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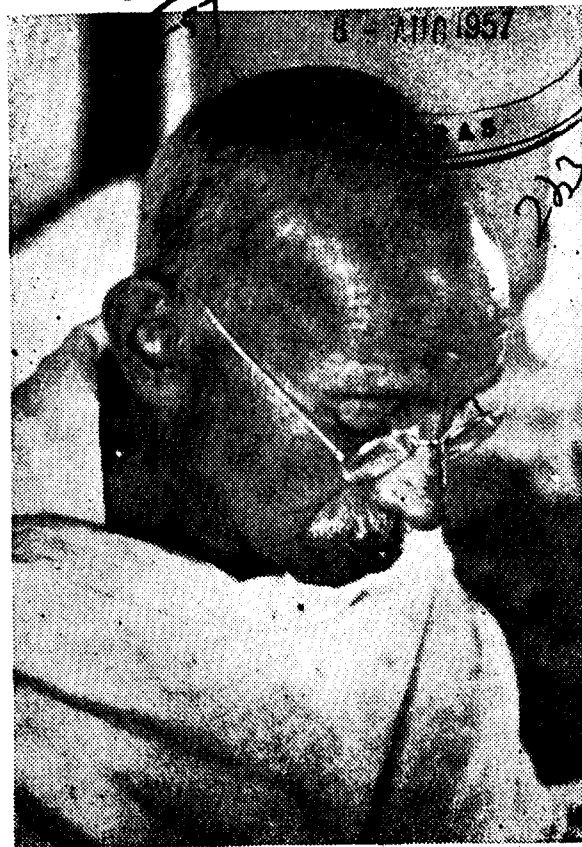
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The People's Non-violent Revolution

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.

A 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.

144 920 "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 furore.

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 'Ramdhun' 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 *sevaks* 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" Ramonattakara, 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

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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 Loka-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.

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 earthworms 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 covet 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)



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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 G. C. ...)

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 Shankerrao Deo, Sri Siddharaj Dhadda, 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 Fyzabad 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

ideals. 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 Gramdans 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 Gramdans. 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 Gramdans 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.

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