

SARVODAYA

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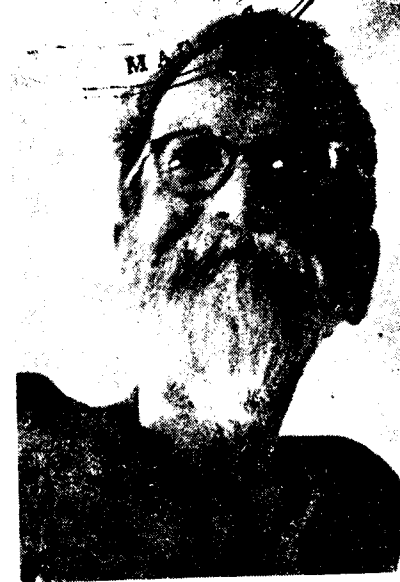
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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE (SOUTH INDIA)

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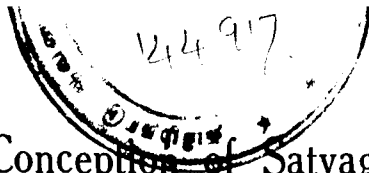
Vinobaji's Health

AS we are publishing this number news has come that Vinobaji had a severe attack of fever on the 3rd and that he was taken to Dharapuram in a car on the 4th. The temperature shot up to 105°. The District Medical Officer of Coimbatore, Dr. Sivanandan, and Dr. L. K. Muthuswami examined him and are of opinion that the fever is of malarial nature. Vinobaji refused to submit his blood to be examined. After much persuasion he has taken in some tablets. He has agreed to suspend his yatra and take rest for five days. Shri E. W. Aryanaykam will continue and lead the yatra in Vinobaji's absence.

We are reminded of the malignant malarial attack that Vinobaji had in the middle of December 1952 during his yatra in Bihar and the anxious days of the nation till he recovered. He agreed then to go in a bullock cart up to Chandil where he was laid up for some months. This time when he had suddenly very high fever at a remote and inaccessible place it is our good fortune that he agreed to be taken in a car to Dharapuram, the nearest Taluk Town where he was to reach on the 8th Nov. The brief rest would, we pray and hope, enable him to recover early.

The fever in his physical condition is nothing compared with the internal burning heat which drives Vinobaji to bear the daily strain of walking ten miles and to stand the heavy work from 2-30 A. M. to 8 P. M. His illness at Chandil made the whole of Bihar to wake up and drove them to a concentrated effort with remarkable success.

This sudden illness of Vinobaji seem to be perhaps God-sent to awaken Tamilnad from the present lethargy and to make us united in concentrated action for the realisation of the goal by 1957 for which Vinobaji is dedicating every ounce of his energy in the name of God's landless millions. Good news comes now that a Gramdan was offered to Vinobaji at Dharapuram. It is only thousands of such Gramdans that could give peace and rest to Vinobaji. May God give us strength to rise up to the occasion and stand by Vinobaji in fulfilling his great mission for the peace of the world.



Mahatma's Conception of Satyagraha

PYARELAL

THE word *Satya* (Truth) is derived from the Sanskrit word *sat*, the present participle of *as*, meaning "to be", "to exist", "to live". Since nothing is or exists in reality but Truth, *sat* (as a neuter noun) is used derivatively to connote the Ultimate Reality, the First Cause, the Law which governs the universe. Gandhiji, therefore, said: Truth is God, the Supreme Self, the Law and the Law-giver combined into one. It follows from this that where there is Truth there is knowledge (*chit*), enlightenment, and where there is enlightenment there is bliss (*anand*), the supreme state which transcends both joy and sorrow. "Hence we know God as *Sat-chit-anand*—One who combines in Himself Truth, Knowledge and Bliss."

Satyagraha literally means holding on to truth. Hence the power of Satyagraha, soul force or truth force, is the power of the Godhead within us. "God is not a person. He is the all-pervading, all-powerful spirit. Any one who bears Him in his heart has accession of a marvellous force or energy comparable in its results to physical forces like steam or electricity, but much more subtle."

The Universal Spirit cannot be comprehended by man's finite intellect. But it can be experienced by being merged in it like a drop of water falling into the ocean. To see it face to face one has to identify oneself with all that lives, "to love the meanest of creation as oneself". "Truth is, like God, incomprehensible. But when Truth manifests herself to man she comes garbed in the robes of non-violence. Truth, ungraspable, assumes comprehensible form in non-violence."

Satyagraha, therefore, also means the power of Ahimsa, non-violence or love. The fundamental essential in the practice of Satyagraha is right thinking. "When the mind is habituated to right thinking, right action follows spontaneously, but.....if the mind is given to wrong thinking, the right action will be lacking in convincing force, and it will also not bring to the doer all the fruits of right action". Satyagraha without right thinking will never carry within itself "the vital power of faith". Nor will the man,

who is not an habitual right-thinker, "be able to depend on himself to act rightly (even if he wants to) at a given moment".

Infallible guidance to a leader of Satyagraha accrues from the clarity of the inner vision, the capacity to discern truth, to listen to the voice of "pure reason", "inner voice", "divine whispering" or by whatever name one may choose to call it. "The divine music is incessantly going on within ourselves, but the loud senses drown the delicate music." The realisation or "*darshan* of truth... can only be attained by the man of pure detachment. Anger, greed, pride, fear, all these things draw a veil across the seeker's eyes."

In the concluding verses of the second chapter of the Gita, which Gandhiji called his "dictionary of action", is described the ideal of *sthitaprajna*—the balanced mind or the steadfast intellect. It is a mind in which the impact of the sense objects upon the senses sets up no turbulence; whichever remains clear and serene, like a still-lying lake without a wave or a ripple to wrinkle its surface, so that through its placid depths one can see the smallest particle at the bottom clearly and steadily. Such a mind will remain unmoved and unclouded by pleasure or pain, joy or sorrow, hatred or attachment. The judgment will be always clear, the purpose firm and unwavering. Now, let the slightest spreading ripple disturb the surface of the lake in our analogy, and the view becomes distorted, objects begin to swim and dance. They no longer appear in their true shape, judgment is darkened, purpose does not hold.

Such is the case of one whose undisciplined senses rule the mind instead of obediently serving it as its watchmen and couriers. The impact of sense objects on the senses sets up in such a mind disturbances which may vary from tiny dimples on the surface to raging storms that lash up its limpid depths into an angry mass of swirling eddies and foam so that spiritual visibility is reduced to nil and the faculty of steady discrimination between the pleasant and the whole-some, the unreal and the real, the fleeting and the permanent is completely lost. It is the eclipse of this faculty which is at the root of all error, wrong-doing and misery.

(Courtesy—MAHATMA—THE LAST PHASE—
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Double Standards of Morality

ACHARYA VINOBA

THE world is in a turmoil. Recently the question of Suez canal had become very serious. Old conflicts and tensions remain unresolved and new ones are being added to them. Statesmen are trying frantically to avoid war. They may have succeeded in avoiding a general conflagration for the time being. But the root cause of the disease has not been removed. External remedies may give temporary relief. But they can never bring about a real cure. Temporary adjustments often aggravate the disease in the body.

Politics has assumed an exaggerated importance. We seem to look upon it as a master-key to all our social problems. Politicians are being boosted and their speeches are being given an undue importance. I read this morning a speech by Eisenhower defending the atom and hydrogen bombs. He said, 'The tests of the new atomic weapons are necessary. It is a part of the national policy. If we do not do this we shall not be able to defend successfully the free world. It is necessary in the interests of peace.' I must confess that I had never heard such a thing before. That atom bombs are necessary for peace is a new discovery! Prophets and religious teachers of old were innocent of this. They said that love is necessary for peace. They emphasised the need of conquering anger and hatred. Mutual co-operation and humility was also emphasized by them. They said man must learn continence and be abstemious. It is also necessary to have a society in which there is equality and security of life. There is need of a great amount of decentralisation in the economic and political set-up of society. There must also be mutual trust and goodwill among men and groups. Christ, Buddha, and all great prophets have taught this. Christ went further and said that those who live by the sword will perish by it. He said, love the enemy. It is a tragedy that those who call themselves Christians are today defending the use of the atom bomb. They go to church and read their Bible with devotion. Every soldier of war carries a copy of the Bible in his haversack. They are probably providing for power and happiness, here and hereafter. Hydrogen bomb is the symbol of security in this world and the Bible, promise of security in the next. The Bible is for the individual and the atomic weapons are for society. All organised

religions have encouraged this kind of *double morality*. People who do not believe in any religious book are at least free from this hypocrisy. They are honest but they are confused.

We in India break out in violence on flimsiest of pretexts. What ugly incidents took place during the controversy about linguistic re-organisation of states. Violence of the people is answered by the bullets of the police. Congress Ministers defend the action of the police. The people defend their doings by quoting the authority of the '42 Technique'. In the 'Quit India' struggle destruction of Government property was justified by some Congressmen. It was thought to be a legitimate way of expressing peoples' discontent against the Government. What I fail to understand is, where does poor Gandhiji come in all this? If violence and police firing are to be justified where does non-violence come in? People have always believed in the ultimate sanction of violence. But it has neither created peace nor security. We are caught up in an illusion.

THE POWER OF THOUGHT

I am wandering from village to village. Collecting land is only incidental. My main task is meditation. Intense and concentrated thought is a great force. It can change the climate of thinking of the people around. "Swaraj is my birthright". "The British must quit India", were two such thoughts born out of the meditation of two great souls. And they spread all over India. The British were well-armed and powerful. What did we do against them? We meditated on "Quit India" and walked into their jails. Any one could have asked, "Is this the way you can defeat an enemy?" In Warfare, one avoids being captured by the enemy. But here, we voluntarily walked into the jails and won our freedom. I submit we could do this because our meditation was whole hearted and genuine.

"*Ownership in land must end*"; this is my prayer and meditation. I want all to meditate on this. Like sun and air, land belongs to all. It is a sin to deprive any one of the opportunity to work on land.

People tell me that I have so far been able to collect only about 42 lakh acres of land while my target is 5 crores. Then it will have to be properly distributed. The whole idea of private ownership in land has to be given up. How much time would all this take?

My answer is simple. The time-factor, I tell them, entirely depends on them. It will take as much time as they choose. It can be done in a day or it may take a few decades. "Who will distribute the land?" you ask me. Do you think that the Bhoodan Samitis are going to do it? Such committees may distribute 10 to 20 thousand acres. But surely it is beyond their capacity to distribute the entire land.

You have marriages almost in every house during the season. But you do not form marriage councils or committees for that; do you? Or when you celebrate festivals like Pongal or Diwali, no samiti or special organisation is necessary for it. Distribution of land must take place just like that. The English fixed a date and relinquished power on that day. Because there is darkness in a cave for thousands of years, does it mean that it must take an equally long time for it to be lighted? Darkness can be dispelled in a moment. The moment light penetrates darkness goes. There is a story of a man who lived on the sun and then fell down on the Earth. He never knew what darkness was. So, at night, he thought that the earth was covered by thick layers of dirt. He took a spade and started digging. He mistook darkness for dirt. A neighbour heard the noise and came with a lamp to see what was happening. The man who was digging was surprised that what he could not do by hard work for over an hour was achieved instantaneously by the arrival of the man with the lamp. He had not realised his mistake. He mistook darkness for dirt. The work of collecting land and *danapatras* is like the digging of the man from the sun. We have to bring the illumination of new thought to the minds of the people. I am only carrying this thought to the doors of the people. "*Private ownership in land must go*," this is my refrain. Like water and air, land is the gift of God and all must get it equally. I want people to understand this thought.

I have not the least doubt in my mind that this is going to be a fact very soon. Private ownership in land cannot remain any longer. Five crores are only the beginning. I feel so sure that I work all day for Bhoodan and sleep soundly by eight o'clock every night without any anxiety about the result. There is no burden on my mind. I feel so happy. I feel so full. I approach every man with confidence and without hesitation. All have told me that they agree that land must be redistributed. If 36 crores of our people

will say with one voice that private ownership in land must go, it will go in a moment. Have not the *shastras* said: "In the beginning was the Word." So, if the people of India utter the Word, the thing will be done. The fetters of greed and fear will go: they are no impediment. I see that people respond to Bhoodan with a fulness of heart. But they ask, "How shall we do it immediately?" I say, "Don't bother about *doing*. Wish it with all your heart and see how true it is." There are taboos and conventions and codes of conduct. But the saints have said, "Do not bother about the rules of jurisprudence but remember God every moment with a fulness of heart and utter His name." Aparswami went from place to place and sang in praise of God. That was his vocation. I am doing the same thing. I show you the glory of Bhoodan, communicate the thought to you. The rest is your work, not mine. It is not my individual problem; it is your problem. If I may say so, I have no problem of my own. As Awadhutmuni had taken a lesson from the snake, so have I. I am homeless. I possess nothing. Even this body is not mine. It is for the service of society.

The hands that have wrought swords and other destructive weapons are going to beat them into plough-shares and sickles. When thought changes, modes of behaviour are bound to change. When the rays of the sun illumine the horizon, the sleeper awakens and wraps his bedding. The hands that spread the bedding now roll it up. In floods and earthquake tall trees and big houses topple down first. All the big plans of war and violence will soon be scrapped. The Bhoodan thought is spreading all over the world. Please understand the thought fully: everything else will happen naturally afterwards.

MY YATRA IN TAMILNAD

'I entered Tamilnad on the 13th of May. I am here now for the last five months. There is a dearth of workers in Tamilnad. But the few workers we have are working whole-heartedly. The message of Bhoodan has spread widely in the province. Recently Rajaji contributed a short article to a local journal. He said that the gist of Hindu thought was *yajna*, sacrifice. It is the talisman which yields all desires. Bhoodan is reviving the ancient tradition of *yajna*. So, from elders like Rajaji to the ordinary kisan in the

village, everyone has expressed his sympathy with the Bhoodan movement. If workers exert themselves whole-heartedly they are sure to get a good response from the people.'

I have been anxious to enlist and mobilise new workers. But as days pass I am putting my trust in God's will. I worry no longer about the dearth of workers. "He who is driving me to go about," I say to myself, "will drive others also when He chooses." I feel I must now put some time limit to my tour in this province. Tentatively I have decided to give another five months to this State; that is, I would like to remain here upto 12th March, 1957. I expect the general elections to be completed by that time. I have no interest in the elections but they are bound to distract the people. By the end of March I expect that the excitement of the elections would be over and people would settle down to their normal work. I wish Tamilnad would be able to show some tangible results by that time. Orissa set an example in Gramdan. I wish Tamilnad can give a lead in establishing Gramraj. Constructive workers and citizens must now address themselves to this task.

Some work has been done in all the States I have visited so far. But the continuity has not been maintained after my departure. I am hoping that it will not be so here. In Tamilnad every constructive worker must also be a Bhoodan worker. Bhoodan is the basis of the constructive programme. Whether one works for basic education, or khadi, or village industries, or service of the Harijans, one must, side by side, devote some time to Bhoodan. If this is not done constructive work will have to depend on Government aid. I would never rely on such support. It can never create non-violent strength in the people which is the main objective of the constructive programme.

BRAHMACHARYA

Let us remember the root meaning of *Brahmacharya*. Charya means course of conduct; *Brahmacharya* conduct adapted to the search of Brahma, i. e., Truth. From this etymological meaning, arises the special meaning, viz., control of all the senses. We must entirely forget the incomplete definition which restricts itself to the sexual aspect only.

Mahatma Gandhi

The Sarvodaya Outlook on Suez

J. C. KUMARAPPA

This is abridged from Shri J. C. K's article in the Gram Udyog Patrika in which he argues in his inimitable way that the Suez issue is not purely political but is an economic one. He concludes "War and peace are the results of our economic conditions. Hence a call for a change in our way of daily life is indicated as being urgent. Are we prepared to respond?"

IN world history Suez had played a leading role and marked a turning point on the March of the destiny of humanity several thousands of years ago, when Moses descended from the heights of Mr. Sinai to deliver to the incorrigible children of Israel the ten commandments carved in stone tables and entrusted to him by God.

Once again Suez is emerging from oblivion to point the right way to erring humanity. May we heed the call and listen to still small voice that directs us on to the right path before us leading to peace and happiness.

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What has been the function of the Suez Canal since its inception? It has always played the part of an empire builder. In the days of Feudal empires she transported troops etc. of the European overlords and helped to keep down the Asian people. Later she was instrumental in building up European financial and economic empires. This is what is being done even to this day. Raw materials are shipped to manufacturing countries of the West, Petrol supplies from the "Mesopotamia" countries supply them with power and then bring back the manufactured articles to the under-developed countries of the East. The following will give a picture of this trade.

From the East to Europe :—

Petrol, Metals and ores, cereals, oilseeds, raw cotton and wool, rubber, timber, jute, tea, coffee, starch, hides and skins, etc. These are more or less in the raw condition. In Europe they provide work for their labour. With the petrol power sent from this side, these are converted into consumer goods and are sent back through the Canal to be sold at high prices to the Eastern nations.

From Europe we get in due course :—

Petroleum products, manufactured metal sheets and goods, machines, railway rolling stock and materials, motor vehicles, cereal

products, lubricating oils, cotton and woollen goods, wood pulp and paper, leather and leather goods and other innumerable consumer goods.

It can be easily seen that the Canal helps the Western nations to perpetuate the economic bondage on the East. Hence it is an important contributory factor in the continuance of colonisation.

The longer the Canal functions in this way the longer will the strangle hold of imperialism last and the more distant will be the attainment of real peace.

Hence the claims of both parties are not in the interests of lasting world peace. In a Sarvodaya order we cannot have property of this kind held by either nations or group of nations.

In the last few weeks we have seen enough evidence to show that all these years the avowed loyalty for world peace was no more than lip service. The U. K. and France were prepared to obey the mandate of the U. N. if it suited them; if not, they were prepared to force their way through the Canal by might of arms. All the erstwhile tall talk of world peace has proved to be an eyewash. Similarly Egypt also responds to the Western sabre rattling. It does not end there. They scheme to bring in a crusade of Western Powers against the Arab countries. We want the Canal to go to neither side. Just as the H. Bomb is as deadly in American hands as it is in Russian hands, the Canal will destroy both claimants to its possession.

We desire that all countries of the world should stop this trade in raw materials and be content to manufacture all the goods they need. In this case international trade will be limited to luxury goods and surpluses and the volume will be extremely small. This will minimise chances of conflict.

This Suez Canal question does not affect the Canal users only. While they may be directly concerned, everyone of us is affected vitally. As India's Second Five Year Plan is dependent on the Canal, each one of us has a part to play in this trade. If this dispute ends in armed conflict you and I are responsible for it. We have been reminding the readers of the far flung responsibilities of buyers and users of all manufactured goods and have been advocating self-sufficiency. This question has emphasised the need for a complete change of approach in our economic outlook. Are

we prepared to look at this suggestion again in this context? Many of us, who have been talking of world peace and depending so much on propaganda of various kinds, we hope, realise the futility of such methods when it comes to a real show down. War and peace are results of our own economic actions. Hence a call for a change in our way of daily life is indicated as being urgent. Are we prepared to respond?

Moses' ten commandments were directed towards controlling our animal tendencies making us fit for human society.

The Suez Canal question focuses attention on the realities of present day life and points the path towards Sarvodaya, not only for our country but for humanity as a whole. We need to control our group life so as to be free from conflicts with our neighbouring groups or nations. It will call for self-sufficiency, self-control and self-discipline. We have to regulate not only our individual life but economic life. Will the world heed the warning signal? Or rush headlong to its doom?

THE REAL DELIVERER OF MAN

So, strange as it may appear to people occupied with military plans, preparations, diplomatic considerations, administrative, financial, economic measures, revolutionary and socialistic sermons, and various unnecessary sciences by which they think to free mankind from its calamities—the delivery of man not only from the calamities of war, but from all his self-inflicted ills—will be effected, not through emperors or kings instituting peace unions, not by those who would dethrone emperors or kings, or limit them by constitutions, or replace monarchies by republics, not by peace conferences, not by the accomplishment of socialistic programmes or by victories or defeats on land or sea, or by libraries or universities, or by those futile mental exercises which are now called science, but only by there being more and more of those simple men . . . who set themselves the aim not of external alterations of life but of their own most faithful fulfilment of the will of Him who sent them into life, and direct all their powers to that fulfilment. Only such people, realizing the Kingdom of God in themselves, in their souls, will without aiming directly at that purpose, establish that external Kingdom of God which every human soul desires.

—TOLSTOY

The Art of Cheerful Service

ACHARYA VINOBA

Vinobaji's light and entertaining talk in the afternoon of 18-10-56 at the Gramodaya Sangh Conference at Gandhinagar was full of humour and kept the audience laughing throughout. This talk revealed what a master he was in the technique of non-violent propaganda and in the art of loving and subtle penetration into the minds of the people. His reference to election and suggestion to the workers to keep aloof and serve as the lubricating agency during the coming heat of elections are most timely and valuable. Here is a summary of this light talk.

IF you can learn the art of cheerfulness you will gain victory after victory. We should be ever cheerful and smile whether those whom we approach respond favourably to our appeal or refuse to respond. Our movement will not succeed if we are to smile only when we get a good response and to turn a grim face in the absence of it. The Bhoodan work itself is such that it has to be carried on in good cheer with a smiling face.

In these days talk of 'fight' has become very common. Even the election is said to be a 'fight'. I have often said why election should be a fight and not a sport or a game? Any fight or a duel requires two persons. Want of the second to fight has become even a problem for the Congress now!

Democracy cannot function without an opposition. If an opposition is required it can be only a game or a sport and can never be a fight. What happens in a duel? The winner gets a reward of some cash. The person who is defeated is honoured with an offering of a cocoanut. For, but for his defeat the winner could not have got his reward. Therefore when an election is carried on as a game the winner gets a seat of political power while the loser runs to society as a social worker. Though nobody can even dream that Pandit Nehru will get defeated in the elections, let us assume it happens. Will his life become a waste? He would immediately jump like a lion into the social arena for service of the people. Even now he is jumping about as a lion. But he does so as a caged lion.

But his defeat will make him a free lion. In his case victory or defeat will be the same. People should take part in the elections in this spirit and outlook.

Suppose a whole family gets involved in the elections. One is a Congressman and another a Socialist. While working in the elections each will praise his political creed and attack the other's but will not create hatred against one another. When election can thus become a family affair why not we conduct it as one of the larger social family? In Bihar I had actually seen all the brothers of a family contesting the elections. One was a Congressman, another a socialist, another Communist, another Janasangh. Whichever party may come to power the family has nothing to lose as the family is represented by one party or other.

This kind of mental happiness was enjoyed in the days of old by our ancients. The father would be a Hindu, his son a Buddhist, the brother a Jain. Though each might be following his own religious creed the bondage of family love was never broken. In the same way there need be no fighting in the elections. "Fighting the elections" is an English phrase. It ought to be in fact only a game.

Since all of you have decided not to participate in the elections all that I have said may be superfluous. But you can explain all these to those who will participate in the elections. You can tell them that there need be no sign of depression or anger. It will be itself a great victory to you if can achieve this.

No machine can work without some friction. Some kind of friction becomes inevitable in a machine. Therefore though elections may be conducted as a game there will be some friction. It is for you then to keep the oil-can with you for lubricating the election machine. If you can master this art of lubricating they will praise you for your abstention from the elections instead of blaming you for keeping aloof. If you are not aloof there will be none available for this lubricating service. When even the election has to be carried on cheerfully as a sport I think Bhoodan work should be carried on in a similar way.

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I go about to every one appealing to him as a father to consider me, a bearded man of 60 as his additional son and give me the

share of land. How can a man of 30 accept me as his son? If he does not accept my right I ask him to give as a gift. If he is not inclined I appeal to him to buy my books. It is enough if he buys a book for, his name would have already come in our diary. I go to him sometime later and ask if he has read the book. Then I offer to read out or discuss about portions from the book. He promises to read it. In the meantime I talk to him about khadi, spinning, village ghaani, jaggery making, trench latrines etc. Either of these he will be inclined to accept. Unlike the old rishis who made the disciples eat bitter neem leaves we are only asking them to eat the sweet village-made Jaggery. Gandhiji has placed before us the simple programme of village jaggery. We can begin a discourse on the colour aspect and the vitamin value of unpolished sugar. Like our Goddess let us carry in our arms all kinds of emblems of programmes. To those who may be frightened by our Bhoodan let us give them the sweet programme of eating village-made unpolished sugar with its vitamin value. Therefore in all our multifarious programmes there can be no defeat as one or other is bound to appeal to everyone.

The people of this country are well informed and shrewd. They will not accept easily anybody who goes to them as a social worker. They will test them with their severest standards. Therefore we have to be meticulously careful in our habits and conduct. Even if we are negligent in our personal cleanliness they will critically watch us and reject us as social workers. Therefore it behoves us to be ever vigilant about our own personal conduct and internal purity of life.

I have a new interpretation for Sita-Ram. Sita is Bhoodan as Sita came from the earth. Ram represents village industries. There is Hanuman of Basic Education represented here by Aryanayakamji!

Gandhiji was a great fisherman of men. He has taught us the art of fishing. He had given us many kinds of nets. If one person will not be caught in Bhoodan he can be caught in Khadi, and any other constructive programme. If he is not caught in all these he can be caught in the net of unpolished village-made jaggery at least!

An Unforgettable Day

KUSUM DESHPANDE

ONE afternoon a gentleman from Vemanayakampalayam village came to Vinobaji and offered him all his 30 acres for Bhoodan. Vinobaji suggested to him to keep part of it to support his own family. He respectfully agreed, but remained in the room as there was something else in his mind to say.

His village was not in Vinobaji's itinerary. He described the condition of life of Harijans in dirty hovels in his village and how he had built a few more habitable cottages for them. But they remained empty as the other castes were strongly opposed to his idea. The Harijans were also afraid of the opposition and so did not move to the new cottages built for them. He felt that if some one like Vinobaji could come and speak to the people they may behave better. But he could not ask for a change in Vinobaji's programme as it would involve a long detour. As he was saying all this Vinobaji raising his hand said "Of course, we shall go to your village". The joy on the gentleman's face was indescribable.

The next morning at dawn Vinobaji spoke to the villagers thus:

"The Sun-God will soon reveal himself. His rays will enter into every home. He will shine on the cottage of the Harijan as well as the house of the Brahman and Mussulman. His rays and warmth know no discrimination. God knows no distinctions. It is a denial of God to discriminate between man and man. Why should you object and oppose if one amongst you built beautiful cottages for Harijans to live in it? That is against our religion. One of your saints has written that whoever will fall into the meshes of caste discrimination will destroy himself.... You threaten the Harijans in your village and they are afraid of you. To frighten or to be afraid is the characteristic of animals. It is not human. Harijans should not be afraid. They should have the fearlessness which comes from love. They should also keep themselves clean, they should bathe everyday."

"But we do bathe daily," one Harijan said.

"These people threaten us, abuse us, and even beat us up, if we were to wear clean clothes," said another.

Vinobaji turned to the others and asked "Now there, do you go about terrorising these people?"

"No, we would not mind them at all if they keep themselves clean," they said.

"That is what they say only when you are with us," the Harijan complained.

"You will all give me your word that you will now live as brothers. You must promise me that even after I go away you will live in peace, love, and co-operation. Now come before me and shake hands," said Vinobaji.

No one moved. "If you really mean to treat these Harijans with love even after we leave this place please come forward and shake hands with them." Still there was no move and no one spoke.

Vinobaji got up from the dais and walked up to a Harijan. He took him by the hand and led him to another villager and joined the hands of both. The caste-Hindus went on muttering that they had nothing against the Harijans if only they could be clean and stop eating meat.

"Don't you keep cats in your homes? What do they eat? Rats. You do not mind keeping such animals even in your kitchens. Further, remember that those who go about in clean clothes often commit the worst sins. They tell lies, they spend their life in lechery and adultery. You should not therefore make too much of this matter of cleanliness. One should be pure inside. That is where God looks" said Vinobaji.

The villagers soon confessed their mistake and shook hands with the Harijans. Vinobaji turned to the Harijans and said "You should now stop being afraid and learn to be cleaner. They kept you at a distance as they thought you were dirty. Now they are reassured. You can go and live in the new cottages immediately."

Vinobaji felt happy as the differences were settled. As he was dipping his spoon in his bowl of curds for breakfast he smiled and said "Look, I just touched that Harijan and will now eat my food. Evidently I shall go to hell. Do you be more careful and go to heaven." The tension blew off in a gust of laughter.

The younger brother of the gentleman who had built the houses for Harijans came forward and said "Baba, I give four acres of my land and one house for Bhoodan. My son will work for Sarvodaya." Then his daughter also, moved by what had happened came near Vinobaji and said "I have 13 acres. Please accept 6½ acres".

All this happened on the glorious morning of 14th September.

(Adapted from Bhoodan)

A Warning to the East

ESME WYNNE-TYSON (England)

MANY years ago Mrs. Annie Beasant who, during the last forty years of her remarkable life did much to obtain Home Rule for India, wrote of the beloved country of her adoption:

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

Those of us who fully agree with this wise woman, who was President of the Theosophical Society, are naturally much disturbed to read of the tendency of the Indian urban population to turn from its great spiritual heritage to the materialism and mechanisation of the West.

It is perhaps not surprising that under-privileged people everywhere should be enamoured by the gadgets and magical toys pouring from the scientific laboratories, and the promises of material abundance from the same source, since even the well fed people of the West—the intellectuals as well as the proletariat—have been willing to surrender all belief in a spiritual life in order to reap the tangible blessings of the God of this world; but somehow we imagined that the people of India were too deeply grounded in their age-old doctrines and knowledge of spiritual values to renounce them as rapidly as they seem to be doing.

If they could only turn their mesmerised gaze from the immediate material advantages that the Moloch of Technocracy offers them and pay more attention to the price He exacts for His favours, it is quite certain that their enthusiasm would abate. At the moment they are being deluded by their seducers, the Western and Communist worlds who both have their reasons for wishing India to adopt their standards and are careful only to show them the advantages of the industrial, technocratic way of life. They

refrain from referring to what aircraft did during the war and the number of air victims in peace-time.

They display the marvels of medical science, the wonder-drugs the hygienic hospitals, but they forget to point out that half the hospital beds in Britain are occupied by mental cases, the result of two mechanized wars and a speed and noise crazed civilization. Nor do they parade the barbaric means used for achieving what are called prophylactic measures: inoculation against ever more numerous diseases by means of filling the bloodstream with some revolting witch's brew concocted from the diseased matter of tormented and slaughtered animals.

But by far the worst aspect of our scientific civilization is its violence. Not only the violence of its armaments and wars but of its everyday life. Let the intelligentsia of India consider that on the job injuries and deaths in the United States during 1955 amounted to 1,930,000 men and women; that in Britain in 1954, there were 5,043 suicides and 4,588 fatal motor vehicle accidents on roads never intended to carry the present traffic, and getting more congested and dangerous every year, not only with the increase of the quantity of cars but of their speed. This brings us to the most serious aspect of present-day violence,—its infiltration into our amusements, one of the most popular of which are the motor races which always endanger the lives of the drivers and the spectators.

The people who daily risk their lives at dangerous work or on our highways seek their recreation in seeing, hearing or reading of others in even greater peril. Sir Basil Henriques on his return from the U.S. early this year ascribed much of the fantastic amount of juvenile crime in that country to the 'pernicious evil' of television, full of murder, divorce and prison scenes.

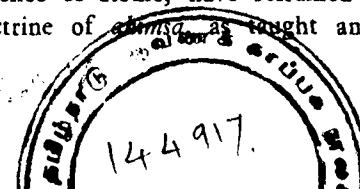
J. C. Kumarappa has likened the West to a tiger civilization which lives on the flesh of other animals, and it is easy to get this impression in reading American magazine stories where the heroes and heroines seem to live on under-done steaks, hamburgers obtained from slaughter-houses where, unlike those of Britain and most of Europe, the humane killer is not used.

The Western world has recently expressed horror at the exposures of the violence of the Stalin regime, but it entirely fails to see that

this was but one aspect of the basic evil of modern civilization which in the non-Communist world is operating in other forms and insidiously indoctrinating mankind with that irreverence for life and that disregard of the individual which alone makes Police States and other forms of tyranny possible. Work, science, food, pleasure, medicine, recreation, all are based on the evil which even in the time of Noah was considered bad enough to be punished by an all-submerging Flood. Gandhiji in his wisdom warned us long ago of the dangers that are now in the very warp and woof of our industrialised and mechanised civilization. In *Harijan* (September 1940), he wrote;

Pandit Nehru wants industrialism because he thinks if it is socialised, it would be free from the evils of capitalism. My own view is that the evils are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialization can eradicate them.

Today in the smog-filled air of the cities of our socialised Welfare State, our highways reeking of poisonous petrol fumes, the rush hours on buses and Undergrounds a daily purgatory, we are constantly reminded of Gandhiji's words. In his name, and for the sake of humanity we who see with his eyes must beg the people of India not to be deceived by the superficial achievements of Western civilization. It is her duty and privilege to refuse to sell her soul in order to gain the world and its tawdry prizes, and to remind humanity of what she well knows from the teachings of her Rishis, that the only worth-while aim for mankind is spiritual evolution, the putting off of its animalism and barbarity and becoming true *homo sapiens*, as exemplified by Gandhiji and Vinobaji in this age. This cannot be achieved by any scientific invention, but only by taming, instead of, as in the West, indulging, the lower nature of man. Why be dazzled by the materialistic achievements of Western man when it is all too obvious what he has lost in mental and spiritual values? Far better to take pride in the great cultural heritage of India and remain "a civilization in which spiritual knowledge (is) accounted highest title to honour", for this knowledge alone can save humanity from extermination by its own violence. All too late in the day this fact is being recognised by the Christian Churches who, ever since the Early Church forsook the pacifist principles of its Founder and submitted to the violence of Rome, have refrained from teaching the all-important doctrine of ~~ahimsa~~ as taught and practised by



Jesus of Nazareth. The result of this omission is now all too evident and the seven Presidents of the World Council of Churches have recently issued the following message to its member churches :

Conflicts must be resolved by reason, not by violence ;
Violence has now reached such a pitch that when once unloosed it is beyond human control ; and unless wars can be made to cease all nations will perish.

Let India consider this significant comment on the civilization she so admires before landing her weight to the revolutionary forces at present contaminating the air we breathe and threatening the very fabric of the earth on which we tread.

A SET OF OUR BHOODAN BOOKLETS

By Vinoba

	Rs. As.
1. Principles and Philosophy of Bhoodan	o 5
2. Bhoodan to Gramdan	o 6
3. On World Peace	o 2
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By Jayaprakash Narain

6. A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order	o 4
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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,
TANJORE

Bhoodan and Khadi

VAIKUNTAL MEHTA

(President of A. I. K. & V. I. Board)

THE impulse to serve the countryside could be traced back to the days of Dadabhaoy Naoroji, Ramesh Dutt and Ranade when they spoke and wrote of the poverty of India. But the first among our national leaders to think of the village as the nerve-centre of our economic life was Gandhiji even before he returned to India from South Africa. In the Swaraj he envisaged, he gave the message of self-sufficiency by performing some physical labour for productive purposes and depend as little as possible on the labour of others. This was the genesis of the Khadi movement.

According to Gandhiji's conception, the Village Industries' Association, which he formed to supplement the work of the All India Spinners' Association was not only to concern itself with the revival and reorganisation of village industries but also to interest itself in the all-round development of villages and work towards tackling questions such as village sanitation and nutrition. The second phase in the Khadi movement was the orientation of the Charkha Sangh.

The Co-operative Movement was introduced over 60 years ago by the British Government in order to relieve agricultural indebtedness and provide credit. But the foreign rulers did not believe in the social change that the co-operative movement could work out by the organisation of the rural population in developing their economic strength.* It is true that most of the national workers got away from Co-operative Movement. Things have changed to a certain extent now, but even with the faith that I have in the potentiality of the Movement I can assert that it can really serve the people only if there are workers in the villages who are selfless and devoted to the economic organisation of the rural population in a spirit of service.

Gandhiji's programme did not embrace problems relating to land or agricultural improvement. What Gandhiji did not attempt to do when we had foreign rule in our midst is now being attempted to be achieved through the Bhoodan Movement initiated by Vinobaji. This carried to the villager the message of economic

equality as also of self-sufficiency. Hence, the workers who are inspired with this new spirit and wanted to carry on social service for the work of rural reconstruction imbued with these two ideals in mind would be able to organise the rural areas much better for their own social and economic betterment than all the attempts that they have made so far. Experiments in this direction are now in progress in several parts of the country, the most important one being in Koraput in Orissa where hundreds of Gramdams were received.

It is a matter of special gratification that in this part of the Tamil country where the All India Spinners' Association had its headquarters and has spread the gospel of the Charkha for the last so many years, a comprehensive attempt is now being made to organise the work of rural betterment, taking advantage both of the Bhoodan Movement and the Khadi Movement. Under Vinobaji's guidance and inspiration we may all hope that this would bring about a social revolution in the area.

(Summary of the Presidential address at the Tamilnad-Kerala Gramodaya Khadi Sangh Conference at Tirupur on 17-10-56)

SOME BOOKS ON BHOODAN

	Rs.	As.
Bhoodan or Land Through Love (Art paper with pictures)	1	0
Land Revolution in Orissa (Art paper with pictures)	1	0
V For Vinoba by B. R. Misra (Orient Longmans)	3	0
Vinoba and Bhoodan (Bibliography) By Jagadish Saran Sharma	2	0

(POSTAGE IS EXTRA)

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE

The World Bhoodan Movement

R. R. KEITHAHN, *Ashram, Kodaikanal*

THE rural-based life and society is essential to creative living. "Feet-on-the-soil" living will alone assure the Good Society. The natural togetherness, face-to face-living of the village, is a basic condition for the development of the man, the creative home, the community school, the co-operative economy, the true community and dynamic religion.

There is something profound for developing personality as one wrestles with the Creator in potential Nature for the feeding, clothing and housing of man. Out in God's world it is natural to 'lift one's eyes unto the hills' and ask, yes and answer, the profound questions of mankind. The village home gives the family meaningful vocation, for growing lives, so that each member has its important place in a co-operating fellowship, the basis for integrated living. The rural environment has always stimulated co-operative living of the highest type. Democratic society naturally takes some definite form in rural areas. There is much to be said for the statement that the great historical and living religions have been essentially rural religions.

From an Industrial to a Welfare Society Capitalistic industrialism has failed miserably to satisfy the needs of a co-operating and creative world community. The potential machine which has been so widely used for exploitation and destruction, neutral but dedicated science which has all too often been the servant of demonic forces, must now be taken to the great and needy rural areas of mankind—must be welded into a great pattern of true and selfless service for all.

It is tragic that science, the machine and ruthless man have brought the world to the brink of destruction—that the villager, especially the eastern and African villager, has been the victim of this heartless exploitation while the good religious man, the middle class man, all too often the village man, has permitted himself to be a tool in such vicious processes.

As never before we must integrate the Religion of Truth, and for us that is at least potentially the religion of the Carpenter of Nazareth and the Living Christ, into the very web of daily living. Work must become worship, plowing a prayer, harvesting a hymn of gratitude. There should go out from our midst a message to the

Church that will be a message of Hope, a call to pilgrimage, for the Rural Church.

We must grapple with the land problem—is it not the problem number one of this Eastern world? Some believe that the most significant religious movement of this Day is directed towards this baffling problem—the Bhoodan Movement of Acharya Vinoba: an attempt at the creating of “the right atmosphere” in which such a difficult problem may be solved. We must give our constructive reply to this movement. Here is an effort to give man a substantial basis for the “trusteeship” of the soil, and I believe, for all Natural Resources. It has revolutionary implications for all the world. In fact, I am convinced we cannot get on with the real job of building world community until we begin working at this strategic problem. When we relate all villagers to the soil we begin the task of foundation construction of world society. And I need not remind of the tremendous implications of this for the society. And this has further implications for the village church. Ours are largely landless agricultural labourers in the village church. Can we ever have a real rural church unless it is built on the soil? Can we ever have “self-sufficient” churches unless its members possess land!

Bhoodan insists on “trusteeship” of the soil. Vinobaji maintains that only in such an atmosphere can we have an adequate development of the individual and the true pattern of co-operation. As Christians we are deeply concerned with “stewardship”, man and the co-operative pattern. Are we going to relate ourselves vitally to this movement or are we going to continue in our castles of indifference, complacency and cheap intellectual criticism.

The Day of Charity must go; the Day of Justice is with us. There will always be a sharing of God's blessings in times of crisis. The world economy must be based upon justice. Christians cannot tolerate as a permanent situation that fact of 1,000 people living on a square mile of land in Travancore and but ten on a square mile in Australia with colour, racial and economic curtains as rigid as iron curtains. Someone has recently reminded mankind that most of us today live on stolen property. It is high time that we have a world “Bhoodan Movement”—a placing of the enormous natural resources of the world into a trusteeship for the welfare of all “without distinction of caste, class or creed”.

An Unique Gramdan in Tamilnad

THOUGH Vinobaji has great hopes in getting largest number of Gramdans in Tamilnad it has given just ten till now. Workers have been trying hard to get Gramdans here and there but they could not succeed much. But the recent gift of Gramdan in Sensella-palayam in Coimbatore Dt. has bewildered many in its unique way. Its uniqueness lies in the suddenness and spontaneity of the gift. This has suddenly stirred the neighbouring areas so much that some interested party has set up a Delhi English Weekly to give a distorted picture of the news of this Gramdan as one wrought with compulsion and coercion to produce an opposite effect.

This is a small village with 316 acres of land and 63 families. 36 families own land and 27 are landless. The caste-Hindus are 222 and Harijans are 74 out of a population of 296. It is a well managed village. There is one benevolent friend Shri S. P. Subramania Gounder who has been taking pains to see that no money of the village goes to a Vakil. He settles all cases to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. At first 24 landowners offered their land to the village. Eight of them went back on their word. Later one of them again rejoined. Vinobaji was happy to accept the land or give back when demanded. For, the real sanction is the heart and reason for these offers. Those who have given are now quite happy. Some are vacillating. Others are watching the results of Gramdan and are abiding by their time. The village is quickly moving on with its reorganisation and reconstruction with the land offered under a band of trained workers while the rest is in a state of suspense.

There was no compulsion of any kind. Let us hear the story of this unique gift from a Bhoodan worker. Shri Nagarajan an indefatigable worker and Shri Jagannathan the Tamilnad Bhoodan convener were trying their best for Gramdan in Mamarathu-palayam where Vinobaji was camping on the 6th Sept. One of the landowners had given all his 40 acres. But the rest would not easily move. They were in utter disappointment. They casually asked a friend on their way to arrange for a meeting at Senchella-palayam at night on the 6th Sept. When they came at 8 P.M. a

large number of the landowners had gathered before the temple. Shri Jagannathan addressed them briefly appealing for Gramdan. The villagers did not take much time to decide. It seemed that they had already made their decision as their minds were ripe. Twentyfour of the landowners agreed to give their 200 acres as Gramdan when Vinobaji would visit the place the next morning. The Bhoodan workers went back to Vinobaji's camp with this happy news. The villagers spent the whole night in cleaning and decorating the village. Vinobaji came the next morning to the village though it was not in the programme. The people who had gathered before the temple welcomed Vinobaji and made their offer of Gramdan. Vinobaji said in solemn words "Let the Sun, the light before the temple and the Goddess of the temple before whom you have taken this oath of living as a common village family be the witness. You should never go back on your word."

Four days later the Chief Minister visited the place. On 2nd October the lands were redistributed by the Finance Minister. Generally in Gramdan villages the land is redistributed according to the needs of each family. Or the whole land is divided into large plots for co-operative or collective cultivation and sharing. But in this case the procedure adopted is specially commendable. The authors of this idea are Prof. Bang and Shri Suresh Ramabhai who happened to visit the centre then. The landless Harijan families were attached to each of the other families according to the land they had. The responsibility of giving work to them and sharing the produce with them were assumed by the Caste-Hindu families which bring in an instantaneous mental transformation, both social and economic.

When we visited this village on the 16th October and met the villagers in the same temple before which they made the gift on 7th Sept., there was a beaming joy and hope in their eyes. Who made them give the land? Who made the ladies more resolute than men in their oath of offer? That is the mystery behind the spontaneity of offer. This is exactly the mysterious sanction and strength of the Bhoodan movement whatever the sceptics and economists may say.

The Progress of Bhoodan

THE statistical statement of figures of Bhoodan collections repeatedly published will not indicate the real progress. There is no spiral ascendancy of the figures during the last one year as it was in the first phase of the movement. In fact the old figures have undergone even a reduction while correcting some mistakes of redundancy. When compared with the report of October 1955 we find that the total acreage received till now is static round the same forty-one lakhs.

We have to follow the new currents of the movement for fairly assessing its progress. The movement had entered a second phase of Gramdan when hundreds of Gramdans began to pour in Orissa since last year. This has given a new turn to the movement itself. The workers have been since then concentrating more on Gramdans than for individual dana-patras here and there. But this work involves a continuous process of ground work till completed Gramdans could be announced. As the year 1957 when we had pledged to complete the Bhoodan revolution is coming nearer, more of intensive ideological propaganda has to be done. We cannot think of so much of literature in all the languages of India through books and magazines could have been ever produced and distributed at any period of our national movement in this half century as during the last five years of the Bhoodan movement. Further the task of speedy distribution of the land received demands urgent attention. Planned programmes of total reconstruction in Gramdan villages as in Orissa and elsewhere demand all the time and energy of trained and seasoned workers. Probably the distribution work would be ten times and the reconstruction work in Gramdan villages would be hundred times more than the work of collecting Bhoodan. All this work is silently and unostentatiously done and the results cannot be displayed in any spectacular or statistical way. Vinobaji considers, as he said recently at Tirupur, that only five lakhs of acres are Bhoodan received because that much has been distributed so far though we may claim to have got 40 lakhs of acres.

As the maintenance of the organisational form of work, publication of literature and rehabilitation of the donees of Bhoodan require financial assistance workers have been engaged in collecting

Sampattidan patras. All those who offer Sampattidan give a portion of their monthly income for any specified period of years. Thus the total amount promised by over 60,000 donors till now is Rs. 9,82,199. The special feature of this is that the donor does not part with the money as a donation but takes the responsibility of himself spending and accounting for the purposes approved by Vinobaji and Sarva Seva Sangh. Special mention may be made of the tremendous drive in this work by Shri Mahesh Kothari and Shri Gopal Bhai of Japan in Madras City, Coimbatore and other places, where patras for more than Rs. 10 lakhs have been received.

The total land distributed till September is 4,76,403 acres to 1,60,206 families. Bihar leads with $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of acres, Utkal with one lakh and Uttar Pradesh about 75,000 acres. Nag-Vidarbha, Mahakoshal, and Rajasthan have distributed about 22,000 acres each. Mahakoshal, Madhya Bharat and Tamilnad have distributed more than 4,000 acres each.

The progress of the movement can be measured more correctly by the number of Gramdams received. The total has reached 1204 out of which Utkal's share is 1045. Bihar comes second with 53. Andhra has received 53 villages in four districts. Madhya Bharat, Uttar Pradesh, Tamilnad and Assam have received about ten each.

The new technique of Samuhik Padayatra effectively tried by Prof. Bang is becoming a popular method. Workers are being trained in many provinces. Conferences of workers and regional Sarvodaya Sammelans have become regular features of recent months. Padayatras are conducted almost in all the provinces. The All India Padayatra started by Shri Cherian Thomas and others from Cape Comorin is making steady progress. Dr. Sushila Nayyar joins the yatra now and then. The movement has won the full time service of the Chief Minister of Orissa State who has laid down his office recently.

Thus the waves of the revolutionary movement are spreading over every corner of the country. The seeds of creative revolution of ideological character take their own time and are governed by their own laws of growth and fruition unlike movements of destructive forces of violence with which history is too familiar.

Vinoba's Yatra in Tamilnad

IT is nearly six months since Vinobaji entered Tamilnad. Though he has covered five of the districts the response in terms of acreage received cannot be said to be satisfactory. Land or no land Vinobaji is immersed in the Tamil classics and culture. There was an uncertainty whether he will continue the yatra in this way in Tamilnad. Vinobaji himself was not certain even in the midst of August whether he would continue in Tamilnad or whether he would turn to Kerala or Karnatak.

At the instance of Vinobaji a meeting of the leading workers of the Southern and Eastern districts was convened at Veerapandy on 15—10—56. It was a great relief to the Tamilians when Vinobaji announced his intention to continue his yatra in Tamilnad for another five months till 12th March and that he would enter Kerala on 13th March exactly 10 months after his entry into Tamilnad.

He gave out his mind hoping for largest number of Gramdams in Tamilnad. After mutual consultation among the workers of the Southern districts the following yatra route for Vinobaji was tentatively decided till 13th March, 1957.

Vinobaji after completing his yatra in Coimbatore Dt. will enter Madura Dt. He will spend 20 days in the district visiting Gandhigram and Kallupatti, the leading constructive institutions in the South. He will proceed to Tinnevely Dt. and visit Cape Comorin. From Cape, he will go to Tuticorin, Tiruchendur and reach Rameshwaram. Later he will reach Pudukottai and enter Tanjore Dt. in the beginning of February next. He will spend 17 days in Tanjore Dt. and will proceed to Trichy. After passing through Udumalpet and Pollachi he expects to enter Kerala at Palghat on the 13th March, 1957.

By this arrangement he hopes that Tamilnad will have two months' time for the follow up work before the next Sarvodaya Sammelan which is expected to meet some time at the end of May in Kerala. From Palghat Vinobaji hopes to proceed northwards to Nileshtar.

Madras Ministers on Bhoodan

THERE was a preliminary meeting at Tanjore on 3rd November to concert measures for the successful yatra of Vinobaji when he comes to Tanjore in February next. Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar, the Chief Minister presided. Shri C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister and Shri M. Bakthavathsalam, Minister for Agriculture were also present. The brief way in which each Minister spoke in support of the Bhoodan movement will be of interest to readers.

Shri K. Kamaraj said he had given an undertaking to Acharya Vinoba that he would take the responsibility for the collection of lands in Tanjore District. There was in the district a large number of big land owners. It was very difficult to part with one's possessions. But they should think calmly whether the present state of affairs could continue for long. Bhoodan aimed at a mighty economic revolution. But this was in keeping with their tradition to achieve big things without any fuss or fanfare. He was sure that Tanjore district would give the lead to the other districts in this respect.

Shri C. Subramaniam, said that the land problem was among the biggest problems facing the country and was a highly complicated one. But they had to find a permanent solution. If anybody were to be under the impression that because of its complicated nature they could afford to shelve it to a distant future he was only living in fools' paradise. Landowning classes should see the writing on the wall. The Bhoodan movement was aimed at revolutionising their ideas and changing their outlook on life. Nobody need feel sceptic about the ultimate success of the method of voluntary parting with their possessions, since they had seen with their very eyes great Rajas and zamindars relinquishing their high positions and becoming one with the rest of the community. He asked whether this was not a mighty revolution and whether any one would have believed that such things were possible of achievement a few years ago. The vested interests might naturally feel distressed and find it very difficult to part with their lands. But he would like to stress that they had got to solve the problem and there was no running away from it.

Shri M. Bakthavathsalam, speaking next dealt at length on the fundamental aim and objective of the Bhoodan movement which was to inculcate in the minds of people a new sense of values by changing their outlook on life. Tanjore district must rise to the occasion.

Gramodaya Khaddar Sangh Conference

EVER since the re-orientation programme of Khadi work by Mahatma Gandhi in 1945, the All India Spinners' Association had been making several efforts to decentralise its khadi work and to create the local leadership and initiative in the villages for village Swaraj through the nucleus of the charkha. Under the brilliant drive of Dharendra Mazumdar in 1949 hundreds of Kathai Mandals rose in all parts of India and were doing good work. But later the Mandals became inactive and the movement faded. Again in the South similar Mandals with a new name of Gramodaya Khaddar Sangh were organised in the spinning areas under the Tamilnad and Kerala branches of charkha Sangh, now merged in the Sarva Seva Sangh.

There was a conference of these Sanghs of Tamilnad and Kerala at Gandhinagar-Tiruppur on 17th and 18th October in the presence of Vinobaji. Shri Vaikuntlal Metha presided. Sri Pramlal Kapadia, Secretary of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board attended and addressed the Conference. About thousand workers took part in the conference including 300 representatives of these Gramodaya Sanghs, 400 khadi workers and Bhoodan workers. Vinobaji's three inspiring speeches were the crowning events of the conference contributing to its great success.

315 Gramodaya Khaddar Sanghs are functioning in Tamilnad during this year. They have done substantial work by purchasing 44,11,047 hanks of yarn worth nearly Rs. 11 lakhs from 37,164 registered spinners. They have sold about Rs. 7 lakhs worth of khadi to spinners and others in the villages. They also produced khadi worth Rs. 1,93,648. Thus the Sanghs have purchased in all one-third of the yarn production, one-twentieth of the khadi production and have sold khadi to the extent of one-seventh of what the Tamilnad Sarva Seva Sangh has done in the year. Besides, some Sanghs run improved oil-press and have crushed 74,000 measures of oil-seeds. Some of the Sanghs are running multi-purpose co-operative societies. About Rs. 1,000 worth of honey has also been extracted by the Sanghs. It is noteworthy that some of these Sanghs have taken keen interest in Bhoodan and many members have offered Bhoodan. Some Sanghs have taken the Grama Sankalpa by pledging themselves to exclusive use of khadi and village-made articles and to prevent the coming of mill-cloth into their villages.

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Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolution on Elections

THE Executive Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh passed the following resolution at its sitting in Dharmapuri on the 5th August, 1956:

"Establishing of non-violent society is the objective of Sarva Seva Sangh. Such a society cannot be brought into existence through the agency of organised Government. Democracy rests on the consent of the people. It is necessary therefore to proceed in the direction of building up a social order which is not sustained by the coercive power of the State. Sarva Seva Sangh will not participate in power oriented political activities. It can have no affinity or partiality for any one of the political parties in the State. The Party in power and parties in opposition are the same in its eyes. Democracy today means rule of a Party. Sarva Seva Sangh desires to make it into a rule of the people. It is therefore not interested in the victory or defeat of any particular political party. It aims at a change of heart in all. If it supports or opposes any one the process of bringing about a change of heart would be obstructed. Sarva Seva Sangh will have nothing to do with the political election. Not only will it keep aloof from seeking election, it will not even help any one in the elections.

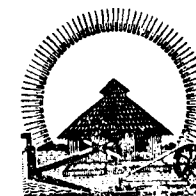
"Many who believe in Sarvodaya thought, may like to exercise the right of vote in the present circumstances. Obviously they will not favour parties who do not believe in non-violence and who are communal in outlook. Those who are members of some political parties believe that, just as it is a duty to vote, there are also circumstances when not exercising the right may become a sacred duty. If bad candidates are put up by political parties it becomes the duty of every citizen who has faith in true democracy to abstain from voting for such an unworthy candidate."

(Continued from page 173)

The conference passed a number of resolutions. The Sanghs have recognised that no khadi work would be able to survive without the fulfilment of Bhoodan and that no land distribution is complete without khadi and village industries. The Sanghs have resolved to work for Bhoodan and Gramdan. They have also endorsed the resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh in not participating in the ensuing elections.

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The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya (Publishing House) is the Southern Branch of the Publications Section of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Kashi.

The Prachuralaya has been publishing a Monthly in Tamil "Sarvodayam" devoted to Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology since 1947. Its annual subscription is Rs. 3. The English Monthly Sarvodaya which is being published since 1951 is not the translation of the Tamil but its contents are different.

The Prachuralaya has published during the last eight years about fifty titles in Tamil covering books by Gandhiji, and on Gandhi by others, on the science and crafts of Khadi, on Samagra Seva etc. Most of these publications are used in Basic Training schools and libraries.

More than three lakhs of copies in Tamil and English under different titles on Bhoodan and allied subjects by Vinobaji and others have been published. "Gita Pravachane" of Vinobaji in Marathi has been published in Tamil as a rupee edition. It has run into five editions of about 50,000 copies.

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