grama-Raj of Gandhiji's dream. A new society is being created in Orissa. There is no coercion, and each individual is getting the fullest opportunity of growth. Individual and social good have ceased to be contradictory. People's self-reliant organisation is Satyagraha. This Satyagraha is the dynamic force behind the new revolution. Economic self-sufficiency, non-violent defence, co-operative economy, basic education and collective life of the village will be the characteristic of the new society we are trying to build.

"We must understand that the climate of public opinion in our

country and the world is extremely favourable for such experiments. We must therefore exert ourselves and carry the message of Sarvodaya and Grama-Raj to every village. Bhoodan propaganda must now include the whole programme of Grama-Raj. Redistribution of land was only the first step.

### Appeal to the People

"A revolution can never come about if it depends on a few workers. All the men and women in the country have to participate in it. It is to be a country-wide effort. People have shown that they can respond if a proper approach is made to them. We have to create the conviction that peace and happiness can come when man gives everything he has to the society.

"This Kancheepuram Sarvodaya Sammelan appeals to the men and women of India to come forward and co-operate in this adventure of constructing a new society of the free and the equal in India. We shall thus be helping in the establishment of world peace."





**Acharya Vinoba**