

154

SARVODAYA



Vol. VII JULY 1957

134/3-57
175



SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE (SOUTH INDIA)

Arkan

Vol. VII	SARVODAYA	No. 1
Whole	JULY 1957	No. 73
CONTENTS		
		PAGE
Dedication		3
To the Readers		4
Fearlessness and Satyagraha		5
	<i>—Mahatma Gandhi</i>	
The Test of True Satyagraha		6
	<i>—Acharya Vinoba</i>	
The Hindustani Talimi Sangh's Resolution		9
Vinobaji's Inaugural Address		10
The Logic of Gramdan		17
The Remedy for the World's Plight		19
	<i>—Esme Wynne-Tyson</i>	
Sarvodaya and Religion		22
	<i>—Ralph Richard Keithahn</i>	
Community Development in Gramdan Villages		24
The Roots of Gandhi's Politics		27
	<i>—Bharatan Kumarappa</i>	
Vinoba in London or New York!		31
	<i>—Hallam Tennyson</i>	
After the Kaladi Sammelan		32
Dr. Bharathan Kumarappa		34
To Subscribers		
Sarvodaya is published on the 5th of every month unless previously announced otherwise.		
Complaints about non-receipt of any number should be received before the end of each month mentioning the number of subscriber which is given along with the address on the wrapper.		
Specimen copies will be sent on receipt of postage stamps for 30 nP.		
Ann. Sub. 3/-	Foreign: Rs. 5	Price 30 nP.

Complimentary Copy

Dedication

THE Sarvodaya magazine is entering its seventh year of service with this number. Looking back to the back volumes of these six years we find a happy co-incidence that it has been running along with the Bhoodan Movement almost since its inception. They have tried to preserve a condensed record of the trend of the Movement year after year and the ideological development of the Bhoodan to Gramdan upto this summit year of 1957. The very survival of the magazine inspite of various difficulties encountered during these years is indeed a surprise and it is only due to the spontaneous and continuous support of hundreds of readers in India and abroad to whom we are highly grateful.

Though Sarvodaya claims to be some kind of a Digest we confess that we could not make it really so owing to several handicaps. It can only claim to be a symposium giving an over-all picture of the Bhoodan Movement and the evolution of the Bhoodan-Sarvodaya ideology in the light of the masterly exposition of Acharya Vinoba and other esteemed writers in India and outside.

Bhoodan is nothing if it is not a movement with an universal message and appeal. For, Bhoodan is only an approach, an outlook, a value by which all problems in any part of the world can be solved to secure freedom and happiness of the entire humanity. Therefore Sarvodaya has to comprehend within its loving fold of devoted service every problem and movement in all parts of the world based on truth and non-violence. The world already weary of war and ever under the intense nervous strain of nuclear test and psychological tension is crying in agony and is hungering for enduring peace. Many friends outside India have naturally found in this a new message and hope for the solution of all the problems that confront the world. Sarvodaya has thus brought us into contact with a large number of such friends who have been regularly contributing articles. We have tried to include as many of them to the extent that the limited space and scope of this small journal could permit.

Rededicating ourselves to the ideal of Sarvodaya, we have ventured on our spiritual pilgrimage of the seventh year and pray that God may grant us all strength to serve for the fulfilment of the non-violent revolution.

To the Readers

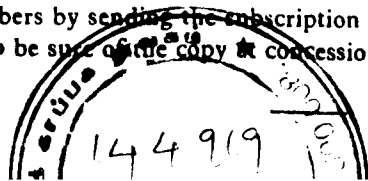
OUR readers will be surprised to know that the average number of copies printed per month is about 1,500. There are about 800 registered subscribers out of whom about a hundred will be from overseas. There are about five hundred who buy their copies every month from the sales agencies. Even this limited circulation could be maintained only through personal correspondence and the voluntary help of some devoted friends.

The present subscription rate covers barely the cost of printing, paper and postage, while all other expenses result in a deficit to the Prachuralaya. We have been hesitating to continue this at a loss but the Sarva Seva Sangh has been generous enough in permitting us to continue this though there is the "Bhoodan" weekly in English for the last one year.

In spite of the rising cost we do not like to burden the regular subscribers by increasing the subscription. But in the case of monthly purchasers we are compelled to increase the price to 30 Naye Paise to partly cover the commission given to the dealers.

The loss can be substantially reduced if the present readers themselves can kindly secure some subscribers from among their friends. We hope that the present readers who are the real supporters of the magazine and its mission will help in making the circulation increase substantially in the course of this year. We take the liberty of making this personal appeal to them as they have been continuously showing their sympathy and interest for "Sarvodaya."

As the sale price of the copy is increased now we would appeal to those who have been casually buying the monthly copies of "Sarvodaya" from our agencies to kindly enroll themselves as subscribers by sending the subscription of Rs. 3/- by M.O. directly to us to be sure of the copy at concession rate.



Fearlessness and Satyagraha

MAHATMA GANDHI

PASSIVE resistance has been described in the course of our discussion as truth-force. Truth, therefore, has necessarily to be followed, and that at any cost. In this connection, academic questions such as whether a man may not lie in order to save a life, etc., arise, but these questions occur only to those who wish to justify lying. Those who want to follow truth every time are not placed in such a quandary, and if they are, they are still saved from a false position.

Passive resistance cannot proceed a step without fearlessness. Those alone can follow the path of passive resistance who are free from fear, whether as to their possessions, false honour, their relatives, the government, bodily injuries or death.

These observances are not to be abandoned in the belief that they are difficult. Nature has implanted in the human breast ability to cope with any difficulty or suffering that may come to man unprovoked. These qualities are worth having even for those who do not wish to serve the country. Let there be no mistake as those who want to train themselves in the use of arms are also obliged to have these qualities more or less. Everybody does not become a warrior for the wish. A would-be warrior will have to observe chastity, and to be satisfied with poverty as his lot. A warrior without fearlessness cannot be conceived of. It may be thought that he would not need to be exactly truthful, but that quality follows real fearlessness. When a man abandons truth, he does so owing to fear in some shape or form. The above four attributes, then, need not frighten any one. It may be as well here to note that a physical-force man has to have many other useless qualities which a passive resister never needs. And you will find that whatever extra effort a swordsman needs is due to lack of fearlessness. If he is an embodiment of the latter, the sword will drop from his hand that very moment. He does not need its support. One who is free from hatred requires no sword. A man with a stick suddenly came face to face with a lion, and instinctively raised his weapon in self-defence. The man saw that he had only prated about fearlessness when there was none in him. That moment he dropped the stick, and found himself free from all fear. ("Indian Home Rule" or Hind Swaraj).

144919
J L
27.11.11, NS2SV N57.7.16

The Test of True Satyagraha

ACHARYA VINOBA

I have been feeling that it is necessary to have a clear idea about the meaning and implications of *satyagraha*. The word has a special connotation and significance in non-violence. It is often used in a very loose way. I would like to stress some of the ingredients of *satyagraha*.

When the word *satyagraha* is heard it should produce a feeling of hope and joy. It should create a sense of well-being in all. But today it has become a threat. It creates fear. When I hear that someone has gone on fast my first feeling is that it is a wrong step. I know it is not right to have such reaction. After going deeply into the relevant facts about the fast, if I find that it was justified I have said so. I have mentioned this fact only to show how it is being misused. If a person who is anxious to change the present social order in a non-violent way reacts to a fast like this, what must be the reaction of those who are attached to the *status quo* and are out to maintain it at all costs? For an administrator, likewise, 'law and order' has always the first place. They are frightened and perplexed when they are faced with a hunger strike.

We have claimed that *satyagraha* is a moral force. Its characteristic is that it disarms the opponent. As the rays of the sun dispel darkness so does the power of *satyagraha* work on the mind of man. His prejudice and anger is mitigated. He sees the other side. He gets over his anger. He begins to see clearly. This is, to my mind, the test of *satyagraha*. If *satyagraha* rubs the opponent on the wrong side, or makes him more obstinate and angry, or coerces him, the power of *satyagraha* is bound to wane and prove ineffective. Coercion and *satyagraha* are contradiction in terms. I will explain this by an example. I had discussed this with Gandhiji. You will remember that Gandhiji began a fast unto death against the Communal Award from the Yervada Prison. Friends like Poet Tagore rushed to his bedside. There were discussions between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar and a compromise was arrived at. The Poet did not like the terms. He said afterwards that he accepted them only because he wanted

to save Gandhiji's life. I do not want to discuss here the merits or demerits of that fast or to pass an opinion on its success or failure. All I want to say is that if there were coercion of a great person like Dr. Tagore the *satyagraha* was obviously not free from fault.

I know some of you will tell me that, 'If a person like Gandhiji could not offer *satyagraha* that was free from flaw how do you expect common men like us to practise pure *satyagraha*?' My friends tell me that mine is a perfectionist attitude. If *satyagraha* is something more than a theory, if it is to be practicable, one must accept certain limitations. You may call our *satyagraha* negative, incomplete or even coercive, but we would like you to take a practicable view of things as Gandhiji did and give us your blessings when we start a *satyagraha* with our own limitations. We would never like you to let us down or disown us. I say to them, when the dark night is ending and the horizon has begun to lighten up to the dawn of a new day the rays of the sun are so mild and tender like the rays of the moon. But same sun is scorching at mid-day!

Satyagraha in Gandhiji's days may be compared to the early dawn. Now times have changed. India has attained freedom. We are a democratic republic. We have to think clearly and find out if *satyagraha* has a place in the new democratic set up. Where one has freedom to go from house to house and canvass support for one's ideas, would *satyagraha* be justified?

There are two schools of thought in our country today. Some maintain that *satyagraha* is valid and justified. Others think that it has no place in a democratic set up. I must say I am quite clear in my mind that 'negative *satyagraha*' is out of place in the changed condition of our country. I would not approve of them on the plea that they follow the pattern laid down by Gandhiji. I want you to understand that times have changed almost out of recognition. Even a small *satyagraha* of an ordinary citizen today can have greater significance than the biggest of Gandhiji's *satyagraha*. There was no freedom or civil liberty in Gandhiji's time. We were a slave people. There was no free speech, Press or propaganda in those days. Gandhiji was one of the greatest *satyagrahis* that the world has seen. But he had to practise it in such adverse circumstances that its lustre and blazing light got dimmed because of the prevailing atmosphere. We have no right

to take shelter behind our littleness or limitations and continue the old form when the circumstances have changed so entirely. I would like to remind you that you may be small personally but you carry a great heritage. That adds to your responsibility.

If one ponders over this one will realise that one cannot justify the form of satyagraha on the ground of one's limitations or weakness. A wrong cannot be righted on the plea of individual weakness. If one is weak one is not qualified to offer satyagraha. The person who offers satyagraha and the form he chooses must be such that they inspire goodwill and fearlessness in all. If I announce that I propose to start satyagraha from tomorrow, your sympathy for me and for the cause must immediately grow a thousand fold and your opposition melt away. The mere mention of the word ought to produce an instantaneous effect like this. The actual satyagraha should strengthen the feeling of friendliness and confidence. The neurological effect of the word satyagraha should be akin to that of love, compassion and kindness. When one hears of love or kindness one feels a quiet joy in one's heart. One has a sense of well-being. Its theoretical justification or condemnation comes afterwards. The non-violent power which is capable of producing such effect on others is satyagraha. There is no place for the old type of satyagraha in a democracy. Circumstances have changed materially and we must take count of it. Mild, milder, mildest are the adjectives I have used about the development of satyagraha.

Similarly, I would like my friends to understand that the work that Gandhiji did for nearly three decades for India's freedom comes under the category of *Lokniti*. It was not politics as we understand it today. When freedom came he was walking in Naokhali. Not that he was opposed to political freedom or considered it as something impure or corrupt, but his place was, he knew, not in Delhi but in Naokhali. He was made that way. The political freedom which shone in Delhi was only a by-product of his great work. His place was in Naokhali where men had temporarily lost their humanity. His mission was to awaken love and kindness in the human heart and inspire man to his sense of duty. If he was a politician could he have advised the Congress to dissolve itself and become an institution of social service? He preached and practised *Lokniti* all his life.

Talk in Loka-Sevak Shibir in Kaladi on 12-5-1957—"Bhoodan"

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh's Resolution

The Hindustan Nayi Talimi Sangh has just recently passed a resolution to the following effect :—

Vinobaji's Bhoodan Movement has assumed the shape of Gramdan and the day of realisation of the social non-violent revolution through Gramdan has come. The non-violent revolution can never come through the State but it will come only through education. Therefore it is the duty of the Talimi Sangh to co-operate with the movement as far as possible. After demonstrating before the nation the efficacy of the pre-Basic, Basic and Post-Basic education, it is the duty of the Talimi Sangh to take up the non-violent social revolution. Therefore it appeals to the workers of Nayi Talim spread all over the country to give all their co-operation for this movement and particularly whenever village Sarvodaya Mandals have been constituted.

It is clear from the above resolution that the work of reconstruction of the Gramdan village would be the natural function of the Nai Talim. It has been decided to conduct a seminar from 5th July to 7th July at Sevagram to discuss and finalise the programme of action with regard to the reconstruction of Gramdan villages.

Aryanayakam and Asha Devi



*The Temple of Sankaracharya
at Kaladi.*



*The Exhibition Gate Entrance
at Kaladi.*

Vinobaji's Inaugural Address

This is a free rendering of Vinobaji's inaugural address at the Kaladi Sarvodaya Sammelan on the evening of 9-5-57 which is of great importance. He was overjoyed in seeing the largest number of sevaks and he was choaked with tears while referring to Gandhiji. This covers a general survey of the flow of the movement towards the Gramdan with its special implications and our duty to continue the PADA YATRA with the impelling of the great ideas even as the prophets and saints of old for the freedom and happiness of man.

DARSHAN OF MILLIONS

FOR six years I have walked in India, and I had the good fortune to have *Darshan* of millions of our people. With God's grace I will continue to have *Darshan* of my people. But the joy that I am feeling to day is something different from my daily experience. This Sammelan is being held in such a far away corner of India and people have gathered here in thousands from all parts of the country. They have nothing in their hearts except the feeling of service. Really a society of servants of the people has gathered here.

THE HIGH HOPES

Five months ago we abolished the *Samitis* (organisations) which were established in the different provinces for Bhoodan work. Even after that the workers devoted their heart and soul to this work. What they really get is the joy derived from *Tapasya*. The workers draw inspiration from the fact that this work is proceeding unhindered all over India, and it is based on the power of love and the power of the people. That inspires workers to leave their hearths and homes and move about in the forests, and some are moving with their entire families. They go to every village with the message of God. A very large number of them has gathered here. Besides, many others who sympathise with this work have come here with a special hope. They have a feeling that this year something extraordinary is bound to happen in our country.

This feeling pervades the entire Indian people today. Whenever such high feelings sway the people, it is clearly the

expression of God's own compassion. And God appears only when the entire people come to believe that the work done is an auspicious and good work; and everybody is expectant that some great result will be seen this year. This can lead to an even more intense desire in the *Bhakta*, for the *Bhakta* hopes every moment that the *Darshan* which he had not yet had will be possible the next moment. Every moment he expects something will happen. When in the human heart this feeling is surging everyday, nay, every moment, it is only then that God appears before us.

THE BHOODAN OF ASCENSION

In this work of Bhoodan ascension we have reached a stage. On every side we find the atmosphere favourable to us. Today we have reached a stage when every person in India, in his heart of hearts, has nothing but good-will for this work. Everybody is blessing us, and our work will undoubtedly succeed.

There were doubts whether we should have the Sammelan in this year. There were several points of view. But ultimately it was decided to hold this Conference, because we get the opportunity to have the *Darshan* of our dear brethren only once a year. In the *Ramayana*, Valmiki has given a wonderful description that Rama could not sleep on the day when he did not see Lakshmana. But we do not see each other for a whole year. Therefore, when this meeting of love and affection is possible only once a year, we decided that the Sarvodaya Sammelan should be held.

A NEW LIGHT FROM GOD

We see here selfless service in real flesh and blood. Today, undoubtedly, many acts of service can be witnessed in this society, but selfless service is rather rare. When Gandhiji was alive we always saw selfless service. People were then inspired with the desire to achieve India's Independence and everyone willingly sacrificed through love. Before Independence lakhs of people courted imprisonment with the *Bhagavad Gita* in their hands. Now we have our Independence; and some work of service still continues. If there had been no service how could the country continue? Though we see service, selfless service is rather rare. Self-interest and ambition has been attached today to all kinds of service.

For some time after independence we had doubts whether the freedom we got was a reality or a dream. But soon many became dejected. They continued to spin and do some Khadi and other constructive work, but it appeared as though their hope was frustrated. God, however, gave us a new light and we got this Bhoodan work. I regard it as a blessing from God—for we got an opportunity to sacrifice and do selfless service. That is why on seeing you all here I am extremely happy.

ON THE BRINK OF VICTORY

We are now nearing the shore of our destination. From the time the Bhoodan Movement developed into Gramdan Movement, every-body's heart has been converted in its favour. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that in future we keep ourselves cool and behave with all gentleness. We should have the firm faith that God wants us to do something and that we are only His instruments. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that in the present stage nothing but sweet words should flow from our mouths. We should not enter into disputes and controversies. Undoubtedly, when new ideas are propagated it sometimes becomes essential to enter into controversies, and on some occasions we attempted to refute certain wrong notions. But our hearts bear testimony to the fact that in all that refutation we were motivated by nothing but love. But now we have decided that this process of controversy should come to an end. And our work is already progressing ahead.

AFTER DISSOLUTION OF THE ORGANISATION

I believe that the dissolution of the Bhoodan *Samitis* was a very large step forward. These *Samitis* existed in many districts who took care of the workers. When, however, we disbanded them very few felt that it would lead to any harmful consequence; and today all the workers continue to work with the same single-mindedness as before. This itself is a method of Satyagraha. We do not want to use compulsion on society in any way except by propagating our ideas. It has been observed that sometimes existence of organisations leads to a pressure on society. The disbandment of the Bhoodan *Samitis*, no doubt, created some difficulties for the workers. Even then we went ahead with our idea. We felt that it was necessary and we hoped that the masses themselves will take up this programme as their own.

AT THE SACRED PLACE OF SANKARA

In his letter to us Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad has, as every one else, referred to Kaladi's importance as the birth place of Shankaracharya. Thus, this place reminds every one of the great Shankaracharya, who was a tireless traveller. He moved about from one end of the country to another, and he rendered the greatest service to this country. What shall we do when we come to the place of such a great soul? Does it not behove us that when we come to this place, we dedicate ourselves to the service of the people? And then when a person decides to devote his entire life to such a kind of work, why need he enter into controversies? Instead, our hearts should now overflow with compassion.

GRAMDAN IN SAMYA-YOGA

What is the meaning of Gramdan? People understand Gramdan to mean as equal distribution. In other words, Gramdan is *Samyayoga*. And when is *Samyayoga* established? A *Samyayoga* which does not have compassion (*Karuna*) as its origin cannot be a *Samyayoga*. One cannot be hard-hearted and at the same time entertain in his heart a feeling of equality. If the heart is full of jealousy and conflict all our talk in terms of equality would only mean that equality will be established through heartless measures. No doubt we need ruthless measures for the establishment of equalities. For the achievement of *Samyayoga* it is essential that its origin should be in compassion. A man is emboldened to give up his all only when compassion rises in his soul. Many workers ask the question whether everybody gives away in Gramdan? Well, there are some Gramdan villages where a few have not given up their land.

WHAT ABOUT NON-GIVERS IN GRAMDAN?

The question arises as to what we should do there? With all love in our hearts we should be able to assure the non-givers of all security. We should clearly say that we do not want to give any trouble to the poor because we have the deepest feelings for them. And we should also say that we do realise the difficulties through which the rich will have to pass. We want that the rich and the poor should join hands and work together. If they do so, their life will be different. Their self-respect will increase. They will feel a new kind of joy and they will gain the love of all. Today, this is absent. We have the greatest

consideration in our hearts for even the rich. We do realise that their standard of life will certainly come down if they join Gramdan and we feel more concerned about it. It is essential that they should be given the best assurances. We have to tell them that they must join the community, and they will be secure in the community itself. Gramdan implies that all in the village will be equal. It does not merely mean that the owners have simply to give the land and the poor have only to take it. Those who give perform a meritorious act of piety, but what about those who take? We have to understand that true dharma is universal and should be possible for all. It is not correct to say that true *Dharma* as expressed in truth does not apply to some and applies to others. On the contrary, the responsibility of living up to truth or *Dharma* is enjoined upon the entire society.

Those who have no land to give can give *Shramdan*. And so those who have land, give Bhoodan, those who can labour, give *Shramdan*, those who have intellect, give *Buddhidan*, and so when each of those has given what he has that completes Gramdan. This is the whole meaning of Gramdan. Everyone has to examine one's heart. In this there is no room for roughness, or ruthlessness. Here love and love alone is to play. This is the philosophy of Gramdan and every worker has to understand it and act accordingly. We have got different political parties in our country, and I believe that there are no differences of opinion among them on this question of Gramdan. Every one is agreed that there should be Gramdan, and we should welcome whatever support we get from each one of them.

THE EVILS OF THE ELECTIONS

Ever since we decided to launch this movement of renunciation of property, numerous events have taken place in the country and we have just gone through a mass programme of elections. As a result different ideas have been propagated in the society. A number of evils have manifested themselves. We have to seek the remedy for all this in our work. Undoubtedly, all the evils that have come up can be traced to the methods followed in the elections. It is for the leaders to consider. We can only suggest what strikes us. We did not take part in the elections and went on with our work. In spite of this, however, we could not create an atmosphere which could lead to the generation of good feelings in the elections. We have to under-

stand our own responsibility. Actually the brunt of the social evils has to be borne by the selfless servants of society. The elections revealed the caste differences here and there. In a way it is good. If it had remained concealed it might have been worse. We have all to turn the searchlight inwards. Conflicts in elections are inevitable. But when workers like us work in society such elections should engender feelings of love among the people. If this does not happen it only means that Bhoodan and the Gramdan Movements have remained only at a superficial level and have not gone to the depth of the society.

THE REAL TEST OF GRAMDAN

Events in Madura district have given us a sound warning. We got a number of Gramdans there. We appealed for Taluqa-Dan, and left the district. Later about 250 Gramdans were offered. The workers gathered together and all took a pledge to secure Taluqa-Dan. Soon after the elections came. Now one party set up a candidate of one community and another party set up a candidate of another community. I do not refer to any particular instance but when elections are fought straight between two castes, two communities, two parties, two individuals, how can there be Gramdan in such an atmosphere? Gramdan cannot succeed unless there is absolute unity of heart. And so the result was that the Taluqa-Dan programme did not succeed in Madura district. Even then I did not give up hope. We are sure that the work will yet forge ahead. But one thing, however, becomes clear. We had imagined that the decision for Gramdan will break through the barriers of castes, parties and individuals, but apparently it failed. In other words, caste differences and party and individual differences proved more powerful than Gramdan. What then is the conclusion? It only shows that the *Sankalpa* for Gramdan was half-hearted, was not real and was not born inside the heart. Behind it there was not a feeling of compassion. And from this it has become clear to me that Gramdan will not succeed if it has not its origin and basis in compassion. No doubt, Gramdan will lead to some other good, and that may succeed in getting some Gramdan. That is a good work but that cannot be called really Gramdan. That cannot be a real Gramdan which does not break through caste barriers. Through Gramdan we have to build a power that will triumph over differences of all kinds; therefore we have to

go on patiently explaining the real basis and implication of Gramdan to the people.

THE IMPELLING OF NEW IDEAS

I have said often that a person who thinks of new ideas cannot sit at a place. The new and the old ideas also have a test. A new idea makes a man move about and does not give him time to sit. Jesus Christ brought new ideas. He explained it to his disciples, but he could not sit at a place and so he continuously moved about. Similarly, the Buddha and Mahavira also never sat at a place and continuously moved about for years and years. The same thing happened in the case of Shankaracharya and Ramanujacharya. Those who are immersed in old ideas can afford to sit at one place, but, a new thinker and the revolutionary has to move about. He cannot sit and rest at one place. Actually, ideas and movements are linked together and it is ordained that we have now only to move about and not rest.

We have to reach every Village in the nook and corner of our country where no conveyance even can reach. We are encouraged that this gives us an opportunity to move about and convey our message. I am reminded of an incident which happened six years ago. It was a small meeting in a small village in Vindhya Pradesh. I asked a question in order to test the knowledge of the people there. When I mentioned the name of Gandhiji they asked where Gandhiji lived then. They did not know even that Gandhiji had already departed from this world. Even to such a far-flung and ignorant village we have the good fortune to carry the message of knowledge and freedom.

Recently I met a worker. He was engaged in constructive work and he did not want to move about. I have also devoted thirty years of my life to constructive work. I asked that friend: 'Should I stay only at one place and be satisfied with the good work done at only one place?' This awakened my friend and he understood instantaneously that if this man (Vinoba) moves about he creates a new atmosphere. And now that friend himself is also moving about, propagating these new ideas. So, all that I have to say is that our workers must have strong feet. Sri Ramachandra moved and walked about for 14 years. We, his humble followers have decided to dedicate our lives for this continuous mission after mature consideration.

The Logic of Gramdan

DADA DHARMADHIKARI

WE are living in an age of watchwords and slogans. Gramdan, however, is a watchword without being a slogan. It connotes both an objective as well as the method of achieving it. A revolution means a technique of attaining an ideal which has been tacitly accepted in a very large measure by men of sense and spirit in a country. This is true about Gramdan more than it has been true of any other scheme in recent years. There is hardly any other party or individual who is in earnest about the establishment of an equalitarian social order and who has not expressed sympathy for the movement of Gramdan. This in itself is no mean achievement. Vinobaji deserves all credit for this.

What is the order of society for which Gramdan stands? In plain English, it stands for an economic order in which no man shall be reduced to the necessity of selling his labour or his talents and no man shall have the opportunity to bid at an auction of his neighbour's labour or talent. Call it a classless society, a socialistic pattern or a communist dispensation or simply the A B C order of society. This will be the criterion of the social order which we are trying to establish. It will be naturally a decentralised economy because centralism and statism have monopolised all power and have turned the common man into a helpless cog.

How can democracy ever succeed when a citizen has been deprived of civic responsibility? His function today is simply to elect certain individuals who have stipulated to look after his welfare. This condemns him to immaturity; he never really comes of age. It is, therefore, imperative to design some scheme which will stimulate public spirit, develop initiative and foster among the people a sense of belonging to one another. My talents and my capacity for production must be dedicated to the greater good of my neighbour. We work for each other. This interdependence of neighbours in which each is a consumer as well as a producer was the foundation of the social order which

Gandhiji visualised. He called this Gramraj and to make himself better understood, he also called it Ram Raj, but invested the word with a revolutionary significance.

There are three known ways in which economic inequality can be eliminated. There is the method of expropriation. Then there is the method of legal confiscation and taxation. And last, but not the least, there is the method of voluntary surrender. Most people forget the fact that in a predominantly agricultural society, the class-pattern is not the same as in an industrialised society. In an agricultural context the number of those who do not own even a strip of land is much smaller than the number of small peasant—proprietors. Expropriation is, therefore, out of question, however enamoured one may feel of the word and the method it indicates.

The next question is: Is the small owner going to legislate himself out of his ownership? If yes, may not Vinoba pertinently ask: "If the small owner can legislate against himself why will he not voluntarily surrender his ownership?" The only answer could be that legislation is for the whole community and one feels safe even in sinking together. That is exactly why Vinoba has now shifted the emphasis from Bhoodan, sampattidan and shramdan to Gramdan. Thereby he underlies the fact that all will be saved when each one saves himself by right action.

Gramdan connotes collective effort. It connotes sharing productive labour as also the fruit of labour. Fundamentally, it is a method of engendering the feeling of sharing life in prosperity as well as adversity.

In view of these considerations it must be patent to the meanest understanding that the technique of Gramdan or villagisation is the only practicable scheme that will vitalise democracy in this country and bring about an entirely new social order that will revolutionise man's attitude to property and his relation to this neighbour. It is thus not a slogan but a Mantra.'

Talk at a Press Conference in Allahabad—(From "Bhoodan")

The Remedy for the World's Plight

ESME WYNNE-TYSON

The writer is well known for the "continuing stream of humanitarian articles, letters and books flowing from her pen with a devotion, a selflessness and an inspired command of language" in the words of the Millenium Guild of New York which has recently awarded her with a special prize. She has been taking keen interest in the 'Sarvodaya' introducing it to many friends of the West.

WHEN Professor Einstein was asked at a dinner party, "How are we ever going to get a better world?" his reported reply was: "You have to have better people".

This simple and obvious fact, that you cannot have a world better than the units that compose it, has been understood by every world-teacher of whom we have record. Their philosophic or religious systems were all designed to meet that need. They came to 'save' mankind from its animalistic and violent condition by helping it to evolve both by their precept and practice to a better and finer type of manhood.

At the end of world war II some of us believed that the one lesson it had taught humanity was that: "You have to have better people". Gandhiji and Dr Albert Schweitzer were among those who held this view, the latter putting it in the simple statement:

We have constantly to remember the inexorable law, that we can only bring so much of the Kingdom of God into the world as we possess within us.

By 'better' people we meant wiser, more compassionate and loving people, who accepted the discipline of *Ahimsa*, or non-violence. And for this it was obvious that there must be specific training, primarily the individual training of self-control by God-control, but also a training into the technique of Gandhian, non-violent resistance, as well as a general education into a non-violent, instead of violent attitude towards life in all its aspects.

Unfortunately no government appeared to be aware of this most evident and urgent necessity, even in the case of the worst

5L
V2 m2, NS SV NS7.7.1-6.

aggressors. Instead, for instance, of sending pacifists to occupy Germany and re-educate the people into practical peace-mindedness, the victors sent only militarists whose very presence implied the efficacy of physical force, and now the Nazis are re-armed without having given any evidence of repentance for what we were assured during the war years was a diabolical evil.

And in all countries, everything but the one thing needful—the production of better human beings—has been tried: changes of government and economic systems, force, revolution, nationalism, help for backward and under-privileged nations, every conceivable external panacea, and yet after hardly more than a decade since the last holocaust, the world is brought once more to the brink of war by the same unregenerate humanity who fought and suffered in the last one.

The policies of mankind are no less violent now than when Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha and Jesus Christ tried to teach men the way out of the jungle. Yet the world has within it at once the higher ethic provided by such teachers and the increased violence due to its persistent rejection. This dichotomy growing more and more acute has produced a mental climate of near-insanity. Becoming aware of this the materialists decided that it must stop. Not by taking the only advice that ever can 'save' the world but by rejecting it *in toto* on the pleas that it was impractical idealism, and that it has failed, and substituting its antithesis as the remedy: no more dichotomy, but total materialism, the sanity of Satan.

In point of fact both their arguments are fallacious and unrealistic. A philosophy cannot be said to have failed when it has never been applied. At no time in the world's history has the advice of the wise men been taken by mankind in general, or even by any one country or creed. On the other hand, whenever it has been taken seriously by individuals, such as the world-teachers themselves and their followers, it has done just what it claims to do—produced a new type of man, a man of peace, compassion and non-violence whether in the persons of Mahavira, Gautama the Buddha and Jesus Christ or of the more modern Gandhiji and Vinobaji.

The materialist's chief argument against this remedy is always that one must first improve material conditions by altering

the government or economic system, and only then will men be found to be better and more moral. The most obvious proof of the fallacy of such an argument lies in the existence of these 'improved', or evolved men who have all walked this earth in times when external conditions were far from ideal, Jesus Christ and Gandhiji both having been born into countries under imperialistic foreign rule, conditions which, according to the Marxists, make it impossible for men to improve!

Whereas the truth is that it would be quite impossible for men of such stature ever to arise from a civilization based solely on scientific, or total, materialism, which is the materialist's remedy for the world's ills. For such a civilization must be founded on the rejection of the hypothesis that alone makes the evolution of such men possible, i. e. the ideal of moral and spiritual perfection which men call God, and which is, in fact, man's evolutionary goal, without which there can be no meaning to life.

Lenin's philosophy wholly rejected this God-Idea. He hated it just because it gave a meaning to life beyond the utilitarian hypothesis, and because it ascribed supreme importance to the individual and so induced reverence for life, all of which suppositions must prove fatal to the success of Marxist communism. Small wonder he called religion, "the most infamous thing in the world", and insisted, in a letter to his friend, Alexei Maximovich, that "every religious idea, every idea of any God..... is the most dangerous baseness, the most vile infection." From that premise the rejection of any moral absolute naturally followed, and he is found teaching the young people of his day who are the elders of modern communism:

"We repudiate all morality which proceeds from..... ideas which are outside class conceptions. In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class war; everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order, and for the uniting of the proletariat."*

Like all materialists Lenin was dangerously short-sighted. He did not pause to consider what sort of character would emerge from a proletariat that had been united by subordinating all

* *Lenin and Gandhi* by Rene Fulop-Miller. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

morality to political and social ends. He did not realize that he was making an absolute, or a God, of the State, or community, which, like all other Gods, demanded the soul of their devotees, but, in this case, not to exalt it, but to demolish it by proving it had never existed, thus ushering in an age of soulless robots—or the ant era. And dazzled by the promise of a perfectly run termitary where everyone had enough for his material needs, men have not paused to consider the final sacrifice which this utilitarian kingdom of heaven demands,—the abandonment of the aim of life, man's evolution to a higher species.

The result is the present age of tension and terror, with people of all nations menaced by the appalling armaments so irresponsibly placed in the hands of still violent, unregenerate men.

Even now mankind could repent of its folly; change its mind, and apply the remedy that has never been tried. Each man or woman can begin to-day with himself or herself to supply the most vital and urgent need of mankind implied in the modern echo of the wisdom of the ages: "You have to have better people."

Sarvodaya and Religion

RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN, Kodaikanal

OUR daughter writes, "I have just come from a very impressive vespers service. It was conducted by a Rabbi and the service followed the Jewish pattern. As the preacher said, 'History is being made tonight—for the first time a Jewish service is being held in a building dedicated to Christian principles.' He went on to carry through his point that one must 'fall in love' with God and realise that what we are is what God has made us. . . . It was one of the better vespers of the year."

The tragedy is that most Christians are unable to cross even denominational boundaries easily and happily. My own experience has more often brought most precious experiences as I crossed these artificial and pettysectarian borders. Seldom have I not found it helpful to worship with those who differed from my own

way of thinking and ritual preferences. But I have striven to "worship with them in spirit and in truth" and I have had my reward. We should learn to give a helping hand "even unto this last" especially in prayer. Ours will be the greater reward.

But the experience quoted above carries us a point further. It takes us over religious boundaries. But Jesus also worshipped in Jewish synagogues and the Temple! Why cannot we? Perhaps it would do us good to seek to worship in the way Jesus normally did. Rather, to worship with those who gave to Jesus the "prophets and the law" and his own rich religious experience. Is it not strange that even 1900 years after the life of Jesus we find it exceptional to worship with the Jew! Jesus was a Jew! Has not the Christian exclusiveness worked to our disadvantage?

The fact that interests me most in our daughter's experience is that this vespers was one of the best of the year. Why do we rob ourselves of such rich experiences? But let us not think that barriers exist only for the Christian. Seldom have I been permitted to enter the Hindu "Holy of Holies". More often I am not even permitted to enter his temple. I am an untouchable at that point. I know those choice Hindu friends who have taken me to their temples, where I was permitted to enter, and the experience has been rich. But I am always aware that the "orthodox" regret my entering the temple. Hence, I seldom enter the inner sanctuary. But, what is to me even more serious, seldom has a Hindu tried to take me into his "inner temple" that we might worship together "in spirit and in truth". That higher initiation is reserved for the privileged. The holy prayer is given unto the nobler and not unto the ordinary. My religious experience tells me that is wrong. Is that also not a kind of exclusiveness that is regrettable? I am only trying to say that I do not see much difference in the actions of the followers of the various religions. Each tends to keep within his own pattern. Each tends to treat the other as an untouchable.

I am trying to make a plea, in harmony with the experience quoted above, to members of all religions to learn to cross these religious barriers and to worship together "in spirit and in truth". I believe this takes "sarvodaya" into the spiritual realm. Then we meet one another as equals before the throne of grace and receive his rich blessings.

Vinobaji is perhaps the pioneer number one at this point. He walks through the countryside. He has a message for all; all gather to hear and to pray. He calls all to a silent prayer. He has learned that some have difficulties with the spoken word in common worship. As a sensitive soul he at once adjusts to the common situation; he makes the experience easy for all. For five minutes we are in common silence and rich prayer. I am sure by far the larger number present find the experience helpful.

Why do we not do it more often with our local friends?

Why do we not do it at the time of our great religious festivals?

Might we not come more close to the Throne of Grace and to our Brother?

Might we not share precious religious experience with one another?

Is this not a fundamental part of sarvodaya?

Community Development in Gramdan Villages

The Gramdan movement has evoked greatest interest among the various political parties and the Government of India. The Government have recognised the potentiality of the movement and have hastened to avail of the voluntary and collective surrender of possession of land in favour of the village community as the fittest ground for applying their Development and Extension programmes in Blocks. The decisions of the Development Commissioners at the Conference in Mussoorie in the end of May '57 inaugurated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru lay down the clear policy and programme to be implemented by the various State Governments with respect to Gramdan villages.

IT was felt that the work of Government agency in Gramdan villages could begin only after the lands had been donated and legal and administrative arrangements for the transfer and redistribution of the lands had been completed. The Conference, however, agreed that the programme of work in Gramdan villages may proceed on the following lines:

1. Fullest possible assistance and encouragement should be given to Bhoodan and Gramdan movement, because it generates that moral force and that proper atmosphere which enables all the community development programme to be run much more effectively and fully in the villages which come under it.

2. The Governmental agency should also help in the creation of the proper atmosphere for Bhoodan and Gramdan, and in distribution of land, which is secured as a result of Bhoodan or Gramdan.

3. Legislation for giving legal sanctions to Bhoodan and Gramdan should be undertaken as early as possible where this has not been done. Copies of existing legislation in some States may be circulated to other States.

4. The Gramdan villages, because of the special atmosphere generated there, should receive preference in the matter of the opening of blocks and the starting of community development activities there. When the village community unit is formed in such villages, it should be entrusted even with the work of collection of rent on commission basis, the commission being utilised for meeting the expenditure of the unit and for development purposes.

5. It would not be feasible to break the compactness of the area of blocks. But where in a compact area a large number of villages were covered by Gramdan movement and a block was opened in that area, the Committee at the block level consisting of the representatives of the constituent villages and Sarvodaya workers, should have greater authority for planning and executing the various development programmes in the block and the Governmental machinery in that block should work under the overall direction of this block committee: but this machinery will maintain its links with the parent departments as usual. If in an existing block, some villages are covered by Gramdan movement, or if in some villages large tracts of land have been donated in Bhoodan, it would be desirable to have in the Block Advisory Committee the Sarvodaya workers of that area also and the Governmental agency will help in the furtherance of the ideas and programmes of the Sarvodaya workers in such villages and such tracts of land.

6. The ultimate base will have to be the community unit, which will have the shape of either the village cooperative society or the Village Panchayat or a composite body. This can even have the form of a village self-governing body with the various wings for economic activities, legal functions, executive functions, etc.

7. The existing difficulty of Gramdan villages in respect of procuring loans, because of the fact that the land does not belong to the individual, has to be overcome. The community unit referred to in para 6, whether it is of the character of a cooperative society or a Panchayat will to a large extent solve this difficulty.

8. Cooperative farming forms part of the national agricultural policy. Gramdan presents the most favourable conditions to work out successfully programmes of cooperative farming of several types. Cooperative farming should, therefore, be encouraged in Gramdan villages. This will demonstrate to other areas also the benefits of cooperative farming.

9. It was felt that after agriculture, the next important subject which can receive greater impetus in Gramdan villages, would be the village and small industries, and every possible help and encouragement should be given to the growth and development of such village and small-scale industries through the village bodies or village cooperative societies or similar institutions.

10. The next important programme in such villages should be that of introducing basic education in all the schools of the area.

11. In utilising funds during the post-intensive period priority should be given to programmes chalked out and decided upon by the village communities.

*For Sarvodaya-Bhoodan Literature
in Tamil, Hindi & English*

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE(S.I.)

The Roots of Gandhi's Politics

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

(We are indebted to "Gandhi Marg", a quarterly journal of Gandhian Thought published by Gandhi Samarak Nidhi and edited by Mr. S. K. George from which this article is condensed.)

WE cannot understand Gandhi's politics unless we trace it to its roots. To him the supreme purpose of life was religious self-realisation. He described it also as pursuit of Truth or God. It was in seeking to practise his religion that his politics took shape. For him politics was one of the realms in which his religion expressed itself. In seeking to live the religious life to the best of his ability he came up against political evils. If he were to be true to his religion he could not fight shy of them, for according to him a religion which takes no account of practical affairs, and does not do anything to solve them, is no religion at all.

THE RELIGION OF ALL RELIGIONS

What was this religion which he sought to follow? It was not religion in the narrow sense, for this splits up mankind into warring camps, but religion which is common to all the religions and binds men together. It consists, according to him, in nothing else than truth and love which is taught by all religions.

Hinduism had emphasised two great values—truth and non-violence, and in the practice of these, selflessness or self-mastery. It is these that motivated his life, as we shall now see.

NON-VIOLENCE IN POLITICS

In the political sphere, non-violence meant fighting against political bondage. Foreign rule, however beneficial it may seem to be, seemed to him like living death, for it killed the soul of a people in so far as it took away from them all responsibility and initiative in running their own affairs. He therefore

counted no suffering too great to free his people from foreign rule.

*

*

*

SWARAJ OF THE INDIVIDUAL

But non-violence in the political sphere is not attained merely by substituting brown rulers in place of white. Non-violence, as he understood it, meant giving the individual, even unto the very last, full freedom to rule over himself, provided that he did not thereby injure his neighbour. The ideal was *Swaraj*, or self-rule for all, or self-realisation as taught by Hinduism. Such self-realisation could be attained, according to Hindu teaching, only by the practice of truth, non-violence and other virtues, especially self renunciation and self-restraint. It presupposed tremendous day-to-day self-discipline to curb the clamour of the body and of narrow individualism. He only can claim to have realised himself who has complete mastery over himself, who has a steady mind (*sthita prajna* of the *Gita*), who is not a prey to his passions. So Gandhi wrote: 'Government over self is the truest *swaraj* it is synonymous with *moksa* or salvation'. 'I have therefore endeavoured to show both in word and in deed that political self-government is no better than individual self-government and therefore it is to be attained by precisely the same means that are required for individual self-government of self-rule'.

If such self-government is what is ultimately to be aimed at, then it is primarily the responsibility of the individual himself and cannot be achieved by the State. But the State has its responsibility. It has to see that no obstacles are placed in the way of the individual's self-development. Or to put it positively, it has to promote conditions which will help the individual to move in the direction of gaining control over himself. The State cannot make the individual moral, but it must establish conditions which will make morality possible. That at best is the function of the State according to Gandhi.

If then the function of the State is to promote the maximum self-rule of individuals, it must do nothing which will weaken the individual or take into its own hands control over his affairs. So he said: 'I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear'. 'Self-government means continuous

effort to be independent of government control. *Swaraj* government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life.' The ideal is 'a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that "that government is best which governs the least."

DECENTRALISED GROUP OF VILLAGES

Therefore, again, the best form of government according to him is one which is decentralised, where individuals of a small area say a village or a group of villages, look after their own affairs. They will for this purpose choose from amongst themselves persons in whose integrity and public sense they have confidence, and abide by their decisions in regard to matters affecting their group. The group will function as a large joint family or co-operative, where the individual will find his own self-development in the development of all the members of the group. The primary obligation of the individual to help and support his own immediate neighbours is what Gandhi spoke of as the principle of *Swadesi*.

But this did not mean for Gandhi that each group lived in isolation from the rest and felt no obligation beyond its own little circle. The groups will, according to him, form a sort of federation, based on voluntary co-operation and mutual help, where no group or individual seeks to dominate over the others. 'In this structure composed of innumerable villages... life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals... The outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner circle but will give strength to all within and derive its own strength from it'.

SATYAGRAHA OR NON-VIOLENT RESISTENCE

This is the ideal type of political structure towards which we should strive if we would promote the maximum amount of self-rule

and self-development for the individual. If when striving towards such an ideal we are up against a political system which denies freedom and initiative to the individual, we shall have to resist it. How? Gandhi's answer was given by his own personal example. Political evil was to be overcome, not by violence but by constitutional means as far as possible, and when that failed, then by *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance, where appeal was made to the reason and conscience of the ruler or rulers by clinging to truth, irrespective of untold suffering to oneself. The means to be employed were to be truth and non-violence, for the end was nothing but the attainment of truth and non-violence, the goal of religion.

It is thus obvious that Gandhi's entire political philosophy—his political goal and the means to be adopted—are all of one piece. They spring from his religion—truth and non-violence.

THE SPIRITUAL BASIS AND GOAL

His life and example constitute to us of today a challenge, to us the privileged classes who live in comfort, aloof from the poor, to us who seem to concentrate primarily on increasing material production in order to build up the nation rather than on developing man himself. With such turning away from the individual and focussing attention on what is external to him, has come a tremendous increase in the power of the State which controls the life of the individual at every turn. The State is highly centralised, and self-rule for the masses is becoming a mockery kept up by a parliamentary form of government. Falsehood, lust for power and wealth, self-seeking and violence are coming to the forefront in our national life. Gandhi was able to stem the modern drift to materialism and violence because his eyes were fixed clearly on a fundamentally spiritual goal—the attainment of truth, non-violence and self-mastery. We cannot, it would seem, follow him if we took over an item here and an item there from his programme for the nation, leaving aside what was its very core, namely the spiritual basis. By so doing we shall only deceive ourselves, mislead the people and betray the Father of the Nation.

BHOODAN A weekly organ of the Sarva Seva Sangh Annual Subs. Rs. 6 MANAGER, BHOODAN 361, Padashiv Peth, Goona-2	GANDHI MARG A Quarterly Journal of Gandhian thought Annual Sub. Rs. 5 Gandhi Smarak Nidhi Mant Bhuvan, Laburnum Road, BOMBAY-7 (India)
--	--

Vinoba in London or New York!

HALLAM TENNYSON

The following is from an outstanding book "Saint on the March" written by Hallam Tennyson grandson of Lord Tennyson. After publishing the book he has been walking round in several parts of England collecting gifts for "Well Fund" in India. Vinobaji appealed particularly to the Brahmin community in his meeting at Palghat on 31-5-57 to follow non-possession as the greatest form of theism in the footsteps of Sri Shankaracharya when the idea had attracted the devoted service of persons like Mr. Hallam Tennyson in England. The book has been reprinted recently and a few copies are available at Prachuralaya at 15 shillings or Rs. 11.25 excluding postage.

WHAT if Vinoba walked into London or New York? Would we Christians recognise in this elderly, half-naked Hindu one of the great saints, blood brother to St. Francis and St. Vincent de Paul? Perhaps not. Sadhu Sundar Singh, the most famous of Indian Christians, once described his co-religionists as "very dear, by very queer; very nice, but very narrow." And no doubt there are some of us who would think it almost blasphemous to suggest that we could have our faith revitalised by watching Vinoba at work.

"I stand on the firm rock of Christ,

All others are but slipping sand."

I remember Vinoba quoting this evangelical hymn to me and then adding, with a sly twinkle over the top of his bifocal spectacles.

"How can you Christians be so sure of it? Have you ever tried the others?"

To Vinoba there is "neither Jew, nor Greek, bond nor free" and he might add neither Christian, Moslem nor Hindu as well. To his fellow Hindus he says: "Why go to the Ganges to purify yourselves in holy water? The ocean of love is around us always. Let us bathe ourselves in that." Each religion has its own way of seeking this ocean. That the members of one faith should despise the members of another, that we should close

our ears to any new or freshly stated truth because it carries a different label—these things, to him, seem blasphemous indeed The second line of resistance to sainthood will be different. Gandhi and Vinoba, you say? The lodestar and the banyan tree? Well, we can take Gandhi. For we prefer our saints to be leafed, branched and rooted. But a lodestar—someone who has transcended personality—that sounds glacial, impossibly austere and grim.

After the Kaladi Sammelan

PEOPLE often enquire as to what is happening after the Kaladi Sammelan. Of course, one cannot hear sensational report of the movement after the Kaladi Sarvodaya Sammelan. Vinobaji has particularly warned the sevaks to be more humble, cautious and non-controversial in their talk. He has further defined the principles of Satyagraha in his own unique way. Satyagraha ought to become sweeter and more effective. It is but natural that the movement has now taken a mellowed turn with restrained and intensive activity in a rhythmic way even as the flow of the Ganges about which there are ample signs.

The movement has demonstrated its actual practicability during the last six years. It has been sufficiently argued and discussed by Vinobaji and hundreds of followers. After Bhoodan culminated in Gramdan all theoretical doubts about re-distribution of land, fragmentation of land and uneconomic holding etc. have been dissolved. There is no organisation as such since January 1957 for Bhoodan since the Bhoodan Samithis were dissolved. There is no central fund on which the movement depends now. It has naturally become the movement of the people. There is not any controversial point now. All seem to be favourably inclined towards Gramdan as the nearest possible approach to village republic. Further, Gramdan has got some aspect or other which would appeal to every political party or economic group which works for the welfare of the masses.

There was a talk of a Conference of representatives of all political parties who could agree on the greatest common points of Gramdan to make it a national issue and programme. Sri Dharendra Majumdar, the President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Sri Vallabhaswami and Sri Siddharaj Dhaddha, the joint secretaries met Pandit Nehru on 31st May, 1957 at Delhi and had personal talk on the Kaladi resolution about Gramdan. Pandit Nehru welcomed the proposal of an All Party Conference to be held some time in Mysore in the middle of September, 1957 during Vinobaji's yatra. There was also a talk with Sri Dange, the Communist leader who also agreed to attend the Conference. Thus the prospect of an all-party conference itself is a good augury.

Pandit Nehru's reference to Bhoodan—Gramdan at Mussorie Conference in the end of May and the decision of the Block Development Commissioners are another sign of the attitude with which the Government and the officials look at Gramdan.

Vinobaji, inspite of his cough or fever continues his yatra in the thundering rain in Kerala walking about ten miles a day. The people receive him and hear all his talks in the rain. It is not an easy matter to get about 40 villages as Gramdan in Kerala so far. It indicates only that Gramdan has begun to take deep roots in Kerala. The Kerala constructive workers met on the 8th June at Parli where Vinobaji's moving speech carried conviction to a large number of them. About 20 of Kerala stalwart workers including Sri Kelappan have pledged to work wholeheartedly for the Gramdan Movement.

The top-rank leaders and workers of Bihar met recently at Patna and decided to distribute about 20 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan before the 11th September next, the birthday of Vinobaji. They will shortly have a Provincial Sarvodaya Sammelan. The Herculean efforts of reconstruction work in over 2,000 villages of Koraput hilly tract are going on and visitors from all sections of the country are looking at the progress with amazement. In other Provinces the movement is now being directed towards Gramdan since the Kaladi decision. There have been several Pada Yatras all over India. One Pada Yatra which started from Kaladi has covered 432 miles headed by Sri Shankar Rao Patil. The party consists of six others. They are contacting the workers of all the political parties some of whom

have agreed to do Bhoodan work. They have received the first Gramdan in Mysore District with 47 families who own about 200 acres. The villagers themselves called the village as "Vinoba Gram".

In Tamilnad the workers in Madura district are concentrating in stabilising the 200 Gramdan villages. They are having frequent meetings and discussions to thrash out all points that arise in Gramdan. The Madras Government also has not lost time in taking a decision to advance about Rs. 20 lakhs as *Thakkavi* loans to the agriculturists in the 200 Gramdan villages of Madura district. Special officers have been appointed to disburse the loan within a month so that the agricultural operations may not be affected for want of funds.

Thus there is a wave of silent activity all through the country and a favourable climate is being slowly created for making the Gramdan an agreed programme in which all irrespective of political parties can take part. Thus it is becoming a non-violent national programme to solve not only the economic and social problems but also as an effective corrective to democracy itself.

Dr. BHARATHAN KUMARAPPA

We are shocked to hear about the death of Dr. Bharathan Kumarappa, the younger brother of Dr. J. C. Kumarappa at Delhi on the 26th June with an attack of Cerebral Haemorrhage. Who could have thought that death would snatch him away when he was at the special task of editing Gandhiji's work in 50 volumes sponsored by the Government of India? He had just recently completed the editing of all Gandhian works under several titles published by the Navajivan Trust. Sri Bharathan Kumarappa was a great authority on the Gandhian economics. We had a chance to come into close contact with him in the re-editing of the book on Khadi. Our suggestion to include Gandhiji's talks at Sevagram in 1944 which later came to be known as 'Nava Samaskaran', and which gave thoroughly a new turn to the Khadi Movement was much appreciated by him and he waited till we could complete the translation of the talks. Among the several books he has written, "Capitalism", "Socialism" and "Villagism" will rank as the most outstanding contribution to the Gandhian economic literature. May he rest in peace and may we his admirers emulate him in his devoted selfless service!

382

SARVODAYA

Vol. VII

August 1957 ⁶⁵² [No. 2]



SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE (SOUTH INDIA)

Akan

Vol. VII	SARVODAYA	No. 2
Whole	AUGUST 1957	No. 74
CONTENTS		
		PAGE
The People's Non-Violent Revolution		39
A Vow of Poverty	—Mahatma Gandhi	40
The Philosophy behind Gramdan	—Shankarrao Deo	41
The Non-Violent dynamics of Sampattidan	—Jayaprakash Narayan	42
Vinobaji in Kozhikode		43
Gleanings from Vinobaji's Speeches in Kerala		47
Some Interesting Questions		51
Gramdan as a Defensive Planning	—Acharya Vinoba	53
What Comes after Bhoodan and Gramdan	—Richard B. Gregg	55
English Interest in Vinoba	—Donald G. Groom	59
The Right to Life	—J. G. Card. Saliege	61
Extensions of Pacifism—Peace Pilgrim		62
The Second Bihar Sarvodaya Conference		66
Gramdan Conference in Maharashtra		67
Nai Talim Seminar at Sevagram		68
Bird's Eye View of Bhoodan Work		69
To Subscribers		
Sarvodaya is published on the 5th of every month unless previously announced otherwise.		
Complaints about non-receipt of any number should be received before the end of each month mentioning the number of subscriber which is given along with the address on the wrapper.		
Specimen copies will be sent on receipt of postage stamps for 30 nP.		
Ann. Sub. 3/-	●	Price 30 nP.

The People's Non-violent Revolution

The Bhoodan Yagna that was one man's movement of Vinobaji six years ago is now on the way to become every man's non-violent revolution. It is for this that the intermediary organisations of Bhoodan Samithis were dissolved and the medium of Bhoodan workers as such was disbanded from Jan. 1957. Judging from about a million donors of something as dan, in the form of land, earning, labour, intellectual service, and Gramdan itself all over the country during the last six years the means and the ideal have earned the general approbation of the people and their moral sanction. It is rightly therefore, now becoming the people's own non-violent revolution.

Though ideologically Vinobaji was stressing that land even like the other elements of air, water, etc. of nature should be free to all, collection of land-gifts for the landless was the main plank of the movement. It is a miracle of this century that the people themselves voluntarily came forward to liquidate private ownership of land in India through about 2,500 Gram-dan villages. Who can deny that it is the time and the people who have spontaneously taken the movement to a higher level? Now, not Bhoodan, but Gramdan has become the people's non-violent revolution for Gram-raj.

Unlike in revolutions of violence which are directed against others the peaceful revolution is directed to oneself in transforming one's outlook, values and way of life with a collective social objective. Therefore every one can be a revolutionary by starting doing something in a silent and unostentatious way and can bring about the fulfilment of this revolution.

1. If one has land one can surrender it in favour of the village community: For, by giving a little one stands to gain the whole village.

2. One can set apart a portion of the monthly earning till the end of one's life or for a specified period of five years to be spent by oneself for development of Gramdan villages, for helping the Lok-sevaks-Nivedaks, and for propagation of literature on Sarvodaya.

3. One can offer his manual labour for some fixed number of days in a month for the welfare of the community.

4. One can offer his time and intellectual services for the propagation of the Sarvodaya ideology through personal discussions, meetings, writings in the press, etc.

5. Even children can take part in this by offering their labour of love through a self-spun hank of yarn per month for the cause.

Let each one of us endeavour to do something or other in the construction of this bridge of everlasting concord and peace by offering our little with devotion even as the squirrels of yore served Sri Rama in the construction of the bridge across the ocean.



Vow of Poverty

MAHATMA GANDHI

The following letter of Mahatma Gandhi written in the early years of his life in South Africa throw a great light about the importance of the vow of real and complete poverty for self-realisation. It is taken from the Navajivan Publication, "MY CHILDHOOD WITH GANDHIJI" by Prabhudas Gandhi which is a valuable addition to "Gandhiji's Autobiography" and "Satyagraha in South Africa."

"Dear Chhaganlal and Maganlal,

"I feel it would be a good thing if I were not forced to take to practising law once again. That is a heart-felt desire. I wish that we should all live a life of extreme poverty in Phoenix as long as I am alive. I pray for such a life. But all indications are to the contrary. It is difficult to visualize a time when we can live a life of real and complete poverty. The help given by Dr. Mehta seems to be an obstacle. As long as he continues to help us, that blessed state of possessing nothing for tomorrow will not be ours. I consider such a state of invaluable gain because it is this state that predominantly exists in the world.

"The Buddha and others like him lived in such a state, and in future, too, people like him will live in the same state. I am convinced that one cannot attain self-realization without being in that condition. I am beginning firmly to believe that Narsinh Mehta and Sudama have given us the right teaching in this respect.

"While indulging one's senses one cannot claim to be non-attached by arguing that the senses are merely performing their natural functions. None of us has the right to call himself non-attached until he accepts real poverty. There is no basis for the view that a king is in that position because of spiritual merit. One might say that a king attains kingship through his own deeds. But such deeds cannot be equated with spiritual deeds.

"If we accept these ideas and place before ourselves the high ideal I have described, God may give us the opportunity to live such a life."



The Philosophy behind Gramdan

SHANKARRAO DEO

There is some unfair and unfounded criticism that Gramdars have been secured partly by threat of law that is to come and partly by tempting with Government's help in various ways. Shri Deo has rightly advised the workers to be more careful in the purity of means to be employed and stressing on the ultimate responsibility that should rest with the villages for their development without any intermediary or delegation of function in his talk at the conference of Bhodan workers at Poona on 12-7-57.

I am not going to speak about the details of development work. There are experts here who can do it better. But I wish to give you the philosophical background of development work in Gramdan villages. Gramraj is no more a platonic dream. Gramdan has made it practicable. We have to create a Gramraj of Gandhiji's dream. We have to build a non-violent social order of the free and equal. Means are therefore of vital importance. If in a hurry you use methods that are not strictly non-violent the experiment will be vitiated. Gramsamkalpa has to be the dynamics behind all development work. It means conscious willing by each and every one in the village. There must not be a trace of compulsion, threat or a promise of reward in the work. We must walk at the pace at which the people are willing to walk. The initiative, the thinking and effort in the work of development must come from the people. Our society is going to be a self-regulating society. There would be no bureaucracy or a body of representatives to do the work. The people must, at all stages, participate in everything that is going on. Once we accept delegation of function, delegation of power and authority is bound to follow. So the idea of forming a Sarvodaya Society in a village and entrusting the responsibility of development to such a body is obviously wrong. The lowest unit must be brought into the picture every time and encouraged to participate in all activities. I would not like even a village panchayat to be formed. All the village must participate and bear the full responsibility of everything that is being planned and executed.

(Bhodan)

The Non-violent dynamics of Sampattidan

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

There is a general misconception about Sampattidan as collection of fund in the usual sense. But it is based on the same philosophy as that of Bhoodan. If the largest section of the poor and the middle classes can come forward to shed their sense of possession and greed to willingly share a little with the society a non-violent social dynamics can be easily created which will compel the rich to change their ways. The following clear elucidatory note will dispel many doubts on Sampattidan.

SAMPATTIDAN is still looked upon as a subsidiary programme to Bhoodan. We have often talked of concentrating our attention on sampattidan but our policy has not been, I am afraid, clearly appreciated and understood by our workers. After the dissolution of our organisation and the stoppage of financial assistance there is a tendency to look on sampattidans as a legitimate source for maintaining workers. I want to warn colleagues that unless they are clear about the objective behind Sampattidan and the method of collecting it, it may become just a collection of funds.

Sampattidan is an independent and an important item of our programme. It is as important as Gramdan. Its importance is not derived from its being an easy source out of which workers can be maintained. The idea of ending private ownership in all extra wealth is as emphatic and clear in sampattidan as it is in Bhoodan. Bhoodan, Gramdan and Sampattidan have the same Sarvodaya philosophy behind them. Wealth in all forms belongs to society. No individual must appropriate it for himself. Sampattidan should be accepted only from those who accept this basic thought. We must pursue this programme as vigorously as Bhoodan or Gramdan. To think that it is a programme more for the town than the village is also a misconception. Just as we approach an owner of even a fraction of an acre of land and ask him to give something out of it to the more unfortunate brother, likewise, the poorest labourer can give something out of his earning in sampattidan. Those who have more develop greater greed.

The whole Bhoodan thought is based on the idea that if the poor and the middle class people are able to shed off their greed a climate of co-sharing will be created which will compel the rich to change their ways. Those who have no cash to give can contribute grain or yarn, or any commodity that they are capable of producing, in sampattidan. So, let us be very clear that sampattidan is not just a fund for maintaining workers. If a donor specifies how the money should be spent and if he definitely directs that it should be given as an allowance to the workers it can certainly be accepted. What part of sampattidan should be devoted to the item of rehabilitating the landless, spreading Sarvodaya literature, helping workers or any other cause should be specifically decided by the donor himself. One must never ask for sampattidan without explaining the entire Sarvodaya thought first. Sampattidan is as an important programme as Gramdan.— (Bhoodan)

Vinobaji in Kozhikode

VINOBAJI'S health has not been quite satisfactory since the last week of May. He had fever with throat trouble and passed some restless nights. When he was advised by the doctor at Palghat he persisted in walking. His daily programme and strenuous work affected his health. On 2nd July he had an attack of 'Flu' and he consented to go by car from one camp to another at the request of friends. The scheduled pada-yatra was carried on by Shri Vallabhaswami who also addressed the evening prayer meetings. It was only on 9th July that Vinobaji could speak to the teachers in a feeble voice at the Ramanattankara Seva Sadan. He reached kozhikode on the 11th July by walking half the distance. The original programme was to stay there for only two days. But with a view to give him rest the stay was extended by two days more. Still the four days' stay in Kozhikode was crowded with programmes, group meetings and interviews. Even on the two evenings when prayer meetings were addressed by Shri Vallabhaswami and Sri Damodaradas Mundada Vinobaji could not resist the urge to speak to the audience that had gathered in the rains anxious to hear him. Though he was

physically weak, his pulse sometimes below normal and completely exhausted he was very cheerful and joking. He would soar up to the heights of thought and pour out his torrents of ideas on various subjects in conversations. He was not conscious of his physical condition. He seems to feel that the spirit soars up higher when the body is weaker.

On the afternoon of the 11th July there was an all-party Conference. There was a select gathering of about 30 friends belonging to the Congress, Communist, and the Praja-Socialist parties. Vinobaji began by referring to his last three months' yatra in the lovely land of Kerala in spite of the rains. He said that though there may be different political ideologies in the country they should come together on occasions of a national crisis or conflagration. The land-hunger was one like a national crisis and all have to join in solving it. Through Bhoodan and Gramdan movement the land problem has been placed before the people by appealing to their feeling of compassion and sense of justice. What had been done in other countries through confiscation or legislation has been now achieved by the people for the first time in history coming forward for voluntarily liquidating private ownership of land. The very offer of 2,500 villages as Gramdan should have stirred up all thinking men to awake and act. He was surprised why the voluntary surrender of village after village has not been still recognised while violent seizure of land anywhere would have stirred up the whole country. The achievement of Bhoodan and Gramdan is insignificant viewed in terms of acreage of land. But it has brought a thorough change in the outlook of the people in a simple and non-spectacular way without any furor.

Vinobaji appealed to them to be stir themselves and participate in the movement. He made a straight appeal to their heart by saying "If the movement fails it will be a matter for everyone in the State. You will lose face. I would have the satisfaction that individually a few of us have done our best. Success or defeat can neither add nor take away my inner joy". He almost threw a challenge to them in ringing words of majestic pathos. "It is your test, not mine. History has given a great opportunity to you. Kerala is reputed to be an advanced State. The percentage of literacy is highest here in the whole of India. People of Kerala have had relations with the distant countries from the very

ancient times. A Communist party Ministry has come to power here for the first time through the ballot. They are anxious to end private ownership in land. Pandit Nehru has welcomed Gramdan. The erstwhile P. S. P. Leader Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has dedicated himself entirely to this movement. Bhoodan has been acclaimed by some because of its Indian cultural fragrance. And yet, only an old man like myself is going about with a handful of friends propagating the cause. History will record that people were mere passive spectators and did nothing for the furtherance of the cause. This will certainly not rebound to your credit"!

This appeal must have gone home to the heart of the friends of all parties who later decided to have a joint seminar for 3 days at Mudadi, the constructive work centre of Sri Kelappan when a joint programme of action can be formulated. This is perhaps the first meeting of this kind and the first joint Seminar to be held in the history of the movement. Though miniature in size, this meeting has served as a prelude to the larger all-party conference which is to meet on the 21st and 22nd September at Mysore.

The evening prayer meeting was held inside the hall owing to heavy rains. Vinobaji appealed to those sitting inside to stand so that they can make room for others standing outside in rain. Still hundreds were in the road hearing the speech with the umbrellas. He made a moving appeal to the urban people to become the Sevaks of servants of the villagers who are the Bhaktas of God serving on the land for the welfare of all.

On the morning of the 12th July eminent writers, poets and journalists in Malayalam language met to hear Vinobaji. Vinobaji's talk was a literary feast to them of a high order. He began by quoting from Panini meaning "one word, properly understood and rightly used opens the portals of heaven for the writer". He devoted his whole speech to bring out the inherent power and vitality and sanctity of each word in the Sanskrit classic. He quoted several words to prove how each reveals a history of its own as though speaking to us directly.

In the afternoon there was a meeting of the leading members of the commercial community of Kozhikode convened by the efforts of Sri Shyamjee Soonderdas. Previously for about a week Shri Shyamjee, Shri Mahesh Kothari and Srimathi Kanthi Behn and others were approaching the leading merchants for sampattidan. Some of the businessmen had signed the danapatras. Unlike the

formal announcement of the number of patras and the amount promised, the donors themselves came one after another and gave the danapatra to Vinobaji receiving his blessings.

Vinobaji, impressed by the solemnity of the function spoke at length on the personal and spiritual significance of Sampattidan. He said that man has three kinds of Dharma. Through first he serves his family. But not contented with it he extends it to his caste and community. He goes further and serves in the National sphere through politics and the State. In this age of vast scientific advancement man has to go beyond the frontiers of his country to embrace the whole of humanity and the world as his field of service. Just as his service in the home was merged in the service of society and the nation, his service through the State also should be merged in the *Loka Neethi* or the law that governs the general welfare of humanity, above politics and the state.

Man may contribute much to welfare work through the State by way of taxes. But any amount of indirect service of this kind does not purify the individual's heart, ennoble his thoughts and enlarge his vision for achieving the very purpose of birth (*Purushartha*). It is only by voluntary service of individuals impelled by compassion that would fulfil the spiritual destiny of man. Therefore all welfare work should be the major function of the individuals in the society and it should become a secondary function of the State. A time should come when all welfare work would be done voluntarily by the society through compassion with no need for the State. It is our aim to create a condition which would reduce the responsibility and function of the State to a point when ultimately the State would become superfluous. Herein lies the basic philosophy of the Sampattidan movement, he said Sampattidan donors will themselves be the bankers of their offers and will spend the amount according to the advice of the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal.

On 13th July there was a conference of students. He advised them to rise above the limitations of language, province, nation and to become representatives of humanity and never surrender their freedom of thinking to any particular political party. Later he talked to a small group of Harijan workers and said that there was no justification in free India for service in the name of any particular community, as all service must be only in the name of mankind to those who are in the lowest rung of the ladder without any label of community.



Gleanings from Vinobaji's Speeches in Kerala

Vinobaji has been dealing with a variety of subjects in his Kerala Yatra. We are giving below the gist of some of his speeches on subjects of topical importance.

Constitutional Communism in Kerala

KERALA has now attracted the entire world's attention. From my personal contact with her people during the last three months' Bhoodan tour in Kerala, I can say that her people are good-hearted and intelligent. They have a wide international outlook and are quick to grasp the changing events of the world and her problems. Kerala people were in contact with the people of other nations of the world even during the days of the Roman Empire.

The all important problem of the day is 'World Peace'. Nations that believed in violence and armaments for 'peace' have now begun to think of the way of escape from blood and destruction. This is a great thing.

The door for the way of further advance is now open. Kerala should strive to guide and lead. She has now evolved *Constitutional Communism*—a wonder not only to India, but to the whole world. Communist representatives chosen by the free will of her people in mass election are now running the administration of the Kerala State. Such an event is unknown in the history of Communism in the world. Such a change over in other Communist countries could be effected only through violence and bloodshed.

History shows that India has been absorbing every new ideal coming to her shores from outside countries and developing it in her own way. With her spiritual background she indianises every *ism* in her own cultural way. Socialism of the West did undergo a change here in India. Indian socialism is based on the creed of Gandhiji's non-violence.

It is but natural that good men's hearts are moved at the sight of suffering. Violence creeps in when they feel impatient and try to bring relief in all hurry. While I was in Hyderabad, the Communist friends also chanted 'Ramdhun' along with other

people. When I asked them if they have faith in chanting 'Ramdhua' they said that it was not their faith in 'Ram', but their faith in the people that made them chant along with them.

Communists in India, I hope, will begin to have faith in mental transformation. It is unavoidable. Or else how could communists in Kerala take a liking for constitutional methods? Constitution is only a man-made one, it is not a *Bhrama Vidya*. It can be changed as the time demands. To give a spiritual essence to every new ideal and its method of realization is inherent in the nature of India and her culture. I hope this Constitutional Communism will evolve into a "non-violent Communism." I wish the land problem in Kerala will be solved in the non-violent way. (From a speech at Koduvalli, North Malabar, Kerala)

**

**

**

THE DHARMA OF TEACHERS

It is the teachers who build the strong foundation of a powerful nation. A teacher has been described as the "path-finder" in our ancient scriptures. In the "Rig Veda" we find the students when approaching a teacher addressing him, "Oh, ye of wondrous wisdom and immense strength, teach us, teach us how to dispel ignorance, hunger and suffering". The function of a real teacher is to impart wisdom, to instil the creative faculties and give strength to solve the difficult problems that confront the students in their life in the world at large. The teacher is the real guide and it is he who moulds the character of the citizens of any nation.

Such ideals of teachers are rare to find amongst us in these days. The education is now under the control of the State-authority. The ruling party in power of the state brings its own pet schemes which are forced on the teacher and the taught in a regimented way. The teachers are simply employees and the teaching profession has become one of wage-earning. They are not free men to express their opinions with courage and conviction. There is not the grit in them to say straight that a specific plan, scheme, or system is bad and should not be imposed with compulsion. Neither have they the discrimination to say what is good for the students, the citizens of to-morrow. They even lack the sense to appreciate the good points of a scheme irrespective of the

party that brings it. The students have understood this weakness in their teachers and nowadays no student approached his teacher with the prayer as quoted above from "Rig Veda"!

This sorry state of affairs should change. The teacher should function as a free man of courage and strength. He should never act as a tool of the State-power. He must condemn what is bad and proclaim what is good in the field of education. He must have the creative talent in him which should inspire in the students their creative strength. His love of service to all around should shape the students as real *sevak*s of the people. He should stand above party and politics. He should inspire in the students the power of free thinking. (A summary of the post-prayer address to the Basic Education workers at "Seva Mandir" Ramanakara, near Calicut on 9-7-57.)

**

**

**

THE DUTY OF THE PRESS IN FREE INDIA

In these days the Press and newspaper editors have a great responsibility. The Press is an almighty force in the country. The military force has its strength. The Government has its power and authority. Similarly literature and newspapers have their great influence on the people. The power of the Press can be used for good as well as for evil. Newspapers should show the courage to stick to Truth and Truth alone. But when speaking truth they should exhibit gentleness and sweetness, compassion, love and Truth, all these things should go together and then only the Press can do good to the people.

Nowadays the Press gives more publicity to political matters. Of course, in subject nations the Press should give more space to political affairs. In slave countries there is no 'Dharma'. The first Dharma of a slave nation is to fight for its independence. Once Tilak asked as to what portfolio he would like to handle when he would become a minister in Free India. His reply was that he would never accept ministership and would be simply a teacher to teach Vedas and mathematics. In fact he desired to spend more of his time in studies but he spent the whole of his life-time in political activities, because he felt that it was his first Dharma and he realised that unless the country became free, social regeneration was impossible. So also in the case of Gandhiji. But

Gandhiji combined social activities with his political work. And what is the last charter Gandhiji gave to the Congress Organisation? He wanted the Congress to convert itself entirely into an association of Luka-Sevaks. Why did he suggest this? It was because congress was the biggest and the most powerful organisation in the country and so it should take up the social work for the welfare of all in the country. This means that social service organisation should be the biggest and it should hold the foremost place. Political affairs should be given only the next place.....

The newspapers nowadays give more space to political activities. They give two or three columns to even unimportant speeches of even an ordinary Minister of the Government. Suppose Ike and another meet and discuss. Immediately the news is published in bold types. These do not sometimes even give the subject on which they had discussions. Yet that has become a big item of important news! This is the case not only in India but in almost in all countries of the world. This is a sorry state of affairs. The Press should give wide publicity to social activities so that the people may know about them. (From a speech at Mathru-Bhumi Press, Kozhikode on 14-7-57.)



Vinobaji addressing an All-party meeting of workers at Kozhikode on 11-7-57.

SOME INTERESTING QUESTIONS

[Vinobaji's Answers to some Questions put by some at Arangottukara near Shoranur (Kerala).]

Q: Do you feel any special joy in leading such a simple life? Have you any idea to change when your purpose is achieved?

Vinoba: To man simplicity is a virtue and an asset. It gives him time to think and meditate for which a man after pleasure and luxury hardly finds time. Imagine the case of one or two sole occupants of a big mansion full of furnitures and fittings. They have to devote all their time to keep them neat and tidy. A man with a single room, using it for his study, cooking, eating, sleeping etc., finds ample time to study and meditate.

In these days man is always in a hurry and that what for? He is always after earning and hoarding thinking that it will bring him comfort for ever. He listens to the radio-music in his house all through the night to find peace. To the sweet music within himself he never turns his ear. Our very breathing itself is a fine Veena but its music is audible only to those who find time to meditate.

Simple life is the highest. Bhoodan work is for me a "Sadhana" for spiritual realization.

Our country is poor and has not enough to eat even. Production has to be increased but there should be a limit to it. But it should not aim to be as rich as America. Americans, inspite of their luxury and abundance are not happy. There is no peace and contentment. There suicides are on the increase. Where there is competition, love cannot exist. There will be neither chance or time to love or to be loved.

* * * * *

Q: What is the place of silence in character-building?

Vinoba: God has blessed man with a pair of hands and the power of articulate speech. The monkeys, of course, have got two hands, but they are used only to snatch away things and not to serve others. There are also men who misuse these hands to beat, to inflict injuries and to exploit others but they are no better than beasts. These two hands are given to men to give and to serve.

With his hands man nurses the sick, tenders his parents and saves the drowning man, is compassionate as he cannot bear to see the suffering of others.

This power of articulate speech in man is a blessing. Words are the means to show one's love, to impart his knowledge to others, and to pray to God. But they are often used to wound others, to decry things and provoke others for a quarrel. It is words that inflict the deepest wounds in man's mind. If man makes up his mind to use words for good only, he will grow in strength day by day. He who talks too much runs the risk of his words wounding others' feelings, for everyone of his words is not a product of his thought. He who restricts his speech, finds more time to think and his words will have more weight and value. Silence gives man more time to think and contemplate.

BERTRAND RUSSEL'S HOPE

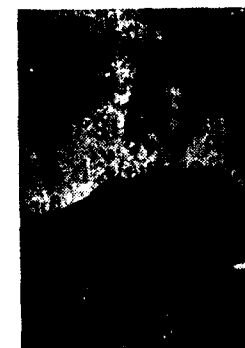
In view of the hazards involved, every large-scale nuclear explosion is a crime against humanity. It is nonsense to pretend that national safety can be secured by nuclear weapons.

The pursuit of safety through armaments is now, more than ever before, the pursuit of an illusion. But, in any case, the pursuit of safety by such abominable means is a crime as well as a folly and I profoundly hope that the public opinion of mankind may induce some measure of sanity in the Governments of the world.

"Peace News"

Gramdan as a Defensive Planning

ACHARYA VINOBA



This is an important address at the workers training camp at Kaladi. Vinobaji presented the strongest case for Gramdan. Vinobaji pleaded for Gramdan as the best way of planning for the villages in India in the event of war as an defensive measure. He argued that Gramdan would afford as the best basis even for the fulfilment of the Government's Five Year Plan. After the development of suitable atmosphere through intensive propaganda by the workers, Vinobaji would anticipate a condition when the Government itself may enforce Gramdan through law.

TODAY I would mainly confine myself to things which I consider necessary for our workers. The idea of *Sabai Bhoomi Gopal Ki* (or all land belongs to Gopal, i. e., the people of the village) should be expressed in such a manner as not to frighten anybody. In imbibing this idea we have to understand that this idea is not frightful but is actually one which removes all frights, just as *Satyagraha* is not frightful but actually removes all frights. These days, however, the mere mention of *Satyagraha* seems to frighten people. I do not want to go into its reasons but it is undoubtedly necessary to correct this idea. Mention of compassion does not create fear in anybody's heart, mention of love and affection does not frighten anybody, even the use of the word fearlessness does not frighten anybody, the mention of truth also frightens none but the very mention of *Satyagraha* creates some fear. Then does it mean that *Satyagraha* is something contradictory to concepts of truth, love, compassion, etc., which have always given life to this world? Or is it a different type of thing which creates fear in the heart? The fear nevertheless is created. Therefore, I say that we have to correct our idea of

Satyagraha. Only then it will become powerful, otherwise it will lose its power.

THE URGENCY FOR VILLAGE PLANNING

Similarly, if the idea of Gramdan creates fear then it implies that we have wrongly understood it and wrongly explained it. Today, on account of a variety of reasons, India needs Gramdan, and cottage-industry-based reconstruction on the basis of Gramdan. Among these reasons the most important is the one caused by the circumstances, and circumstantial reasons are important. Prayer is our daily work and duty; but if while we are praying, a fire begins to rage then it is our duty to keep to our heart our prayer attitude and rush with a bucket of water to put down fire. You cannot pray while fire is raging. This we have to do because a circumstantial reason has presented itself which is more powerful than the daily *Dharma*. And so powerful circumstantial necessity for a village planning based on Gramdan and a cottage-industry-based planning has presented itself because of the highly unstable world situation in which nobody can say when a world war might start. This is not just an imaginary fear. This fear is very real in the picture of the world which is before us today. We have all to think of it and we must have a method of dealing with it.

IF WAR BEGINS?

If war begins, our entire Five-Year Plan will collapse and will become impossible. Therefore, those who are in-charge of national planning bear the responsibility of planning in such a manner that if world war begins, our planning should not collapse, but rather become stronger. If, however, we have planned on the basis that there is no possibility of war and that peace will remain in the world, then it will have to be said that in our planning we have not kept the world condition before our minds and that our planning has been blind. It is obvious that we cannot do national planning by closing our eyes. That planning must have some sections which should remain firm under all conditions and those sections must be important ones. My study of the Five-Year Plan does not convince me that we are planning with this perspective in view. I might be slightly unfair when

(Continued on page 63)

What comes after Bhoodan and Gramdan?

RICHARD B. GREGG.

Mr. Richard B. Gregg was a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi and is the author of several books enriching Gandhian literature, his latest book being "The Compass for Civilization". He is now in Gandhigram (Madura District) and has been closely studying the Gramdan Movement. We are grateful to him for this special contribution on the subject for Sarvodaya. This is specially useful for the planned reconstruction of Gramdan villages.

WHOLLY aside from the immense moral and political values and results of Bhoodan and Gramdan, those two movements are fully justified because of their results in terms of the effective use of energy. The source of all physical energy on the earth is the present and past radiation of energy from the sun. Solar energy warms the earth, enables the plants and trees to grow, evaporates water from the oceans, moves the winds which bring the clouds and rain, supplies water for the rivers. The plants on land and in the sea support all the insects, fishes, animals and man himself. Coal and petroleum oils are the products of plants that grew ages ago. They are stored up solar energy. All this energy makes possible all the activities of man, and hence is the source of all wealth.

Since the sunshine falls on the land, the soil is the means by which mankind can use the current flow of solar energy. If that use is hampered, wealth is lost. Two ways by which that use is hampered are (1) by ownership of agricultural land by landlords primarily interested in money income from it, and (2) by subdivision of the land into such small lots and so scattered apart that the cultivators cannot work effectively with their ploughs and lose much time going from lot to lot.

The way that landlord ownership hampers the effective use of the land is this. If a lease of agricultural land lasts for only one or two years and no just allowance is made to the peasant tenant for any improvement he makes in the soil or equipment, the tenant cannot afford and will not make any such improvements. They would all be taken away from him at the end of his lease.

JL
YZ m2 11, N 52 SV NS 7.7.1-6

He will not enrich the soil adequately with compost, even if he had the means of making it. He will not rotate the crops so as to enrich the soil, for a proper rotation takes at least four years. He will not plant any rapid growing trees for firewood so as to release cow dung for use on the soil. He will only treat the soil so as to get the utmost money out of it in one year, to meet the exactions of the landlord. And if this continues generation after generation, the peasants lose their former knowledge and skill for treating the soil wisely. The soil gets poorer and poorer year after year. Now the soil of India produces on the average less wheat per acre than that of almost any other country in the world where wheat is grown. The yield of most Indian crops is very poor.

But if the peasant owns his land and can avoid mortgaging or selling it, he can and will invest all his skill, knowledge, time and energy on it. Then he can work and know that both he and his children and grandchildren will benefit by his toil. Then he will have time to study the soil in each of his fields and see how it behaves and responds to different crops, in different kinds of monsoons. Peasant ownership does not guarantee high production per acre, but experience from all over the world proves that peasant ownership of the land is an essential precondition of the best quantity and quality of crops per acre. This is the prevailing condition of the countries of Europe, like Holland, Denmark and West Germany where the highest crop production is obtained.

The second kind of hampering of the use of land,—breaking the land into too small and too scattered fragments,—is a very complicated and difficult condition to correct. Probably Gramdan is the best solution for it. In Gramdan the entire village owns all the land surrounding it and can distribute it for working most efficiently among the different farmers of the village. Gramdan also corrects the harmful results of landlordism.

But suppose Bhoodan and Gramdan have been accomplished. Those are great steps forward. But to actually succeed in persuading the soil to produce more and better crops something further is needed. In order that the peasants may profit morally by these steps and gain the most possible self-respect, self-confidence, self-reliance, initiative, hope and freedom, all these steps should be taken by the peasants themselves. And the means

they use must be familiar, within their mental and economic resources, in a word, *swadeshi*. We can help them, but the actual work they must do themselves. Then the results will be truly great and lasting, will be not only physical and economic but also moral.

What should be the next step? I believe it should be to enrich the soil itself with what is now going to waste, with what is now lying idle but can be turned into wealth by people who are largely also idle. The Indian soil is terribly impoverished. What it needs is a great increase of thoroughly rotted organic matter.

We are apt to think that rotting is a process of degeneration, some-dirty and to be avoided. But really it is wise Nature's way of promoting the growth of soil bacteria, soil fungi and other beneficial micro-organisms. These tiny organisms, so small that they can be seen only under a powerful microscope, when put into the soil enrich it greatly. Some kinds of these organisms take nitrogen from the air and make it into organic nitrogenous salts which feed the plants. Other kinds dissolve minerals from the sand and rocks in the soil and make these mineralized solutions available to the plants which need them. Such organic compounds are thus created at just the right speed and quantity for the plants to use them in their growth. These solutions do not get washed out of the soil by rains in the way that raw chemical fertilizers do. This organic matter attracts and feeds the earth-worms who also enrich the soil.

The compost can be made in heaps in the rainy season and in pits in the dry season. If made in heaps in the dry season the hot winds would dry it out and then the rotting would not take place. If made in pits in the rains, so much water would accumulate in the pits as to drown out the bacteria. They must be damp but not wet, and must always have air circulation in order to live and grow. If at any particular season the peasants are too busy to make compost, there are other people in the village who are then idle and who could be taught to make it and earn some money for themselves thereby.

The compost materials should be built up in thin layers using weeds, straw, garbage, topsoil, dung, urine, and even human night soil, always putting some topsoil in every layer. The top

soil has in it the kind of bacteria we want to multiply. In the making, the waste vegetation should always be dampened as it is put on, and the whole heap or pit should be wetted from time to time. For the micro-organisms to grow they require both air and moisture but not too much, of either. The piles should be not more than six feet wide at the base and slope up to the top not over four feet high. If made in pits, the pits should be not over four feet wide and three feet deep, but the pits and piles may be as long as the amount of material permits. Cover the pits on top and sides with a one inch layer of soil, and the same for the top of the pits. If the pits and piles are kept properly moist they should make nice, well-rotted compost in three or four months. If they are properly made they should not generate flies or smell badly. Also if properly made the process of fermentation within the pile will generate enough heat to kill all weed seeds. In some instances it may become necessary after six weeks to pull apart the pile and turn the materials and re-pile them so that what was at first outside becomes the inside and vice versa.

In putting compost on the soil, it should be ploughed under immediately. This is because the hot intense tropical sunshine will kill most of the micro-organisms and thus spoil most of the value of the compost. Do not spread any more compost on the soil at one time than can be ploughed under within half an hour, if it is at the beginning of a sunny day. If the day is cloudy the length of time of exposure could be longer, especially toward the end of the day.

After four years of applying such nourishment to all the soil of a field at least once a year the structure and colour and fertility of that soil will have improved immensely. Even after one year the crops from it will be better. But it takes about four years to make the soil thoroughly healthy.

For a peasant, a well-made compost heap or pitful is better than money in the bank. If in all the Indian villages that have adopted Bhoodan or Gramdan the art and science of compost making can be put into active and persistent practise, the results will be so spectacular that Bhoodan and Gramdan will be embraced all over the country. I hope the followers of Vinobaji will become this kind of artists and scientists.

English Interest in Vinoba

DONALD G. GROOM

Our readers are familiar with Mr. Donald Groom, a well known Quaker who has almost identified himself with India. He is now in England explaining the message to the English audiences. We are glad to know that he will be returning to India in October deputed by the Friends Service Council to work solely for the Bhoodan Movement in India.

I am writing this mainly for those readers in India who might like to know what I have been doing since I returned to England in April, and I must first of all express my debt of gratitude to India for the past years experience working with the Bhoodan Movement and for the warm welcome I received from Vinobaji and his colleagues. This experience sent me back to England with a real sense of mission to let as many people as possible know something of Vinoba and his movement. Many opportunities for speaking to groups came my way and I have so far spoken about 40 times, and everywhere I have found very keen interest in it, often amazement at the movement. The Friend's Service Council have decided to send me back in October to be at the service of Vinoba for another two years or so. Such is the feeling of the unity of Friends with the movement.

It was largely through Hallam Tennyson who wrote the book "Saint on the March" and who founded the 'Bhoodan Well Fund' in England, that I made quick contact with groups in different parts of the country. I met many groups of people—even groups of children—who had worked hard to collect money so that wells could be dug on Bhoodan land in India. All were keen to know what I could tell them about the Indian village, what wells looked like and how it was that Vinoba started and carried on the movement which had so much interested them. Still, groups are working hard so that they can collect £ 100 for a well and make a friendly contact with the village where it will be dug.

There was another group of people I met from time to time. It is called the movement for "War on Want", and they were very interested to know about India and the Bhoodan Movement. One

person in his old age was making dolls to sell for the movement for war on want.

The Adult School Movement has included in its programme of study for the current year "Vinoba Bhava-a Creative Rebel". Through this movement small groups all over the country are making serious study of Vinoba-his life and principles. I have been called by several groups to help with this study, and every time I have felt that all present felt that they had much to learn. Many were thrilled to discover that in Vinoba there was some one who was speaking to the age's deepest need.

Many of the groups I have met were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) of which I am a member. Friends for three hundred years have accepted the way of Truth and Non-Violence and silent waiting upon God has been the basis of its worship and business meetings. Friends, too, never have voting in their meetings but wait until there is unanimity. Thus, my description of the movement in India and the views and ways of Vinoba thrills my audiences. There is a deep feeling of unity with Vinoba and his movement.

My talks have often given rise to the question how does this all apply to us in the West? Some see very readily that there is a challenge to the individual in his or her attitude towards possessions. Many see how appropriate the message is to a people who seem to be ever acquiring more and more, when so many in the world have next to nothing. True, my impression of England is that few people are satisfied with what they have, they want more and more, and I wonder—after the car and television what?!

There are many who see that Vinoba is saying something very important about the relationship between war and the hold of centralised Government on the lives of people. But it is difficult for most of us to see what step we can take in the West to rectify our serious situation. There has to be more light shown on this question.

As I write I am attending, along with representatives of 22 countries, the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International. This organisation was founded in 1921 and its members are expected to accept the following pledge: "war is a crime against humanity. We are therefore determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war."

There are 29 branches of the International in different countries in the world, the newest sections being in Ghana and Indonesia. War resistance in the modern world is the general title of the talks and discussions. One session was allocated to me to speak on the 'non-violent social revolution in India.' Already I have discovered that people in many countries know a lot about Vinoba and follow his movement carefully. The next Triennial Conference in 1960 is due to be held in India—this may be a significant gathering for India and for the world.

The Right to Life

J. G. CARD. SALIEGE

The child is killed in the breast of its mother.

The child has a right to life.

God alone is the Master of Life.

They kill the man they dislike.

They kill the man who holds different opinions.

They kill by making people die of hunger.

They kill by making people die of cold.

They kill because they are stronger; they kill because they are more crafty.

They kill by denunciation; they kill by slander.

They kill by casting into the street, by radio, by the press, by words of hate.

In a world in which the natural law is everywhere violated, human life has no value, and the dignity of the human soul is denied.

God alone is the Master of Life.

Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not seek revenge. Thou shalt not cover the death of thy neighbour.

There are many who say in the presence of some injustice or outrage: it is normal.

No, no assassination is normal. No injustice is normal. No infringement of the natural law is normal.

The commandment of the Lord remains: thou shalt not kill.

All terrorists are inhuman and are condemned by Christian morality.

The human person has a right to life....

....Brethren, do not do to another that which you would not have done to yourselves. At least that.

Do not say : it is normal, when misfortune has not touched you, but has come to your neighbour.

Violence destroys ; hatred kills.

Both are opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. Both are incapable of building peace.

I say to you again : Love one another.

That is the Lord's command.

If you do not love another, who then will love you ?

It is my most fervent wish, it is the object of my constant prayer, that you should love one another.

(from : *Who shall bear the flame ?*)

(Sent by : P. Champa, Kurseong)

Extensions of Pacifism

PEACE PILGRIM, Cologne, New Jersey, U.S.A.

I have extended my pacifism to include God's creatures as well as God's children. Therefore I refrain from eating meat, fowl and fish, and from using products made with this extension of pacifism I feel an at-oneness not only with all human beings but also with all of God's other creations and with God.

I have extended my pacifism to include non-payment for war as well as non-participation in war. Therefore I live below income-tax level, and avoid all other direct federal taxes by living without luxury items, amusements, etc. Since making this extension of pacifism I have been living in harmony with my conscience and experiencing the great freedom of simplicity.

I have extended my pacifism to include psychological violence as well as physical violence. Therefore I do not criticise, judge or harbour any negative feeling toward my brothers and sisters, knowing that those who are spiritually ill enough to do not-good things are in need of transforming love and prayer. Since making this extension of pacifism I have been able to talk about the way of love and peace to people from all walks of life and through the medium of all the news services.

(" Peace News " April 18, 1957.)

(Continued from page 54)

I say this, but I feel so on the basis of the Plan that is before us. The Plan takes for granted that peace will reign in the world. I do not think that in the conditions of to-day we can plan for the whole nation on this assumption. This is unscientific planning. My object is not to criticise planning. I merely want to add that everyone must bear in mind that to-day Gramdan and planning on the basis of the village should be regarded as a defensive measure.

GRAMDAN AS A DEFENSIVE

I would like to explain why to-day I am so insistent upon Gramdan. I have no hesitation in accepting that Gramdan is a permanent concept and it will develop gradually. I will even concede that the few hundreds of Gramdans we have received thus far should be consolidated and results achieved and then we should go in for more Gramdans. Thus I could have adopted a go-slow-policy, for this is a basic concept and if a basic concept spreads gradually there is no harm. But you will see that now I am a bit insistent on this idea of Gramdan. The reason why I am so restless is that if we fulfil this task quickly we save ourselves from all dangers. But if we are not quick enough we will not be able to do anything. Even that does not worry me as the idea that our failure will have a bad effect on the nation's planning, though that planning might be somehow defective. If planning fails the prestige of the Government will go down. We should not think in the spirit that this does not matter at all for us, for that will lead to a fall in the prestige of the country and in our prestige as well. I am not worried about the idea that if Gramdans do not come quick enough the Bhoodan Movement will not be able to keep its tempo and land re-distribution will be considerably delayed. I even say that we should not worry if the speed of Gramdan increases. If Gramdans increase, to that extent our burdens will be lightened. When I say all this I have in the background of my mind the prospect of a dangerous war. I do not want to frighten anybody nor would I be frightened myself. On the contrary, if a war starts we have to show greater patience, perseverance and caution, and what I say is actuated by all these ideas.

GRAMDAN & COTTAGE—INDUSTRY

From the point of view of Gandhian planning, it is necessary to emphasize Gramdan and also cottage-industry-based planning in order to save our national planning and to save our country, in order that the effect of war on the nation may be less dangerous, in order that our villages may be safe, and to a certain extent the cities also. I would emphasize that every village must have in its stocks at least two years' food supply. Otherwise, if the village folks have to go out for purchasing grain, they will die in times of war. And a village will be able to store two years' grain-supply when all of them will plan together; and such an overall village planning will be possible only when there would be Gramdan. Till such time as conditions in the village continue as today—in other words if private ownership of land continues and some people own land and others remain landless—the entire village will not develop a unified spirit. And till such time as a village does not have a united spirit there can be no village planning. Without overall village planning no village can be self-sufficient, and without Gramdan no village can have overall village planning. Therefore, Gramdans are essential. I am emphasizing this aspect as a defensive measure. Gramdan to-day is absolutely essential for the progress of our villages and for our defence.

GRAMDAN LAW MAY FOLLOW POPULAR AWAKENING

And so Government planning must be on the basis of Gramdan. I will even go to the extent of saying that if in the achievement of this a little coercion may be necessary, there is no harm. When a person of non-violent ideology talks in this manner, it might be considered very dangerous. But we must remember that when one is faced with the problem of his country's defence, a little amount of coercion is bound to come in. The Government rules and the people have to accept it. Supposing the Government orders mobilisation, though some conscientious objectors may be left behind, others will have in any case to come. In other words, in a time of danger we submit our lives to the care of the Government. When the question of defence comes in, coercion is bound to come. It is not such a type of coercion as to encourage people to resist it. Once the people come to believe that the Government is anxious for Gramdan,

because without it the defence of the country would not be possible and then if governmental coercion is applied for it, I would be fully prepared to accept it.

I do not know whether I have been able to place my point of view before you in the correct perspective. If from what I have said you come to the conclusion that this man has now accepted legal coercion or a type of violent pressure, then I must say that you have not followed me. Either I have not been able to explain myself to you or you have not understood me. But I do not think that I can be more explicit. I am very clear in my mind. If the whole nation has to be saved from large-scale violence, then legal coercion is bound to be there. If after that atmosphere has been created in favour of Gramdan, the Government passes a law that every village should be given in Gramdan, it does mean a certain amount of pressure. But I am now in favour of accepting such a pressure because today I consider it essential as a defence measure. I do not want you to go and preach among the people that the Government should force Gramdans through pressure. I am not going to preach that way. But I do mean to tell people that you must give Gramdan—you must plan in your village and you must decide to stand on your legs so that you may also save the Government. Thus both can save each other. (A speech at a workers' Training Camp at Kaladi on 12-5-57)



Vinobaji with a characteristic Kerala umbrella

BHOODAN

Bhoodan Weekly
Annual Subs. Rs. 6/-

Address :

BHOODAN
361, Sadashivpet,
POONA-2

The Second Bihar Sarvodaya Conference

IMMEDIATELY following the Kaladi Sarvodaya Sammelan the second Bihar Sarvodaya Conference was held at Pusa Road (Darbhanga) for three days from 28th to 30th June '57. Nearly, 1,300 Sarvodaya workers in various fields and the well-known leaders of Bihar attended the conference. Shri Baidyanath Prasad Chowdhry presided. The discussions and decisions centered mainly round Gramdan, decentralisation of khadi work and re-orientation of Nai Talim.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan spoke on the theoretical, economic and social aspects of Gramdan and examined it from the point of view of land-reform, co-operative farming, economic planning and socialism. He said that Gramdan is the only solution of India's land problem in the context of democracy. The alternative to Gramdan will be collectivisation through totalitarian methods possible only under a dictatorship. Millions of farmers had to be jailed or killed in Russia for the sake of collectivisation. Still Russia could not abolish private ownership of land completely. No political party can abolish private ownership by legislation in a country like India and he cited the case of the Communist Government in Kerala which cannot think of it. Even co-operative planning visualised by the Government would not succeed under the present system of private ownership. The real co-operation among the people could be possible only with their surrender of private title over land in favour of the village community. Even collective farming sponsored in some places cannot be imposed on the people. It would be welcome only if it is possible without creating the managerial class in the village. He pleaded for Gramdan even as the best defensive measure in war condition when the Five Year Plan cannot be implemented. But villagisation and a broad based village plan can go on uninterrupted even under the strain of a war.

Shri Jayaprakash said that Indian socialism cannot be a proto-type of the Western socialism but ours would be an agrarian socialism based on voluntary surrender of land ownership by seventy per cent of the people. Even from political point of view no party can afford to antagonise the 70% of the people by attempting to deprive them of their land through legislation. Gramdan is the only logical basis of *Indian agrarian socialism*.
(condensed from the report by Sachchidanand)

Gramdan Conference in Maharashtra

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the slow progress of Gramdan in Madura district in Tamilnad in last December there was a windfall of Gramdans in the far off Maharashtra which cannot claim to have made remarkable progress in Bhoodan. This seems to be the peculiar power of spiritual forces acting on remote regions perhaps more effectively than on immediate vicinity. Now Maharashtra has taken the second rank among the states that have received the largest number of Gramdans. Now the immediate problem is the stabilisation of these villages, arrangements for credit facilities for the agricultural season and the long-range reconstruction work. Shri Govindrao Deshpande, the pioneer worker in Gramdan work had been contacting all the leading men and institutions and the ministry with regard to immediate work in the Gramdan villages. There was a conference of leading workers of Maharashtra in Poona on the 12th and 13th July. Shri Shankarrao Deo, Dr. D. R. Gadgil, Acharya Bhise, Shri T. S. Bharade, Minister for co-operation of Bombay State, Prof. Dantwala of University School of Economics, Bombay, Shri Lele of Khadi Commission and many others spoke from varied angles. Shri Balubhai Mehta, Sri Govindrao Shinde, Baba Redikar, Bhai Dhavan, Sri Madhavarao Deshpande who have been in this work gave an account of the Gramdan villages and their conditions and needs.

The conference went on for two days. At the end Shri Govindrao Deshpande summed up the discussions and presented the immediate and long-range problems facing them. The immediate work is to create a recognised body for each village which can be in charge of land, its distribution, cultivation and to organise multi-purpose co-operative societies. In the meanwhile some legally recognised association like the Maharashtra Seva Sangh has to approach the Government for arranging for credit facilities for agricultural operations. A Development committee for Gramdan villages consisting of Shri Balubhai Mehta, Acharya Bhise, Shri Bhau Dharmadhikari, Smt. Kamalabhai Joshi, Shri Narayana Desai, and Shri Govindrao Deshpande was formed and a plan of action for intensive propaganda was decided.

In this connection we would like to state that the Bombay Government can very easily advance short term *Taccavi* Loans to all the agriculturists in these Gramdan villages even under the

existing legal provision, on the security of crops, as it is done by the Madras Government in Gramdan villages of Madura district. It need not wait for the formation of the Gramdan Sarvodaya Mandal or multi-purpose co-operative societies.

Nai Talim Seminar at Sevagram

FOLLOWING the resolution to reorientate Nai Talim in the context of Gramdan the Hindustani Talimi Sangh held a seminar in Sevagram for four days from 5th to 8th July, 1957. Sri Kaka Kalelkar presided. About a 100 workers from all over India attended. Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, Acharya Dharmadhikari, Jaya Prakash Babu, Sri Shankarrao Deo, Sri Siddharaj Dhadha, Smt. Asha Devi, Sri Aryanayakam, Prof. K. Arunachalam and others took part in the discussions. When Bhoodan had consummated in Gramdan Nai Talim or Basic Education has naturally to readapt itself to go hand in hand with the revolutionary current of Gramdan. It is only Nai Talim which can claim to have an army of well-trained thousands of teachers and students all over India. It is a growing non-violent Shanti Sena of the nation in a way. Since they are purely imbued with educative ideals, they will prove to be the ideal workers for reconstruction in the Gramdan villages.

The main agenda before the seminar was to extend the scope of Nai Talim to pervade the whole society. The post-basic school boys of over fifteen years can take up this work for social transformation as the aim of education. Students and teachers should meet all men and women and children and explain the urgency of Gramdan. They should make a survey of some villages when they go on pada-yatra. Wherever the atmosphere is favourable they should intensify their work. The institution itself must be a mobile one frequently contacting the neighbouring villages.

The seminar divided itself into 4 committees for making suggestions in the light of discussions and various subjects. The committee which considered the method of creating a favourable condition for Gramdan recommended to the following effect. Half a dozen Sarvodaya and Bhoodan books must be read by all teachers

and students. A two days' camp should be held and followed by a week's pada-yatra. Three weeks in a month should be spent in pada-yatra and one week in the school. The experience of the students in pada-yatra should be written down and discussed. The walking tour can be utilised for discussing social, political and economic problems. Professor Arunachalam made a comprehensive review of the present condition of Basic education and presented the new problem facing it. Sri Asha Devi and Sri Marjorie Sykes took great efforts to make the seminar a success.

It was also decided to hold the eleventh Nai Talim Conference in November, '57 somewhere in Bihar.

Bird's Eye View of Bhoodan Work

SINCE the Kaladi Sammelan the Movement has become practically a Gramdan Movement. Therefore workers are not giving much of their attention for collection of land here and there but they are concentrating in seminars and conference and pada-yatras for mutual discussion and for a systematic programme for Gramdan. Along with this Bhoodan is also being collected and distributed in several parts of the country. We are giving here a glimpse of some of the reports received.

In Gujarat Sri Ravi Shankar Maharaj has been continuing his non-stop pada-yatra. Sri Baba Raghavadas is continuously having his pada-yatra in U. P. There is an Akanda Pada-Yatra in Fizabad district. In M. P. 6 groups of workers are moving about solely distributing land. Sri Banzaliji inaugurated a seminar in Nagpur. In Rajasthan 100 leading constructive workers met at Savai-Madhavpur in a seminar on 3rd July when Sri Trilokchand Jain, Sri Gokul Bhai Bhatt, Sri Haribabu Upadhyaya and others addressed them. In Indore a non-stop pada-yatra has started. They have taken a vow to earn their bread by daily manual labour. In Bharatpur and Kozuri districts two Gramraj sammelans were held. In Punjab in Hizar district Bhoodan land distribution work has begun. There was a Sarvodaya Conference at Bombay on 23rd and 24th July.

In U. P. Sri Suresh Rama Bhai has secured the offer of 3,773 college students to devote their holidays for propagating Bhoodan



SARVODAYA

The All India Pada-Yatra party entered U. P. after walking about 5,000 miles. A batch of students who started an Akanda Pada-Yatra from Dwaraka to Calcutta has covered over 1,000 miles upto June receiving Bhoodan and sampattidan on their way. In M. P. over 400 acres of land were distributed. In Bihar 43,600 acres of land were distributed to 26,933 families in 3,228 villages. In Orissa 72 more Gramdams were received. In Assam, Bhoodan yatra was conducted in 790 villages covering 1,798 miles. In Bengal there were pada-yatras in the 24 Parganas collecting and distributing Bhoodan.

In Andhra, Anand Ashram at Mydhkur in Cudappa District is a nucleus for Bhoodan and Gramdan work. This district has received already over 70 Gramdams. Gramodaya Samitis have been formed. Sri Prabhakarji, Sri Mothi Narayana Rao, Sri Sadhu Subramaniam and others are co-operating. In Bhimavaram a Gramraj workers' camp was held in the last week of June. It was attended by 34 workers from 13 districts of Andhra. In a special message Vinobaji exhorted them to go ahead with Gramraj programme. In Tamil Nad a vigorous drive for land distribution in August has been programmed. Sri S. Jagannathan, the Joint Secretary, Tamil Nad Sarvodaya Mandal is touring around the districts to organise 4 regional conferences to be held in the last week of August. Sri Shankar Rao Deo is expected to preside over them. During the last three months' yatra of Vinobaji in Kerala 74 Gramdams have been received. There are 1,887 families in these villages and the land offered by them is 785 acres. 646 sampattidan donors have offered to give Rs. 2,24,666 for a period of five years.

SARVODAYA — A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

A monthly Digest devoted to Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology published on behalf of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh
Published on the 5th of every month.

Annual subscription Rs.3
for India & Ceylon Rs. 5 for other countries or
20 International Postal Coupons
Single Copy 30 nP.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE. (South India)



Vol. VII	SARVODAYA	No. 3
Whole	SEPTEMBER 1957	No. 75
CONTENTS		
		PAGE
Towards the Summit		75
Vinobaji's Conclusion of Kerala Yatra		76
An Interview of an American Student		77
Shanti Sena or Peace Brigade		80
	—Acharya Vinoba	
The Lok-Neethi in Sampattidan		83
	—Acharya Vinoba	
Freedom and Happiness		89
	—Dada Dharmadhikari	
An Appeal for Sampattidan		91
	—A. J. John, Governor of Madras	
A New Wave of Western Materialism		93
	—Wilfred Wellock	
Alternative to Violence		96
	—Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.	
The New Turns in Bhoodan		99
	—Damodardas Mundada	
Shri Shankarrao in Tamilnad		102
The Story of a Students' Camp		103
	—Suresh Ram	
Sarvodaya Literature		105
The Next Issue		
On account of the ensuing Conference and Seminar in Mysore City the next issue will be published on the 10th October, 1957 instead of 5th.		
Ann. Sub. 3/-		Price 30 nP.

My Claim



My claim is that in the pursuit of that search lies the discovery of Satyagraha. It is not, however, claimed that all the laws of Satyagraha have been laid down or found. This, I do say, fearlessly and firmly, that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of Satyagraha.

It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

'HARIJAN', 20-7-'47.

Mahatma Gandhi.

TOWARDS THE SUMMIT

THE seed of Bhoodan sown six years ago has grown into a tree. It blossomed into Gramdan in Orissa and during Vinobaji's yatra in Tamilnad it ripened into Gramraj or the village republic of Gandhiji's conception. The movement is not one of expansion but it is an ascension as described by Vinobaji at Kaladi. We are having new revelations during Vinobaji's yatra in Kerala in the form of *Shanti Sena*. It is the logical sequence of the village republic through Gramdan. Its members have pledged to lay down their lives for the maintenance of peace without the intervention of the police and the military. The recent decision of Vinobaji to accept only *Prapti-patra* or the "Donees' acknowledgement of Bhoodan" in future has been welcomed by many and some of the Press which have been critical about the slow progress of distribution of Bhoodan land.

As a climax of the movement there is to be a summit conference of the top-level leaders of all political parties with Vinobaji. President Rajendra Prasad is also expected to attend. The conference will discuss the paramount problem of land and its solution on basis of Gramdan. The nation is anxiously looking forward to the decision of the conference for a concerted programme on a national and non-party basis and hope that it will give a lead to the world in the non-violent solution of the land problem and the establishment of the village republics for the full freedom and happiness of all and the peace of the world.

Vinobaji's Conclusion of Kerala Yatra .

THE historic yatra in Kerala concludes today and Vinobaji enters the country of Hanuman, Karnatak tomorrow morning, as it were to beseech Hanuman for the successful formation of *Shanti-Sena*. There was the impressive ceremonial function for the formation of *Shantisena* when Shri Kelappan, took the pledge and administered it to Shri Ikkanda Warriar, Sri Janardhanam Pillai, Smti. A. K. Rajamma, Sri Kartha, and Sri I. K. Kumaran of the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal. The pledge is the same as that of the Lok-Sevak with an additional sixth condition of offering to lay down the life if and when necessary for the sake of peace without the need for police and military.

Earlier in the noon in the workers' meeting about 40 out of the 58 workers of Kerala assembled to chalk out the programme to work out under the guidance of Sri Kelappan the Gramraj and *Shanti-sena* in the 80 Gramdan villages in the two Taluks of Badagara and Quilandy. Just when Baba began his speech there was a shower of rain as a sign of blessing.

Explaining the significance of the *Shantisena* Vinobaji posed a significant question to the audience, "Was there any *ashanti*, (peacelessness) which calls upon such a step of forming *Shanti-sena*?" he asked. "Yes!" According to him, there did exist peacelessness and the situation was grave although, one could not realise it for lack of sensitiveness. An external fever, when it comes, need not cause anxiety. But the unnoticed and undiagnosed disease in the stomach will be accentuated by ignorance and indifference and it will never be cured. He had not the slightest doubt that what is apparent as *Shanti* did not really exist in India at all. Peace, of course, was on the surface. But such peace had no meaning, for, war and peace were, in English interchangeable terms. It was just like earth transformed into a pot and which again becomes the earth. "Were not *Rajo-Guna* and *Tamo-Guna* the product of mutual reaction? Only under short-sightedness one could be easily satisfied with such peace," he added. They think in terms of postponing the war and maintaining peace somehow for the time being. Hence, the

term 'hot war and cold war'. But let us not forget that like 'cold war' there was 'hot peace' also which is worthless as peace. Real peace, i. e., *Shanti*, which was made of different stuff, may spring out of the *Shanti-sena*. There will be real peace in a well-balanced society and not in the one of today. There is apparent peace only because it had not yet blown into war; and it needs only a spark here or there for its outburst. *Shanti-sena* has therefore a deeper implication as it would not only eliminate such a conflagration of war but also it would remove the causes of wars.

The total land collection during Vinobaji's Kerala tour was 1,571 acres, donated by 224 donors. About 300 Gramdams were given. 1,337 donors gave yearly *sampattidan* of Rs. 51,405. Literature worth Rs. 15,589 was sold.

D. M.

An Interview of an American Student

AN American young undergraduate, staying in India for the last nine months on a study tour called upon Vinobaji, just on the eve of his departure to his homeland, to take his degree. Before leaving India in his Kerala Yatra he met Vinobaji. He put a few questions based on his observations in India. Vinobaji first peeped into his questions, and then replied them one after another. The questions and answers, as given by Vinobaji are as below :—

Q: How can a man distinguish between self-discipline and self-torture? Are not rituals an excuse to escape the problem that faces us? Do you think this attitude is universal or limited to this country alone?

A: You have asked few questions but very good ones. You want to know the difference between self-discipline and self-torture. You have also expressed your reaction to it. I think it should be very clear and easy to distinguish between self-discipline and self-torture. By self-discipline one does not feel oppressed, but on the other hand one feels happy. You get up at four morning. You think it is useful for health and mental progress.

You feel the joy of it. If you don't feel such joy, it is self-torture. In self-discipline one abides by certain laws, considering these laws as superior and very useful for his well-being. You have accepted a bitter medicine. In taking you must feel inner joy. If you don't feel so, you have not understood the significance of the medicine. Children do like that without understanding the significance. The medicine is thrust in their throats by their parents. That is the difference between self-discipline and self-torture. So the result may be the same, but it is the subjective factor that counts in determining whether it is self-discipline or self-torture.

Rituals should produce joy if taken as a means of purification after proper understanding. It is the faith that is significant and not the external act.

Regarding escapism and the attitude of people in the world I have no comparative knowledge of what people are like in other countries. But it is perhaps an universal attitude. Because one wants some escape from his problems and if he could adopt some spiritual method to avoid, he feels relieved. But that kind of nature is found everywhere. It is self-deception if he uses this religious excuse to escape the problem which he cannot solve, and self-deception is an universal trait and there is nothing particular about it.

Q: What is your reaction to the functioning of democracy in India?

A: Democracy won't succeed in India if it is copied literally. Democracy is better than many other 'cracies' that preceded it. It doesn't suit Indian tradition, for, India has its own tradition in which difference of majority and minority is non-existent. Indian tradition is to sit together and to come together unanimously. This method is followed by the Quakers in America. I do not think they are losing anything by that. If the principle of unanimity is adopted by the Western democracies, it will have its effect.

Q: Don't you think Indians are more fond of personalities than principles?

A: Indians are not fond of personalities although they follow good men. If you compare personalities with principles in life

Indians will naturally like to follow principles rather than personalities; of course, they won't mind personalities. In the Hindu tradition there are so many personalities, but just as Christianity is known after Christ, and Islam after Mohammad, Hinduism is not known after any individual. There have been so many spiritual leaders in India but Indian mind does not accept any single person as the sole authority. They prefer truth and non-violence to personalities and look upon them as expressions of the principles.

Q: What about Nehru?

A: You know that President Roosevelt was elected for the fourth time and would have been elected for the fifth time also if he were alive. That is, there is a spell with great men which attracts. That is in every nation. Did not Hitler claim that he was elected by great majority?

Q: But Roosevelt was an exception!

A: In a way you are right. Moreover many Indians are not educated. So with them faith works more than principle. This will improve with the growth of proper education.

Q: How will you compare East & West?

A: My answer would be limited to the best of my knowledge. I won't judge between West and East. The co-operative effort that the Westerners do, is their best. But even in doing good, they may become aggressive. That is their worst quality. There is no fear of individualism with them; and aggression is natural. They are very young. America is but five hundred years old while India is 10,000 years old. So, as they get experience they will be toned down. But there are so many good qualities in the western countries. We must pick out the good from every country.

Q: What is the outstanding quality of India that marks it from the West?

A: Perhaps you would be the best judge. I can't see my own face. I think the quality of Indians is that they are not exclusive. They are inclusive. Indians will be at once ready to read Bible. It is not easy with the Christians. They will have to be persuaded. According to them, no one will get salvation,

unless one embraces Christianity. But Hinduism never says so. It never claims that you won't get salvation unless you surrender yourself to lord Krishna or Rama. Our faith should be expressed in our lives and it will permeate through the atmosphere.

Q: Do you think Bhoodan will work in America also?

A: Bhoodan is not a national movement, alone; it is an universal one. It could be applied to all the countries. The Bhoodan idea is that we must share our joys with others. We should not wish to enjoy exclusiveness and it is just human nature to do so. Does not the smoker offer his cigar to his neighbour before smoking? Bhoodan is so simple. It removes all the barriers between man and man and nation and nation. There is no high, no low, and all are friends. They say, 'live and let live.' I say 'let live and live.' 'Live and let live' is a very good doctrine. But I offer a better one. The first duty is to let live. Therefore reverse the process. Let others have the joy first. Let me be the last. But in the English language "I" is always capital whereas I feel that "We" should be always capital while "I" should be always small.

—DAMODARADAS MUNDADA.

Shanti Sena or Peace Brigade

ACHARYA VINOBA

SHANTI SENA or the Peace Brigade of Satyagrahis next to Gramdan is the key programme that Vinobaji has been advocating in his Kerala Yatra. It is different from our old conception of peace army. It is now coming as a sequence to Gramdan and Gramraj. Its function will be to maintain the sovereignty of the village republic through pure satyagraha in all ways. Some of the inspiring ideas and functions behind SHANTI SENA as expressed recently by Vinobaji on various occasions are summarised and adapted here.

DURING my recent illness I have been thinking over the idea of Shanti Sena or peace brigade. It will be an army of wandering helpers, whom I call *parivrajakas*. They will go to the

people and explain the new idea to them and create a sense of friendship and goodwill in society. They will weaken the forces of hatred and violence. They will carry the message of peace and friendship to every home. I felt that we must create such a standing army of non-violent service. I felt I must devote myself to this task more than anything else. I do not know if I will live long enough to undertake this responsibility. God will do as He pleases. I am content to put the idea before you. You must create a *Shanti Sena* in Kerala. They must devote themselves to the service of the people, carry the message of Gramdan to every home, maintain goodwill and peace in society even at the cost of their own lives. Selfless service must be their motto.

2. Unless our workers are able to maintain a personal contact with the citizens we shall not be able to weaken the forces of violence. In Kerala we need at least a thousand workers who have dedicated themselves to Sarvodaya. We must have a hundred workers in each district. First we shall have to give them proper training. They must understand the implications of Sarvodaya. They must know that we are out to create a society of the free and equal in which the institution called government has come to an end. Only then there will be real peace. Our workers must be free from commitment to a party or any narrow sect. Their loyalty must be to the people. They must serve the people without any expectation of reward or return. We want to create this in every State of our country. This is a field where individual initiative will have full scope. Surely this is not a field in which a government can function. They can give some help in this when they have disbanded their army. Only the people who have understood the meaning of Sarvodaya can create an army of this kind. No political party can do it. Non-violence and peace will not be established by political parties. Political parties perpetuate and accentuate divisions and differences.

3. Soldiers who have enlisted themselves in *Shanti Sena* will have to undergo rigorous discipline in non-violence in order to become satyagrahis. A satyagrahi can give his loyalty to Truth and nothing but the Truth as he sees it. Our workers must acquire the qualifications of a satyagrahi. A volunteer of the *Shanti Sena* will have to accept the five-fold conditions of a satyagrahi *loksevak*.

But he will have to work under the guidance of the Sarvodaya Mandal. If this scheme proves effective we can ask the Government to withdraw the police force from the area in which our *Shanti Sena* has proved effective.

4. Should those in the *Shanti Sena* have a special uniform and perform drill? If they adopt a special uniform it is likely to affect their work adversely. They will be considered as professionals who are different from the general mass of people in society, whereas we would like to see that our volunteers are accepted as trusted friends by the people. So it is good to avoid doing anything that is likely to create a barrier between them and us.

5. What do I mean when I say that an experiment like the formation of a *Shanti Sena* is a socially creative phenomenon? There is something elemental and dynamic in such a social action. They are forming N. C. Corps in schools and colleges. Supposing they were completely non-violent would they come under the category of a *Shanti Sena*? Obviously not. Our *Shanti Sena* would have its centre in the village itself. Its inspiration and sustenance will come entirely from the people themselves. A socially creative phenomenon manifests itself when there is a spontaneous inner urge in the people. I feel young when I contemplate on the possibilities of such a Service Corps growing up in every village. What a thrilling adventure it is for young men of the village!

6. I do not like to talk big. The talk of world peace may appear hyperbolic. But the formation of a *Shanti Sena* would have such authenticity and vitality that it is bound to influence the whole world. In its very nature it is universal like an axiom of geometry. Whether it is practised in a small village or on a world scale its basic validity remains the same. If a phenomenon like this which is socially creative takes place in a village its implications are bound to be felt by the whole world.

There will be a Seminar of Sarvodaya Sevaks for 3 days from 25th to 27th September at Vinobaji's camp in Mysore City.

The Lok-Neethi in Sampattidan

ACHARYA VINOBA

Vinobaji's address to the Commercial Community at Kozhikode on the 12th July was already referred to in our previous issue. It is a highly philosophical exposition and the first of its kind on Sampattidan. It is not a mere sharing of monetary wealth. It is consciously directed to the fulfilment of the spiritual destiny of the individual by ultimately making the State superfluous through his compassionate service and transcending the limitations of nation and politics to embrace the whole of the world and humanity which rest on the universal law or LOK-NEETHI.

MAN has two phases of life and both blend to make it a whole. One is the family life, where love is the motive force for action. Man throughout the world acts on account of this attachment to the family. But he does not get satisfaction merely with this, and so tries to render some service to the society. This is his other phase of life. Even in the service of society there are two kinds: one confining itself to narrow considerations of caste, religion and party, and the other universal without such limitations. As the knowledge of science is widening, the field for narrow social service is shrinking. The outlook of man has widened and the scope for happy human contacts has increased. Now he should beware of narrow service as that is detrimental to him, and should take to serving society without petty considerations.

THE TWO WAYS OF SERVICE

This social service again is of two kinds. One is that rendered through the government. We entrust all the responsibility to the government and make it serve society in all ways. People send their representatives to form the government and through them render service. Of late this kind of service has come much into vogue. But in this the power of the State is being used. Though this service is appreciated, full satisfaction is not derived from this. Money is needed for these services rendered by the government. What does the government do? It levies taxes, and people willing or not have to pay them. Of course the people know it is their government and pay the taxes. But this kind of service does not give satisfaction to the people. This service through government has not the purity of heart, and it is all external. The taxes have been increased and I pay more now than what I used to do. Does this mean that that I am doing more

of social service? Is it not by sheer force that the government is collecting all its taxes from me? There has been no change of heart in me. Instead of a thousand I pay two thousands now to help the rendering of greater service, but my heart is not changed. I do not mind paying taxes, I do not give false income tax returns. I am so good as not to cheat government of its taxes. I may be rendering more service, but my heart has not widened and mellowed. This kind of social service might go on, but it will not uplift man towards his spiritual destiny. Dams might be built, roads formed, factories opened! More houses might be built and more of everything produced! All this of course has to be done. All these have been done in America and it is a land of plenty now. But it is said that the Americans have no contentment. Physical prosperity will not lead to upliftment of man or to the expansion of his heart. We should value more the service born of compassion and love.

We call the social service born of the heart *Lokaneeti* or *Janasakthi*, and not *rajaneeti*. So service should be heart-felt sympathetic and universal. One kind of service is to the family born of attachment to it. This should be done. Money should be earned in righteous ways, and evil means should be discarded. He who serves the family so faultlessly is doing real service. The other type of service is that of co-operating with the government while it renders service, by paying taxes. But the third kind of service is born of human love and heart-felt. Here people render service themselves. Narrow consideration should and will be given up. And now it is your duty to take to this service today.

We call this dharma. The first dharma or duty is to the family. We have explained its conditions: maintaining truth, acting by righteous means, and loving the neighbour. All of the family should be considered and treated alike. In this way the heart of the man widens. The second dharma is to the country. We co-operate with the government in all its good actions and protest when it goes wrong. Then the government too will mend its ways. Protesting against evil should be done with love and humility.

There is need for this kind of force. The English government attacked Egypt, but the English people raised their voice of protest against it, and the government had to yield. This is an example of

duty to the country. Co-operation with the government in its good activities and opposition to its evil acts is the principle of *Rashtra dharma*. The third is the duty to humanity, *Manava dharma* or *Bakti*. So is duty of man classified.

The first duty to the family is born of attachment and this should expand as to cover the whole society. As narrow attachments fade the individual gets merged in the society. To an age the attachment to the family has to continue, but with experience and knowledge of life one should become a *vanaprastha*. The responsibilities of the house are handed over the children and both the husband and wife begin to live like brother and sister. Then they allot their time for the service of the society. Likewise the duty to the country should widen itself as universal service to humanity.

LIMITATIONS OF STATE'S WELFARE WORK

Let us suppose that the government requires 200 crores for social services. What does it do? It gives the various items of work for which money is needed. If people themselves give so much of money voluntarily then the society is thoroughly changed. The government gets the money as voluntary contributions and not as forced out taxes. How wonderful it will be! There is the Prime Minister's Fund. There is some mishap somewhere, and the people of their own accord and gladly contribute to the Fund. The Prime Minister has a scheme for 200 crores and the people willingly contribute it. Today we are not even able to imagine such a situation. We never expect the government to ask for contributions. Then what is to be done? They have to come to Baba. He will advise that the amount should be contributed. Let us suppose that lakhs of people come forward to contribute so much amount and to render service to the society, then surely the authority of the government to that extent will get diminished. When the power of the government gets diminished this way it will be a mighty achievement. When people see that the love of the people accomplishes more than the power of the State, they will dance with joy. Recently there was the epidemic of 'Flu'. All rose up to render the necessary services. Free service was rendered and the epidemic lost its virulence. The government had not much to do.

Three years ago we were wandering in the State of Bihar. During the floods an area of two to four hundred square miles was one vast sheet of water, and there was need for great help. The

government did its part but the people were silent. We were greatly surprised. The people should rise up on such an occasion and plan with courage to face the situation. The government is there as a secondary agent. Then only will real *Janasakthi* be born and people experience real freedom. Now all the social work is left to be done by government, and humanitarian missions have ceased to come forward. Compassion is dying, and individual generosity disappearing. So it is necessary that compassionate service expands and the activities of the government gradually diminish.

THE THREE WAYS OF DHARMA

These are the three dharmas or duties. The duty to the family should get lost in the service to the society. It will never break, for the son takes up responsibility the moment the father gives it up. The rivers get merged in the sea yet they continue to flow. The duty to the government or the state will get transformed into universal social service. When universal love dawns the duty to the nation as such does not stand. When universal love pervades, society can transform itself as it should.

It is our good fortune that after the attainments of Swaraj we have got the ideology of Sarvodaya and the ideal of love placed before us. The government does its service with force, and the individuals are lost in their private affairs! When love is lost life itself is lost. The ideal of Sarvodaya is before us. We should act with love and a lot of work is on hand, a good plan can be drawn up. Society has respected wise men and with their help planned the education of the people. When it is a question of deciding a dispute four wise men sit together and decide it, and the disputants accept the verdict. These wise men can plan out the health of the people, advise them and serve them. There are the Ramakrishna Mission, Prema Samaj and the Servants of India Society doing these services. To that extent the work of the government is reduced.

Now Gramdan is going on and people are giving up their rights of private property. They plan and work together. To this extent the planning of the government will not be needed. People do not go out seeking justice, wise men decide cases with compassion and to that extent the work of the courts gets reduced.

In former days people had much confidence in their neighbours and business-men. Whenever they went on long pilgrimages they entrusted their properties to the care of these, and

get them back safe on their return. Conditions of today are just the reverse. Society cannot get on without business-men, but they are not trusted. When a difference arises the dispute is placed before wise men and their verdict accepted. Wherein is the need for courts? When we did not get Swaraj we were taking up our cases to the Privy Council in England. After Swaraj the Privy Council has gone and we take our cases to the Supreme Court in Delhi. What will be our Swaraj if we are to carry our cases even now to England? So the court at Calicut should also go if we are to get *gramaraj* and *atmaraj*. Good people gather when complaints are laid before them and decide, and their judgements should be accepted. Do we not accept what our mothers say? Is there a court above the mother? When people get justice this way, it will be a matter of great rejoicing.

THE SHANTI-SENA

Suppose all the merchants of this place give their *sampathidhan*, and educate chosen young men for service. The young men having understood the ideology of Sarvodaya will go to villages to render service. They go to the people, get mixed with them and understand their misery and happiness. They get so endeared to the people that they expect them in all situations. The villagers welcome them feed them and place their problems before them. With their help the people themselves shape their plans of upliftment. When trouble starts in Calicut the workers rush up to bring in peace there also. When they succeed in their mission of peace the police will not be needed. Likewise all the activities of the government will give way to the loving service of the people. These are some of the items of Sarvodaya work.

You have started this work by giving *sampattidan*. You gave your *sampattidan* but revert back to your work of money-making. You will not give your thoughts to this. You give all your mind to the affairs of your family. If Baba who is a free man now begins to collect a fund he will get fettered. Baba wants to preach to all and he should have good sleep. So what is yours is mine and everyone of you my banker, and my money is safe in your hands. Your money will be spent according to your wishes. There will be a Sarvodaya Mandal not only for Calicut but for the whole of Kerala. The Mandal has tried social workers of non-party as its members, and with its advice you can spend your

money. But you should remember that as the river is constantly flowing, your service also should be constantly flowing.

This is an incident in Mahabaratha. Dharma and Bhima were discussing something when a man came to them to decide a case for him. Bhima did not like to be interrupted and asked him to come later. But Dharma was not for it, saying that justice should not be delayed. According to him justice was that which was done in time. *Dharmasya thvaritha gathini*. Dharma's pace is quick. Today's justice will be current only for this day. Likewise money also should be spent in time without delay. Shyamjee says that the amount collected here is small. But we do not view it that way. Today it may be small; later with the widening of the heart it will grow big. This is like a small fruit. When people taste this they will voluntarily give more dan. How long are we to go like this? Till the whole government disappears, is our answer. We will not have peace till then. People ask when that will be? We say that when *Navagrahs* (nine planets) gather together this will be accomplished.

DISSOLUTION OF THE STATE

Now you will realise that this is not a mere negative work. Loving and compassionate service should so expand as to leave no room for service by government, or for its very existence. People tell us that it will be mere anarchism. We say we have no isms, but are out for action. We want to widen love and compassion, so that the State might be merged and get liquidated in it.

Now Gramdans are being given. People are giving up property rights and are giving help to Baba in his work. This cannot be effected by law. If it can, who has stood in its way all these days? Baba can take more by his loot than the taxes can ever do. All these should be pondered over.

Government imposes taxes with great hesitation, and gets very little. If only a little is to be got this way why not get it with love and sympathy. Though it is democracy that prevails so much cannot be forced out of the people. There are always the coming elections. The members of the government are sent by the people, are the people's servants and are terribly afraid of them. But Baba can loot them not during night but in open day-light. He too has to sleep at night. Baba when asked about his identity says that he is of their house. A boy of five left the house, and he returns after 25 years. He addresses the mother and announces

his arrival. The mother stares but does not identify him and says that he is not her child. She thinks that modern beggars have become too daring. He daringly enters the house. As he does not give his credentials the mother does not embrace him. Similarly you may not recognise Baba as such now, and it is not possible. Baba had been separated out of the house long ago and it is not quite easy to recognise and accept him now. But when we lay down our credentials before you and prove that Baba is of your house then with open hearts all of you will give him *dans*. All this is such a pleasant work, that this cannot be measured. We wish that in Kerala this work spreads well. We thank you for what little you have done so far.

Freedom and Happiness

DADA DHARMADHIKARI 9

THE conditions in the country have become intolerable. This has to go. The misery and inequality within the society have to be removed. There may be difference as to whether this consummation should be brought about through violence or non-violence. But there is no difference in so far as the need for their immediate elimination is concerned.

After deep thought, I have come to the conclusion that violence always leads to misery, that violence does not end in happiness. Today in the world there are two forces. One says that we want to make human beings happy and the other says that we want to free human beings. Those who plead for making everybody free have given their people only the freedom to sell themselves and nothing else. And those who say that they want to make everyone happy, in fact, say that 'if you surrender your freedom to us we will make you happy.' But we want to make people *happy and free* at the same time. This is the chief objective of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement.

When this movement started we did not see the latent possibilities within it, almost in the same manner as when Gandhiji started his Salt Satyagraha, nobody could visualise the deep possibilities of that struggle. And our Bhoodan movement gradually came to include Sampattidan, shramdan, buddhidan etc., and culminated in the Gramdan movement. The devotion to the cause of all those who work in the movement is of primary importance for our success. Vinobaji keeps us free and does not

bind us to any specific organisational rules. Some see in this the danger of the development, of anarchic tendencies. But probably self-discipline, which comes following one's freedom from any outward control and direction, is of a superior quality.

The importance of non-violent, peaceful transformation we seek to bring about in our country, has to be viewed in the background of the present world situation. A few days ago President Eisenhower declared that disarmament is not only essential but also compulsory. On the other hand, the Soviet Union says that we are ready for disarmament, but on account of American behaviour we cannot do so. And so we see the paradox that everyone wishes for peace, the world is in need of peace, but the inspiration within is not for peace and consequently they are having these daily experiments with cobalt, hydrogen and other types of bombs. I am here reminded of a recent saying of Vinobaji. He said that the values of life in a particular period lend the same values to human language and all tendencies. And so today the tendency we urgently need is one of bravery which should be the bravery to disarm. This is today not only the demand of Nehru and Vinoba, but is in fact, inherent in the whole traditions of our country, coming down from Gautama, Ashoka and Gandhi.

Today, we witness Russia, Britain and the U. S. talking of disarmament. In 1956 September Mao Tse-Tung of the People's Republic of China said at the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China that disarmament is not only essential today for the socialistic countries but for the entire world.

I will repeat that what is needed is a burning faith in our philosophy and methods. Vinoba has clearly indicated this thing. And this Conference is a clear proof of the fact that this faith has ever grown and has become deeper and more wide-spread. It is natural because it is the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement alone which, offers today the only solution for a peaceful revolutionary transformation of our entire society. The year 1957 lays a special responsibility on all of us and the nation is full of expectations. Our earnest attempt should be to fully capitalise this feeling and achieve our goal. I should be clear to us that our methods must be of utter purity and that we will be able to achieve our goal only when we adopt purest means.

(Condensed from the address at Kaladi Sarvodaya Sammelan)

An Appeal for Sampattidan

A. J. JOHN

Governor of Madras

A fortnight's campaign for Sampattidan (Monetary Gift) was organised at Madras from 14th August, 1957 by the Lok-Sevak, Sri S. Veerappan and others. It was sponsored by the Mayor of Madras, Sri K. N. Srinivasan with the co-operation of many ministers and leading men of the commercial community. Sri A. J. John, Governor of Madras, inaugurated the function on 14th August and this is taken from his speech on the occasion.

ALL of you will be conversant with the conception of Sarvodaya which go with the twin principles of Mahatmaji's Truth and Non-violence. Sarvodaya does not mean only individual emancipation, and, on the other hand, it implies the highest progress and development of both individuals and society as a whole. Thus this conception embraces the well-being of the whole of humanity. The very basis of Sarvodaya would be toleration of different points of view and ideologies binding the society by the tie of love and affection rather than by authority and domination. It was Gandhiji who preached simplicity in life. Gandhiji believed in the doctrine of trusteeship in the matter of possessions and property, and that means that any person who owns property can call himself only a custodian of that property which he holds in trust for the benefit of the whole society. The concept of Bhoodan arose from this philosophy of Sarvodaya and the doctrine of trusteeship enunciated by Gandhiji. It cannot be interpreted in any material way, for all these principles have got a spiritual background. Bhoodan is only one aspect of voluntary surrender of wealth and there are other forms as well. Gramdan connotes donation of whole villages and in its wake has come Sampathidan.

The Bhoodan movement has gained considerable momentum and the collection in our State has reached about a lakh of acres and under the Gramdan scheme 220 villages have also been donated. A plan has also been drawn up for the distribution of lands to the landless and also for the reconstruction of Gramdan villages as soon as possible. Most of the landless persons to whom lands will be distributed would not have the wherewithal to make

use of the land allotted to them. It would be necessary to provide funds for the economic utilisation of these lands. Sampathidan, namely gift of wealth, is therefore a natural corollary and immediate sequence of Bhoodan. All these high principles are propounded as a result of the unique philosophy underlying them and Sampathidan is considered to be a sacrifice or 'yagna', and donations will have to be made for the well-being of the community at large. These donations have to be repeated periodically. It is also the idea of the sponsors of this movement that the donor himself will have the option to declare his intentions as to how the money should be utilised and probably the entire responsibility of putting it to use may devolve on the donor himself.

Ever since we have become a free people, every step has been taken to consolidate and stabilise our freedom. It is true that political independence has been achieved. But our aim is to bring about as speedily as possible a society which will be free from the various social and economic evils. It would be necessary to free the community from possible inequalities and injustices and all persons should have equal opportunities in life. A method of achieving progressively this end is by securing a rule of love by propagating the principles of Sarvodaya in all spheres of human activity.

Sampathidan is therefore another aspect of the Sarvodaya principle and this unique technique is now handled effectively by Vinobaji who has taken the inspiration from Gandhiji, but has developed his ideas with further creative thinking. He initiated the Bhoodan movement in April 1951. It has now caught the imagination of a number of persons. The deep and spiritual basis of his teaching has revealed itself in his complete exposition of the various phases of Yagna, Bhoodan, Shramdan, Sampathidan, etc.

ALL 'ISMS' ARE ONLY MEANS

National welfare is the aim of all our exertions. The "isms" may vary. They are all means to the end namely national welfare. Shri Vinobaji believes that the practice of compassion is the way to national welfare and to an ascending evolution of the individuals' spirit. I hope his teaching will bear fruit.

Madras
7-5-1957 }

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A New Wave of Western Materialism

WILFRED WELLOCK

This is an article which is specially contributed for "Sarvodaya". This seems to be an introduction to his interesting brochure after his recent visit to America. The book is under print in England and we hope to make it available to our readers by about October.

TO-day the social climate of the West is changing rapidly. This is largely due to economic changes, which of course have marked political effects. The Western way of life is changing so rapidly that it is difficult to define, but the study of it is interesting and even exciting, especially as its general trend becomes increasingly dangerous and highly critical.

On the surface of events it would seem that the two Dinosaurs, the United States and Russia, are on the brink of a peace settlement of some moment, one that may result in an appreciable reduction in the production of armaments. But there are deep under-currents in the tides of international life, economic, political and social, which call for caution, tides which quickly change under the impact of rising economic demands of expanding economies, and steadily rising production and consumption of goods and services by vast populations.

Britain, freed from the responsibilities of a Great Power, and beset with feverish demands for higher material living standards from every section of the community, moves steadily towards the concept of an economically and politically closely linked Europe, and a well-knit Commonwealth of nations. These would give her a strong sense of security while yet enabling her to reduce her military obligations and commitments, recast her military structure, reduce her military expenditure and thus strengthen her financial position, also her economy, and raise her living standards which, these days, signify national progress.

It can now be said that the agitation for perpetually rising living standards is the outstanding aim of Western civilisation. More money for spending on goods and services is the clamant demand of every trade and profession in every Western country, which means that the Western world is in the grip of a materialistic outlook and way of life such as has never been known and indeed has never before been possible through out history.

The degree to which this fever for new spending power has been carried is revealed by the fact that it is now recognised that every trade and industry expects to have an annual increase in wages or a lowering of the hours of labour without loss of income. Hence the minds of the entire population are riveted to the hope and expectation of more spending power, and thus a higher rate of consumption of goods and services.

Obviously this situation encourages habits of self-indulgence, the spending of money in hitherto unknown fields of experience, whence wants and desires multiply, and always more rapidly than income, thus resulting in the habit of borrowing and falling into debt. Very often this debt is due to buying goods on hire-purchase. In the United States, where living standards are the highest in the world, the fever of spending reaches such proportions that a high and rising percentage of the population are seriously in debt.

I have described this condition as a fever, and it is precisely that. It is a virus which spreads like a plague, but it acquires the polite name of an "expanding" economy. There are signs that the virus may soon run through the Near, Middle and Far East, also Africa.

One is thus left to speculate on what will happen when the whole human race become victims of this devastating virus. As it spreads, the struggle for raw materials grows and causes the bigger and stronger Powers to try to monopolise supplies, as the United States and Russia are now trying to do in regard to the oil of the Middle East. Even Britain is gradually being swallowed up by the United States in that particular field of conflict.

Moreover, these devouring propensities are now so powerful that nothing short of disaster,—economic breakdown, revolution or war—seems able to check them. Religion and philosophy are brushed aside as outworn agencies. In the West, where these propensities are strongest, the Christian church is itself a victim of the virus, and on the whole sanctions its operations, providing that a reasonable percentage of its fruits are devoted to charitable purposes, or to the erection of new churches.

It is necessary to give careful study to the mechanisms which control this new concept of an "expanding economy" in the

Western world. All the big Trade Unions decide on their targets and prepare their campaign programmes for achieving them each year well in advance. They then present their line of attack, with possible threats of strike action if their demands are not conceded before a certain date. It is now customary to demand more than they expect to receive. When the series of "battles" has been fought and won, the employers then consider whether and to what extent to raise their prices. We thus get a measure of inflation, whence inflation tends to become an essential consequence of an expanding economy. This means that the savings of ordinary people—the great majority of the population—gradually fall in value, a fact which weakens the desire to save, and so intensifies the habit of "getting and spending".

We thus see that at every point in the process of operating the latest manifestation of an expanding economy, the effect is to foster the habit of getting and spending money, and to do so to the extent that all other motives and ends are obscured and indeed obliterated, whence entire nations are swept into the cauldron of a cankering materialism.

Unless a way of salvation is found, decay and death are inevitable. But how and where is salvation to be found? As yet, however, the West is not conscious of its condition. Nor are many in the East conscious of it either, so powerful is the lure of abundance. Where, then, lies hope for East and West alike?

SARVODAYA — A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

A monthly Digest devoted to Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology published on behalf of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh
Published on the 5th of every month.

Annual subscription Rs. 3
for India & Ceylon Rs. 5 for other countries or
20 International Postal Coupons
Single Copy 30 nP.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE. (South India)

Alternative to Violence

REV: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

This is the latter part of an article by the author in the "Christian Century" under the caption "Non-Violence and Racial Justice" of February 6, 1957 to which we are indebted. The author is a well-known champion of the freedom of the Negroes in America and the organiser of the recent successful movement of boycott of buses at Alabama by Negroes as a non-violent resistance to injustice. This article is a deep and studied analysis of the non-violent resistance which is proved to be the only alternative to violence.

THE basic question which confronts the world's oppressed is: How is the struggle against the forces of injustice to be waged? There are two possible answers. One is resort to the all too prevalent method of physical violence and corroding hatred. The danger of this method is its futility. Violence solves no social problems; it merely creates new and more complicated ones. Through the vistas of time a voice still cries to every potential Peter, "Put up your sword!" The shores of history are white with the bleached bones of nations and communities that failed to follow this command. If the American Negro and other victims of oppression succumb to the temptation of using violence in the struggle for justice, unborn generations will live in a desolate night of bitterness, and their chief legacy will be an endless reign of chaos.

The alternative to violence is non-violent resistance. This method was made famous in our generation by Mohandas K. Gandhi, who used it to free India from the domination of the British empire. Five points can be made concerning non-violence as a method in bringing about better racial conditions.

First, this is not a method for cowards; it *does* resist. The non-violent resister is just as strongly opposed to the evil against which he protests as is the person who uses violence. His method is passive or non-aggressive in the sense that he is not physically aggressive toward his opponent. But his mind and emotions are always active, constantly seeking to persuade the opponent that he is mistaken. This method is passive physically but strongly active spiritually; it is non-aggressive physically but dynamically aggressive spiritually.

SARVODAYA

97

A second point is that non-violent resistance does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resister must often express his protest through non-co-operation or boycotts, but he realises that non-co-operation and boycotts are not ends themselves; they are merely means to awaken a sense of moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of non-violence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

A third characteristic of this method is that the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who are caught in those forces. It is evil we are seeking to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil. Those of us who struggle against racial injustice must come to see that the basic tension is not between races. As I like to say to the people in Montgomery, Alabama: "The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is at bottom between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory it will be a victory not merely for 50,000 Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may happen to be unjust."

A fourth point that must be brought out concerning non-violent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. At the center of non-violence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity the oppressed people of the world must not allow themselves to become bitter or indulge in hate campaigns. To retaliate with hate and bitterness would do nothing but intensify the hate in the world. Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can be done only projecting the ethics of love to the center of our lives.

THE MEANING OF 'LOVE'

In speaking of love at this point, we are not referring to some sentimental emotion. It would be nonsense to urge men to love their oppressors in an affectionate sense. "Love" in this connection means understanding good will. There are three words for love in the Greek New Testament. First, there is *eros*. In Platonic philosophy *eros* meant the yearning of the soul for the

realm of the divine. It has come now to mean a sort of aesthetic or romantic love. Second, there is *philia*. It meant intimate affectionateness between friends. *Philia* denotes a sort of reciprocal love: the person loves because he is loved. When we speak of loving those who oppose us we refer to neither *eros* nor *philia*; we speak of a love which is expressed in the Greek word *agape*. *Agape* means nothing sentimental or basically affectionate; it means understanding, redeeming good will for all men, an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. It is the love of God working in the lives of men. When we love on the *agape* level we love men not because we like them, not because their attitudes and ways appeal to us, but because God loves them. Here we rise to the position of loving the person who does the evil deed while hating the deed he does.

Finally, the method of non-violence is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. It is this deep faith in the future that causes the non-violent resister to accept suffering without retaliation. He knows that in his struggle for justice he has cosmic companionship. This belief that God is on the side of truth and justice comes down to us from the long tradition of our Christian faith. There is something at the very center of our faith which reminds us that Good Friday may reign for a day, but ultimately it must give way to the triumphant beat of the Easter drums. Evil may so shape events that Caesar will occupy a palace and Christ a cross, but one day that same Christ will rise up and split history into A. D. and B. C., so that even the life of Caesar must be dated by his name. So in Montgomery we can walk and never get weary, because we know that there will be a great camp meeting in the promised land of freedom and justice.

This, in brief, is the method of non-violent resistance. It is a method that challenges all people struggling for justice and freedom. God grant that we wage the struggle with dignity and discipline. May all who suffer oppression in this world reject the self-defeating method of retaliatory violence and choose the method that seeks to redeem. Through using this method wisely and courageously we will emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright daybreak of freedom and justice.

The New Turns in Bhoodan

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

This is from a recent letter dated 16-8-57 from Sri Damodaradas, Secretary to Acharya Vinoba from Nileshtar camp in Kerala. It is written in a mood of self-introspection and self-examination as to the part that each one of us has played to meet the challenge of this decade after the demise of Gandhiji. Sri Damodardas gives a vivid picture of the recent phases in the Bhoodan movement and the new turns it has assumed at the hands of Vinobaji.

IT is now ten years, and what have we done? Leaders, our elders, who fought the freedom battle under his guidance and inspiration proclaim aloud that Sarvodaya or the Gandhian way is not feasible any more in India now. They are not to be blamed. We have not been able to demonstrate the picture of Sarvodaya anywhere. There is a challenge in the situation. Have we done our best, and laid down our lives in bringing about Sarvodaya? Did the disciples of Jesus stand silent observers to the challenge thrown to them? Imagine the miseries they underwent! This makes me restless and hence my inability to write anything. Thanks to Bhoodan that light has come to us and not only to us, but to the whole world. And Vinobaji has saved us. Let us atleast now, be true to our salt.

Many often ask about the progress of Bhoodan. Baba (Vinoba) simply says, "When in Telengana, in the beginning I used to take my curd in the morning, squatting on some rock, or sitting in some field. Then I started eating standing, i. e., in the American way. And now you see me doing so walking." This shows the intensity of his feelings. How long shall we blind ourselves to the fire that is burning in his heart? It is not his alone, but only a reflection of the burning fire of the whole humanity. Let us learn to understand the progress of his mission in the rising curve of this intensity with which he is handling the situation.

You have heard him at Kozhikode elaborating his latest theme of Shanti Sena, an idea, which radically differs from all its previous interpretation. It requires one to sign the five-fold pledge of a Lok-sevak who will have to be present at any front whenever called to risk his life for the cause of peace! This *Shanti-Sena*

by its successful operations should, according to him, be able to so face every situation as to replace the police and military. Is it practicable? The two taluks in Kozhikode district, Quilandy and Badagara have decided to try this ordeal.

The second and equally important idea is of the *Sammathi-dan*—the consent, or rather the sanction of the people for the Sarvodaya programmes. Till now, we started Ashramas or institutions and served the people who loved us, respected us for the sacrifices we made but did not develop the necessary faith, the power of non-violence and for all purposes believed that the government with its sanction of police and military alone could deliver the goods. Let us now approach the people and obtain the sanction of the people before we make a start. The Government by its so called majority which, in its ultimate analysis is but a minority, rules the people and gets its consent through the taxes that it levies, against its people which meekly surrenders to all its programme, whether it is one of family planning, or of Dalda production or of raising military strength. Even a Sanyasi who uses textiles or a child who drinks tea through the tax he pays for these articles supports all that the government does. People need not agree, with the government but find themselves helpless. Baba feels that if properly approached, the people in a very large majority would willingly lend their support and consent for the Sarvodaya ideal and programme.

He expects every family to give a hank or its equivalent per month. This is different from sampattidan which gives us the necessary sanction. Sampattidan will be available from those who have the monetary resources to give. But *Sammathidan* will be universal. By *Sammathidan* people wield the strength to carry out the programme they pledge to act.

With a view to carry out this programme in Kerala the Sarvodaya Mandal is formed. You know how Kelappanji the most beloved leader of Kerala has resigned his party membership for this cause in Kerala. It is significant that the idea of *Shanti Sena* came to his mind in Kerala, with its age-long contact with the world. With no stable government, with all differences of caste, creed, classes and many political parties, Kerala indeed is confronted with immediate and serious problems which demand radical measures for their solution. *Shanti Sena* at such a juncture has come as a most urgently needed remedy.

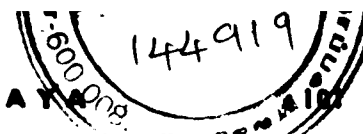
But this was not all. On the 15th August, i.e., yesterday his heart was full; he looked grave. May be that both Bapu and Mahadev Bhai were in his mind. The setting at the meeting place was unique and inspiring. You know, villages in Kerala are so situated, either in the midst of valleys or in the coconut groves, with a brook running by the side and the breeze blowing on all sides. The audience, thousand in number, seated in six rows rising one behind the other, as in an amphitheatre reminded the six stages of the Bhoodan *Arohan* through which it has passed, i. e., Bhoodan, Sampattidan, Gramdan, Gramraj, Shanti Sena, Sammathidan (the gift of consent) the last, but not the least the Prapti-Patra. (The recipients, Acknowledgement of the land-gift)

You will ask me, what is this Prapti-Patra!

The idea was released only yesterday evening. Baba said:

"On this day (15th August) everyone of us, is expected to take a step forward to resolve to do something which will take us ahead. I for my part therefore, have decided today that henceforward instead of accepting Bhoodan patras I shall accept either Gramdan patram or the *Prapti patram*, i. e., the donee's receipt stating that he has already received such and such land".

Till now he was accepting the Bhoodan patras which implied that some one from the Bhoodan Samiti would go and distribute the land thus donated. This delayed the procedure of distribution which could easily be avoided if the land was distributed by the donee himself. Mere Danapatra (Land-gift-deed) was all good in the beginning, said Vinobaji. But now as the rules of distribution are universally known, the time has come in the process of the progress of the Bhoodan ideology that the land is distributed by the donors themselves and the *Prapti Patras* presented to me instead of Danapatras. In the morning hours, on the 15th, a donor had brought him a danapatra which he instantaneously refused. He asked the donor to distribute the land as per rules and inform him accordingly. The latter agreed. He had not planned on this but the resolve came in the evening. That is his unique way. He made it also clear that he did not prevent others from accepting Bhoodan patras but so far as he was concerned, he would accept only *Prapti-patras*.



— JL
7/2/80 11:52 SV
NC. 7.1.6

Shri Shankarrao in Tamilnad

TAMILNAD is specially indebted to Shri Shankarrao Deo who inaugurated the Bhoodan movement and did two padayatras in Tamilnad. In spite of his weak health after the recent one month's fast he gave some ten days for Tamilnad in inaugurating the regional Sarvodaya conferences in August. At the Madurai District Gramdan Conference he paid a tribute to Tamilnad for getting over 200 villages as Gramdan. After inaugurating the Salem-Coimbatore conference at Yedapadi on the 23rd Aug. he addressed the Tanjore-Trichy conference on the 24th and 25th Aug. In his two inspiring speeches he traced the history of the Bhoodan movement during the last six years and described how the seed of Bhoodan sown six years ago has grown into a tree and has borne the fruit of Gramdan. The sages and seers of old, he said, were thinking of their own spiritual salvation after death leaving the life of the masses on earth in the same condition. It was given to Mahatma Gandhi, the first of his kind who struggled to bring about a revolution in the synthesis of temporal and spiritual values and aimed to transplant heaven on earth through non-violence. Three years after his death the mantle fell on Vinobaji to continue the revolution through the vision of the Bhoodan for realising the Sarvodaya ideal. Shri. Deo stressed on the importance of the purity of means for pure ends. He appealed to the commercial community to adopt pure means in earning while giving Sampattidan. Shri Deo stressed on the need of self-introspection and self-purification among the workers for becoming perfect instruments of the non-violent revolution, for this revolution starts with oneself unlike the violent revolution which is directed against others.

About 400 Sevaks attended the conference. 76 acres of land were distributed to the landless. Vinobaji's latest announcement of receiving *prapti-patra* alone in future was welcomed. The workers considered this method as the speediest one for distributing the large acreage of land already received and appealed to the donors of Tamilnad to take the initiative in distributing the land before 2nd October, the coming Gandhi Jayanti in accordance with the procedure prescribed by Vinobaji.

The Story of a Students' Camp

SURESH RAM

[Sri Suresh Ram has been successfully organising college students for Bhoodan mission. There was a programme of a camp and Pada-Yatra in Kathauli, Vijayanagar in U P. in June end. An appeal was made to students and 125 responded. But the problem of lodging and boarding them could not be easily solved. Finding no response from among the caste Hindus they practically infiltrated in the houses of Harijans in batches who heartily welcomed them. But most of the students did not like to eat in Harijan's houses and decamped. Ultimately there were only 12 students who completed the programme. Sri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, popularly known as the Raja of Manda was also there among other friends from Allahabad. He initiated the yatra and presided over the concluding function. It was almost a miracle when he announced an offer of his lands, gardens and markets costing about Rs. 20 lakhs at the meeting. For want of space only a portion of the graphic account of Sri Suresh Ram is given here.

From twelve hundred we were reduced to one hundred twentyfive! And from one hundred twenty five to only twelve!!

But these twelve had changed completely by the time they returned, on 27th June. They looked like victors sure of themselves. Bright cheer lit up the faces of these solidiers of revolution. They all confessed that this was the most celebrated week of their life. We met for the closing function on the 27th at a public meeting by the roadside. It was presided over by Sri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the Raja of Manda.

Sri Devatadin Misra, in charge of the camp gave details of the camp from the beginning and the students related their experiences which can be summed up in three sentences: (1) We had a *darshan* of Daridra Narayan face to face; (2) We saw how man's behaviour was governed by his possessions; (3) We learnt how to express our inner feelings. Next we had two speeches. Sri Jagannath Singh, our Kathauli friend, said, "Sarvodaya will save us all. There is no ground to our suspicion that the Harijans would not work on our fields after getting land. They would. But we or our children must also work."

Sri Swamyambar, our Harijan friend, remarked, "We never knew that all this would come to pass—that the Raja would dine with us and a revolution be set in. Now our eyes have been opened. It is certain that the high and the low must come together if they want peace and happiness. In case the big people adopt us as their own, we shall become their true servants."

In the presidential address, "Vinobaji's Bhoodan-Gramdan movement" said the Raja of Manda "is nothing short of *Yug-Dharma*. It is bound to succeed." With these words he declared the donation of his 'sir' land as also of the gardens he owns in Meja and Phulpur tehsils and of the markets of Sirsa and Bharatganj—in all, a property worth about 20 lakhs of rupees. A thrill went down every spine.

The Raja went on, "It is no *dan* I have announced. It is the repayment of the debt I owe to society which had made me what I am. Bhoodan is not a distribution of poverty, but of natural rights and shares. It restores to our millions what is due to them and due since ages past." He concluded, "Life without labour is sin. We have no right to usurp other man's labour. God did not send anybody with certificates or *pattas* of land. It is man-made artificial thing and must go. God has given land free and it must, therefore, be distributed freely and unanimously amongst all. I am grateful to the Allahabad Sarvodaya workers to accept me as one of their own."

As Vinoba's self-appointed postman for the district, I had to stand up to thank the Raja for his magnificent donation. Also I appealed to the landholders of Allahabad to please wake up and voluntarily contribute their mite to make Gram-Raj a living reality. We had a prayer wherewith the meeting came to a close.

Thus in this camp we secured the willing co-operation of the poorest and the lowliest peasantry in our villages as well as of the biggest Raja of our district. None ever dreamt it. None ever thought of it. Verily, it is what they say, a miracle! Is it not, I wonder the germination of the seed Vinoba sowed during his five days' visit to this district in June 1952? Be as it may, I dedicate it to God whose ways are simply inscrutable! May we progressively turn ourselves into humble tools of His will!!

Sarvodaya Literature

THE Sarvodaya Prachuralaya of the Sarva Seva Sangh has been publishing besides the English "Sarvodaya" monthly another Tamil monthly in the name of "Sarvodayam" for the last ten years. Its average circulation per month is about 2,500 copies. It is also publishing Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature including booklets in English and Tamil on Bhoodan and Gramdan etc. The publications and sales of literature through the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya have been steadily growing.

The following is the comparative statement of publications and sales during the last 4 years :—(The financial year is from May to April).

Details.	1953—54. Rs.	1954—55. Rs.	1955—56. Rs.	1956—57. Rs.
Books published at Sale price.	11,128	7,200	23,969	1,52,703
Sales of our own Publications.	11,852	9,304	25,485	99,956
Sales of Others' Publications.	3,047	9,927	12,723	9,165

The demand for the publications was steadily growing just before Vinobaji entered Tamil Nad in May, 1956. During Vinobaji's yatra for over 11 months in Tamil Nad, the Prachuralaya tried its best with its limitable resources to speed up the publications. The actual value of Rs. 1,52,703 of the books published in 1956—57 was over three and a half times that of the total value of books published in the previous three years amounting to Rs. 42,297. The sales in 1956—57 amounts to nearly Rs. 1,00,000 which is more than double the total sales of the previous three years.

We are specially grateful to the workers of the Sarva Seva Sangh in Tamil Nad who sold for Rs. 44,000 through the Khadi Vastralayas and in the Pada-Yatras. The Bhoodan workers under the Tamil Nad Bhoodan Committee (is now dissolved) sold for Rs. 19,500. The direct sales through the Prachuralaya itself was

Most of the books published in 1956—57 were the Tamil edition of "Geetha Pravachane" numbering 70,000 copies and about 30 Bhoodan booklets in Tamil and English numbering over three lakhs of copies. The sales has slackened since the departure of Vinobaji from Tamil Nad and the dissolution of the Tamil Nad Bhoodan organisation. Efforts are being taken to organise sales agencies in all taluk-towns. Now we have about 30,000 copies of "Geetha Pravachana" Tamil edition and worth about Rs. 45,000 of Bhoodan booklets. Our programme of new publications is being delayed for want of funds. We appeal to all those who are interested in the Bhoodan-Gramdan ideal to help in the spreading of the literature which cannot be entrusted to merely commercial agencies. The propagation of the ideas and the distribution of literature are two inseparable limbs of the Gramdan-Sarvodaya Movement. Vinobaji often calls Bhoodan-Sarvodaya literatures as the ammunitions of the non-violent revolution.

Books by Wilfred Wellock

	Rs.	nP.
1. Gandhi As a Social Revolutionary	0	75
2. New Horizons	1	00
3. A Mechanistic or a Human Society	0	50
4. The Third Way	0	50
5. Rebuilding Britain	0	50
6. The Challenge of our Times	0	40
7. Not by Bread Alone	0	25
8. Godileve	0	10
9. Money Has Destroyed	0	40

SARVODAYA
TANJORE (S. India)

SARVA SEVA SANGH PUBLICATIONS

	Rs.	nP.
1. The Cow in our Economy — J.C. Kumarappa	0	75
2. Economy of Permanence Part I & II — J.C. Kumarappa	3	00
3. Swaraj for Masses — J.C. Kumarappa	1	00
4. The Ideal of the Charkha — Srikrishnadas Jaju	1	00
5. Planning for Sarvodaya	1	00
6. Swaraj Shastra — Vinoba	1	00
7. Planning and Sarvodaya — J.B. Kripalani	0	50
8. The Revolutionary Bhoodan (Symposium)	0	37
9. Bhoodan as seen by the West (Revised Edition) — Collection from foreign Journals and Radio Talks.	0	60
10. Jeevandan (Revised Edition) — Jayaprakash Narayan	0	25
11. Message of the Kancheepuram Sarvodaya Sammelan	0	37
12. The Progress of A Pilgrimage — Suresh Ramabhai	3	50
13. Land Revolution in Orissa (Pictorial)	1	00
14. Bhoodan or Land through Love (Pictorial)	1	00
15. Bhoodan to Gramdan (Revised Edition) — Vinoba Under Print		

Write for full list of Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE (S. I.)

Head Office :

Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Rajghat, Kashi

THE LOK-SEVAK

Our readers would be familiar with the form prescribed for the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj as decided at the Sevagram Conference in March, 1948. During the last six years there has been an attempt to realise the Sarvodaya ideal through a concrete programme of action in the form of Bhoodan, Gramdan and *Santhi Sena* etc. The new pledge for the *lok-sevak* or servant of humanity without differences of caste, class, creed, free from politics and devoted to pure service of humanity through truth and non-violence is given below :—

THE PLEDGE OF THE LOK-SEVAK

1. I believe in truth, non-violence and non-possession and I will endeavour to my best to live up to them.
2. I believe that real freedom can be realised by the awakening of the *lok-neethi* (the universal law of humanity). Therefore I will not associate myself with any kind of politics in any form.
3. I will ever serve with a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice without expecting anything in return.
4. I pledge myself to the abolition of all differences of caste, class and creed.
5. I will devote most of my time and thought for the realisation of Sarvodaya ideal through the non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan (which has now developed into Gramdan) and village industries.

Place :

Date :

Signature.

Edited and Published by N. Ramaswami, (Associate Editor : M. Karthiayani Ammal, B.A., B.L.) for Sarvodaya Prachuralayam (Dakshin Bharat Prakashan of Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh), Tanjore.
Printed by Sri T.S. Gopal Row, at M.K. Press, Tanjore.



175
The Yelwal Gramdan Conference

YELWAL, an unknown place about eight miles from Mysore has suddenly emerged into prominence on account of the Gramdan Conference. At no time in the history of the Bhoodan movement had there been a conference of this kind. The culmination of Bhoodan in Gramdan has made an irresistible appeal to the leaders of various schools of thought. The claim of the movement to be of non-party nature and to be above all parties has been clearly vindicated at the Gramdan Conference. It was the first occasion in free India that eminent leaders of various parties met together around a saintly leader like Vinobaji on a non-party basis to discuss about the solution of land problem as one of urgent and paramount importance.

The conference was sponsored by the Sarva Seva Sangh at the instance of Vinobaji. Invitations were sent to about thirty prominent leaders in their individual capacity. About twenty responded to the invitation. Among those who took part in the conference were Dr. Rajendra Prasad—President of the Republic, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru—the Prime Minister, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri S. K. Dey, Shri Govind Vallabh Pant of the Central Government, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri R. Diwakar, Shri E. M. S. Namboodripad and Dr. Z. A. Ahmed of the Communist party, some Chief Ministers from the States, the President and Secretary of the Congress, Shri Ganga Saran Singh, Chairman of Praja Socialist Party and members of the executive of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

After hearing Vinobaji who traced the growth of the movement there was a frank and free discussion for two days. Then a joint communique of the leaders was issued on the 22nd September. It is given elsewhere in this issue.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has been taking keen interest in the Bhoodan movement since its inception. He is reported to have said that Bhoodan called upon the people who had lands to part with portions of them for the landless but in Gramdan

they had gone a stage further. He hoped that as a result of this movement they would proceed towards the creation of a new society based on non-violence. He said that it was this aspect that had attracted him.

Sri B. M. S. Namboodripad, the Communist Chief Minister of Kerala State is reported to have stated at a meeting in Mysore that "his party recognised in the Gramdan movement an alternative to its own policy in regard to land problem and rural organisation". (Hindu—25—9—57)

The Yelwal statement has fully recognised (1) the non-violent technique, (2) the voluntary character of the relinquishment of private possession of land and (3) the development of social order based on co-operation and self-help. "Thus the ethical approach combined with practical economic advantages" of the movement has been appreciated. There cannot be a greater tribute to this movement than the recognition and appreciation of its essential characteristics as described by the leaders in the Yelwal statement. The communique commends it to the nation to give all enthusiastic support to this mission.

The invitees have further clarified the schemes of land reforms at the Government level. It is stated that the proposed land reforms would be (1) for the abolition of intermediate interests in land, (2) the limitation of holdings and (3) promotion of co-operative movement in all its phases with the consent of the people concerned. It is admitted also that his approach cannot be in conflict with Gramdan movement, and that closest co-operation with the Community Development movement and the Gramdan movement is desirable.

While commenting on the Yelwal statement Vinobaji expressed his great satisfaction at the evening prayer meeting on the 25th September. He regarded it as a great blessing to the movement. He dilated on the ethical approach and the co-operative spirit of the movement as described in the statement. He said that the co-operative spirit represents the scientific approach of the modern age while the non-violent method symbolises the spiritual outlook. The combined application of spiritual knowledge and the scientific advancement should be considered as a correct evaluation of the movement.

The unanimous statement of the Summit Conference at Yelwal can be considered as a *Sammathidan* or the moral consent of the eminent leaders of the country for the solution of the land problem through Gramdan on a non-party basis. The Nation would naturally look to the signatories of the communique to actively support and strengthen the Gramdan movement in all possible ways in their official and non-official capacity.

This does not absolve us of our own responsibility. But on the other hand it has added to it. This Yelwal conference itself is the result of the *tapasya* of Vinobaji and the *Jana-Sakti* awakened by him through the Bhoodan movement during the last six years. Some of the *Lok-Sevaks* may feel about the absence of any reference to Gramraj or any indication of decentralization of power and the authority of the States to village at the bottom. But it should be remembered that the object of the Yelwal Conference was to draw the nation's attention to the solution of land problem through Gramdan. This has been achieved to some extent. We have still to strive further in completing the Gramdan programme as early as possible which will strengthen the hands of Vinobaji to convene a similar conference on a larger scale for discussing about the true *Gram Swaraj*. The Yelwal Conference is in a way a test and challenge before the Sarvodaya workers.

Vinobaji in Karnatak

EVEN after leaving Kerala Vinobaji has been walking in continuous rain as the north-east monsoon has broken. In Mangalore there was a large gathering. The students of the Social Service League took prominent part in the sale of literature and collection of Sampatti-dan. Sale of literature is more than expected and the Sanchalak of the Sarva Seva Sangh is making vigorous efforts to publish several books to meet the demand. Vinobaji was greatly impressed with the high literacy and sweet characteristics of the men and women of Coorg. At Mercara he suggested to them to fight spiritually for "Sarvodaya Rajya". His meeting with Shri. Kurumbayya, the veteran who taught Vinobaji Kanarese language in the Vellore Jail, was described by Vinobaji as the meeting of Rama and Bharata after

(Continued on page 114 bottom)

The Charkha of Non-violence

MAHATMA GANDHI

NON-violence is not something of the other world. If it is, I have no use for it. I am of the earth and if non-violence is something really worthwhile I want to realize it here on this earth while still I am alive. And how else can it be realized except in a society which has compassion and other similar virtues as its characteristics?

If you go to the house of one who has use for violence you will find his drawing room decorated with tigers' skins, deers' horns, swords, guns and such like. I have been to the Viceregal Lodge. I also saw Mussolini. In the houses of both I found arms hanging on the walls. I was given a salute with arms, a symbol of violence.

Just as arms symbolize violence the *charkha* symbolizes non-violence, in the sense that we can most directly realize non-violence through it. But it cannot symbolize non-violence so long as we do not work in accordance with its spirit. The sword in Mussolini's hall seemed to say "touch me and I will cut you." It gave a vivid picture of violence. It seemed to ask

full fourteen years. In Coorg 173 acres of *Prapti-patras* and Rs. 20,000 of *Sampatti-dan* were received.

After spending a week in Yelwal and Mysore, Vinobaji is now on his way to Bangalore where he will camp on the 14th Sept. He will stay there till the 19th Sept. As Bangalore is not only the capital of Mysore State but also the central place for the four southern linguistic areas speaking Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam and Tamil, he hopes that the *Santi-Sena* work, which is the immediate programme, will take some material form. There seems to be also an idea to have a centre for Sarvodaya ideological study at Bangalore for South India on the model of the *Samanvaya Ashram* at Bodh-Gaya. Vigorous efforts are being made at Bangalore to do preliminary work in connection with Vinobaji's visit.



you to touch it and realize its power. So also we must illustrate the power of the *charkha* so that a mere look at it may speak to us about non-violence. But we are bankrupt today. What is our answer to Socialists? They complain that we have been harping on the *charkha* for years and yet we have achieved nothing.

The *charkha* was there during Muslim rule also. Dacca was famous for its muslins. The *charkha* then was a symbol of poverty and not of non-violence. The kings took forced labour from women and depressed classes. The same was later repeated by the East India Company. Kautilya mentions in his *Arathashastra* the existence of such forced labour. For ages the *charkha* was thus a symbol of violence and the use of force and compulsion. The spinner got but a handful of grain or two small coins, while ladies of the court went about luxuriously clad in the finest of muslins, the product of exploited labour. As against this, I have presented the *charkha* to you as a symbol of non-violence.

(From "Khadi—Why and How"—Published by Navajivan.)

Vinobaji's Appeal to Women

WE had heard of Vinobaji's special appeals to the student community, to the commercial community and others on various occasions. As far as we remember he has not so far made any special appeal to women till he came to Mysore. It was the Dasara festival when Vinobaji was camping in Mysore. On Friday the 27th September, his speech at the prayer meeting was an inspired appeal to women of Mysore to come out of their homes and work for the establishment of peace in the world.

The women of the city had occupied the front portion of the ground before the dais leaving the men section to sit behind them. Vinobaji felt happy at this sight. He began his speech by saying that such a sight would not be possible in North India. Very few ladies usually attend public meetings there and they sit in some corner unnoticed. Vinobaji congratulated the ladies for having taken their legitimate place. He said that men have taken

up all the functions in the outside world leaving the task of managing the home to the ladies. The President of America or the Premier of Britain or the head of the Soviet Russia, he pointed, are all men at the helm of affairs. They have brought the world to ruin and keep the world under the fear of an ever-impending war. But the ladies who manage the homes have been maintaining perfect peace and upholding the Dharma of the society. Love and non-violence prevail at home under women while hatred and violence permeate in the outside world under men. If the world has to be saved from destruction and peace has to be established the women folk must come out of the homes to take up social service.

He described how it is an illusion for women to think that men enjoy a higher status and to claim equality with them. Men in fact have lowered themselves and their offer to women of places in the military in the name of equality is only to bring the women down to their level.

He called upon the women to abandon the idea of claiming equality with men. The status of women has been very much exalted in the Hindu scriptures. The *Manusmriti* says "that ten teachers are equivalent to one Acharya and hundred Acharyas are equivalent to one father. But one woman is much superior to even a thousand fathers." Therefore women folk should come out of their home and take up social duties. They must liberate themselves from the slavery at home. The gold ornaments with which they adorn themselves over all parts of the body are nothing but golden chains of bondage. They must discard these gold shackles of slavery and allow their natural beauty to shine forth.

The *Pathiviratha Dharma* or wife's devotion to husband is mistaken as an injunction to follow the husband blindly. The real devotee to her husband is one who helps him in the fulfilment of his sacred vows and not one who meekly helps and follows her husband even when he goes wrong. The Dharma of the women is to correct her husband when he is on the evil path. If she fails in this duty she could not be considered as really a *Pathiviratha*.

There is wrong notion that the home is meant for love and compassion and the outside world is for power and violence. Love

and power cannot go together. Love inside the home and hatred and violence outside the world are incompatible.

In the end, Vinobaji made a moving appeal to the women of Mysore State to come out of their homes and take their righteous place in the society for the maintenance of peace. Men have to share part of the domestic work with women. Vinobaji hoped that men will help in the liberation of women and in their coming forward to take their right place in society for the establishment of social justice and peace.

A Picture of Gram-Raj

GORA

GRAM Raj means the organisation of society based upon small administrative units. The stress upon the smallness of the size is a distinct departure from the extent political and economic views which think in terms of countries. They are justified in their own way because they believe that man's life can be moulded by state laws, religious faiths and methods of production and distribution of wealth. The Bhoodan ideology looks at man from a different angle. It holds that man is the creator of his social relations and he can change them to suit the needs of his civilizational progress. So while the present systems subordinate the individual to something external and thus enslave him to dictators and exploiters, Bhoodan places him on his own legs and releases the immense man-power that lies locked up today by poverty, slavery and prejudice. Because in basic needs and talents men resemble more than they differ, they will work for equality in respect and opportunity when everyone is set free. Mahatma Gandhi's slogan "feel free" and his methods of satyagraha were intended to develop man's freedom and Bhoodan follows the same line of action.

The exercise of freedom is facilitated when man moves in small social units but not when he is pressed into vast crowds like countries. So Bhoodan recommends the establishment of Gram-Raj where the units are not bigger than three to four thousand population and are convenient regions for economic self-sufficiency to a large extent on the one hand and for representative democracy on the other. The direct and intimate touch between the constituency and the representative which is essential for the popular functioning of democracy, but lacking in the present system of large constituent is assured in Gram-Raj.

In Gram-Raj each unit elects its own assembly and the units are federated into wider unions by a series of indirect elections. All wealth of the unit belongs to its assembly which manages the units so as to guarantee full and integrated employment to all its residents. In as much as Gram-Raj is comprehensive movement for the whole humanity, the present towns and villages irrespective of creed and country can take to it. Side by side with the change of the basis of the society from crowded cities to convenient administrative units, the scientists will change their technological processes from manufacturing lethal weapons and exploiting machines to making gadgets which afford comforts and leisure to man.

THE ALL INDIA BHOODAN PADAYATRA

Shri. Cherian Thomas and his fifteen colleagues should be congratulated for having successfully completed their All India Pada-yatra at Sevagram on the 2nd October, the 88th Gandhi Jayanthi according to their plan. The yatra was inaugurated at Cape Comorin on 2nd February 1956 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The party walked about 6,000 miles in about 20 months through Kerala, Madras, Mysore, Andhra, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Delhi, Punjab, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. They received over 2,13,000 lakhs of acres as Bhoodan and 22 villages as Gramdan besides about five lakhs of rupees as Sampatti-dan. The Sevagram Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi has been closed since 18th April 1955 as its inmates were engaged in Bhoodan work. The Ashram was again reopened on the Gandhi Jayanthi by Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh. The old inmates of the Ashram who had come back received Shri. Cherian's yatra party. It is a matter of rejoice that Gandhiji's Ashram is again buzzing with activity. Vinobaji in his message to Shri. Cherian and others says "You have practised great penance in devotion and worship and God may bless you to become symbol of truth, love and humility".

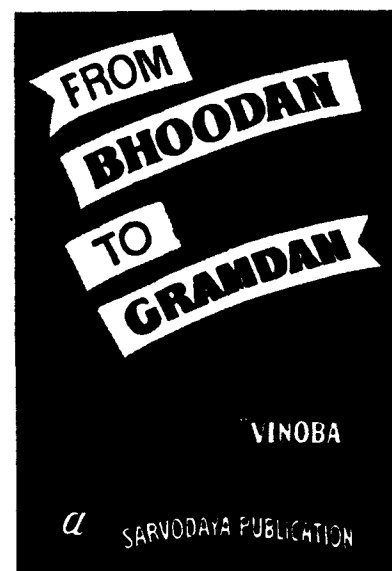
Greatness of the Spirit of Man

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IT struck me, as it struck me very much in my youth when I worked under Gandhiji, how great was the spirit of man, how much more powerful than anything else, how much more powerful than any atom bomb or any other kind of armament. That often struck me, as I saw Vinoba, the shadow of a man, ill, weak, going on *pada-yatra* from village to village. Our big people may laugh, our economists may ask what all this meant. But here is a man of the spirit working through the Indian masses, no doubt bringing about changes in an imperceptible but in a powerful manner. I wonder if at this present juncture of history any other country can produce such people.

Other countries had them too. I do not know whether it is a sign of primitiveness or goodness, but in so far as I am concerned, it is good. But, it struck me in spite of the progress that it is taking place in the world, and there is progress undoubtedly, a magnificent civilisation has been built up in the last 200 years in Europe. Europe built up a resplendent civilisation and culture—in music, science, technology etc. We in India too try to build up ourselves, industrially, technologically etc. It is perfectly true and

I hope we shall succeed in it. But I do say that all the civilisations of the world minus some kind of spirit or spiritual background may or will be rather empty and may well lead to wrong ends. It may lead us to great things or to great disasters unless it is checked by something of the spirit. It is only the things of the spirit that can stand before fear, hatred and violence. (Adapted from an address at Hyderabad on 24.9.1957—Hindu, Sept. 25, 1957.)



Price 60 nP.

Gramdan—The New Dimension

ACHARYA VINOBA

LEADERS of the main political parties met together and declared their hearty support to the idea of gramdan. The joint statement which they have issued is a new charter. The destination is no more vague. We have an authorised version of the text in our hands. It is easy now to write commentaries on it and develop all its implications in their fullest details. I would appeal to you to drop a curtain on the past and begin afresh your efforts from the new declaration. Which party supported or opposed you before has very little relevance now. Forget the differences and recriminations that may be lingering in your minds. It is a fact that Gramdan has been approved by all the leading parties in the country.

The work of Gramdan and Gramraj may now be trusted to develop without a major obstacle. While speaking at the meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh the other day I said, that we may now say that we are out of the woods. The period of groping to find a path out of the jungle has definitely come to an end. We see more light and we have a direction and compass to guide us. We have been engaged, in what I may call, the path-finder's work in the early years of the movement.

Let us now go to the people with a new confidence. Gramdan is no longer restricted to the Sarva Seva Sangh or to any other narrow sect or group but it is a National Aspiration. It is reminiscent of the Pledge of Independence that we took on the banks of the Ravi at Lahore in 1929. The country gathered its strength behind it. The statement of the political leaders about Gramdan ought to get similar response all over the country. Its language is modest. It is in keeping with the ascending progress of our movement. We had to deepen the national discontent against the English rule in order to create the necessary strength behind the demand for national freedom. But now as our great leaders have said in the statement we have to deepen this movement as well. Every individual has to participate in this. It is possible to make a national plan by widening its general appeal. But Gramdan is something more than a national programme. It is a renaissance or a spiritual awakening. This has, if I may say so, a different

SARVODAYA

121

dimension. We have to deepen it, that is, touch the heart and mind of every citizen. We can do it if we have a sense of being reborn. We have to forget our past and begin anew on a clean slate.

I had said at a Gramdan conference that next to Lord Buddha the credit of raising a protest on behalf of the exploited and the dispossessed in the world would undoubtedly go to Karl Marx. But I had also said that the compassion which the Buddha preached was deeper whereas Marx remained only on a superficial level. If compassion is not deeper and is not integrated with one's being it can never cut at the root of misery. Buddha went to the very root of man's sorrow. That is why his doctrine is eternal.

The system of thought that Karl Marx formulated was a reaction. It is no wonder that it is no longer a current coin. But there is the desire of compassion in both. But the Marxists have been led to be unmindful of the means they use. War and bloodshed mean nothing to them if it is for the cause. Compassion is bound to express itself in cruelty and violence if it has not gone deep and permeated our whole being. So it is necessary that Bhoodan workers must accept *svadhyaya* (study) as part of their daily discipline and try to dive within and search the real self. Our efforts to end private ownership may then go into a wrong channel. Unless we understand the deeper significance of what it means it will not free us from bondage. We shall continue to move up and down in a blind alley.

Some of the ardent believers in Gandhism are sceptical about Gramdan. There is a point in their criticism which is worthy of consideration. There is a close resemblance at the superficial level between the idea of Gramdan and the Communist programme of collectivisation. A little negligence or misunderstanding on the part of a Bhoodan worker may kill the spirit of Gramdan and make it something similar to coercive collectivisation.

In the last analysis what is the meaning of ending private ownership in land? The Gandhians are raising objections which are similar to those raised by the Christian missionaries in Kerala. They say we have no quarrel with the idea of Bhoodan. It is an individual act of compassion. It is good and right that means of

employment should be made available to some of those who are destitute and unemployed. But the talk of ending private property in land belongs to a different category. It is against the tenets of Christian religion which accepts the sacredness of private property. I told my Christian friend that individual responsibility is sacred and not property. Every individual has a joint and several responsibility. He said that I was interpreting it in religious language and not in economic theory. I said you have in mind the injunction against forceful dispossession of another's property and you believe that such a thing should not happen; this is the sense in which you believe that private property is sacred. I have nothing to say about this. But what would you say when private property is used to oppose or obstruct public good? Would you still consider it sacred? He said, no. But, he said, it is difficult to put any restrictions on a movement once it starts moving. It is not easy to achieve the objective. I said the world situation is changing so rapidly that non-violence has become the practical need of the hour. Modern science would back up the Gramdan idea. The time-spirit is ripe for it. But I agree that it must not be considered merely as an economic theory. In the text of the leaders' statement, which is our Charter just now, you will see that it had said that *Gramdan is a way of achieving ethical and economic regeneration at one and the same time. It is a non-violent and a co-operative method of bringing about a social and economic change.* It has two sides, the ethical and the economic. The representatives of the various parties who are signatories to the statement have reiterated their faith in both. No one can now run away with only one part of it. The two are inseparable in Gramdan. (Adapted from "Bhoodan"—a speech at the Workers' Seminar in Mysore on 26th September, 1957.)

BHOODAN

A weekly organ of the

AKHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

Annual Subscription Rs. 6

Bhoodan, 374, Shaniwarpet, Poona 2

Gandhi to Vinoba—The New Pilgrimage

Lanza Del Vasto or popularly known as Shanti Das is a French-man devoted to Sarvodaya ideals. He was on fast for 20 days as a Satyagrahi against the injustice and oppression of the French Government in Algeria. He wrote a letter to Vinobaji while going through the fast with two other friends. Vinobaji blessed the Satyagraha and sent him a message that God would be on his side and it would be helpful in moving the hearts. The English translation of his book "Gandhiji to Vinoba" or "The New Pilgrimage" in French, has been recently published. Here is a review of the book which appeared in the "Listener", London of 30th May, 1957 paying a high tribute to the author and his book.

LANZA del Vasto is himself an exceptional man—a philosopher and a poet, a musician and a painter, and, as this book shows, a writer of great distinction (he writes in French, and his fine style is excellently rendered into English by Professor Leon). The present book consists of three parts: a life of Vinoba, a journal of a march with Vinoba on one of his Bhu-Dan expeditions, and a collection of texts and sayings of Vinoba. One might, without any feeling of exaggeration or irreverence, compare this book to the gospels of the evangelists—it has the same fervour conveyed with a similar lyrical simplicity; the same conviction of a saintly presence; the same devotion of the poor and oppressed. It teaches, indeed, the same gospel of love. We should not put it aside with the thought that it concerns another country, other races, whose problems are not our problems. India is not so far from Palestine, and the message of Gandhi and Vinoba is no less universal than that of Jesus. Del Vasto has been challenged by his fellow-Christians, who ask: 'Do you want to turn us into Hindus, Buddhists, or fakirs?'; and to these critics he replies:

"The barriers of prejudice and ignorance are, it seems to me, bad bulwarks for our faith..... The doctrine which I preach and uphold, and to which I am looking for a social and spiritual revival both in the West and the East, is the Gandhian doctrine, which cannot clash with our religious faith, because it is not a new religion or even a religious doctrine at all, for it concerns another plane."

The Great Mission of Vinoba

SWAMI RAMDAS

Vinobaji spent a day at Anand-ashram of Swami Ramdas, at Kanhangad in the last week of his Kerala Yatra. This ashram "is linked to whole of Bharath, nay the whole world" in the words of Vinobaji. The ashram itself felt blessed while seeing the two great personalities together. Here is an extract of the speech by Swami Ramdas on Vinobaji, which is taken from "The Vision" a monthly, published from Anandashram.

FIRST Ramdas was made to take the Name for himself continuously and enjoy the sweetness of it. God's name is his mainstay; his sole mission in life is to sing the glories of the Name and make as many people as possible utter the Name. because, unless a man has got a spiritual background to his life, his actions do not fulfill themselves in doing real good to people for whose sake he is doing things. So Ramdas was directed by the Divine within that he should first purify his life by constant remembrance of God and then do all actions as dedication to Him. But dedication can be possible only when we are free from the ego-sense, i. e., when we feel that we are merely servants in the hands of God. This attitude we can maintain only by remembering Him constantly.

So Ramdas' experience by the repetition of the Name was that his mind was filled with divine bliss. It was not only purified and enlightened, but it was also sweetened. That sweetness entered into every part of his being and he realised that he was the very embodiment of bliss. This experience completely purifies you and you behold the Divine everywhere and then you cannot but love everybody irrespective of any distinctions on the surface. Likes and dislikes leave you completely and the divine energy in you flows out spontaneously for the good of everybody just as the sun gives light. If you ask the sun why it is giving light and if it could speak, it would say that it is its nature to give light. So also it becomes our nature to be active in the world for the good of others. Unless we find joy within ourselves we cannot do real good to others. So long as we are discontented within and our minds are impure and are craving for the things of the world, we are steeped in ignorance. If we are contented and happy, our actions will flow out of us spontaneously and prove to be beneficial to all those with whom we come in contact.

In this spirit Sri Vinobaji has undertaken this great tour by which he is collecting crores of acres of land so that all can possess and enjoy them and live in freedom and happiness. Man, when he is serving another as an employee, is a degraded creature. He must stand on his own legs, cultivate his own land and then live a life which is independent, and co-operate with others so that others also may derive the benefit of his labour and thereby make a happy society, happy community, happy nation and a happy world. This is the great mission, which God has entrusted Vinobaji with and he is successfully carrying it out. We can see all this from his life of perfect abstinence and dedication, with the background of a divine consciousness.

Gandhiji was also a great saint first and a Karma Yogi afterwards. His life was spotlessly pure because he had great faith in Ramnam and Ramnam did thoroughly purify his life and through such pure life it is that the divine energy poured out of



Swami Ramdas and Vinoba.

him for the uplift of humanity. So the inspired personality whom we find present with us now is a great example which everybody should follow.

Sampattidan—The Gift of Wealth

ACHARYA VINOBA

I would like to remind you that the object of sampattidan is the ending of private property in wealth. In Bhoodan ending of private property in land really means ending of every vestige of private property in any kind of wealth. This is the guiding star or the first principle of our movement. But a social change cannot be merely wished to become a reality. People's minds have to be prepared and a climate of opinion has to be created. As a beginning in this direction we accept a part of an individual's earnings in Sampattidan. That gives the worker an opportunity to introduce the Bhoodan idea to one family. It creates a contact through which he can touch the heart of the donor and thus bring about a change in the donor's way of life. I have made a rough and ready plan for utilising the amount that is being given as Sampattidan. Where the amount is only a few thousands of rupees it may be used for giving honorarium to full-time workers. If it is substantial a part of it may be used for the work of publications of Bhoodan literature also. Where it goes into crores it should be used for the development work in gramdan villages. Do not imagine that the amount that we are likely to get as Sampattidan would never be very substantial. I have no doubt that it will come in such abundance that it may become a burden to our workers. Sampattidan would fulfil itself by ending private ownership in wealth. The wealthy have been frightened a little and they have begun to complain that they were not warned in time about the implications of Sampattidan. But they will ultimately fall in line and give willingly. Some of us do not quite like the idea of raising a band of full-time workers which would be supported out of the proceeds of sampattidan. There is a feeling that such an arrangement may create the feeling of master and servant or produce an unhealthy effect on the movement. I feel this fear is not justified. The donors would give in humility and penitence. It would be an expression of vicarious service. A donation like this ennobles those who give and those who take. The sense of inferiority or personal obligation just does not come in. One gets 'deeper insight' by being able to see and understand what is happening to another than by personal experience.

From the Speech at the Bhoodan Workers' Seminar in Mysore.

The Gramdan Conference at Yelwal

At the invitation of the Sarva Seva Sangh a Gramdan Parishad (conference) was held on September 21 and 22, 1957 at Yelwal in Mysore State. The Rashtrapati graced the conference with his presence. Other invitees, from all over India, deeply interested in this movement were also present.

Acharya Vinoba explained to the Conference how he came to adopt the non-violent technique for the solution of socio-economic problems, more especially the land problem. Beginning with voluntary land gifts, the movement developed and reached the stage of Gramdan, that is the gift of entire villages to the village community. More than 3,000 villages have thus far been voluntarily offered as Gramdan to the village community by the people concerned who have thereby renounced their private ownership in land.

The participants in the Conference welcomed this Gramdan movement and expressed their high appreciation of the objectives underlying it. This would lead to a fuller development of co-operative life and effort in the villages concerned and would also result in the economic betterment of the people of these villages and all round progress and development. It would further create the psychological climate all over India for the solution of the land problem and for the furtherance of co-operative life. The essential feature of this movement is the non-violent technique adopted and its voluntary character. Thus the ethical approach is combined with practical economic advantage and the development of social order based on co-operation and self-help. Such a movement deserves every kind of help and encouragement.

The members of the Central and State Governments who were present, while expressing their full appreciation of the Gramdan movement and their desire to help it, pointed out that the Governments concerned would have to proceed with their schemes of land reforms which were on the abolition of all intermediate interests in land, the limitation of holdings and the promotion of the co-operative movement in all its phases with the consent of the people concerned. This Governmental approach was not in conflict with the Gramdan movement and would indeed be helped by it.

It was further pointed out that the closest co-operation was desirable between the Community Development movement and the Gramdan movement.

At the conclusion of its two-day deliberations, the Conference expresses its high appreciation of Vinobaji's Mission and his efforts to solve national and social problems by non-violent and co-operative methods, and appeals to all sections of the Indian people to give this mission their enthusiastic support.

[This is the unanimous statement issued by the Conference held at Mysore, on 22nd September, 1957.]

Sarvodaya—The Good of All

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

BHOODAN is not a sectional, rural, national movement, though it may have local application. It is universally applicable to the entire human race. It aims at the good of all which includes your good also. It does not exclude your personality. If everyone's good is achieved your good is also automatically achieved. When it does not exclude anyone, then what justification can there be for any individual to remain aloof from it or to have objection to it? Lack of correct understanding of the basic ideology of this movement only can make one say that one is not interested in it. Every one of you should say that you are for Sarvodaya i. e. the good of all. What is good for all is good for me also.

Why should we want the good of all? Is it at all possible? There are two answers to the first question! One is philosophical and the other is practical. The philosophical answer is that this difference which we experience to-day is only an appearance, and an unreality. In reality all of us are one. We may have different bodies, different complexions, different occupations, different nationalities etc. All these differences are there, but we are human. My real 'I' and your real 'I' are the same. I am something different, my body, hand, eye etc. That 'I' by whatever name you call it is one. It is the fundamental truth.

Because of this fundamental unity which lies under diversity, we should desire the good of all. My good is your good, and your good is mine. If I suffer you suffer too. If I go down you also go down. If we understand this fundamental unity we would automatically desire the good of all.

Now the practical answer: Suppose an epidemic breaks out in your city, can any one say that I have taken all necessary precautions that it does not come to my house. No one is sure of that. The only guarantee, the only perfect insurance against the epidemic is that your city is completely free from it. If you have both the rich and poor, happy and unhappy at the same time in society, can anyone be sure that even though one is happy to-day, one may not be unhappy to-morrow? One who is rich to-day can become poor to-morrow. A nation which is proud of its wealth to-day can it be sure that it will be the same to-morrow? Hitler challenged the whole world single-handed but we all know that he had to commit suicide at the end. We have witnessed the rise and fall of nations in History. There cannot be only a fall or a rise. So long as there are happiness and unhappiness, wealth and poverty in society, you will not be sure what you will be to-morrow. So even in your enlightened self-interest you should form a society in which everyone's self-interest is secured. If there is educated unemployment in India, you may not know that your son will be a prey to this disease. You will be sure of employment only when unemployment is banned from society. So the good of all is a guarantee of our own individual good. So, for our own good everyone should work for Sarvodaya.

What is the good of all? There are thieves, black-marketeers, exploiters in society. One might ask as to how you can talk of good of these people! Do you want to give freedom to all these? There is no doubt that these people to-day are doing wrong, they have gone astray, they have lost their way, and are following a path of evil. So their good consists in weaning them away from that path and not in punishing them. We should change the circumstances so that people may not go wrong. If your son falls into bad-company, there is every possibility that he may go wrong. But it is not the boy who is responsible for it but the circumstances in which he has to live. A poor man who has to save his children starving is driven by hunger to steal.

Evil circumstances induce people to commit evil acts. We should treat them just as we treat sick persons in hospital. Give them love and achieve the good of them. Modern law says that punishment is not good. What are you going to achieve by punishing the evil-doers? By hanging such persons you are hanging and condemning yourself. In Russia there is no mercy for political offenders, they receive the most barbaric and brutal treatment which deserve strongest condemnation from all. But criminals in Russia are treated as citizens. They are given opportunity to correct themselves, they are put to work. Just like that rich people in society can also be given opportunity to correct themselves. Accumulation of wealth is not possible by virtue. That is why Christ said 'It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven'. Christ would not condemn anyone unnecessarily. Everyone of you present here, like to amass as much of wealth as possible and become multimillionaire. Even the poor people want to be rich. But we all know that wealth cannot be amassed except by exploitation. We are all middle-class people and we certainly take more than what we should, so we are also exploiters.

Every man is born with certain potentialities and tendencies, of good and bad qualities. Our good consists in our being guaranteed fullest possible scope for the development of all virtues in us. If we are given this opportunity everyone can achieve his good. How can this be done? You are all educated people. Let us take the history of Europe. There was feudal society in Europe for a hundred years; then there were conflicts, and revolutions, in which feudalism was finally defeated. One character of feudalism is that every individual was bound by certain obligations; there was no freedom for the individual. So concepts of "*laissez faire*" to let everyone do what he likes and to let everyone go wherever he wants came to prevail. The idea of freedom was expressed through bourgeois revolution or capitalistic revolution. It was assumed that if everyone is given freedom to work for his own good, then automatically good of all would be achieved. Adam Smith was its prophet. He was a revolutionary in his own times. But history of the last 200 years is a tragic failure of "*Laissez faire*". Theoretically the worker was free to move wherever he wants, free to choose his

occupation. But in practice, if he did not accept the wages offered to him, he had to starve. One of the greatest literary figures of this age—Anatole France has written that 'bourgeois law, in its majestic equality permits the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg or to steal.' The history of last 200 years is a history of new limitations, new regulations placed on the freedom of individual. Workers had to work for 18 hours a day in the factories. So factory laws came into existence. All these regulations have accumulated into three different political systems—(1) Welfare State (2) Socialist State (3) Communist State. There are degrees of limitations in each of these three systems. If everyone is working for one's own good, the good of all can never be achieved. It can be possible only when everyone works not for one's own good but for the good of society. Can anyone claim that good of all is achieved either in the Welfare State or in the Socialist or Communist state? They do not achieve the object for which they have been made. It can be achieved when everyone works for the good of all, voluntarily and not compulsorily. When there are two sections in society, compellers and compelled, what good can be achieved of those who are compelled? What guarantee is there that those who have this power to compel will use it for the good of all? So we must create a society where there is no need for compulsion. Vinobaji has said that human beings are not sheep and we do not want mere shepherds. I am saying this not because any saint has said it but because I have come to that conclusion by studying history, that if we work for our own self-interest, it cannot be achieved and there is no guarantee that it will be achieved for ever.

Bhoodan-Gramdan concerns every one of you. There is an idea that human happiness, peace and well-being can be achieved only if we give up the idea of self-interest and come to believe that our own good can be achieved only when we achieve good of all. This is a very simple and noble idea. All great teachers of world have said this. But it has to be practised. Bhoodan—Gramdan movement is an attempt to practise this idea. It has to be started somewhere. India lives in the villages. If villages rise, India will rise. So Vinobaji started this movement in the villages. People often ask that cities being the centres of culture, education, business and politics etc. so why didn't Vinobaji start this movement in cities? But it is applicable to cities also.

The message of Bhoodan is that you should share whatever you have, land, property, intellect, etc., with your neighbours. Ultimately every village will become an enlarged family. Then every nation, then the whole world would become one family. We have to practice this idea. It may be possible for saints to practise it alone. But for common people Bhoodan and Sampattidan are the first steps. It is only partial sharing. But Gramdan is total sharing at least of land to be followed by sharing of other things.

The Gramdan Conference held at Yelwal, recently is a landmark in the history of Sarvodaya Movement. I hope that after this Conference all citizens will take up this work as their own, that everyone would feel that his own duty in society has not been fulfilled unless he does something for this Movement. This consciousness has to be created. I expect you to read Sarvodaya literature, at least, as you are all educated friends here. Once you have done this the rest will follow automatically. Then you cannot sit quiet, for an impulse, from within will make you take part in this movement.

[Speech delivered at the public meeting held at Mysore on 24-9-'57.]

World Leadership

ESME WYNNE-TYSON, (SUSSEX, ENGLAND)

IN a recent exchange of views between Jo Grimond and Edwin Canham, editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*, printed in the *Observer*, Mr. Canham expressed doubt as to whether the American economic system is not too 'advanced' to be applicable in any of the under-developed areas.

The adjective 'advanced' falls a little strangely on ears that have lately become aware of the conditions to which the American way of life has led these diligent people. The incidence of insanity in the U. S. is now so high that statistics are not issued. When they last *were*, it was acknowledged that more than half the hospital beds were occupied by mental cases, and that there are

not enough psychiatrists in the country to deal with its mentally broken patients. A women journalist, writing in *The Saturday Evening Post*, replied to her own question of why so many of her countrymen die young by saying it was because of 'intolerable pressures in the scramble for success'. She complained that the American way of life was not agreeing with those who were working hardest to produce it, and that there were 7,500,000 widows in her country at the time of writing, three times as many widows as widowers; and she begged her sex not to encourage this killing slave-driving.

Gandhiji warned us, according to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, that "Overwork is a form of violence". But this is only one of the forms that violence takes in the U. S. although perhaps the most ubiquitous. Speed-racing, prize-fighting, gun-men and militarism are others; juvenile as well as adult delinquency are taxing the resources of the government, none of which factors suggest an 'advanced', or evolved people that could lead the world to happiness and peace. Indeed a nation addicted to drink and narcotics is obviously neither inwardly peaceful nor happy, and to-day the doctors cannot cope with the demand for the 'tranquilizers' that, on both sides of the Atlantic, seem to be lined up to take the place of the discredited cigarette, the dangers of which the medical profession can no longer deny. But in a recent, reasoned article in the American paper, *Progressive*, it was admitted that while tranquilizers made raving lunatics more docile and therefore easier and more pleasant to manage, they were far from being good or suitable for the general public as they can lead to addiction or suicide. And yet in England there is a tendency to speak of tranquilizers as something to be normally found in the family medicine chest with the aspirin and tooth-paste! This suggests that the enormous revenue obtained until now from taxation on tobacco is to be sought from drugs if a gullible public can be conditioned into becoming addicts!

Only one who earns his bread in the cloister-like seclusion of the offices of the eminently respectable C. S. Monitor could wear rosy enough glasses as to imagine that a way of life with such 'side-effects' constitutes a good enough alternative to the godless and completely materialistic Marxist terminology so repellent to those who have known a better and freer way of life. The equality

that knows no quality, and would drag everyone down to the intellectual level of the television screen; the exclusive worship of commodities and efficiency, making all other values subservient to these, what appeal can such a way of life have to followers of Gandhiji and Vinobaji who have been shown the possibility of spiritual evolution, of becoming a finer, less animalistic and less violent species of man?

And fortunately there is an alternative to the Eastern and Western materialisms now striving for world-leadership, indicated many years ago by that great lover of India, Mrs. Annie Besant when she wrote: "To help in turning India into another Great Britain or another Germany" (to-day she would include America) "is an ambition that does not allure me; the India I would give my life to help in building is an India to which all other lands should look for spiritual life. I honestly believe that the future of India, and the happiness of her people, can never be secured by political methods, but only by the revival of her philosophy and religion."

It is time that all the nations of the world—including India herself—heeded these wise words.

Is Peace Possible in a Greedy World?

WILFRED WELLOCK

(Specially contributed for "Sarvodaya")

THE whole world is crying out for peace. It fears, and wants to see abolished, nuclear warfare, but there are no signs that such abolition will be effected. Why is this? It is the fear of world domination by Communism, says the West. It is the fear of world domination by American capitalism, says Russia. So the conflict of the Dinosaurs continues and nuclear weapons multiply.

But if by some act of magic one of the Dinosaurs were to be subjected to the will of the other, would peace emerge like a bolt from the blue? None dare avow it. Why? Because both these social and economic systems embrace powerful class divisions and tendencies, a build-up of sectional privileges from their apex

to their base, which their possessors seek to maintain, strengthen and improve above all other aims, and so make bigger and bigger demands upon their national resources, and, as nations, upon the earth's food and raw material resources. Commissars no less than the big financial corporations of capitalist states, plan and plot to hold on to their power and privileges.

Thus within every highly industrialised Western State, be it capitalist or socialist or a mixture of the two, there is taking place to-day a ding-dong battle between Labour on the one hand and Capital on the other for bigger shares of the national income, while the professional classes side with both in turn as the balance of advantage changes. At the same time the competition for world markets and supplies grows fiercer every day, while currencies and financial systems wobble and rock to an extent which keep entire nations on tenter-hooks and in perpetual fear lest they be hurled into the abyss by the speculations of profit seekers whose gods are wealth and power. And how numerous are the devotees of these Gods to-day and wishes in every Communist state there are rising demands for higher living standards and a larger measure of personal freedom!

It is well to keep these facts in mind as we observe the rising demands in the West for the cessation of nuclear bomb tests, and indeed for the destruction of all nuclear weapons and the complete abandonment of nuclear warfare. Yet it is of perilous significance that although nuclear warfare could wipe out vast populations of the highly industrialised and centralised nations of the West, or decimate them to an extent that would paralyse with despair whatever remnants of civilisation which remained, there is, in cold fact, little prospect that these demands are going to be effective.

All the Governments of the Western democracies declare that they cannot stop manufacturing nuclear weapons so long as Russia manufactures them, while Russia says the same regarding these Powers. Then the people, in bewilderment, demand at least the cessation of nuclear bomb tests and in the end they are supported by many church leaders and church conferences, and even by individual Members of Parliament. But the Government makes the same answer as before. Whereafter the voices of protest

weaken, the churches abate their ardour for bold disarmament measures, while all the big political parties take the safe line of advocating unlimited disarmament universally, by agreement.

So there is a deadlock, an acknowledged chasm which cannot be bridged. The people look on bewildered. Why cannot the chasm be bridged when no conceivable calamity can be worse than a war fought with nuclear weapons? That is the voice of reason and logic. But there are factors that are more powerful than logic and reason, and one of them is fear. However, there is a power that is stronger than fear, namely faith, or faith charged with goodwill, or love towards men. Evidently the latter is lacking on both sides of the iron curtain, faith and goodwill being weaker than fear and hatred.

But as yet each side adopts a "holier than thou" attitude each believes that its conduct is just and righteous while that of its opponent is not. Russia condemns a social system which permits the making of millionaires on the one hand and millions of common people to live below the poverty line, on the other, which regards coloured peoples a sub-human and exploits Colonial peoples, while the Western Powers condemn communist dictatorships because they ruthlessly suppress personal liberty, freedom to express one's views or to hold opinions that are contrary to established authority, and because only the ideological elite are permitted to enjoy high material living standards.

Now then, is this conflict between the Communist and the anti-communist blocks to be settled? Russia falls back on the Marxian dictum that in due course Western capitalist states will collapse by reason of the irreconcilable clash between capital and labour over the distribution of wealth, while the West, and especially the United States, believes that the contradiction between the dictatorial power of ruling cliques and rising demands of the proletariat for complete political freedom and the universal right of free self-expression, will terminate in the overthrow of Communism and the reign of democracy.

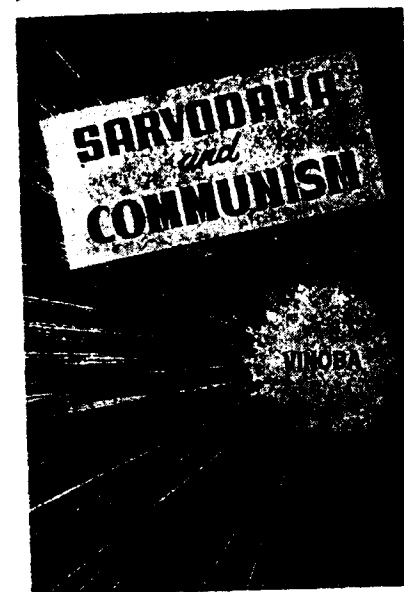
It is possible that both these forecasts will be justified by events, and that ultimately dictatorship will be abandoned in the

Communist world, and the financial power of big corporations as in the United States will be broken, whence something approaching a real democracy will come into being in both these wide realms of human beings, whose fundamental needs, material, moral and spiritual, are the same.

Already the movement towards the extension of personal liberty is well under way in all the Communist states, while in all capitalist states of the West the struggle between the classes for a fairer distribution of the national wealth becomes keener every day, and in every one of them economic and financial crises of the first magnitude are in being and are threatening the stability and indeed the perpetuation of the existing economic and social systems.

But what is to follow? Will peace and social well-being follow an all-round raising of material living standards? May not such a development merely result in luxury living, wasteful spending, ravenous, reckless habits and growing greed?

We are thus driven to the conclusion that our first and deepest need is a better culture, the recognition that happiness cannot come from getting and spending money, but fundamentally from giving, the giving of one's self, one's mind and spirit in some soul-absorbing labour which makes a worthy contribution to the enriching and beautifying of life about us. Such work elevates and ennoble the soul and wins the title to the love and fellowship of one's fellows. In the last analysis, as John Ruskin once truly said: "There is no wealth but Life"! And the Pursuit of Life is the way of Peace.



Price 40 nP.

The Mysore Seminar

SURESH RAM

WHAT is going on to-day in the name of Satyagraha is sheer acrobatism. This will corrode the very weapon of Satyagraha and render it futile. Satyagraha requires no gymnastics but constructive sacrifice for its fulfilment. It involves detached service, deep compassion and ceaseless self-purification. Remember that Satyagraha is a compound of two words, viz., *Satya* (Truth) and *Agraha* (Insistence). Of these two, the more important is *Satya* and not *Agraha*. We should let *Satya* have its full play and keep ourselves behind. In practice, however, we insist on *Agraha*, which amounts to self-assertion. Let us withdraw this lower 'self' and allow *Satya* to make itself felt. *Satya* can fight its battle alone and prevail. But our conduct hides *Satya* and brings self in the fore. This spoils the power of Satyagraha. I, therefore, want to make it clear that what you are doing through the medium of Bhoodan, Gramdan or Shanti-sena is real Satyagraha provided it continuously tends to cleanse your heart."

With these touching words Vinoba closed his valedictory remarks before an assembly of leading whole-time Bhoodan workers who had gathered from different parts of the country at Mysore for a three days' camp on September 25th last. The camp was convened in the wake of the Gramdan Conference, which, was held at Yelwal, some eight miles away from Mysore city, on September 21—22. At the conclusion of its two-day deliberations this conference, attended by eminent leaders of India belonging to different schools of thought, issued a statement appealing to all sections of the Indian people to give the Gramdan mission their enthusiastic support.

The proceedings began with prayers. Sri Narayan Desai, convenor, announced 15 Gramdans from Andhra and 17 from Kerala. The deliberations opened with a talk by Sri Siddharaj Dhadda, Joint Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Tracing the course of the movement from Palni onwards (where it was decided to disband all Bhoodan Committees from 1st January, 1957 as also to discontinue any aid from Gandhi Memorial Fund or any

SARVODAYA

139

other centralised agency), he pointed out how it had grown and the idea of Gramdan had caught popular imagination. He made a plea for concerted drive.

A good part of the time of the first day was given to problems of workers—their maintenance, family co-operation, and study. It was followed by a discussion of the various aspects of Gramdan. Sri Shankarrao Deo stressed the need of caution and explained that the *Gram-sabhas* which were going to be established in the Gram-dan villages should serve as managing bodies, not as ruling or controlling authorities. He warned against any delegation of functions to any executive or other committee for that was a precursor of delegation of powers which was at the root of all evil in the world to-day.

The last speech of the day was Vinoba's who had carefully followed the discussions. He said that he had thought of a formula for the utilisation of Sampattidan: it should be spent for workers if it amounts to thousands, for propagation of literature if it reaches lakhs and for development of Gramdan villages if it goes to crores of rupees. Dwelling on the importance and need of popularising the *Sootanjali* (gift of yarn hank in memory of Mahatma Gandhi on every 12th February), he called upon the workers to take it up earnestly. Later he appealed to them to drop a curtain on the past and begin afresh their efforts for Gramdan in the light of the Yelwal Declaration. Then he pointed that *Gram-raj* was not a felicitous word and that we should use the word *Gram-Swaraj* instead as our objective. He then stressed the necessity of deep study and concentrated meditation. Lastly, he urged upon the necessity of cultivating truthfulness, silence and peace.

On the 26th morning, we had only one programme—a thoughtful discourse from Vinoba for eighty minutes. Reviewing in brief the growth of the Bhoodan movement, he described how he arrived at *Gram-dan* in Orissa, at *Gram-Swaraj* in Tamilnad and at *Shanti-Sena* in Kerala.

Referring to his recent four days' illness in Kerala during heavy rains, he pointed out how it led to supreme concentration of his thought. The result was that he had reached the conclusion that we required a force of 75,000 volunteers for *Shanti-Sena* (Peace Brigade) for making the power of effective non-

violence felt all over the country, at the rate of one volunteer for every five thousand people. These soldiers must be above all parties and party-conflicts. They must serve the people with a motherly devotion and *Sammati-dan* (people's goodwill) expressed in the form of hand-spun yarn or a cocoanut from every door would be their basis. They had freedom or choice only to die with a smiling face. And he went on: "I think we must have a network of *Shanti-Sena* all over the country. That requires a Supreme Command. Who else but God can take that Command? Nevertheless I feel I would have to shoulder the responsibility of the All-India *Shanti-Sena* and I have prepared myself accordingly." A strange observation from Vinoba indeed! But it shows how readily he is adapting himself to meet the new situation in the country.

Later he said that all constructive work institutions should surrender themselves to this new mission. Further, he continued, "Of course, I would not look down upon a Khadi worker who would not join *Shanti-Sena*. But it is clear that only those Khadi-workers who would take to *Shanti-Sena* would be able to keep Khadi alive, others remaining aloof from it would keep themselves alive through Khadi. They would not maintain Khadi. Instead Khadi would maintain them! I have a right to call upon all individuals or institutions who cherish Gandhiji's name".

This address forms the core of the Camp. It made the workers turn the searchlight inwards and realise their supreme duty at this hour. A serene calm marked the atmosphere and we silently dispersed with Vinoba's new commandment in our heart.

In the afternoon, experienced Gramdan workers, like Hari Vallabh Parikh (Gujarat), Manmohan Chowdhuri (Orissa) and K. Arunachalam (Tamilnad) dealt with the problems of Gramdan in actual practise and pleaded for a large-hearted, clear-cut and humble approach as seekers after truth and not as dictators of authority or protagonists of an orthodox creed.

Next Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, opened the discussion of future programme. He said that instead of organisational or committee technique we should now take to *Sammelan* or Conference technique. As regards *padyatra*,

it should be on a collective basis and only influential people should undertake individual *yatras*. Further, we would have to consolidate our work through the medium of Nai Talim centres based on bodily labour.

On the last day, Dada Dharmadhikari, the philosopher and exponent of Sarvodaya, spoke on the power and efficacy of Satyagraha. In the noon we sat in three groups for discussion; the topics being future programme, workers' maintenance, and Gramdan. The gist of these group talks were placed before the house by their respective conveners, Gangadhar Patankar (Madhya Pradesh), Vallabhaswami and Manmohan Choudhuri (Orissa). Smt. Ashadevi Aryanayakam sprang a pleasant surprise by informing the campers that some women workers, viz., Sri Manonmani Arunachalam (Tamil Nad), Smt. Annapoorna Maharana (Utkal), Smt. Amalprabha Das (Assam), had taken upon themselves the task of looking after the families of whole-time workers and running active centres in their provinces.

The indefatigable General Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh, Sri Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe then spoke on the problems of *Gram-Swarajya*. He said that no hard and fast rules could be laid down for this work and the worker had to rely on common sense, people's goodwill and one's own integrity. He illustrated how the village people were ready for the biggest revolutionary changes provided that they approached them in a comradely spirit and behaved as students eager to learn new things and convey what they had.

The concluding item was question-box. Workers had given their questions in writing for Vinoba's reply. The programme lasted for an hour and a quarter in which Vinoba cleared all doubts and misgivings. One question was: "How is it that people are not taking to the Sarvodaya movement as they did to that of Swaraj?"

Vinoba observed, "It is unfair to put the two on par. While the Swaraj struggle was based on one's *birth-right*, the Sarvodaya campaign is based on one's *duty*. There is a difference between the two. Thanks to Gandhiji that he gave a tinge of duty to our Swaraj movement too. Whence it transformed the life of so many workers.

"For Swaraj, we had to make the aliens quit our country. For Sarvodaya, we have to deal only with ourselves. Looked at in this way, our task is easy, very easy. What we have to do is to do nothing but forego something. And won't you agree that it needs some effort to get angry or behave violently or to do something, but not an inch of effort to keep quiet or behave non-violently or to do nothing! Whence our task is easy and smooth.

"This is what differentiates a duty-based movement from a right-based one. But it is easy only when we really feel it to be easy. We will fail if we regard it as difficult for ourselves and declare it easy for others. That would be a farce. The Indian peasant is quite sensible. He would ask you: 'If it is so easy as you say how far have you taken to it yourself?' If you have a correct answer for it, then you can carry on effectively and well. Not otherwise."

Thus in this Camp, Vinoba asked us to shed our old prejudices and approach the people—with the message of Gramdan with a sweet tone and humble heart and a clear conscience. His ringing words uttered at Kaladi echoed and re-echoed in my mind: "Have faith and the miracle will follow."

'SARVODAYA'—A Monthly Magazine

A monthly Digest devoted to Gandhian-Sarvodaya ideology published on behalf of the

PHILA BHARAT SARVA SEVA SANGH

Published on the 5th of every month.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RS. 3/-

For India & Ceylon. For other countries Rs. 5/- or

20 International Postal Coupons.

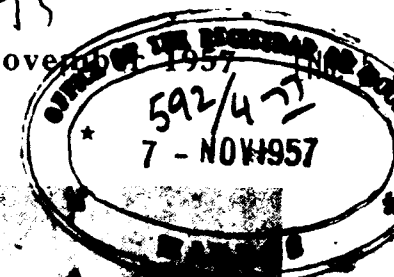
Single Copy 30 nP.

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE (S. India)

SARVODAYA

Vol. VIII

November



Vinobaji addressing a meeting in Bangalore. Sri Krishna Sarma is translating in Kanarese

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
TANJORE (SOUTH INDIA)

Complimentary Copy 175

The Urgency for Shanti-Sena

IMEDIATELY after the Yelwal conference in September last Vinobaji took the earliest opportunity in expounding the ideals of the Shanti-Sena at the Sarvodaya Workers' Seminar in Mysore.

"Gramdan has come to stay" in the words of Pandit Nehru and the statement of the leaders at Yelwal indicate the fulfilment of the revolution of 1957 for which we have been struggling through various stages of Bhoodan and Gramdan during the last seven years. Now the way for Gram-Swaraj has become clearer.

Gramdan and Gram-Swaraj will crumble if they are not fortified and sustained by a non-violent army of workers dedicated to selfless service and ready to lay down their lives for the sake of peace without hurting any one in word, thought, and deed. Vinobaji has realised the urgency for this and has appealed for 70,000 Lok-Sevaks of Shanti Sena all over the country—, one for a population of 5,000. He has also appealed to the commercial community in the cities to come forward to undertake the maintenance of a service and peace corps through Shanti-Sena with their Sampatti-dan.

All Gandhian constructive institutions whether of All India nature or provincial or local nature have been functioning all these years under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi with the sole object of creating a non-violent social order. They are in a sense the military colleges for training non-violent soldiers. Thousands of workers in the field of Khadi have been working with the Charkha as the emblem of non-violence. What better recruiting ground can there be than these institutions for the Shanti-Sena? Vinobaji has therefore called for a conference of the principal workers of all these constructive institutions at Arsikere at his camp on the 8th and 9th Nov. for taking up this urgent task of mobilising the Shanti-Sena. Let us hope that the target of 70,000 will be over-reached by the joint endeavours of all those who meet in Arsikere.

Vol. VII	SARVODAYA	No. 5
Whole	NOVEMBER 1957	No. 77
CONTENTS		
		PAGE
The Urgency for Shanti-Sena		147
Non-Violent Volunteer Corps		148
—Mahatma Gandhi		
Shanti-Sena		150
—Acharya Vinoba		
The Pattern of Gramdan Village		153
The Danger of Centralisation		155
—Jayaprakash Narayan		
The Bangalore Communists with Vinobaji		157
Vinobaji in Bangalore		159
Sahasrabudhe's 60th Birthday		162
The Problems before Gramdan		163
—Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe		
Gramdan-The way for Permanent Peace		165
—N. Sanjeevi Reddy		
Appeal to Indian Women		167
—Esme Wynne-Tyson		
The Call to Everyman		169
—Wilfred Wellock		
Early Life of Vinoba		172
—R. S. Dhotre		
All India Basic Education Conference		175
Non-Violence & Shanti Sena		176
—Suresh Ram		
Andhra Pradesh Gramdan Conference		178
To Subscribers		
Sarvodaya is published on the 5th of every month unless previously announced otherwise.		
Ann. Sub. 3/-	Foreign : Rs. 5	Price 30 nP.

Non-Violent Volunteer Corps

MAHATMA GANDHI

SOME time ago an attempt was made, at my instance, to form *Shanti dals* but nothing came of it. This lesson, however, was learnt that the membership, in its very nature, of such organisations could not be large. Ordinarily, the efficient running of a large volunteer corps based on force implies the possibility of the use of force in the event of breach of discipline. In such bodies little or no stress is laid on a man's character. Physique is the chief factor. The contrary must obtain in non-violent bodies in which character or soul force must mean everything and physique must take second place. It is difficult to find many such persons. That is why non-violent corps must be small, if they are to be efficient. Such brigades may be scattered all over; there may be one each for a village or a *mohalla*. The members must know one another well. Each corps will select its own head. All the members will have the same status, but where everyone is doing the same work there must be one person under whose discipline all must come, or else the work will suffer. Where there are two or more brigades the leaders must consult among themselves and decide on a common line of action. In that way alone lies success.

If non-violent volunteer corps are formed on the above lines, they can easily stop trouble. These corps will not require all the physical training given in *akhadas*,* but a certain part of it will be necessary.

One thing, however, should be common to members of all such organizations and that is implicit faith in God. He is the only companion and doer. Without faith in Him these peace brigades will be lifeless. By whatever name one calls God, one must realize that one can only work through His strength. Such a man will never take another's life. He will allow himself, if need be, to be killed and thereby live through his victory over death.

* Akhadas means physical culture institutes

The mind of the man in whose life the realization of this law has become a living reality will not be bewildered in a crisis. He will instinctively know the right way to act.

In spite, however, of what I have said above I would like to give some rules culled from my own experience :

1. A volunteer may not carry any weapons.
2. The members of a corps must be easily recognizable.
3. Every volunteer must carry bandages, scissors, needle and thread, surgical knife etc. for rendering first aid.
4. He should know how to carry and remove the wounded.
5. He should know how to put out fires, how to enter a fire area without getting burnt, how to climb heights for rescue work and descend safely with or without his charge.
6. He should be well acquainted with all the residents of his locality. This is a service in itself.
7. He should recite *Ramanama* ceaselessly in his heart and persuade others who believe to do likewise.

There are many who, whether from mental laziness or from having fallen into a bad habit believe that God is and will help us unasked. Why then is it necessary to recite His name? It is true that if God is, He is irrespective of our belief. But realization of God is infinitely more than mere belief. That can come only by constant practice. This is true of all science. How much more true of the science of all sciences?

Man often repeats the name of God parrot-wise and expects fruit from so doing. The true seeker must have that living faith which will not only dispel the untruth of parrot-wise repetition from within him but also from the hearts of others.
New Delhi, 26.4.'46

(From "Non-Violence in Peace & War" Vol. II, Navajivan Publication).

Shanti-Sena

ACHARYA VINOBA

I had a glimpse of something of the future during my contemplation when I was lying ill in Kerala. One can concentrate better when one is lying down with illness. I experienced it once before in Chandil. One can be in tune with the Universal Spirit in moments like this. Thinking becomes creative. What is our next step, I asked myself. I felt Gramraj is now a *fait accompli*. In my flight of imagination it became an accomplished fact. Now the question that faced us was of defending it.

I thought of the great Hanuman. There is need of a Hanuman in every village. A Shanti-Sena must be formed. Being a mathematician I began to calculate the number of volunteers required for a population of thirty-five crores of our country. At the rate of one per population of 5,000 we require 70,000 volunteers for the country.

Every member of the Shanti-Sena will have to fulfil the fivefold conditions of a Satyagrahi Lok-sevak. Shanti-sena will be chosen from amongst them. The condition of selfless service is accepted as a matter of course. To serve without any motive of gain is not an easy thing. But people seem to feel that it is not too difficult. When they are asked to remain uncommitted to and free from affiliation to any political party they begin to hesitate. They have doubts in their minds if such a non-partisan attitude is possible and desirable. Politics has come to have far too much importance in our lives. But don't we insist on the same rule in our armed forces? It is therefore absolutely essential that members of a Shanti sena should have nothing to do with any political party or group.

The orgy of violence that was witnessed recently in Ramanathapuram district in Madras State has a lesson for all. I was touring this district when the election campaign was going on. I had noted that they were sowing bitterness and hatred and would one day have to reap the fruit. A majority of Harijans in this area happen to be Christians. That created a conflict between the Hindus and Christians. Political rivalry intensified the religious and communal tensions. How can a volunteer of the

SARVODAYA

151

shanti sena be effective if he has some political affiliation? He must be above caste, religion and political groups.

We have maintained an equidistance from all political parties and groups. We have remained friendly to all. The conference of political leaders that we recently had in Mysore could be held because our movement was against none. They saw that it was essentially an ethical and moral movement. It had also a social and economic aspect. It has not so far become a closed group. It is open to all.

A volunteer of the shanti sena will have to observe the five conditions of the Loksevak rigorously. He will have to observe a sixth condition. It must be understood clearly. It is somewhat subtler. It is strange that a person like me should agree to take up the responsibility of a commandant of the shanti sena, but a volunteer of the shanti sena will have to learn obedience. I know it will be pointed out that this contradicts all that we have said before. We talk of a free society. We have dissolved the organisational bondage. How can then we reintroduce obedience as one of the duties of a volunteer in shanti sena? A non-violent soldier, let us remember, will need greater discipline than the soldier in the army. A soldier in the army is respected because he is brave and is willing to endanger his life. But he is allowed to kill. A volunteer in a shanti sena is however expected to endanger his life to save another. He will never dream of hurting another. So discipline is absolutely necessary for him. He must obey the orders of his commandant.

A Government has an army. What is their sanction? What is the moral justification? It is the majority vote which puts them in power. Society accepts the authority that majority vote gives to a government. If one thinks dispassionately one will realise how tenuous the foundation is. A so-called majority poll is really a mandate of thirty or forty per cent of the electorate. That is, about thirty or forty in a hundred are willing to be served by the elected representatives. Another thirty or forty want some other representative, while ten or twenty do not express any opinion. It will be difficult for me to offer my services under such conditions. A volunteer in the shanti sena must have some mandate behind him. In other words he must have some

moral authority which establishes his right to serve. We have some experience of constructive service. We worked for khadi or village industries. We wanted all to take to khadi. We never forced anyone to do anything. Those who liked our work helped us and took to khadi. That was alright. No previous consent or mandate is necessary for such service. But the work of a shanti volunteer needs definite approval and consent of all. There must be a fair amount of unanimity amongst those whom he serves.

A volunteer would willingly offer his life for establishing peace. But that is not the highest form of service. He has to live and impress people by his own life and teach them to live in peace and co-operation. A voter today accepts no condition for himself. That is, he is not bound to help the elected representative in any particular way. A volunteer of shanti sena will need and expect something more than a passive vote from those around him. He would expect them to do something minimum to express their appreciation and support to the ideas. For instance, we had suggested that every family of five should contribute a hank of self-spun yarn as national offering. Someone suggested in Kerala that a cocoanut shall be given as a token. That will give the volunteer an assurance that the people are behind him. It will be his physical and moral support. In Sarvodaya they are the two sides for the same coin. When a volunteer gets 5,000 cocoanuts from the people he serves, it will provide for his living. If that is not enough it could be supplemented from sampattidan. He will be entitled to receive something for his livelihood from everyone he serves in the neighbourhood. We have thus to cover the whole country with the net work of shanti sena. (Bhoodan, October 9, 1957.)

VINOBA'S YATRA

Vinoba will Stay at Arsikere in Mysore State on 8th, 9th & 10th November when the Conference of representatives of Constructive institutions will be held.

The Pattern of Gramdan Village

Some of the Press representatives put several questions to Vinobaji at Bangalore on 18th October regarding the pattern of administration and cultivation in the Gramdan villages. They also referred to Sri N. G. Renga's statement that gramdan would tend to create a managerial class in agriculture. Vinobaji's answers to several questions are given here.

THE administration of the Gramdan village would be carried on by the Gram Sabha, having as its members, all the people in the village aged 18 and above. The Sabha would elect some more committees to perform the several functions in the village. The decisions of these committees would be recommendatory in character and final decisions would have to be taken by the Gram Sabha.

In the present day set-up there was ownership of land and the members of the Panchayat would be elected by a majority, and there would be motives behind electing them. But in a Gramdan village, there could be no such motives, as there would be no ownership of land, and the elections would always be unanimous.

Even in regard to this prescribed administrative set-up, if the people of any Gramdan village desire a change, they could effect it by taking a unanimous decision on such a change.

The attempt to make the individual overcome property instinct was there thousands of years ago. Again it is being tried now, and this time it should succeed. About 3,000 villages have so far responded to the Gramdan Movement.

In the past those who retired from worldly desires became Sanyasis and that attitude was idealistic and not realistic. In this scientific age, surrender of private property to society is a realistic view. What is required now is that instead of thinking of "I and Mine," one should think in terms of "We and Ours." With the realisation of this and with the elevation of the

SARVODAYA

individual, there would be elevation of the society as well. That is why Prime Minister Nehru, who is a realist, has stated that "Gramdan had come to stay."

The Gramdan Movement would not adversely affect the system of land reforms to be introduced by the Governments. Gramdan would not go against land reforms and it would work alongside it. Further, if the leaders who met at Yelwal had known that it would affect their land reforms, they would not have given their approval to Gramdan. On the other hand, the movement brought pressure for early introduction of land reforms.

There would be no State ownership of land in case of Gramdan. According to me, there could be no ownership of land either by the individual or by the State. The land belongs to God and the villagers are there only to manage it. Another revolutionary idea, is that land, whether in India, Australia, Japan or anywhere, is the property of the entire world.

Sri. N. G. Ranga says that the conference at Yelwal is a conspiracy of political parties to destroy Indian peasantry. Mr. Ranga being a member of the Congress Party, has come out with his open and frank expression, and hence has to be complimented, as such frank expression is so scarce nowadays.

If Sri. Ranga has properly understood the Gramdan Movement, he would have joined me in the mission. Probably he has felt that Gramdan would only create a new managerial class and the farmers would be reduced to the position of bullocks and the model would be as in Russia. In a Gramdan village the pattern of cultivation would be decided by the villagers concerned. They could cultivate the whole village as one unit, or divide it into four or more units, or divide it for each family to cultivate.

Since co-operative farming is the underlying factor, they could have different patterns; and the problem is a complex one. They could not be dogmatic in prescribing any particular pattern of cultivation. The choice is entirely left to the village community (Adapted from "Deccan Herald")

The Danger of Centralisation

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

GANDHIJI'S ideas which he expounded had their roots in Indian culture. The kings and governments were ruling but the masses had clear ideas of freedom and self-rule. But our constitution framed after independence has more of the Western impact on it. It is framed after the English and American constitutions.

Gandhiji had his own ideas about the methods and the ways of the organisations and administration of the country. India and world was expecting that the Indian constitution would have his impress on it. But our government is not the rule of the people but is only the rule of the parties. In some countries there is more of people's rule where there is much of deep thinking. There the people think of the ways of making the party rule the real people's rule.

Leave alone the dictatorships. Western democracy cannot fully evolve into true democracy for there is economic centralisation. Production and distribution of wealth is controlled either by the government or by the capitalists. So there is the attempt to pull down capitalism and to establish socialism in its stead, but it can never be truly a people's rule. Even in Communism there is centralisation. In such circumstances decentralisation of power will become difficult if not impossible. Political power will remain in the hands of a few. There will be elections etc. but the real decision will rest with a few. We are just in the same position here.

Fortunately under the British there was not much of centralisation but now we are fast driving to it. Both in private sector and the public sector we are tending to centralisation. The centre has given certain powers to the States, to the District Boards, and the Village Panchayats and that only very little. Even the political parties are centralised. Everything is directed from the centre. There are the central funds, the paid officials and the only work of the people is to vote. The candidate are chosen by the party heads. There are defects

individual, there would be elevation of the society as well. That is why Prime Minister Nehru, who is a realist, has stated that "Gramdan had come to stay."

The Gramdan Movement would not adversely affect the system of land reforms to be introduced by the Governments. Gramdan would not go against land reforms and it would work alongside it. Further, if the leaders who met at Yelwal had known that it would affect their land reforms, they would not have given their approval to Gramdan. On the other hand, the movement brought pressure for early introduction of land reforms.

There would be no State ownership of land in case of Gramdan. According to me, there could be no ownership of land either by the individual or by the State. The land belongs to God and the villagers are there only to manage it. Another revolutionary idea, is that land, whether in India, Australia, Japan or anywhere, is the property of the entire world.

Sri. N. G. Ranga says that the conference at Yelwal is a conspiracy of political parties to destroy Indian peasantry. Mr. Ranga being a member of the Congress Party, has come out with his open and frank expression, and hence has to be complimented, as such frank expression is so scarce nowadays.

If Sri. Ranga has properly understood the Gramdan Movement, he would have joined me in the mission. Probably he has felt that Gramdan would only create a new managerial class and the farmers would be reduced to the position of bullocks and the model would be as in Russia. In a Gramdan village the pattern of cultivation would be decided by the villagers concerned. They could cultivate the whole village as one unit, or divide it into four or more units, or divide it for each family to cultivate.

Since co-operative farming is the underlying factor, they could have different patterns; and the problem is a complex one. They could not be dogmatic in prescribing any particular pattern of cultivation. The choice is entirely left to the village community
(Adapted from "Deccan Herald")

The Danger of Centralisation

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

GANDHIJI'S ideas which he expounded had their roots in Indian culture. The kings and governments were ruling but the masses had clear ideas of freedom and self-rule. But our constitution framed after independence has more of the Western impact on it. It is framed after the English and American constitutions.

Gandhiji had his own ideas about the methods and the ways of the organisations and administration of the country. India and world was expecting that the Indian constitution would have his impress on it. But our government is not the rule of the people but is only the rule of the parties. In some countries there is more of people's rule where there is much of deep thinking. There the people think of the ways of making the party rule the real people's rule.

Leave alone the dictatorships. Western democracy cannot fully evolve into true democracy for there is economic centralisation. Production and distribution of wealth is controlled either by the government or by the capitalists. So there is the attempt to pull down capitalism and to establish socialism in its stead, but it can never be truly a people's rule. Even in Communism there is centralisation. In such circumstances decentralisation of power will become difficult if not impossible. Political power will remain in the hands of a few. There will be elections etc. but the real decision will rest with a few. We are just in the same position here.

Fortunately under the British there was not much of centralisation but now we are fast driving to it. Both in private sector and the public sector we are tending to centralisation. The centre has given certain powers to the States, to the District Boards, and the Village Panchayats and that only very little. Even the political parties are centralised. Everything is directed from the centre. There are the central funds, the paid officials and the only work of the people is to vote. The candidate are chosen by the party heads. There are defects

in the election system, like fermenting communal feeling, corruption, cliques etc.

Only Sarvodaya can give us the real and full democracy. Swaraj of Gandhiji was the raj of everyone for himself. How is this possible? Only when the Delhi and Patna administration ceases. Marx and Lenin thought of the Stateless society. Gandhiji was also for such a State-less State.

The truth is that democracy is not a political but a moral issue. The citizen should improve himself, should realise his duties, should have self-control and become one with society. To the extent he is perfecting himself in this direction, to that extent the external government will not be necessary for him. To snatch away other's freedom is not the sign of freedom. The rule should be that of all and not that of the majority. But democracy of the West is based on majority rule.

Sarvodaya, the rule of all, will be for the good of all. It is no good if one country advances when others stagnate where they are. Lenin said that where self-interest clashes work will not sustain. Our ideal should be completely achieved. We may not attain the ideal all at once, but we should be marching towards it. Our education, health, food, clothing, housing and such elementary needs are today being controlled by the State. I think this is a great danger to humanity. People should be lead to the realisation of perfection, to a state where there is no perverse self-interest, where there is love of freedom and self-reliance. It is the duty of every advocate of democracy, lover of freedom, to resist this tide of enslaving the citizen to the state power. People should build character and feel a sense of duty. They should respect others' rights.

As long as self-interest asserts itself, there cannot be any morality. So the issue is a moral one. Where there is exploitation or suppression there cannot be Sarvodaya. As many have not their necessities of life Sarvodaya would suggest voluntary sacrifice of ease and comfort. It may not be possible to live like the poor but we must reduce our wants. With a moral regeneration our political and economical problems will get solved and a new order will arise which will be a real rule of the people.

Gandhiji made use of the word 'trusteeship' and has given a new concept. Vinoba has expanded that concept into Bhoodan

and Sampattidan. I will not enter into a detailed survey of this. What is being done is mainly a moral work. We should proceed much further. The roots of real democracy should lie in Gram-rajya. Villagers should plan for everything pertaining to the village—production, distribution, education, security etc. The village should be self-sufficient as far as possible. They may take external help, if they themselves desire it. But they will not be imposed by laws made at Delhi or Patna.

Vinoba is wandering from village to village, to give the villagers strength, to arouse their consciousness and to inculcate in them the power of co-operative life for self-rule. These will grow in them gradually. With regret I may say that we have lost our sense of duty. As Indian citizens, as human beings this becomes our duty to ponder over wherein lies our common good. When we begin to think seriously we will march on our way to achieve the ideal.

(Freely Adapted from a Hindi speech at Rotary Press, Gaya, on 23—8—57 from Bhoodan Yagna)

The Bangalore Communists with Vinobaji

THE Communist workers of Bangalore City met Vinobaji in the afternoon of the 16th October. They indicated their eagerness to be useful to the Gramdan movement though they did not agree with its theoretical aspects one hundred percent.

Vinobaji said that the Communists were expected to render some positive assistance to the movement. But it required some basic faith. They should believe in the efficacy of bringing about change of heart by persuasion. No programme could be carried out by simply adopting a negative attitude like saying "we have no objection", though it had a value of its own.

Continuing his talk Vinobaji said: In a Sarvodaya society, which the Gramdan Movement hopes to usher in, the classes would shed their identity and the very conception of classes would disappear. The Communists should be prepared to modify their theories regarding class conflict as it only serves to intensify the class struggle at this juncture of history. Their theories were

formulated to suit some special conditions that existed in the West and are outmoded now. Even from the Communist point of view, the Gramdan programme is most efficacious. The Sarvodaya method of class eradication would not help to strengthen, as class struggle would do, the warring capitalists who would join themselves into a stronger class. From the point of view of strategy even it was inadvisable to act in a way that would organise and unify all the capitalistic forces and then try to defeat them in an unequal battle.

Regarding the classes of 'haves' and 'have nots' Vinobaji emphatically said: In Sarvodaya conception there are no classes as 'haves' or 'have nots', as everyone has something to offer in the form of land, money, intellect, or labour. Today everyone uses whatever he possesses in self-interest. Our endeavour now should be to make everyone use these for the commonweal. Surrendering one's possessions to the society is a moral duty and a *dharma*. He urged the Communist workers not to be dogmatic if they were to participate in the movement. He advised them to explain to the big land-lords that Gramdan is not against their interest. What is needed is *gramantshta* or allegiance to the society or identity with society. Whether the land-holders are big or small the interests of all are secure under a Sarvodaya society.

Shri Anantarengachari who has been actively working for the Bhoodan movement during the last five years in Mysore translated Vinobaji's Hindi talk in Kanarese to the Communist friends among whom Shri Anantarengachari was closely working for some time. He introduced his old leader Shri M.S. Krishnan, the Secretary of the Bangalore city Communist party who appeared to be evidently happy that Sarvodaya could attract this fiery youth though it was a loss to the Communist party.

BHOODAN

A weekly

Ann. Sub. 6

write to :

Manager :

BHOODAN
386, Shaniwarpet
POONA

Vinobaji in Bangalore

SINCE the Yelwal conference Vinobaji has been entertaining great hopes in Bangalore city. Bangalore is both an industrial and cultural centre of the South India in his estimation. It is the capital of Mysore State and also the centre for South India. Bangalore has a cosmopolitan atmosphere and a culture of its own. Its salubrious climate has attracted foreigners and it is in a way also an international city. There is perhaps no institution or organisation in India which has not a branch at this attractive and loveable city. It has a population of over ten lakhs of which there are about four lakhs of Tamilians. There are Telugus of about two lakhs and Kanarese of about three lakhs. The rest are made up of Malayalam speaking people, Gujaratis and others from all parts of India. It is but natural that Vinobaji considered that Bangalore should become a Sarvodaya City. He went to the extent of saying at a meeting in Bangalore that 'If I fail here, I will fail in the whole of India'.

Vinobaji gave full six days to Bangalore. Never before in his yatra of six years had he given so many days for any place. He reached the village Pantharapalya, on the outskirts of the city, just seven miles away, on the 13th Oct. The leading members of the commercial community of Bangalore met Vinobaji at this village when he addressed them on Sampatti-dan from a new angle. On the 14th morning he reached Basavangudi in the city. On the 16th he moved to the Central College Cricket pavillion



Vinobaji at Bangalore

in Gandhinagar. On the 18th he encamped at Vodukalathur mutt in Ulsoor. The last day was spent at Malleswaram.

Vinobaji was greatly moved by the reception given by the people. He said that he did not see such a tremendous awakening and response among the people anywhere in his recent yatra after what he witnessed at Madurai in last December. Even while moving from one camp to another in the city he chose a circuitous route to have a *darshan* of the people who thronged in their thousands throughout the roads he passed. This reminds us of Vincent Sheean's deep and penetrating significance of the mysterious word 'dharshan' in his book "Lead Kindly Light"

"Darshan is not to be understood, even in the most superficial sense, by any grammarian's apparatus which would separate it from the whole of Indian life. It is itself the most impressive proof, among the masses and from the masses, that the entire teaching of Hindu philosophy and religion has come to be as natural as the air or the earth to all those millions who—with or without the arts of reading and writing—have inherited it in their souls"

It was a pleasant surprise to hear from Shri. Damodardas Mundada that Vinobaji had commended about this 'Darshan' in his review of sheean's book in Marathi. Who can measure the mutual and mystical experience of this 'darshan' between Vinobaji and the people of Bangalore?

Vinobaji had a busy time all the six days. The evening prayer meetings were attended by thousands and on one day the crowd exceeded 25,000. All through the day there were group meetings or interviews. He addressed the leading members of the commercial community on Sampatti-dan from a new angle. The eminent Kannada writers met him and were highly elated by his discourse on literary ethics and idealism. There were various meetings of women, doctors and scientists, press representatives, Principals of Bangalore colleges, the Communist workers, the Bhoodan workers of Karnatak, and the ministers of Mysore State and the legislators. His presence in the city was availed of by all sections of the people in attending to either his prayer meetings or the group meetings. There was a visible change in the general atmosphere of public life in the city during his memorable stay.

In his public speeches and talks with various groups and meetings Vinobaji covered the varied aspects of Sarvodaya

ideology. He had endeared himself to the Kanarese people by mastering their language through the study of the Kanarese classics even as he had won the affection of the Tamilians, Telugus and Malayalis by learning their languages. The conscience of the enlightened people of Bangalore was evidently awakened to realise their duties to the millions in the villages and their own responsibility in having their Shanti Sena.

Great efforts were made to collect Sampatti-dan of about ten lakhs and to enrol a Shanti Sena of 200 for the city. The leading merchants and others have offered over Rs. 5 lakhs. The Ministers and the Congress party legislators have offered Sampatti-dan amounting to about a lakh. The success of Vinobaji's intensive work in the city cannot be immediately assessed in terms of the collection of various *dans* but the light he had kindled among the people for realising the ideal of Sarvodaya social order. In his concluding speech at Malleswaram on the



Vinobaji at Bangalore

19th October he gave a complete picture of his conception of Sarvodaya ideal as compared with the utilitarian theory of economics of the "greatest good of the largest number" and the modern theory of democracy of the rule of the majority, which is in effect only a rule of the minority over the entire people. His ringing words "*I have great hopes of Bangalore. I have lit the Jyoti here, and I am sure it will glow and spread far and wide*" would have made an indelible impression on every citizen of Bangalore and before long it is hoped that Bangalore will take up the lead in demonstrating the Sarvodaya way of life in practice.

Sahasrabudhe's 60th Birthday

SHRI Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, the General Secretary of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh completed his sixtieth year on the 7th October. He was one of the earliest to join the non-co-operation movement under Mahatma Gandhi by leaving the College in 1920. He worked as a teacher in the new national school in Chinchwad near Poona. He was a soldier in participating in every fight and courting suffering in the 1930 and 1942 movements. During the intervening periods he used to unostentatiously dedicate his service for khadi and other village industries particularly through the Co-operatives. When he was requested by Vinobaji to take up the reconstruction work in Koraput Gramdan villages he readily responded. He has attracted around him a large number of educated young men who value him as their guide. His soft and sympathetic nature, his austere life of a Brahmachari, his unbiased and rational outlook on all problems, his sweet and composed demeanour have earned the love and admiration of all those who come in contact with him. His herculean efforts in the hilly tracts among the tribal people of Koraput Gramdan villages will be ever remembered for generations to come. We pray to God that he may be blessed with long and healthy life for dedicated service.

The elect of Maharashtra celebrated his sixtieth birthday in Poona in a fitting manner. Instead of eulogising the person the organisers set a commendable example by intensifying the Gramdan work that is dear to Shri. Annasaheb and holding a Gramdan Seminar for free discussion of the problems of the Gramdan villages that baffle not only Shri. Sahasrabudhe but hundreds of workers in other parts of India. Eminent persons of various parties, Ministers, Professors of economics, Engineers and experienced workers in Bhoodan and Gramdan, met in Poona on the 7th and 8th October. 'The Bhoodan' of October 16th and 23rd give extensive reports of the trend of discussions from different angles to which we would invite the special attention of our readers. Shri. Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe with his characteristic humility and an open mind has lucidly presented the problems that confront him and others instead of recounting the achievements that are many to his credit.

The Problems before Gramdan

ANNASAHAB SAHASRABUDHE

General Secretary, Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh.

THE underdeveloped countries of Asia have certain common features. How to industrialize the country and to increase national income is the problem. In the West the process of industrialization followed in a particular way. It destroyed the village system and created an economic order whose centre was the town. The villages ceased to have any importance of their own. They had also colonies to exploit and help them in capital accumulation. Can India and other underdeveloped countries of Asia follow the Western pattern? Can the village system in India be destroyed? Can an industrial order grow in India without firm foundation in the village? Are we not already creating an imbalance between the town and the village economy?

We have got to strengthen the village economy on the basis of prosperous agriculture if we desire to develop industrially. No economic progress is possible for our country unless and until we are able to rehabilitate the villager and make agriculture a viable industry.

The problem of land therefore comes first in any scheme of progress and development. Ownership, improved techniques, land improvement, co-operative buying and selling, and rural credit, are some of the vital problems. They are all integrally related. In Maharashtra there are about four or five per cent well-to-do landlords in a village. There are then a score of middle class landholders and at the bottom we have owners of one acre of land or less, and the landless. There is a conflict in the interests of the three layers. They are exploiting one another. Is it possible to create an economy where the interests of the three will become complementary? Gramdan has been hailed by all in our country because it has for the first time shown a way where village economy can be improved radically by the co-operation of all.

What is the definition of a gramdan? In Mysore we discussed this problem and tentatively arrived at a workable definition. It is obvious that Gramdan must spell the end of private ownership in land.

In Koraput we have nearly eight types of Gramdan villages. In some, land has been redistributed, once, or more than once. In others no change in holdings has so far been effected. How should land be redistributed? And should it be done as often as possible?

The question of credit becomes difficult once private property in land has been ended. How to get credit? Answers to these questions have to be found. The Rural Credit Survey Committee has made elaborate recommendations for providing easy credit to the agriculturist but they have not been so far implemented. Very few of us knew how agriculture is a gamble with the rains. If sowing operations are delayed even by a day the agriculturist suffers a loss of few hundred rupees. If agriculture is to become a profitable industry the question of credit must be first solved satisfactorily. We have to think of the man at the lowest grade. It is a question of rehabilitating a bankrupt industry.

How to build up a new leadership in the village is the next question. The present leadership is in the hands of the well-to-do upper class farmers. Will their mentality change after Gramdan? How can initiative be created in the villager, through actual projects, or through a new system of education? Should the collective welfare work be paid in kind, or should labour be given without any payment? What should be the nature of the new village organisation? Should the affairs of the village be managed by all the adults in the village, or should each family have one representative? What should be the place of the technician? How should priorities be decided? How will capital formation take place? How can the capital of the village as a whole increase? All these are basic problems. No book of economics or history can give an answer to any of these problems. We have to think anew and find an answer by a method of trial and error to everyone of these questions. That is why the development of Gramdan villages in India is a thrilling adventure in social engineering.

The history of Mangroth, the first Gramdan village in U. P., is interesting. It shows how people solve these problems in their own way. In Mangroth thirty-five families pooled their land and started collective farming. Others continued with their family holdings. About a hundred landless labourers used to go

out of the village for employment. We employed them on land improvement schemes and gave them wages in kind. We spent 13,000 rupees in the first year. The bunding operation immediately brought about an increase in agricultural production. In the third year the village produced grains that would last for fourteen months. That means production had been trebled. Then they formed a consumers' co-operative society and built a godown. We gave them 5,000 rupees for capital expenditure. The village is maintaining twelve workers. We had then to think of village industries. Gradually people saw that they cannot develop their villages in isolation. They had to think of the neighbouring villages. These questions will have to be faced in every gramdan village. They will demand an immediate answer.

(From Bhoodan — Report of the speech at Gramdan Seminar at Poona on 7—10—57)

Gramdan—The Way for Permanent Peace

N. SANJEEVI REDDY

Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh.

"IT must be our part of the work to translate into action the directives given to us by the national leaders at Yelwal. But the call that Vinobaji has given is one that rouses spontaneous response among the masses. This is the special feature of the Bhoodan movement. We all know that the Bhoodan movement has developed into Gramdan movement. The philosophy of Bhoodan that economic and social differences should vanish and that all should enjoy life of equality is accepted by all parties. This ideal is not conflicting either with the Socialists or Communists. This is the fundamental philosophy accepted by Congress also. But the political parties differ in the means to achieve this end. The political parties want land reforms done through legislation. Legislation has coercion in its very nature. But Vinobaji wants this to be done voluntarily and with love. He wants this great reform to be brought about through non-violent means.

The leaders who recently met at Yelwal did not go to test the efficacy of the Gramdan philosophy; but they went there to tell Vinobaji that they were in full agreement with

him and the Gramdan mission and to find ways and means as to how best they could lend their support from the highest levels.

The Governments have realised that they should co-operate in this movement with heart and soul. But, as is obvious, they have their own limitations. Working in this movement is a penance. The workers like Sri Prabhakarji, Mote Narayana Rao, Sri Kesava Rao, Sri Veerabrahmam and others who are engaged in this penance should be thanked. They are doing this great work without any desire for the fruit. In such an event, it is up to the people in power with such selfless workers to work with redoubled vigour.

A Gramdan village need not be a big one. It is enough even if it is small village. But the spirit behind such an action can bring about a mental change in the neighbours and a larger atmosphere can be created in the rest of the villages to become Gramdan villages. It is a big achievement to create such an atmosphere where people agree to give up their individual rights for the benefit of the community. I am glad such a good work is being done in Cuddapah district.

We have known that great people have started number of movements in our country. Vinobaji has started Bhoodan movement. He has now reached a stage where this movement requires large band of workers who are to form themselves into a Shanti-sena to carry on this movement through non-violent means.

There is an unanimous feeling that land reforms should be undertaken in our country. Some of us who want such reforms are trying to do them through legislative means. But Gramdan movement is more effective and it can bring about permanent peace, whereas legislative means are temporary and coercive.

The high ideals and the far-sightedness that this great movement contained in it were not at first understood, but we have begun to see them clearly. I wish this Conference in particular and the Gramdan movement in general all success and I assure you I shall try to co-operate in this movement in whatever manner it lies in my capacity."

(Speech delivered at the Andhra Pradesh Gramdan Sammelan held at Cuddapah on 19-10-57.)

Appeal to Indian Women

ESME WYNNE-TYSON

Sussex-England

HOW glad I was to read in your report of Vinobaji's powerful APPEAL TO WOMEN (Sarvodaya Oct. '57) that he had pointed out what an illusion it was "for women to think that men enjoy a higher status and to claim equality with them. Men in fact have lowered themselves and their offer to women of places in the military in the name of equality is only to bring the women down to their level." Any woman who goes into military service, or, more frankly speaking, the homicide business, is betraying her sex and forsaking her natural function. For the feminine attributes of compassionate love, tenderness, mercy, patience and intuition were intended to balance, or influence, the male attributes of power, strength, knowledge, will and so on. Gandhiji well knew the value of this controlling influence and declared that women were the superior sex. One who knew him well told me that in his last years he sought assiduously to incorporate the more feminine qualities in his own life, finding it sometimes very difficult.

In the West the situation has never been understood. Pauline Christianity by subjecting the woman to the man, never allowing her voice to be heard in the Churches, and making the 'female' obedient to the 'male' did incredible harm to the Gospel of peace and goodwill, the Founder of which was conspicuous for his 'feminine' gentleness and non-violence, his healing works and unchanging compassionate love. Owing greatly to Paul's reversal of values, the Western world has been ruled by almost undiluted masculinity known as power-politics. Yet in spite of this and before their emancipation we have had such wonderful women as Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale, whose loving work for India is well known. Unfortunately those who succeeded in securing enfranchisement for women obtained it by the wrong, militant means, using force and violence, and so forsaking true femininity for masculinity. The result of these wrong means has been that, despite their emancipation, women have failed to achieve what was one of the WSPU's chief aims—

that outlawing of war. Instead they have, as Vinobaji points out, in many cases, gone right over into the masculine camp, imitating men's bad habits and vices, competing with them in work and priding themselves on being able to run a home and do a man's job at the same time. They seem unaware of the fact that they have just sold themselves into slavery. Overwork is not only, as Gandhiji warned us, a form of violence, it also robs us of time that should be given to the proper training of our children, and to inward purification and the things of the Spirit. Juvenile delinquency is one of the effects of women trying to do too much and neglecting the most important work.

One of these over busy women recently informed me that she felt mentally and spiritually empty. This I believe is the chief reason why so many women smoke, drink and spend their short leisure gazing at television screens. Anything for distraction from the discontented, inward state. May India's woman learn from the experience of the West, and really take their rightful position in society, leavening the all too masculine outlook of Western ideologies with true femininity, controlling the wilful ambitions and violence of the male with the wisdom of gentle, maternal love, needed more urgently in the present age of violence than in any other period of history.



One of Vinobaji's prayer meetings
at Bangalore.

The Call to Everyman

WILFRED WELLOCK

(England)

This is the concluding chapter of his long-awaited brochure just now released with the title "WHICH WAY, AMERICA, & WHICH WAY, BRITAIN?" Copies will be available at "Sarvodaya" at Rs. 1-15 per copy.

AS I scan the world scene today, I comprehend it as a vortex of conflicting demands for the earth's resources in order to satisfy endless uncriticised wants. I see the professions, tradesmen, artisans, labourers and every social class fighting for bigger and bigger shares of national cakes, and nations for bigger shares of Nature's bounty, and the latter being swept by the momentum of a devouring materialism through numerous shortages into barrenness, totalitarian war, desolation and death—the fate of all Dinosaurism.

The triumph of the H-Bomb demands total disarmament if civilisation is to be saved. But this cannot happen in an age of rapidly weakening spiritual values and impulses, and of growing internal and external pressures—feverish demands for higher consumption levels, and for higher imports of food and raw materials and of exports by which to pay for them,—while the coloured two-thirds of the world urge their claim for a juster share of the earth's resources, and steadily aim at a high level of self-sufficiency.

Two courses would appear to lie open to the nations of the world. The first is to adopt and carry to its logical conclusion the expanding economy now being operated most completely in the U. S., until it terminates in the third world war or in satiation, degradation and death.

The second course is to bring time to a stop, take thought, and move steadily towards an era of creative democracy. It alone can save the world, because it alone can give birth to those things in a civilisation which enable it to endure. But it must await the coming of a nation with the necessary insight and courage.

To-day we hover uncertainly between two eras, one rapidly weakening and crumbling, the other trembling, waiting to be born. There is a growing recognition of decay, but only a dim awareness of the values, the outlines and perspectives of the new order.

Accordingly we dwell in the midst of confusion which affects everybody and all the arts. Only the faintest glimmerings of new vision pierce the deepening gloom. Money is our God, and the only means of exchange now recognised. Everything has a cash value. Differentials are the aim of every social class, every art and profession.

To live between two eras is always difficult, since vision, social awareness and personal integrity are at a low ebb. The need of light and inspiration is at the maximum, while the supply is at the minimum.

The atmosphere produced under such conditions invites and stimulates fear, which to-day manifests itself as fear of war, also of a ruthless Communism on the one hand and of a devouring, materialistic capitalism on the other, while over all sways the nuclear bomb which has triumphed over all other weapons and confronts us with the clear, stark choice, Life or Death? Then comes the black-out, and finally the question: Where is the way to Life and who is to guide us to it?

The prophets are in a perilous position. Blasts against the old order and in favour of a new, bring upon them the condemnations of Stalinism, Fascism and McCarthyism. They are thus silenced when they should be most vocal, challenging current values and ways of life with their visions of a creative society, of whole men functioning creatively building a new heaven and a new earth.

It is symptomatic of our age that all the wonders of modern science have only physical and material manifestations and objectives. They enable us to travel farther and faster, to eat, wear and otherwise consume more and more, but not to become better, more efficient, creative and spiritually alive persons. Accordingly we look in vain for twentieth century Miltons, Shakespeares, Putcells, Bachs, Beethovens, Michael Angelos, Rembrandts, and craftsmen architects, men and women who have

succeeded in extracting from the hidden wells of the spirit the pearls of great price wherewith to enrich the life of the people.

We need prophets, teachers, artists, who can by-pass the confusions of our time, all the spent formulas, creeds and shibboleths, and with the flaming swords of living truth awaken a waning age to the promise of a new creative era.

If we continue to live in fear, hysteria and the nihilism of despair will silence the earth in the cold death of nuclear power. The alternative is to live by faith in Truth, the Truth that is God, the simple truth that they who give their lives shall find them. This is the secret of human wholeness, of creative personal and social living.

So, which way, America, and which way, Britain?

The Call is to Everyman, and time is short

SOME BOOKS ON BHOODAN-GRAMDAN

	Rs.	nP.
1. Sarvodaya & Communism—Vinoba	0	40
2. Sampattidan—Vinoba	0	30
3. From Bhoodan To Gramdan—Vinoba	0	60
4. Gramdan Why and How?—Vinoba	0	15
5. The Revolutionary Bhoodan (Symposium)	0	37
6. Bhoodan as seen by the West	0	60
7. Message of Kancheepuram Sarvodaya Sammelan	0	37
8. The Progress of a Pilgrimage—Suresh Ramabhai	3	50

Books by Wilfred Wellock

9. Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary	0	75
10. New Horizons	1	00
11. A Mechanistic or a Human Society	0	50
12. The Third Way	0	50
13. Rebuilding Britain	0	50
14. The Challenge of our Times	0	40
15. Not by Bread Alone	0	25
16. Godileve	0	10
17. Money Has Destroyed	0	40
18. Which Way, America & Which Way, Britain?	1	15

Write for full list of Gandhian—Sarvodaya literature

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE (India)

Early Life of Vinoba

R. S. DHOTRE

(Secretary, Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Trust)

I HAVE had close association with Vinoba from 1909 i. e. for the last forty-seven years, and have the good fortune of observing him at close quarters. As the mind wanders interesting anecdotes come to memory, and I will share them with the readers.

His father was simple practical and intelligent. He was a colour designer for the mills, but he gave up the job and settled down in Baroda to attend to the education of his boys. Even then he was making blocks and charts for dyeing clothes. He was industrious and was full of Swadesi spirit. He wanted his boys to learn productive trades after some general education, and taught them science, mathematics and drawing. With the same desire he wanted Vinoba to pick up French. One instance of his daring and industry will suffice. When he was fifty his Doctor told him that his chest got weakened and that he should practise music to set it right. He at once called his son Balkoba who was studying music and began to take lessons from him. Gradually he became so proficient in that that he wrote a book on music. I had contact with him to the last. When I was doing Khadi work I requested him to give us help in dyeing which he readily did. At the end gout paralysed his movements. He did not like his boys leaving him one after the other but he did not feel their absence. He died only in 1947. Vinoba's mother was too good and virtuous a woman.

In spite of the fact that his parents were sturdy Vinoba even in childhood had not much of physical strength. We had a students' group of five or six, and all of us were weaklings. Vinoba liked to wander about in the open rather than sit in the class. He had intense love for Mother Nature. In the scorching heat of April—May he would wander in the open fields. He had too much of hunger. He used to say that he liked Sanskrit and the two roots in it *adh* and *at*, to eat and to wander. Once no

a Saturday when we ate late we were studying our lessons. Vinoba rose and said that he had some trouble in the stomach and perhaps he was hungry. He ran to his mother and cried out for food. She told him that he had eaten just then and a *rakshasa* should be in his stomach.

Though we were a small group we read and discussed a lot. The first three places of the class were taken by Vinoba, myself and Paranjepe. Vinoba always stood first in the class, but he was not liked by the teachers, as he had peculiar manners. Vinoba used to say that as one brought up by Gandhiji he had his jungle manners. But he was thoroughly transformed after his stay in the Ashram. While at school we were seated near the table. Once the teacher wanted Vinoba to give him a book. Vinoba sitting threw the book to the teacher's table. The teacher got offended and gave a lengthy sermon on good manners. Once being seated in the back row we were talking, as we had prepared our lessons in advance. The teacher was always rough with Vinoba and noting this, asked him to get out of the class. Vinoba coolly collected his books and walked out as if nothing had happened, saying "Yes Sir". That irritated the teacher further and he cried out "shameless creature" and Vinoba retorted that he was not. Vinoba stayed out for the hour. Only one Sri Gupte of the teachers had love for Vinoba and he directed the boys that came to him to clear doubts to go to Vinoba.

Though in our group all of us were of the same age we gave our leadership to Vinoba. From his childhood he was feeling that he should do something big, and never got satisfied with small achievements. He was fighting shy of leadership, and said entrusting any work to him was just like making Saint Tukaram a bank manager. He had no faith in organisations and movements and said that work as it proceeds gets organised. Referring to the Tukaram Panth he said that out of the dust of the feet of the Saints organisations get formed. If today he is for *tantramukti* (free from organisation) and *nidhimukti* (free from fund) he had the seeds of them quite early in life.

While a student Vinoba was impressed most by Lokamanya Tilak, and even after joining Gandhiji his veneration for Tilak

never diminished. He always talked of Lokamanya with feeling. On the first anniversary day of Tilak's death he was speaking of him for one and a half hours. Tilak's ideal of Brahmacharya satisfied him more than that of Gandhiji.

It cannot be said that Vinoba had any faith in non-violence before he joined Gandhiji. Once he said that if we organised bomb-throwing he would join us.

From his childhood he clung on to things which attracted him. When he liked a book he would read it many times as he did Vishnu Sastry's essays. He has a wonderful memory, but he says that it fails him. He neither gathers things of the world nor things of knowledge. He reads most discriminatingly, and leaves out irrelevant matter.

Of late his nature has considerably changed. I have intensely sought the reason and find that it is after his study of Gnaneswari. His devotion has increased and with it consequential changes have taken place.

After what all has happened his mind is that of a teacher and a pupil combined. He is fittest to be a Professor. When the Vidyalaya was opened in the Ashram he was placed as the Warden of the hostel. He made the students wake up at four and took them to the river for bath. The parents were perturbed at his sternness, and the complaint even reached the ears of Gandhiji. In spite of all this the students loved Vinoba. Though he looked stern and solemn he was kind as a mother to his pupils. While teaching Sanskrit he would begin with Rama and continue declining *Ramou* and *Ramaha*, and ask his pupils how Ravana should be declined. They would answer that it should be done in the same way as it had the same *akarantha*. Vinoba would make fun as to how the names of mortal foes could be declined in the same way. Likewise while teaching mathematics he would tell his pupils that in the world some were perfect and some imperfect. He taught philosophy while giving his pupils mathematics.

It was in 1925-6. Close associates and specially Jannalal Bajaj wished intensely that Vinoba should be asked to wander about on foot. But Vinoba was not for it, and asked them whether they wanted to send him out of the Ashram and that

it could not be easily done. He told them that when his feet start no power on earth could stop them. How wonderfully it is proved now!

When I am asked what Vinoba would do next, I can only give them an anecdote of our students' days in reply. The Marathi poet *Anthahandi* has written about Baji Rao II. Baji Rao sometimes would go with a thousand torches and at times would ride alone in darkness, at times he would sumptuously feed Brahmins and at times keep them starving. He was a man of contradictions and the poet said of him *Ashashavatha Prabhu Ah*. Vinoba was compared to him, and I do the same now. He reveals newer and newer aspects, and is ever on the march.

(Translated from Hindi—"Mangala Prabhat").

All India Basic Education Conference

THE Twelfth All India Basic Education Conference will be held on the 28th, 29th and 30th November 1957 at Turki, in Muzaffarpur district in Bihar. Dr. Zakir Hussain will inaugurate the Conference. All delegates attending the conference should apply in advance to the Secretary, Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha Dt. with a remittance of Rs. 2/-. Certificates for availing the railway concessions will be issued to them. It is expected that the conference will take a momentous decision in giving a reorientation to Nai Talim in the light of the present Gramdan movement.

In a special note to us for publication Shri Marjorie Sykes from Friends Rural Centre, Rasulia, has appealed to those who come to the Conference to make the best use of the three days giving constructive suggestions on the problems confronting Nai Talim. She writes that some members suggest that subjects of fundamental importance be dealt with in the open sessions rather than in group discussions. There is the suggestion that the first day be allotted for the inaugural speeches, reports and the problems facing the workers, the second day for discussion on Gramraj and Nai Talim, study of the Basic education in the Second Five Year Plan and the third day devoted for discussing the discipline of Nai Talim and Seva Sena.

Non-Violence & Shanti Sena

SURESH RAM

"**N**OW that you are seeking for Gramdan the co-operation of such parties too as are not wedded to non-violence, will it not mean a deviation from our principle of purity of means?" This was one of a series of questions put to Vinoba at Mysore on the occasion of the Workers' three day seminar called in the wake of the Yelwal Gramdan Conference.

"I do not know", replied Vinoba, "whether there is any party which is wedded to non-violence. The Congress is doubtless the biggest party. It does have believers in non-violence on its rolls. It may also be said that there is a large number of adherents of non-violence in the Congress than in any other Party. But thereby it does not *ipso facto* follow that the Congress Party as such is devoted to non-violence.

"What the Congress believes in are 'peaceful and legitimate' means. Gandhiji wanted the Congress to alter its Constitution and adopt 'non-violent and truthful' means instead. But his suggestion was not accepted. Note that words get their meaning not so much from dictionary as from their usage. English dictionary may say that the word 'peaceful' means 'non-violent'. But in the context of the Congress and of that of our country, 'peaceful' cannot be held as a synonym of 'non-violent'. Had it been so, Gandhiji's suggestion deserved no discussion and should either have been accepted or thrown as meaningless. But it was thoroughly discussed and then dropped, *i. e.*, it was neither accepted, nor regarded as meaningless. We should look at all parties with the same eye and seek their co-operation."

* * * * * * * * *

Then followed an interesting query: "Whereas we are not able to complete one programme you are continuously giving new ones. Is it not like building castles in air?" With a hearty laugh, Vinoba said, "There are two impulses in man—one pertaining to the mind and the other to the body. Of these, the

latter is inert and gets dull and duller every moment and it has to be spurred on continuously. If you have no picture of the things ahead you cannot complete the old programme till the Doomsday. New programmes are, therefore, required to give momentum.

"Besides, Bhoodan is not a movement swinging to and fro like a pendulum but an ascension—ceaselessly climbing up. No sooner you ascend one cliff than another is visible; And so on. Thus the new programmes inspire us to realise the old ones. Also they provide new and wider meaning to the old programme. This is the age of science. It won't wait for an idle man. From *Bhoodan* to *Gramdan* and now to *Shanti-Sena*. If we ignore the *Shanti-sena* work, everything will vanish. They are working for Gramdans in the Tirumangalam taluk of the Madurai district. And strange horrible events are taking place in the neighbouring Ramnad district. You can see how furiously Time is advancing. You have to catch it by its forelock. New programmes are, therefore, an inevitable part of the great process."

There were several questions relating to Shanti Sena. One of them was: "Where is the need for Shanti-Sena in a state-free society when perfection will reign in the social conduct?"

"We must not overlook", observed Vinoba, "the reality which stares us in the face. While you talk of stateless society, these Atom and Hydrogen bombs threaten to wipe out society itself. I do not worry what will happen in the end. Nor do I bother about the transition stage. For transition, a state between the past and the present, is eternal. In the light of the situation in the country to-day, *Shanti-sena* is a prime necessity. In case this need is fulfilled, *Shanti-Sena* will turn into *Seva-Sena* and all will take to selfless service to make a homogeneous society."

"But in the present context", he went on, "if we fail to build up the atmosphere of non-violence, all our programmes, *viz.*, *Gramdan*, *Gram-Raj* will be in jeopardy. Mind it—not peace but non-violence is the need. Non-violence must have a hold over the situation. The rails must be of non-violence or *Sat-guna* while the engine may be of *Rajas* and the bogies of *Tamas*. It should not take long to create an influence of non-violence on the whole society."

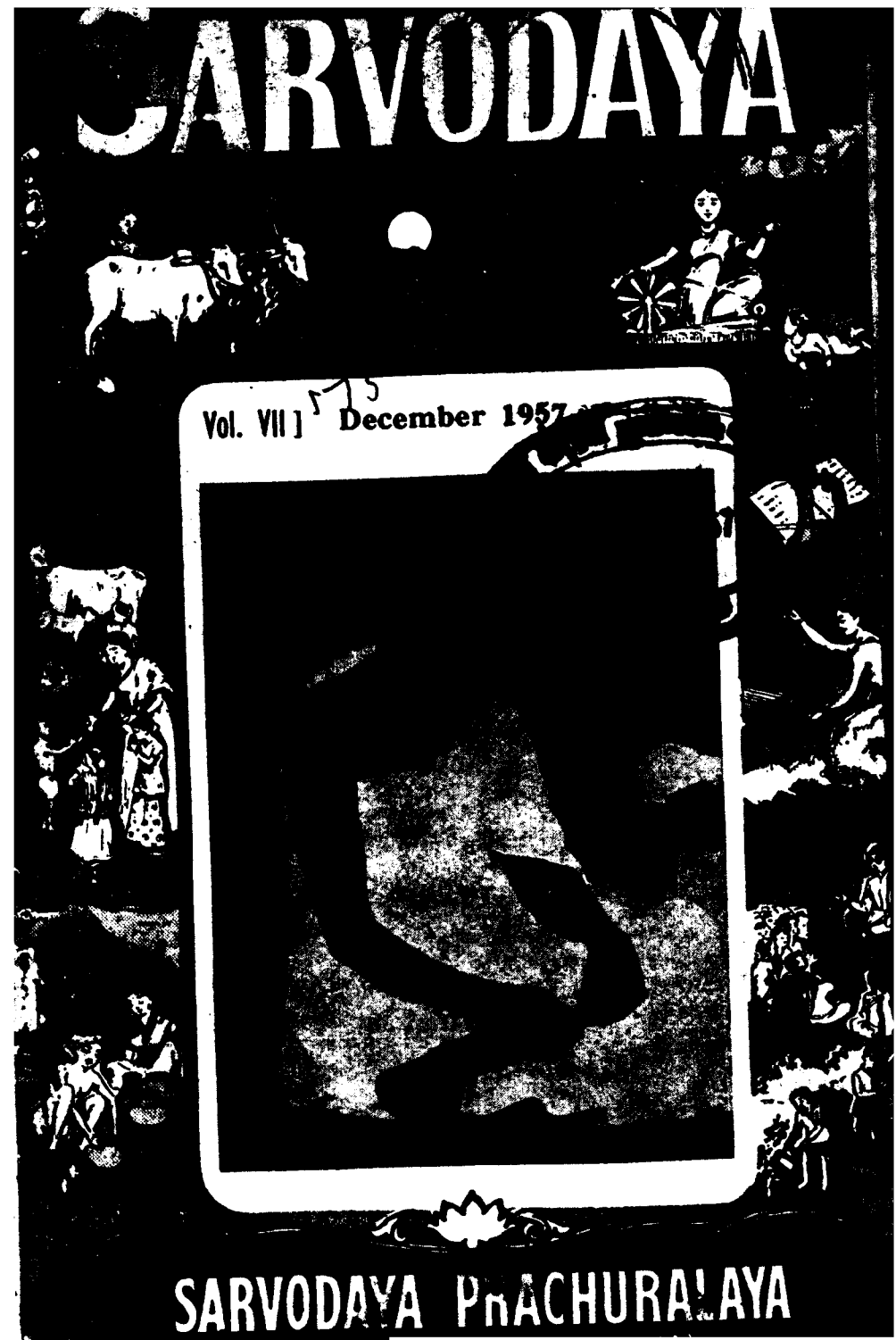
The other question was: "Shanti-sena is creating a sort of confusion. How to remove it?"

"No, it is not creating confusion, but giving expression to it." At Vinoba's reply, the entire audience burst into laughter. He added, "And it is good that this confusion is coming out so that it may be removed altogether. I am quite clear in my mind that there is no ground for confusion in this regard."

"As you know, a democratic Government cannot succeed in establishing peace by sheer power. Why? Because it is an 'average Government'. Evil has to be met by virtue and not by 'average element'. Government, standing as it does on 'average elements', cannot bring peace. Then who is to bring it? This is the responsibility of all of us who talk of people's self-reliant power, Gram-Raj and Stateless society and claim to be inheritors of Gandhiji's legacy. Shanti-Sena is an humble endeavour in the same direction. Where then is the confusion?"

Andhra Pradesh Gramdan Conference

CLOSELY following the Yelwal conference the Bhoodan workers in Andhra Pradesh arranged to hold a Gramdan Conference at Cuddapah on the 19th Oct. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh opened the Conference. There was a large gathering. Vinobaji in his message exhorted the workers not to be content with Gramdan but strive wholeheartedly for Taluk-dan. He added that the way was clear as all important leaders who met at Yelwal recognised the movement and promised support. Shri Ramalinga Reddy traced the course of the movement from its origin at Pochampalli. Shri Veerabrahmam of Ananda Ashram, gave an account of Bhoodan and Gramdan work in Cuddappah district. In that district 16,342 acres were received from 640 villages. The number of Gramdan villages is 224 with a total acreage of 5460 acres. These villages consist of 3,163 families with a total population of 18,078. In the evening all the workers in the movement met with Sri U. Kesavarao as the president. They discussed about further programme to co-ordinate and intensify the Gramdan work.



Vol. VII	SARVODAYA	No. 6
Whole	DECEMBER 1957	No. 78
CONTENTS		
		PAGE
The Call of Arsikere Conference		183
Integration of Life		184
— <i>Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru</i>		
Gramraj Through Gramdan		186
— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>		
Private Vs. Public Sector		188
Evolution Towards Sarvodaya		191
— <i>Jayaprakash Narayan</i>		
An American's Questions to Vinobaji		199
Vinobaji with Christian Friends		200
Sarvodaya Across the World		202
— <i>Donald G. Groom</i>		
God Mockery 1957		205
— <i>Francis Jude</i>		
Two wise Men of the East		206
— <i>Clarence E. Pickett</i>		
Community Life in America		208
— <i>Arthur Wiser</i>		
A Letter from Israel		209
Musings from Ramnad		211
Intensive Work in Kerala		213
Sarvodaya Literature		
For complete list in Tamil, Hindi and English literature		
write to :		
Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore		
Ann. Sub. 3/-	Foreign : Rs. 5	Price 30 nP.



The Call of Arsikere Conference

THE Yelwal conference of leaders of political parties was followed by another conference of all India Constructive workers at the Kasthur Ba Gram at Arsikere on the 8th and 9th Nov. '57 during Vinobaji's camp. The Yelwal statement was a national recognition of the basic principle and approach of Gramdan. This has indeed added to the responsibility of the Gandhian constructive workers all over the country in the actual fulfilment of the Gramdan. The conference was convened to give a re-orientation to all constructive work.

Vinobaji inaugurated the Conference with his address for about hundred minutes. He traced the history of the movement up to Yelwal and appealed to the workers to give a radical turn and tone to all constructive activities as an answer to the challenging forces of violence in the world.

Constructive work cannot be an isolated and air-conditioned activity. It can no longer be of a merely passive relief nature. It has to reveal the dynamics of non-violence. It has to permeate and influence the entire atmosphere around. It must create the active sanction and co-operation of the people who are served. The whole field of constructive work should be charged with a new wave of love and non-violence through thousands of Seva Sena and Shanti-Sena if humanity is to be saved from the threatening forces of violence and destruction. We have to seek a tangible token of consent in the form of a self-spun hank of yarn.

Constructive workers have been working all these years with the ideal of creating a non-violent social order through Gram-Raj. But the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement has brought new revelations of the non-violent sanctions of the people in a spontaneous way. It is for the constructive workers to seize this God-given opportunity and concentrate on Gramdan and apply all their constructive activities for the reconstruction of Gramdan villages and for propagating Sarvodaya ideal.

Integration of Life

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

This is a message from the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru for the All India Basic Education Conference held in Turkey in Bihar State from 28th to 30th November, 1957.

I send my good wishes to the Annual Conference of the workers of Nai Talim. In the final analysis, no subject is of greater importance than that of education. It is the men and women in a country that make and build a nation and it is education that is supposed to build those men and women.

The process of education therefore must help to build men and women suited to the age and the tasks they have to perform. It should presumably deal with certain basic factors in the development of boys and girls to give them strength of character and the right outlook on life. I do not mean by this that they should be conditioned only in one particular way, but rather that they should develop, apart from the essentials of character, a trained, receptive and tolerant mind which is capable of considering problems in their entirety and trying to arrive at solutions. They should in effect develop into integrated human beings. Integration means not only a process within themselves, which of course is highly important, but also a measure of integration with the environment.

The part of training that deals with the environment will necessarily vary with the age and the kind of work that these people may be called upon to do. We live, as is well known, in an intensely transitional age. We cannot go back upon it and we can only try to understand it and look forward to the changes that are likely to come. The Industrial Revolution has changed the face of the world in the course of the last one hundred and fifty years. In a sense it is continuing and tremendous scientific and technological advances are taking place now at an almost unthinkable pace. These will no doubt affect the structure of human life and association. How to fit in with this and yet to retain those fundamental traits of character which are

considered essential, is the problem of the age. Probably most of our difficulties are due to the fact that there is this lack of concordance between the individual and the environment. This physical environment has changed so rapidly that the human being has not adapted itself to it except, to some extent, externally.

In India we have perhaps to face even greater changes than elsewhere because, whether we will it or not, we cannot cut ourselves off from this powerful current of change. We are entering not only the industrial age but the atomic age and perhaps a little later the interplanetary age. We are doing this before we have found our feet even in the initial stages.

The problem is a colossal one and yet it has to be faced. Basic Education laid stress on various factors of importance, notably the coordination of the mind with manual work. That is an essential feature which we have to encourage. As a result of this, stress was laid on what are called the development of cottage industries and a seeming contradiction arose between cottage industries and the machine age that we live in. We cannot get out of the machine age and the question is how far such concordance is necessary and to what extent we can bring it about. It is difficult question to answer for the distant future. But in the present, it is clear that however much we may advance in the technique of the machine age, and I feel sure that we must advance that way, it still remains necessary for us to develop in a large way cottage industries and the like. Also, India can only develop if her villages develop, and too great a hiatus between the village and the city is bad. The whole purpose of the community development scheme is to develop the villages along modern lines but keeping their inner basis to some extent intact.

I think that there should be as close a coordination as possible between basic education and Nai Talim and the community development scheme, which undoubtedly are going to make a vast difference to rural India.

India has got a reputation for being a strong champion of peace and non-violence. That reputation is partly deserved but

not wholly so, because while we talk of peace and non-violence we indulge constantly in something the very opposite of it in our domestic and national life. This conflict within ourselves is, I am sure, very harmful. How far basic education can help in dealing with this problem, I do not know. But it has to try to the best of its ability. In doing so, it will not help much if it works in a narrow and limited sphere, cut off from the current of national life.

In this message I have touched upon some aspects of education and especially of basic education, which perhaps are not usually considered in their fullness. I trust that the Conference that is being held will pay some attention to them.

Gramraj through Gramdan

ACHARYA VINOBA

GRAMDAN is now a national resolve. The whole country is behind it. We have seen how a cause catches root in the minds of the people when there is a divine hand behind it. We have now to serve it with devotion. In the early days one has to work hard, sweat and toil, but when the divine grace has been seen one has to serve with a fullness of heart. We have seen the sign. The statement of the leaders ought to assure everyone. When leaders of political parties who seriously differ from one another agree on a programme like Gramdan they are bound to be brief. Enthusiasm must now be seen in the hearts of millions of our people. Our workers must be aware of the responsibility that lies on them. The whole country, they must remember, is behind the programme.

The second point I would like to stress is that workers should understand clearly all the implications of gramdan. Many have still a feeling that the duty of giving rests upon owners of land only. But if gramdan is a duty no inhabitant of the village can be exempt from it. The tenets of religion are universal. They are for all. The owner of land cultivated his field for the

benefit of his family when the land was not given in Gramdan. Afterwards he will work for the benefit of the village. Likewise the labourer and every other category of worker must work for the good of the village after Gramdan. Gramdan must mean a change of heart in every individual in the village.

The third point I would like to stress is about the future method of cultivation in the village. There is a fear in some quarters that Gramdan may lend itself to coercive collectivisation. There is a feeling that the tillers of the soil will be reduced to the status of wage-earners in a factory. We must give a lie to this idea. In fact, after Gramdan a plan for the village will be prepared by the people themselves. The people will decide what method of cultivation to follow. There will be no dictation or coercion from any quarter. Whether co-operative farming is adopted or not is not very important because Gramdan is the expression of the co-operative spirit in the people. Whatever the method of cultivation the people follow in a Gramdan village the spirit of co-operative and mutual aid will be behind all activities. Different experiments will be tried in different places with complete freedom. By this method of trial and error people will find out the best method which will express their spirit of co-operation, and bring about an increase in production.

The fourth point to remember is that no one loses anything in Gramdan. Everyone will be a gainer. Do you think the ruling princes have really lost anything because of the merger of the States? They have shed all their anxieties and burdens, have gained a sense of security they never had before, and have got an opportunity to win the confidence and affection of the people. Likewise in a Gramdan every inhabitant of a village will have security and friendship he had never known before.

The foundations of Gram-Swaraj have to be laid immediately after Gramdan. They must form a *gramsabha* and begin to think collectively about the various problems that face them. Then the donors, the merchants, Khadi Workers and Community Project officials must come forward and do all they can to strengthen the edifice of Gram-Swaraj. A climate of self-help and mutual aid must be created in the village.

Sarvodaya means decentralisation. It says that land belongs to God and not to man or the State. It means land belongs to no one. It is a part of the large world which God has created. It is meant for all who are in the world. So God is the real owner of all land. The management will vest in the Gramsabha. It will be tilled by individual farmers. There is no question of state ownership. I believe that land belongs to the world. A government of any state cannot be the owner. This is a revolutionary idea. It has nothing to do with state ownership.

Private vs. Public Sector

ACHARYA VINOBA

THERE is a great struggle going on in our country between the 'Private Sector' and 'Public Sector'. Our elected Government is trying to establish a Socialist Pattern of Society and therefore trying to reduce the percentage of investment in the Private Sector. Our ministers are talking on those lines and our businessmen are frightened. The Government has assured them that for the time being the two sectors will march forward together. Gradually as the strength of the Public Sector increases the Private Sector will shrink.

Sarvodaya has its own approach to all this. Today Private Sector covers 80% while Public Sector 20%. In course of time the percentage will be 70 and 30. But we say that let both sectors be 100%. That is the Sarvodaya approach. Because in Sarvodaya Private and Public Sectors will have no separate existence. For example, the work that is done by the hand can also be done by the finger and vice versa, and there is no question of more or less in the work of the two. The hand is like the Public Sector and the fingers like the Private Sector. There should be no conflict between the two.

One great thing in India is that business itself is considered as part of religion. Today trade and commerce have become all-embracing but in this country it has not merely a business aspect. It has also a spiritual basis. It is the religion of a businessman—

his duty—that he should carry on a trade in the spirit of religion. If he does not do so he will be failing in his duty. But if he carries on his trade as a religious duty and according to the precepts of religion, he will be entitled to *moksha* just as well as any Brahmin studying Vedas. This is an extra-ordinary thing in India. That a good tradesman will gain the trust and confidence of the people and make good money is a universally accepted fact. But he will also attain *moksha* is a particular way of Indian thought alone. This is the basic difference between social and economic thinking of the world and that of India. That is why Gramdan and Bhoodan are succeeding here.

The two most important activities in the world—social and religious service—we have left to the State as our representatives. This habit of leaving everything to Government agencies does not widen people's horizon, does not enlarge their hearts. You cannot build up the country with people whose only work is to praise or blame the Government. This is not freedom. The people must do the major portion of the work themselves and leave out the minor things to Government. Strength grows when the people and Government come together. I have said repeatedly that the people are "ONE" and the Government "ZERO". One and zero can produce great strength but separately they are nothing. While the people are an "entity", Government is a non-entity. The Government has some function, some power, that is derived from your consent. But the real strength is the strength of the people.

BIRTHDAY GIFT TO PANDIT NEHRU

Sri Prabhaker, Lok-Sevak of Andhra Pradesh has wired as follows to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru:

“OFFERING TEN GRAMDANS FROM ANDHRA PRADESH ON YOUR SIXTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY

Hyderabad (Dn.) }
18-11-57

Prabhaker.”

Andhra had already announced 108 villages as Gramdan on the occasion of the 62nd Birthday of Vinobaji on 11th September, 1957. The latest number of Gramdan villages has come to 260. The peculiar feature of these Gramdan villages is that all the land-owners in each village have offered their land and all the land except the Government's land has come to the Gramdan pool in every village.

Education and Defence in Non-Violence

I have been asked to give a short message to the Nayi Talim Conference. Gramdan and Gram-Swaraj based upon Nayi Talim are our programme.

We must look upon education and defence as the two major parts of this programme. Our means of defence is the Shanti-Sena: Our means of education is the life of the village. The Sarvodaya movement must find the courage to take both these aspects into our hands.

I have been saying that Bhoodan and Gramdan are our Sita; The village crafts are our Ram, the bearer of the bow. What is Hanuman then? Nayi Talim is our Hanuman.

Education and defence may be thought of as two different things. But in Non-violence education and defence are one and the same, and there can be no complete manifestation of non-violence if these two are thought of separately.

A society freed from the yoke of authority means a society yoked to education.

The new arts of Nayi Talim are unfolding one by one like the petals of a flower; we must see that our teachers are ready to welcome them.

BANGALORE }
16-10-57 }

Vinoba

(This is the translation of the Hindi message sent for the thirteenth Basic Education Conference in Turki in Bihar State on 28th, 29th and 30th Nov. '57)

SARVODAYA PANCHAYATS IN KERALA

Sarvodaya Panchayats for 27 villages were inaugurated to take charge of 30 Gramdan villages consisting of 1,040 families near Trivandrum. Dr. Ramakrishna Rao, Governor of Kerala inaugurated the Sarvodaya Panchayats. Mr. E.M.S. Namboodripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala presided over the function.

Evolution Towards Sarvodaya

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

The long letter of Sri Jayaprakash to a friend in the Praja Socialist Party explaining the reasons that led to his decision to withdraw from politics has been published in some leading Dailies. This is a weighty statement of tremendous historical value and an objective and critical assessment of the moving ideological forces of the first half of this century. It is the inner passion for freedom of man as the beacon light and goal of his life that has led Sri Jayaprakash to the ultimate decision to transcend the party and power politics of the State towards the Lok-Neethi i.e. the politics of humanity and Sarvodaya of the spiritual Communism based on truth and love.

AFTER long deliberation I have decided to write you this letter. It has not been easy for me to do it, because it is never easy to cut oneself away from an association of a lifetime. We have worked together and together have we suffered imprisonment, lived through the adventures of the underground, and tasted the ashes of independence. We have all far to travel yet.

But I, on my part at least, find myself at a point of the journey where I must decide to part company and walk it alone. It would have gladdened my heart beyond measure had I been able to persuade you to come along with me, but I realise that that is not possible—at least for the present. I hope, however, that our paths will often meet and that at the journey's end they will merge together. We may not live to see that consummation ourselves, but I feel confident that if the world were ever to reach the port of peace and freedom and brotherhood, socialism must eventually merge into Sarvodaya.

It was four years ago at the Bodh Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan that I decided to give up politics. But I had continued to be a member of the PSP, though apart from attending an occasional meeting or offering an occasional advice I took no part in

the activities of the Party. Some time before the last General Election I came to the decision that I should give up even the sleeping membership of the PSP. But Acharyaji was ill and I did not want to take the step without discussing the matter with him. To the great misfortune of this country and of the socialist cause, Acharya Narendra Deva passed away. It has a staggering blow to the PSP, which had already been weakened by a split.

Leading comrades therefore pleaded with me not to announce my resignation till the elections were over. I agreed, but it was understood that soon after the elections the announcement would be made. The delay in doing this has been due entirely to the fact that I was anxious to place before you and before the country generally the reasons that led me to take such a drastic step—i. e., a step that was natural to me but that appears so drastic to others. Almost every day some one or another raises the question with me why at all should I have given up politics. The faith and hope that the people seem to repose in politics appear pitiable to me, but I find it difficult to explain to every one individually the rationale of my action. I am attempting to do so here.

The hold of politics on the minds of the people is such and its alternative is in such an incipient state yet, that I shall not probably be able to persuade many of those who may read this statement; but I do hope there will be more mutual understanding and also a quickening of interest in the ideas herein propounded. There is also another aspect of the matter. Everyone views things from his own particular background. Those who have not gone through the experiences which I have passed through, nor pursued the ideals which have been mine might fail to appreciate my reasoning. A new enthusiast for socialism, or the class-struggle, or political action, or parliamentary democracy may not perhaps be able to follow me until he has come to enquire how the draw-backs that he has discovered in his particular enthusiasm can be remedied. I am not for a moment suggesting that I have arrived at a flawless solution of social problems or that *Sarvodaya* is the last word in social philosophy. Man is ever progressing towards the truth, for he is by nature an enquiring being. He will never be able to reach the ultimate truth but by

gradually eliminating untruth he will be able slowly to approach the truth.

There is no doubt that many flaws in *Sarvodaya* thought and practice will be discovered and removed in the future, and thus the human mind will keep up its ascent to the truth. But I do believe that *Sarvodaya* represents a distinct advance over the existing social philosophies and systems. I shall try to explain the process through which I arrived at this conclusion. What follows is by no means a full statement of the *Sarvodaya* philosophy, for which task I have no adequate equipment in any case, but a narration of the evolution of my own thinking that led me finally to renounce politics.

FROM NON-CO-OPERATION TO COMMUNISM

The past course of my life might well appear to the outsider as a zigzag and tortuous chart of unsteadiness and blind groping. But as I look back I discern in it a uniform line of development. The groping undeniably was there, but it was certainly not blind there were clear beacons of light that remained undimmed and unaltered from the beginning and that led me on to my apparently tortuous path. I, at least, am not sorry for having made this zigzag journey for it has made me the surer of the path that I have now decided to tread.

As a boy, like most boys of those days, I was an ardent nationalist and leaned towards the revolutionary cult of which Bengal was the noble leader at that time. But even then the story of the South African *Satyagraha* had fascinated my young heart. Before my revolutionary leanings could mature, Gandhiji's first non-co-operation movement swept over the land as a strangely uplifting hurricane. I too was one of the thousands of young men of those days who, like leaves in the storm, were swept away and momentarily lifted up to the skies. That brief experience of soaring up with the winds of a great idea left imprints on the inner being that time and much familiarity with the ugliness of reality have not removed.

It was then that freedom became one of the beacon-lights of my life, and it has remained so ever since. Freedom, with the passing of the years, transcended the mere freedom of my country and embraced freedom of man everywhere and from

every sort of trammel—above all, it meant freedom of the human personality, freedom of the mind, freedom of the spirit. This freedom has become a passion of life and I shall not see it compromised for bread, for power, for security, for prosperity, for the glory of the State or for anything else.

Strangely enough it was in the land of nascent and successful capitalism, in the United States of America, which was my home from 1922 to 1929, that I became a convert to Marxism, or more precisely to Soviet Communism as then it was. It was at Madison, Wisconsin, the home of La Follette progressivism then, that in the company of Jewish and European-born fellow-students I drank deep at the fountain of Marxism. I think we left nothing unread of Marxism that was available in the English language then and with the help of a brilliant student of German even read some of the untranslated Marxian classics. The pungent writings of M. N. Roy that found their way from Europe into the Communist cells, particularly of Asian students, completed the conversion to Marxism.

Freedom still remained the unchanging goal but the Marxian science of revolution seemed to offer a surer and quicker road to it than Gandhiji's technique of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. The thrilling success of the great Lenin, accounts of which we consumed with unsatiated hunger seemed to establish beyond doubt the supremacy of the Marxian way to revolution.

At the same time, Marxism emblazoned another beacon of light for me: equality and brotherhood. Freedom was not enough. It must mean freedom for all—even the lowliest—and this freedom must include freedom from exploitation, from hunger, from poverty. I cannot say what were the early experiences that had laid the foundations in the subconscious mind of sympathy with poverty and suffering. But the latent sympathy certainly was there, and it was awakened and brought to the surface of conscious living by Marxism. This process was re-inforced by the mode of my life in the United States. Coming from the lower middle class, I hardly received any help from my family and had to work as an ordinary labourer in field and factory to earn my upkeep and the expenses of university education. At that time

I was not very certain about Gandhiji's stand on the vital question of equality which captivated me as much as the ideal of freedom. As a matter of fact, Roy's writings of those days (though Roy too later travelled far from those positions) persuaded me to believe that Gandhiji was against the social revolution and would at a moment of crisis hasten to uphold the system of exploitation and inequality. I did not understand then that Gandhiji had his own conception of the social revolution and of the means to achieve it.

COMMUNISM TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The end of 1929, when I returned to my country, was not a propitious time for Marxism. Nationalism was reaching white heat and when in December of that year Gandhiji failed to persuade Lord Irwin (as he then was) to commute the death sentences on Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades, the stage was set for a gigantic leap towards national freedom. Naturally, I plunged into the fray with all my heart. But I did not find the Indian Communists anywhere on the battle lines. Some of them, no doubt, were in prison in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy case. But there were many who were outside and underground organisation of the C. P. I. did exist in some form or another. But even in the underground of the national movement, where I soon found myself, the Communists were nowhere in evidence, though subterranean channels could have easily connected the two undergrounds. Worse, I came to know that they were denouncing the national movement as bourgeois and Mahatma Gandhi as a lackey of the Indian bourgeoisie. I do not wish to recall that whole story of folly and shame. I have made a reference to it here only to indicate how my differences arose with the Indian Communists and their brand of Marxism. The Communists in India were only following, of course, the policy laid down by the Third or Communist International which by then had come completely under the leadership of Stalin. The patently mistaken policy that the Comintern had been following since 1928 and which had resulted in the division of the labour and socialist movements throughout the world and in the isolation of the Communists from the national movements in all the colonial countries, appeared to me, as indeed it was later acknowledged to be, contrary to Marxist theory generally and specifically to the

famous colonial policy enunciated by the great Lenin. My differences with the C. P. I. thus marked the beginning of my ideological alienation from Soviet Russia itself, which to me was till then the paragon and exemplar of all Communist virtues. The ideological conflict and struggle for power that had gone on in Russia for some years prior had not yet produced any positive reaction in me, apart from a suppressed anxiety. Indeed, there was not much information available yet regarding those matters. But when at home I was face to face with a Soviet-dictated policy which my Marxism just could not be reconciled with, I could not help being somewhat alienated.

CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY

I naturally kept away from the C. P. I. and joined the ranks of the soldiers of freedom. But freedom or *Swaraj* had come by then to mean much more to me than mere national independence. Free India to me meant socialist India and *swaraj* the rule of the poor and downtrodden. Congress policy and programme on this score, in spite of the famous Karachi declaration, seemed vague and inadequate. Naturally, with other likeminded fighters for freedom, we formed the Congress Socialist Party so that the social policy of the Congress might become more definitely socialist and the fight for independence itself might be conducted in a more revolutionary manner which meant in Marxian terminology the linking of the movement for national freedom with the movement for economic and social emancipation of the masses. The Congress Socialist Party played a notable part in giving shape to the Socio-economic content of Congress policy and a hard edge to the struggle for freedom. By and large, the Congress Socialists were among the most uncompromising and undaunted soldiers of freedom.

As the national movement raged in the early thirties, shocking developments were taking place in Europe which were crowned eventually by Hitler's rise to absolute power. Stalin had predicted an early fall for Hitler, because a half-mad person was not likely to solve the complex and difficult problems of Germany; and on the rubble of Hitler's power, so had Stalin prophesied, would be raised the edifice of Communist Germany. When nothing of the sort happened, however, when Hitler, on the contrary, consolidated his power and suppressed the Communists

and the socialists and the great trade unions, when he began to prepare for world conquest and when his plans began to succeed, fright ultimately overtook the master of the Kremlin. Then a *volte face* was quickly effectuated.

COSTLIEST MISTAKE OF STALIN

It is the vogue to dig Stalin's mistakes out of the grave. Khrushchev has dug out some. Zhukov seems eager to dig deeper. I have no desire to follow this vogue, but I should like to repeat what I have said elsewhere that a time will come when the gravest of Stalin's mistakes—the costliest and the most criminal—would be pronounced to be the disruptive policies which he followed that made it possible for Hitler to seize power. Had not the German Communists declared, under Stalin's inspiration, the Social Democrats to be enemy No. 1 and the Nazis enemy only after them, Hitler could never have become the master of Germany. If the policy of socialist unity and popular front which was adopted after the victory of Nazism had been followed from the beginning, the Nazi terror and the Second World War would never have happened.

The popular front policy had its echo in India in the CPI's own dutiful *volte face* and its sudden recognition and support, after years of abuse and calumny, of the Indian National Congress as a National Front.

Still wedded to Marxism, this new policy filled my heart with joy and sent my hopes rising high. I began to dream of the possibility of a united Socialist-Communist party and of the rapid strides that both the freedom movement and Indian socialism could make under such united leadership!

Some of my leading colleagues such as Rammanohar Lohia, M. R. Masani, Achyut Patwardhan and Asoka Mehta were opposed to this policy and felt sure that it would end in disaster. But my Marxist zeal had the better of me, and with the support of such a respected colleague as Narendra Dev, I went ahead with my dreams and hopes. A compact was arrived at with the CPI, according to which membership of the CSP was open to the Communists, CSP branches, particularly in the South, were deliberately handed over to them in preference to loyal CSP-ers, Communists were elected to the AICC and other Congress bodies

with CSP support, and in the trade union movement it was agreed to work together.

The disastrous consequences of that policy are well-known one of which, incidentally, was that the whole of the South was lost to the CPI. But that night-marish experience resulted in one great good. It taught us a great lesson in politics. We learnt, some of us with not little regret, that there cannot be any unity with an "official" Communist party (i. e., a party affiliated to the Comintern or approved of by the Kremlin); that such a Communist party is not a free agent but a tool of Moscow; that the primary loyalty of the members of such a party is first to Russia and only then to anybody else; that when the Communist parties talk of united front, it is always a ruse and at best a temporary policy dictated by the exigencies of the situation; that their unswerving goal is always monolithic Communist rule; that the Communist can never think of sharing power with any one, except as a make-shift with convenient stooges. These were valuable lessons, but perhaps the price paid was too high. The war further re-inforced these conclusions and led to a decisive annulment of the engagement that had been entered into with so much hope.

International Communism is at present going through the pangs of a new birth, but it is too early yet to say whether the issue will be stillborn or otherwise. Men like me wish with all their heart for the happier eventuality.

(To be continued)

A True Satyagrahi

MAHATMA GANDHI

In the dictionary of the non-violent there is no such word as an external enemy. But even for the supposed enemy he will have nothing but compassion in his heart. He will believe that no man is intentionally wicked, that there is no man but is gifted with the faculty to discriminate between right and wrong, and that if that faculty were to be fully developed, it would surely mature into non-violence. He will therefore pray to God that He may give the supposed enemy a sense of right and bless him. His prayer for himself will always be that the spring of compassion in him may ever be flowing, and that he may ever grow in moral strength so that he may face death fearlessly. — "Satyagraha"

An American's Questions to Vinobaji

Foreign correspondents and visitors rarely miss to call on Vinobaji. They put various questions to him. Here is a report of a few interesting questions of an American correspondent and Vinobaji's answers at the interview at Bangalore on 17-10-'57.

Q. 1. What is your opinion about Communist movement in Kerala?

Vinobaji:—The Communist movement in Kerala is of a different type from what you have in other countries. It is of the Indian type. They are working under the constitution and I think, they are doing well. Communist leaders attended the Gramdan Conference which unanimously passed a resolution supporting Gramdan. Taking into consideration, the work done by Kerala Communists, I hope that they are gradually coming near to Sarvodaya. Gradually they will eschew violence in practice, if not in theory. In the atmosphere of India they will realise the futility of violence.

Q. 2. What is the relationship between Community Project work and Bhoodan?

Vinobaji:—Bhoodan is trying to build up community life from below and Community Projects are trying to give Govt. help from above. I think these two movements can be combined. Yelwal Conference has given definite direction to the Community Project people and Gramdan workers to work in co-operation. Both would come together and discuss problems. But so far as the decisions are concerned, it is entirely left to the village people.

Q. 3. You are taking the cream of youth for your movement. They are so idealistic that they will be of no use to political parties. Is it not true that political parties also need idealistic young people but there is a dearth of such people?

Vinobaji:—Why should there be dearth of such people when there is so much of ideological impulse. Political parties must have the capacity to attract such people. If these people join Bhoodan movement, it is congenial to political life. It will give impetus to the politicians.

Q. 4. What about the Hydrogen Bomb?

Vinobaji :—I am not at all afraid of the Atom and Hydrogen bombs. I am very much concerned with small sticks. I regard World War as divine, and not man-made. God's will is fulfilled when a World War takes place. If we are able to do away with small sticks, the basis for World War will be removed. I have no fear of World War. With the advance of science, we must be able to grasp the situation. If we become scientific, in the real sense of the term, we will avoid war. Otherwise the human race will be extinguished. So man has to be scientific in his attitude.

Q. 5. Many people in America are moved by your movement. Your influence goes far beyond the borders of India.

Vinobaji :—I know American people are a good people. I have faith in them. There is a fear complex in America but still the goodness of heart is there.

Q. 6. So you have hopes for the future?

Vinobaji :—O, Yes!

Vinobaji with Christian Friends

(Report of an interview on 18-10-'57 at Vinobaji's Bangalore camp.)

A Christian Friend :—We think the preaching of religion is necessary in this age.

Vinobaji :—Preaching is not needed, practice is needed. No preaching can uplift humanity. We have too much of preaching. I don't look upon humanity, as sinful. If God's creation is sinful, God is sinful. We should not look upon humanity as sinful, but look for sin in our own hearts. Heart correcting and purification of the heart is necessary. If one does purification of the heart, the message of God spreads through his life. So the primary thing is to live a good, righteous, loving life.

God's help is always there. He is everywhere. He is above us, below us, in front of us and behind also. He is there, provided we want His help. The lack is not on the side of God,

but it is on our side. It is there to help us provided we are ready to follow his path and take up the Cross. 'Ask and you will get it, knock and the door will be opened'.

A Christian Friend :—Many people think that God is a ferocious being! So preaching is necessary.

Vinobaji :—This is a self-righteous attitude which I don't like. Humanity may not be able to talk about God, but has God in its heart. God's touch is everywhere. The mother loves her child and the child feels it. The Sun needs no advertisement. So we need not advertise, let us live good life. God is doing His work. Why should we take up that work upon ourselves? Let us live as His devotees. All human beings have love in their hearts. All beings stand on the circumference of a circle and God is the centre. All are at equal distance from God. Let us share whatever we have with others. Let us not assume arrogant, self-righteous way; hope you will pardon me for saying this.

A Christian Friend :—We agree with you.

Vinobaji :—We should not look upon humanity as sinful and fallen. If humanity is sinful, God is sinful. But God is goodness personified.

A Christian Friend :—If I feel that I am sinful, do you say that God is also sinful?

Vinobaji :—If I feel that I am utterly selfish, to me God is selfish. What God really is, I don't know. If God is love, I must feel the touch of love. Cruel tiger cannot appreciate that God is love, only human beings can appreciate that; because we feel the touch of love.

A Christian Friend :—Still preaching is very necessary.

Vinobaji :—Preaching is neither sufficient, nor necessary. Practice is necessary. Have living faith in God. Live in faith and it will pervade all atmosphere.

A Christian Friend :—Is Bhoodan movement moral or spiritual?

Vinobaji :—I don't differentiate between moral and spiritual planes. Spiritual plane is higher but moral plane is not lower, it is near humanity. Humanity can easily grasp it, and the man goes up higher towards the spiritual plane. One is a ladder, the

36
1/2 on 24.4.52 SV
A/52.7.14

other the destination. It is not possible for a man to be a spiritual being, without first being a moral being. One is the means, the other, the end. Sarvodaya is based on both, moral and spiritual. Sarvodaya is a moral revolution which changes the spiritual values. Man has to live for others, and not for his own self. At present I live for myself, you live for yourself. Sometimes we co-operate, and at times there is a conflict. Sarvodaya leads to change of values. Mere reformism while keeping the present social order intact, won't do. A revolution is needed which will create the spiritual values.

SARVODAYA ACROSS THE WORLD

DONALD G. GROOM

Mr. Donald G. Groom is well-known to our readers. He had been in India for about seventeen years doing constructive work in Rasulia, Hoshangabad, in M. P. During the last one year he has been actively participating in Bhoodan Mission. He has just now returned from England after spending a few months there. Immediately on his return he joined Vinobaji in his Mysore Yatra. We are thankful to him for this special contribution to "SARVODAYA"

WHEN Vinobaji asked me to return to India after spending a few months in England, I was not at all certain that I would be able to. Anyhow, I now write from India again and after having spent two weeks with Vinobaji. For this I am thankful, not only to those in England who have made it possible—not the least of whom are my family, but to those in India who have accepted me as one of them and have extended to me their loving care.

In writing for "Sarvodaya" monthly, I am conscious of the fact that I shall be read by friends in the West as well as those in India. I know that there are many in the West who want to know as much as they can about the movement towards Sarvodaya in India, and that there are many in India who want to know about the movement in the West. Some will want to know what I mean by a movement towards Sarvodaya in the West, but I do come back to India with a feeling that Vinobaji's intuition was correct—there is a spirit at work in many countries

in the world. Vinobaji is giving expression to a world spirit which is irrepressible. Only the other day he referred to this spirit as the 4th Dimension in human consciousness. Then, even if I write about a few of the workings of this spirit in the world, please do not think that I have an exhaustive knowledge of this. I can only speak of the thrill that I have had as I have gradually become aware of various expressions of the spirit as I have spoken about Vinobaji and the Bhoodan Movement in England. Now I think that it is up to readers and friends all over the world to use this journal to inform one another of other expressions of the quest for Sarvodaya in all parts of the world. It would be good for us to study the different expressions.

By the time that the day had come for my sailing to India, I had spoken to more than 60 audiences in England, generally about Vinoba and the Bhoodan movement. I think that my experience at the very last meeting was typical of the whole experience that I had been having throughout my six months in England. The meeting was in a teachers' training college. After I had finished my address, as is usual, the chairman invited questions. But a member of the audience, rose and said, "I think that the best thing that we can do is to spend the rest of our time in silence, we have heard so much which we need to think over and we need to realise the challenge of this movement to our own lives." Time after time I realised that I was speaking about something which my audience felt had individual and world significance. The demand for more knowledge of Vinobaji's thought and of the movement, through more literature in English was constant.

The expressions of the Sarvodaya spirit in the West will be varied and often very different from those in India. Nevertheless it is important that the movement should know of the details of these. At this time I will content myself just to mention a few in the hope that more detailed descriptions can be made in later issues. They are:

- (1) The Scott-Bader Commonwealth as it applies Sarvodaya principles to small industries.
- (2) The Farmer Printing Works which are pioneering in the same direction.

- (3) Other Co-partnership and similar experiments in industry.
- (4) The Bruderhoff Community in England and in other countries.
- (5) The New Community Movement in Italy.
- (6) The World Citizenship Movement in France.
- (7) The work of Abbe Pierre in France.
- (8) The pioneering group in New York trying to build up a community of sharing with the minimum use of money.
- (9) The fostering of rural industries and home crafts in England.
- (10) The movement for World Government which as it grows will have to reconsider the whole basis of Government in the world.
- (11) The voluntary efforts at sharing such as the 'War on Want' movement in England.

For those readers in England and the West who are keen to be kept in touch with the Bhoodan Movement, this whole journal exists. My personal impression is that Vinobaji is as energetic and inspired as ever. Having reached the stage of Gramdan, which in the Prime Minister's words, has come to stay, the emphasis is now being placed on a non-violent technique to preserve the spirit and character of Gramdan and in the process preserve the nation. This technique is the enlistment of 70,000 dedicated whole time servants of the people in a Peace Force, whose place and prestige in society will be built up by the incessant spirit of service given and accepted in love. Vinobaji wants one such dedicated person for every 5,000 inhabitants.

With the acceptance of the principle of Gramdan by the leaders of the main parties in India, Vinobaji feels that we have reached the culmination point of the non-violent revolution. The task of fulfilling his and Gandhiji's high hopes now lies in the tireless efforts of the people everywhere. The consolidation requires now life dedication.

Vinobaji has also placed the movement in the setting of the world society by initiating the cry as he goes from village to village—'Jai Jagat'. (May victory be the worlds), 'Jai Jagat'.

God Mockery 1957

FRANCIS JUDE, OXON, ENGLAND

The writer is a reader of "SARVODAYA". He had sent this to a local church magazine. Though the minister readily agreed the printer refused it lest it might infringe some obscure law! He has sent it to us for publication which we gladly do.

PROBABLY nobody yet knows the full facts about the dangers of H. Bomb tests. But there is no doubt about the background to the Penney bomb which, it is said, cost £ 200,000,000. It is a great mass of mankind living, here and now, in the utmost misery; of disease waiting to be cured, of hunger and ignorance, much of which could be overcome if there was a will to do it. Each year 5,000,000 people die of Tuberculosis and in Latin America alone 27,000,000 children await protection by vaccination. Filthy sores eat into the flesh of 50,000,000 sufferers of Yaws, a tropical disease that can be cured for as little as ten shillings. These and other diseases, along with malnutrition, take such a toll that in some countries the average length of life is less than 30 years. Of all living children, over half have never been to school so that, over wide areas more than 90% of the people can neither read nor write. Yet everyone of all the suffering, downcast millions is a member of the great family of man, a fellow citizen of the world towards whom, if Christ's life means anything at all, we should feel nothing but goodwill—even to those who we think hate us.

Our bomb cost £ 200,000,000; our yearly contribution to the work of healing and feeding the world's children, through the United Nations, has been about £ 200,000. What diseases do our arms and H. Bombs heal, what hungry are so fed or naked clothed? Do the radioactive particles carry Christ's spiritual message around the earth? And if, as politicians tell us, our bargaining power is now increased it is certain that it is not by bargaining power that we shall be judged, but rather by the our stumbling efforts to follow the way of Jesus; surely not the way of the hard driven bargain but of love, healing, compassion; of the unity of all mankind.

The diabolical contrivance which we have produced and are prepared to use, stands for fear, hatred, violence, torture, utter destruction; for evil. To put our faith and trust in it in the name of peace brands us as servants of Caesar; and such it was who cried out "Crucify Him".

Two Wise Men of the East

CLARENCE E. PICKETT

(In 'The Progressive', June, 1957, published from Madison, Wisconsin, U. S. A., Mr. Clarence E. Pickett wrote an article under caption "Two Wise Men of the East". He has selected Mr. U Nu of Burma and Sri Navakrishna Chaudari for his article. We are giving below the condensed portion of the article relating to Sri Chaudari, the former Chief Minister of Orissa State who has entirely dedicated himself to the service of Gramdan Movement.)

ANOTHER visit which left a deep impression occurred in the state of Orissa in India. The scene of the interview was a quiet evening on the portico in front of a living quarters of a small Quaker unit working with the villagers to improve health, education, and agriculture in an area soon to be served by water and electricity from the recently opened Hirakud dam. The former first minister (Equivalent to governor in the United States) was spending the evening with us. We were all ears to learn why Navakrishna Chaudary had resigned as first minister of his State and leader of the Congress Party to join the Bhoodan Movement, which is dedicated to persuading landlords to give up some of their land to the landless.

As a leader in this backward State in India Chaudary has done a great deal of careful planning in order to bring the benefits from India's great village development plan to his backward State. Already one could see some changes coming. But some thing was lacking. And it was to give a new emphasis to voluntary participation for the common good that he has chosen to work outside rather than through government schemes.

Chaudary's whole outlook had been greatly affected by Gandhi. There was the important stage of political revolution when non-violence was central in importance. But the greatest danger to any movement is the tendency to cease to expect new light. Now, non-violence was not enough. A great new step based on love was called for. Love, he explained, is positive, while non-violence is negative. Love means caring to the point of surrender of privilege. Love calls for realizing a new centre in life, a new commitment to the common good—"a new commandment I give unto you."

Having achieved political office in order to dedicate his skills and ability to these noble ends, he was now turning from Government to a dependence on the reborn spirit of his people as the path to most lasting results. The fact that for him personally it meant a hazardous financial future and transference from the use of the power of the State to faith in the inward spirit brought a fresh flow of confidence. Now he cycles or walks from village to village, talking the new life of surrender, appealing not to non-violent but to the power of love to bring fulfillment to his people. He welcomes help from outside but he feels that India's inner resources are great. The central need is to kindle confidence.

As this Indian sat squatting on the floor, clad in the simplest of the Indian garb, and talked of this revolutionary doctrine of love, one realized the familiar sound of his words to one accustomed to the New Testament doctrine, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within you."

GRAMRAJ

"Our first step will be to get Gram-raj (Government by the village): then lawsuits and disputes will be judged and settled within the village."

"Next it will be Ram-raj (the Kingdom of God): then there will no longer be any lawsuits or disputes, and we shall all live as one family."

(From "Gandhi to Vinoba" by Lanza Del Vasto known as Shanidas—in French translated by Philip Leon.)

Community Life in America

ARTHUR WISER

Macedonia Co-operative Community, Clarksville, Georgia, U.S.A.

MACEDONIA Community is fellowship of people with the purpose of living in a true and brotherly way of life. This purpose has led to the development of patterns and ways of living: all decisions of importance are made unanimously by the group of full members; property is held in common, and no wages are paid. About half of the males are eating together. All who wish to live in brotherhood are welcomed. The work is done co-operatively. Common worship is an integral experience. The land is 600 acres of woods, pasture, farm and garden in the hills of north east Georgia. A woodworking shop manufacturing play equipment, and a dairy, are the chief sources of income. Any living thing is more than the sum of its parts, however. And any true account of a community must try to catch the quality of a whole way of life, difficult though it be to put down on paper. Essentially, for us, community is the experience in which men find a spirit which has the power to remake them and create a brotherly society.....

Each of us who is here has come with mixed motives, many of them true and compelling, which have kept us here seeking and finding a new life. We have felt the fruitlessness of the usual labours for more money and more things. We have revelled at division, between man and man—the separations between races, and rich and poor, and religious groups, and nations. We have felt the wrong of violence between nations and between individuals, the fear of violence, and the lack of understanding. And we have had the belief that these things do not need to rule over men, and that a life of love is possible. Mixed in with the calling to help build such a life which can break down boundaries and bring men together, have been motives which have had to be given up. If we wanted to be creators of a perfect society, a utopia where life was sweetness and never an ugly temper showed its head, we found we had not the ability to do it. Or if we had a bit of desire to escape from the world, which usually means wishing to escape from responsibility, we were in for quite a jolt. For whatever the mixture of

motives with which we came, we found a first necessity to be that of recognizing ourselves for what we are. Coming right down to it, we have had to take into ourselves the very painful truth that the ills of society are right within us. The process of living closely with other people has helped us to see the greed, hypocrisy, lust, desire to dominate, fear, that are in each of us. For these can twist life in a family or community as viciously as in big business of international relations

We feel keenly that this gift of love and joy that we find together is not for us and our children only, nor even only for those who come to join us here. It turns our hearts outward with longing to share with others. We do not presume that we have found a perfect pattern of life, but we believe that men are meant to live in brotherly sharing, finding their security, not in material things or might, but in the power of love and truth. Only then can peace come to society. Is it not needful that anyone who wants this peace for himself and the world should find a way to give himself fully to it?

A Letter from Israel

Here is an interesting letter from a subscriber for "SARVODAYA" in Israel describing the Kibbutz community village which would approximate in away to the idea of Gramdan village.

RISHON LE ZION, ISRAEL
8—9—'57

Dear Friend,

Being a vegetarian and a life long friend of India, I was very happy to receive your Kaladi Sarvodaya Sammelan Number, which I have read on receipt and which gave me a deep insight into your most humanitarian and noble movement.

Vinobaji is well-known in Israel and he is a Torch showing the way to Humanity how to solve its problem on the possible climb on the ladder of evolution.....

I would suggest that some of your young men and women of your Movement come to Israel for some months to work and to study our life. We have a very similar movement as yours already over 80 years in Israel. It is called KIBUTZIM the Community villages. I myself have two daughters YEMIMA

others. They enquired of our needs. Food was brought and a place prepared in the school for our night's sleep. We never experienced more courtesy anywhere! Although we did not eat in that village the next morning yet the elders again came and cared for our needs. I stress this experience because it was typical, even in a place of suffering and reported cruelty. I am convinced this whole area is potential for a substantial program of love.

Political interest, on the whole, have acted on low levels. Not any substantial political leader of the area joined us in our peace efforts although we often saw reconciling statements in the newspapers. But I am glad to say that local people of all parties worked with us nobly.

Religion is at a very low level in that area. I have already reported on my experience in Verambal. I am grateful to report now that at least the elders have expressed a real sorrow for their actions during those trying days. There is effort to make this a real repentance. One morning I sat in a village with the local Harijans. There had been police-firing here also and many Maravas had fled! As we talked one Harijan said, "We are thinking of joining another religion." I asked them if they knew anything about their own religion or about any other religion. One replied, "All we know is the worship of the caste man! At certain times and places we must remove our upper clothes and worship him; even our women have to do so!" This is most disgusting and I can understand some Sarvodaya friends who want no organised religion in that area! We admit, "a living faith in God" is necessary if we are to build the New Society. But then how is this to be brought about?

BHOODAN

A weekly

Ann. Sub. 6

write to:

Manager:

BHOODAN
386, Shaniwarpet
POONA

Intensive Work in Kerala

AFTER Vinobji's Yatra in Kerala the follow-up work has been going on at a remarkable pace under the guidance of veteran Sri Kelappan. Continuous pada-yatras have become a regular feature in Kurambaranad area in north Malabar. All the principal workers of Kerala are having a concentrated drive in this area. Sri Kelappan and others are received everywhere by the villagers with great enthusiasm. Sampatti-dan is collected and sammathi-dan patras also are received. There are meetings, group discourses and individual discussions at all places. Some of the workers of the one month's training camp conducted by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi were able to do intensive work in Balusseri area and obtained gramdan from 180 families out of 218 families in Nirmalur. This is the first *desa-dan* in Kerala. An all-round development plan of work for the *desa-dan* area of Nirmalur has been prepared.

About hundred constructive workers from all over Kerala including members of various political parties met in a conference at Naduvannur in the last week of October. They decided upon a vigorous programme. The Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal met for two days on 13th and 14th November at Pakanarpuram. It was decided to convert the office of the Gramdan Action Committee into a Gramdan Vidyapith for workers. The first one month's camp for training of workers has started on 25-11-1957.

Some of the political workers have risen up over their party affiliations and have signed the lok-sevak's pledge. Gram Sabhas and Grama Panchayats have been formed at seven villages. The total gifts of all kinds received so far in Kerala are:—

Resolution of the Constructive Workers' Conference at Arsikere

As a sequel to the Yelwal statement, there was a Conference of All India Constructive Workers held at Arsikere on 8th and 9th November, '57. The following resolution embodies the substance of the discussion and the programme.

THE Yelwal statement of political leaders giving unequivocal support to the Gramdan movement and the appeal they have made to the nation to make a united effort to spread Gramdan in the country was welcomed. It has, they said, strengthened their own faith. It is a moral victory for the Gramdan ideal. But it has brought an added responsibility on the constructive workers. They said that it was their bounden duty to exert themselves with faith and humility to fulfil this responsibility.

Institutions engaged in several items of the Constructive Programme should therefore give special attention to the following programme.

1. They should carry on propaganda for Gramdan and intensify it in the areas where it is going on. They may choose any suitable area for work.

2. They should see that land that has so far been obtained in Bhoodan is redistributed properly without further delay.

3. They should choose any one of the Gramdan in that area and take the responsibility of starting reconstruction in God's name. But carrying on such development work is necessary in the New Society. But the idea of Gramdan is to bring about the New Society. But the idea of Gramdan is to bring about the New Society. But the idea of Gramdan is to bring about the New Society.

of all and obtain the consent of

2

	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
S.				
vil				
san				
gro				
Soi				
by				
Bal				
far				
re				
hi				
inclu				
at N				
vigo				
two				
decu				
i				
an				
and				
The				