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Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and Acharya Vinoba
enjoying a Joke.

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PRACHURALAYA,
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TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE

Mahatma Gandhi

"There is no such thing as 'Gandhism' and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems. Truth and non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could do."

—Harijan
28-3-1936

SARVODAYA FORTNIGHT

ENDING 12TH FEBRUARY

The Day of immersion of
Gandhiji's ashes.

★

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A Decade of Sarvodaya Pilgrimage

IN our last issue we hurriedly had a bird's-eye view of the thrilling happenings and the revelations during the last ten years since the mortal frame of Mahatma left us. It behoves us now in this sacred Sarvodaya fortnight to attempt at an evaluation of the experiences in the ideological plane of Sarvodaya.

1. The magical word of "Sarvodaya" coined by the Mahatma in 1908 as the title for his paraphrase of "*Unto The Last*" by John Ruskin gave us the quintessence of his philosophy of life. It at once connoted truth and non-violence as the basis of life. It gave us also the clear ideal in all the human sphere of economics, sociology and politics. This word meant an unchallengeable assertion of the identity of the 'ends and means' though they are separated in point of time and sequence as cause and effect. The ends of truth have to necessarily pre-exist in the means of non-violence, although partially and in a negative form till the whole truth blazons forth with its positive content of love at the consummation. This word seemed to be verily a divine gift which we could discover in March 1948 immediately after the passing away of the Mahatma. Since then it has been serving as the beacon light to guide us in our pilgrimage.

2. This logically led to the formation in memory of Mahatma Gandhi of the Sarvodaya Samaj of universal fellowship of all those who believe in the truth and non-violence as the ends and means of human existence. It was not an organisation for it had no form nor any machinery of management. It was only a free ideal visible like the horizon but ever receding farther and farther as we move towards it. We were having annual conferences of the Sarvodaya Samaj at various centres in India where the pilgrims could gather for mutual sharing of their inner experiences and for rededicating themselves to the ideal of Sarvodaya.

3. Even as the formless soul requires an instrument of a physical body the ideal also did need an organisation. This was easily furnished by the formation of the Akhila Bharata Sarva Seva Sangh in 1951 in which some of the various earlier organisations

created by the Mahatma came to be integrated with the common ideal of Sarvodaya. It was for a similar purpose that the Mahatma himself had already thought of addressing an all India constructive workers' conference at Sevagram early in Feb. 1948.

4. The Sarva Seva Sangh, as it grew, could claim to be the authoritative body to expound and execute the various items of the constructive programme of the Mahatma. Slowly its voice came to be felt by the Government who accepted the various programmes suggested for the development of Khadi, other village industries, Basic education etc. The several activities of constructive work of the Government and the Centre and in the States are too well known to require detailed mention here.

There are two aspects in the actual application of the constructive programme. Its adoption at the Government level is a secondary one and restricts its use as a temporary relief measure or palliative for meeting problems of unemployment to some extent. But its essential use as originally conceived was to make it the means of awakening the non-violent power of the people and build up the social dynamics of *ahimsa*.

5. After the formation of the Sarvodaya Samaj Acharya Vinoba emerged out of his seclusion and took up the service to the Meos in Delhi in continuation of the Mahatma's mission. Later Vinobaji went round the country to contact the constructive workers and constructive institutions for forging the forces of non-violence.

6. Vinobaji again settled down in his *Parandham ashram* in Paunar near Wardha to continue his research work in the laboratory of non-violence through intensive application of the various items of constructive programme. He then took the vow of *Kaichan-mukthi* (freedom from the use of money) and took to hard physical work for ten hours a day. He eschewed even the use of animal power for ploughing and lifting of water. He and his colleagues worked on the earth for growing food-grains, vegetables and cotton for making Khadi to become self-sufficient. It was at this time that Shri Jayaprakash Narain visited the ashram for discussion and joined Vinobaji in turning the persian wheels at the well for watering the field with the morning prayer on their lips.

7. A new epoch of non-violent revolution can be said to have begun when Vinobaji set his foot on pada yatra on the 8th March 1951 to attend the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sivarampalli near Hyderabad. Since then the cycle of his pada yatra has been ceaselessly moving on during the last seven years covering province after province. This simple and unostentatious march into the villages became a handy technique of non violence and *kanchan mukti* in the hands of thousands of workers all over the country to carry the message of Bhoodan to every nook and corner of India. This method of establishing direct contact with the masses was easily adopted by friends in England like Hallam Tennyson and others in Europe and America to the bewilderment of many in this age of sputniks.

8. The single land-gift of one hundred acres by Shri Ramachandra Reddy on the 18th April, 1951 was the signal for the non-violent agrarian revolution. It marked the genesis of the Bhoodan Yagna. It quickly assumed the dimensions of a great national movement. Over five lakhs of persons participated in it by voluntary and free offer of over 40 lakhs acres of land for sharing with the landless tillers. Though Vinobaji was appealing to the 'haves' with a philosophy of sharing their land with the have-nots by considering them as the additional members of their own families, he was daily arguing and pleading for the ultimate liberation of all land from private ownership, as land cannot be owned by any one even like the other elements of nature like water, air, light and ether. He even averred that God could alone be the owner of all land. While the Bhoodan movement was making rapid strides it was given to the solitary village of Mongroth in the Uttar Pradesh to claim the first honour to declare the liquidation of private ownership over land and surrender of possession in favour of the village community as early as in 1952.

9. Thus, the land revolution through love and non-violence seemed to reach its ideological fulfilment when thousands of the unsophisticated tribal people of the Koraput District in Orissa came forward in quick succession surrendering all their title to land to their village community. This new wave of voluntary liquidation of possession of land lifted the Bhoodan movement to its pinnacle. Orissa was thus giving a lead in the Gramdan movement in the whole country as Hyderabad was once leading the country through Bhoodan.

(To be concluded).

Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi

Jawaharlal Nehru

WE have learnt much from you. Perhaps you may have learnt something from us and yet it was odd, that English and India should come together in this way or in the sense that in many ways they differed so much from each other and the oddness of it also came out when we chose for our leader a man the like of whom probably would not be a leader in any other country in the world. He was not to be called a political leader, although he was a great politician. Essentially he was something else and we chose a person who went about half-clad with no positions, no power behind him of money or arms and yet a great power over the hearts and minds of people. And in that sense, he represented India, not only the long past of India, but the present and even the future much more than any of us gathered around this table now or later is likely to do or can do. That shows something which the people are likely to forget in regard to India, something about the standards India puts, and the values she attaches to the people.

We, like others, naturally value the material things of life. We labour to raise our standards, we are working hard to that end, and we will continue to work hard, determined to achieve our objectives. That is true. We naturally realise in the world to-day strength counts, armed strength makes a difference. All countries keep their armies and navies, some small, some very big and yet in the final analysis, India has paid homage and still, I believe, pays homage to the man of spirit, neither to the man of arms nor to the man of money. Whether that is good or bad I do not say, but that is, I venture to submit, largely true and, therefore, if I may say so, in this world to-day, we in all humility want to appeal to the spirit of man neither to the money nor to the arms, but I do believe that the spirit of man will triumph in the world if approached properly and not through fear and threats and armed might, which unfortunately has been the case for many years now, chiefly because of fears and apprehensions. We are a big country in size, but we don't presume to tell others what they should do and we don't presume to think that we can influence the larger policies of the world.

But even small voices count if they are earnestly felt and we do feel earnestly and if I may say so, passionately in regard to those problems. And I repeat that we hope with all our heart that what is in the minds of so many millions of people all over the world to-day, that is, the assurance of peace and goodwill and how to lessen tensions and move away from this atmosphere of fear and hatred, how this thing that is in the minds of millions and millions should be given shape by the activities of those great statesmen who are in a position to do so.

(From the speech at the reception given to Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister at Delhi on 10-1-'58.)

* * *

THE ETERNAL CALM OF THE EVEREST

To those who had the high privilege of being associated with Gandhiji in some of his innumerable activities, he will ever remain the embodiment of youthful energy. We shall not think of him as an old man, but rather as one who represented with the vitality of Spring the birth of a new India. To a younger generation who did not come in personal contact with him, he is a tradition, and numerous stories are woven round his name and activities. He was great in his life, he is greater since he passed away.

In all reverence of spirit, let us undertake this task, so that succeeding generations may have some glimpses of this leader of ours who illumined our generation with his light and brought not only national freedom to us but also gave us an insight into the deeper qualities which have ennobled man. In ages to come, people will wonder that such a man once trod on our Indian soil and poured out his love and service to our people, and indeed to humanity.

I write this in Darjeeling with the mighty Kinchinjunga looking down upon us. This morning I had a glimpse of Everest. It seemed to me that there was about Gandhiji something of the calm strength and the timelessness of Everest and Kinchinjunga."

*(From the Foreword to 'Collected Works of Gandhi.'
—published by the Government Publication Division)*

The Mission of India and Britain for World Peace

Acharya Vinoba

MR. HORACE G. ALEXANDER our English friend who came specially to see me today, is present here. He was a friend of Mahatma Gandhi and has a special concern for world peace. He asked me some questions and I gave him short answers; now I want to answer one question more fully. There are mostly village people here, I know, but villagers are doing great work for world peace through gramdan and Shanthi Sena. This effort in India will not only bring peace to India but it will bring peace to the whole world.

The question was what can India and England do for world peace? Some country has to take a courageous step for world peace and that step is to free itself from the bondage of armaments—a step which is not contrary to reason. Such a country will not have to concern itself with what other nations are doing, it will have to take a unilateral action on its own strength. I think that there are two nations which can take this action if they have the courage. It is within the realm of possibility, of course, if God wills, that any other nation may take such an action but I have my faith that either India or England can do this. I have hope that India will release itself from armed forces, because India's culture supports such an action. My hope in England lies in my belief in its inner strength.

BRITAIN'S MORAL STRENGTH

Some people say that England is a second-rate power. My idea is different. There is no nation stronger than England—wealth and arms alone do not give strength. When England took the step of releasing its hold on India, its moral strength grew. I saw England's strength, too, in the Suez affair. There was one party in power and it attacked Egypt, but the people made a loud protest against this action of its Government. This protest action I consider very important; the actual action of the Government in Egypt I don't consider of great importance. I knew such a Government wouldn't stay long. England's action in India was a sign of strength and in the history that is still to be written it will be judged a glorious

action of which England can be as proud as India. As a result of the non-violent movement the relationships between the people of England and India have deepened. England knows what WAR is, what it requires in national effort, and therefore I believe that England has the strength to liberate itself from armed forces.

MY HOPE IN INDIA

What is the basis of my hope in India? Although India looks like one country, it is really a continent like Europe—that there is one Government is an amazing fact. China is also old and large, but China has not so many divisions. Only Europe can be compared to India, having so many linguistic groups, yet in Europe where there is a separate language there is a separate country. In Europe there is close affinity between the languages and there is one script. I know French and am learning German, and I think it should not take a Frenchman more than 15 days to learn German and *vice versa*. Tamil, Hindi and Kannada have different scripts, yet in spite of this they are part of one country. In Europe there are so many States without mountains separating them such as the Himalayas separate Tibet from India. The languages are different and consequently the people think that they are different—not only that, they fight one another, there have been two major wars in living memory. They even seem sorry that there are no natural boundaries, so the Maginot Line and Siegfried Line were built.

BASIC NON-VIOLENCE OF OUR CULTURE

Because of this unity in diversity we can say that there is non-violence in India's blood. Europe, of course, is more advanced politically, but India's strength is such that it could disarm. When India was in great strength it never attacked any other country—the strongest of India's kings never thought of attacking its neighbouring country. Another important thing is that the teaching of the Buddha went from India to China, Japan, etc. but never was religion preceded by trade or the sword. There is no other example of this in history. This shows India's true nature.

Then again, How did India fight its war of Independence? Gandhiji who led the non-violent struggle always said that we are friends of the British. The British kept Nehruji in gaol for 17½ years, but he has no bad feelings towards them, and this is not limited to Nehruji—hundreds have that feelings towards England. The

Indian people are even proposing that the English language should be kept in India, even though the national language, Hindi, has been decided upon. This is a sign of the spirit of non-violence. Therefore, we can harbour the hope that India would unilaterally disarm.

THE NON-VIOLENCE OF THE WEAK

But why is this not happening? Our non-violent strength has not come to the surface. It is there, but few have faith in it—people call it a weakness to be non-violent. Why has it come? England can be blamed for this—but it is also ours, all the blame cannot be placed on England. England forced India to disarm—all arms were taken away, and as a result great importance came to be given to arms by the people. If this had not happened India would now have greater strength because the attraction of arms would not be there. There was a benefit from England's action, however. Mahatma Gandhi had the opportunity to experiment with non-violence, in the absence of weapons. The people saw that the fight with weapons was impossible and developed faith in the non-violence struggle. Mahatma Gandhi, however, said that he wanted the non-violence of the strong, not of the weak—but the non-violence of the weak was practised, and as a consequence we had the big post-Independence Hindu-Muslim strife. After this Gandhiji realised that the non-violence of the weak had been used.

Now India is free. It can choose its own way after due consideration of the conditions in India and in the world. I have several times advised the Government to disarm. But who is the Government? If it were Nehruji, it would be easy. But it is a Parliament and with one voice they demand arms and more arms in India. The same with America. Are they short of arms? Yet Ike wants more and more arms on account of Russia. We must acknowledge that India hasn't the strength to disarm, though all would agree that the arms are useless in front of atomic weapons. What we have to do is to prepare a climate in India, and for this we have to show that armed forces are not required for internal peace. Even though there are problems and divisions in plenty, we have to see that there is no violence.

GRAMDAN AND SHANTI SENA

We have Gramdan and Santhi Sena (Peace Army) for this. In Gramdan we cut at the root of all the problems and divisions. We

want to see that all things can be done on the basis of love and good-will. There are only 3500 gramdams, but still I have started Shanthi Sena. Why should a new movement be started before the completion of the other? The answer is that Gramdan cannot flourish without Shanti Sena. In Tamilnad there was a struggle and the police restored peace by the use of arms. If in this way police are necessary, we cannot, until we remove the necessity, tell the Government to do without them.

PLEA FOR UNILATERAL ACTION

Some people think that our hope is baseless; it is impossible. My answer is that we get joy in trying the impossible. The action we want is necessary for India and for the world, and even if there is only hope of small success, we have the right to tell the Government to reduce its arms. My conviction is that the Pakistan problem would soon be solved. Pakistan feels that it must speak to India from a position of strength—the same applies to India in order to speak to Pakistan. I say that in order to speak to Pakistan with strength we should reduce our armed forces. Disarmament brings new strength—Shanthi Sena would bring an inner strength.

The peace of the world should not be in the hands of a few, however great they are. In the days of despotic kings power was expected to be in the hands of a few, but now under democracy power remains in the hands of a few. If the leaders of Russia and America decide on a wrong course, they can cause a world conflagration. We can only hope and have faith that they will not take the wrong course.

CORRECTIVE TO DEMOCRACY

Democracy must be improved so that real authority remains in the hands of the people, and as I look at the question, I find that the Gramdan movement give a new perspective. In this power is decentralised. When Gramdan succeeds power will not be in the hands of a few. Villages will stand on their own feet, they will make their own plans, arrange for their own protection, education etc. Shanthi Sena will have the backing of the people and will come out of the people. The authority of this 'Peace Force' will come from its service to the people, there will be no need to do anything in its name. In fact, when the Shanthi Sena has completed its work and replaced the armed forces it will automatically cease to exist—the people will live in peace, in every home there will be a Shanthi Sena. I am conscious that we are weak for such a huge task, but God often uses the weak to confound the strong!

(Speech at Alur on 14th Jan. '58)

Bhoodan for Equalitarian Social Order

Acharya J. B. Kripalani

This is the concluding portion of the series of thought-provoking articles under the title "Class Struggle" that appeared in the weekly "Vigil" dated 21st Sept. 1957 to which we are indebted.

WHEN I talk of the Bhoodan movement I am not thinking merely in terms of the land that has been made available by it to the poor. That in itself is a great achievement; but I am thinking of the movement in terms of its ideology and its social philosophy and the psychology it creates among masses. It has demonstrated that Gandhiji's ideas and techniques have not lost their potency to try new experiments in the social field. It has not only rescued constructive workers from frustration but revived their hope and courage. It has made so great a stir in the country that those in authority have to take note of it and to show their appreciation and associate themselves with its working. Bhoodan alone may or may not solve the earth hunger of Indian villagers or the problem of the poverty of the masses but there is little doubt that it has made the solution of equitable redistribution of land possible in the near future. Further it has brought within the range of possibility the idea of collective ownership of land, to be achieved through common consent, an idea which was put in effect by the Marxists in Russia by violently suppressing millions of small farmers. Here is a new method of settling class differences, easing tensions and bringing about more fair and just economic arrangements. Shri Vinoba and his chief workers claim that all problems of conflict and tension in the national and international fields can be solved through the new approach. That may or may not be possible. No single remedy has ever successfully solved all the problems of human injustice. But there is no doubt that the new approach, even if it partially succeeds, provides an alternative to the orthodox and time-honoured methods of agitation and of redressing social and economic wrongs and easing tensions.

Bhoodan works on the assumption of belief in human fellowship, brotherhood, love and co-operation. Its basic philosophy is the same as of satyagraha which I have explained earlier. It derives its inspiration from Gandhiji's ideas of truth and non-violence. Vinoba and his chief workers contend that in spite of its name and its origin it is based upon the comprehensive philosophy of Sarvodaya—the uplift of all and not of a particular community, caste, or class. It assumes that all human beings and communities stand in need of uplift one way or the other and not only the proletariat. Bhoodan in its extended and comprehensive sense proposes to establish an equalitarian social order based upon the Gandhian principles of truth, non-violence, purity of means and, in India, as great a decentralisation in industry as is possible, combined with agriculture worked through peasant proprietors with economic holdings or voluntary co-operative or collective farming by village communities. This is to be combined with the devolution of political power, by which each convenient rural unit manages its own local affairs. In such a social order there can be no place for exploitation of one class by another.

All this, even if it moderately succeeds, will make the Marxist idea of class conflict obsolete, if it is not already so even in the West, where large strides have been made in the trade union movement, democracy and co-operation, since the time Marx enunciated his theories. The advance in India in trade unionism and democracy and co-operation will have no doubt to be extended and strengthened. But it is plain that the movement towards a more equitable social arrangement is already visible. What is, therefore, most needed in India is, a unified and powerful trade union movement, the education of the general voter who is also the worker in the field or the factory, and the extension of the co-operative movement. Citizens, ignorant of their civic and political rights cannot be good material either for the *Kisan* or labour movements or for democracy. But education on such a vast scale, as is needed in India, requires stupendous effort by public workers, political parties and the Government. This should be the common ground for all those who believe in democracy and want to make a success of it in India.

Evolution Towards Sarvodaya—III

(Continued from Previous Issue)

Jayaprakash Narayan

MATTER AND CONSCIOUSNESS

MODERN science has reached a point where the dualism of matter and consciousness becomes too tenuous to be real. Says Godel again in his essay on *The Contemporary Science and the Liberative Experience of Yoga*:

“But now suddenly—around a bend of quantum mechanics—exploration of the objective field brings the theorist of the physical sciences to a most disquieting position; before him appears an ambiguous universe where the observer and the phenomenon observed are inextricably commingled. So close is their confrontation that each is reflected in the other, powerless to separate or to fuse.

“In this realm of indetermination, all the symbols and formulas familiar to our experience of things vanish. Notions of energy and of matter require so profound a transformation as to lose their original meaning; energy condenses into matter, matter dematerialises into radiation. The waves associated with the propagation of light quanta need no substratum in order to propagate in space-time; they undulate neither in a fluid, nor in a solid, nor yet in a gas. Only the unreal thread of analogy links them to the image of a wave rippling the surface of water. They are, in fact, waves of probability, waves of consciousness which our thought projects afar: curvilinear variation of an abstract function.

Science cannot resolve this dualism completely, because in objective study the seer and the seen must remain different, no matter how “inextricably commingled”. It is only in the ultimate spiritual experience that this dualism is shed and the seer and seen become one.

The root of morality lies in the *endeavour* of man to realise this unity of existence, or to put it differently, to realise his self. For one who has experienced this unity, the practice of morality becomes as natural and effortless as the drawing of breath.

To some all this might appear to be irrelevant to the political and economic struggle. In all humility I would demur. All actions, personal or public, political, economic or other should have an integration and the centre of this integration must be a philosophy of life.

LIMITATION OF WANTS AND SOCIALISM

This leads me at once to an aspect of the task of social and economic reconstruction that both Socialists and Communists have neglected. Socialism and Communism both lay great emphasis on material prosperity, on ever-growing production and on an ever-rising standard of living. It cannot be denied that the material wants of man must be reasonably fulfilled. And when it is realised that Socialists and Communists are always the advocates of the poor and down-trodden, their emphasis on material progress and happiness can be appreciated. It is also true that in poor and backward countries like India it is the main task of social reconstruction to raise quite considerably the people's standard of living. But it would not do here or elsewhere to apotheosize material happiness and encourage an outlook on life that feeds an insatiable hunger for material goods. There can be no peace in the minds and hearts of men, nor peace amongst men if this hunger gnaws away at them continuously. That would necessarily set up an uncontrolled competition between individuals, groups and nations. Everyone would be trying to outdo his neighbour and every nation not only to catch up with other nations but to leave them all behind. In such a restless society violence and war would be endemic. All values of life would be subordinated to this over-mastering desire for more. Religion, art, philosophy, science would have to serve that one aim of life: to have more and still more. Equality, freedom, brotherhood would all be in danger of being submerged in the universal flood of materialism. There would be no poise in human life, no real satisfaction because the possession of more would only whet the appetite for still more.

I am aware that there have been and are quite a number of Socialists who have been aware of the danger of a purely materialistic view of life, but nevertheless the main concern of socialism has been and is with the material aspects of life. The Socialist or Labour Parties and the Trade Unions do not educate the people about a balanced or whole view of life. If the socialist movement became

conscious of the issue I am raising, its whole attitude towards science, industrialisation and social organisation and international relations would be revolutionised.

Disciplining of the bodily appetites is essential for a moral life and growth of the human personality and the blossoming of all human qualities and values. This is true particularly of socialist values. The socialist way of life is a way of sharing together the good things that common endeavour may make available. The more willingly this sharing is practised the less tension and coercion in society and the more of socialism. I believe that unless members of society learn to keep their wants under control, willing sharing of things may be difficult, if not impossible, and society would be bound to split into two divisions: one comprising those who are trying to discipline others and the other comprising all the rest. Such a division of society always leaves the question open: who would discipline the discipliners, rule the rulers? The examples of the Communist countries and the experience of socialist governments show that the answer to this perennial question is extremely difficult. The only solution seems to be to restrict as much as possible the need and area of disciplining from above by ensuring that every member of society practises self-discipline and the values of socialism, and among other things, *willingly* shares and co-operates with his fellowmen.

PARTY AND NON-PARTY POLITICS

This brings me to the very heart of the problem of *Sarvodaya* and Socialism, party-and-power politics and non-party-and-non-power politics or *rajniti* and what Vinoba has simply called *lokniti*.

I decided to withdraw from party-and-power politics not because of disgust or any personal frustration, but because it became clear to me that politics could not deliver the goods. The goods being the same old goals of equality, freedom, brotherhood, peace.

But was there an alternative to politics? Could society be changed and reconstructed in any other manner than through the agency of the State? Politics is but a science of the State.

There *was* an alternative. Mahatma Gandhi had placed it before us. But, I must admit, it was not clear to me.

Gandhiji had shown us an alternative to armed conflict in the course of our struggle for freedom. And we had followed him—not

so much out of conviction as because his prescription had worked. Nothing succeeds like success—as the saying goes—and Gandhiji's *Satyagraha* campaigns were topping successes in that they stirred up the people and roused them to action as nothing had done before. All competing programmes and ideologies had to accept defeat and take a back-seat.

GANDHIJI'S LOK SEVAK SANGH

But Gandhiji had no time to give a practical demonstration of his non-violent technique for changing and reconstructing society. No doubt, he had spoken and written much about it, but before he was able to put it into practice he was cruelly snatched away from our midst. Looking back, it seems clear now that he had already begun to lay the foundations of his future course of action. But the significance of what he was doing was entirely lost upon me, as perhaps upon many others. The significance of the fact, for instance, that after having led the freedom movement to a brilliant success, he did not take power himself to use it for remaking the country in accordance to his ideals, had completely escaped me. Likewise, when he proposed that the Congress should withdraw from the field of politics and confine itself to constructive work of service and should convert itself into what he called a *Lok Sevak Sangh*, the import again of that extraordinary proposal was lost upon me. Nor had the country a chance to consider that proposal dispassionately, because the grief and anxiety into which it was plunged were too over-powering for clear thought. Besides all eyes were turned to those who, in the absence of the ship's captain, were expected to steer her to safety. And from them not a word came about the Master's "last will and testament."

On top of it all, when it was seen that every one of Gandhiji's political colleagues had taken to the traditional path of politics, it could not even be suspected that there was in Gandhiana an alternative to the method of party and power.

A question might be raised here why should it ever be suspected that Gandhiji, who had devoted his whole life to politics, should have at all thought in terms of an alternative to it. In my humble opinion Gandhiji never had anything to do with politics in the sense I am considering here.

The movement for freedom that Gandhiji led was "political" in the sense that its goal was national independence of India; but it

was not "politics" in the sense that it was a struggle for power for any particular party. If its aim was power, it was power for the entire Indian people, including those who separated to form Pakistan and for all the parties that existed, or were to be formed in the future in both Indias. Gandhiji was not a party leader fighting and manoeuvring for power for his party. Had it been so it could never have occurred to him to ask the Congress to quit the field of power politics. He was a national leader fighting for the freedom of his country: nay, he was a world leader of humanity working to free his fellowmen from bondage. The Indian freedom movement was a people's movement *par excellence*. It was not *rajniti* (politics of the State), but *lokniti* (politics of the people).

THE PARTY SYSTEM

Be that as it may, the questions raised by politics kept humming in my head, leaving me dissatisfied and urging me to seek an alternative. The Party with the corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in it, disturbed me more and more. I saw how parties backed by finance, organisation and the means of propaganda could impose themselves on the people; how peoples' rule became in effect party-rule; how party-rule in turn became the rule of a caucus or coterie; how democracy was reduced to mere casting of votes; how even this right of vote was restricted severely by the system of powerful parties setting up their candidate from whom alone, for all practical purposes, the voters had to make their choice; how even this limited choice was made unreal by the fact that the issues posed before the electorate were by and large incomprehensible to it.

The party system as I saw it was emasculating the people. It did not function so as to develop their strength and initiative, nor to help them establish their self-rule and to manage their affairs themselves. All that the parties were concerned with was to capture power for themselves so as to rule *over* the people, no doubt, with their consent! The party system, so it appeared to me, was seeking to reduce the people to the position of sheep whose only function of sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare! This to me did not spell freedom—the freedom, the *swaraj* for which I had fought and for which the people of this country had fought.

Democratic socialists had no doubt talked vaguely of decentralisation of power of the four-pillar State and of other similar concepts.

But in practice I found that their entire concern was, as it still is, with the capture of power. They seem to believe that even decentralisation of power was possible only after the present centres of power had been conquered, so that decentralisation and de-institutionalisation could then be *legislated* into being. They do not see the absurdity of this procedure. Decentralisation cannot be effected by handing down power from above to people who have been politically emasculated and whose capacity for self-rule has been thwarted, if not destroyed, by the party system and concentration of power at the top. To-day village *panchayats* are being established according to laws made in the Vidhan Sabhas. These are not true panchayats, not what Gandhiji understood by *gram raj*.

In Gandhiji's pregnant words the panchayat "can function only under a law of its own making". This capacity to self-regulate the life of the community must be created and not bestowed from above in the name of decentralisation. The process must be started from the bottom. A programme of self-rule and self-management must be placed before the people, and by a constructive, non-partisan, approach they must be helped to carry it out into practice. It is clear now that it was in order to undertake such a programme on a nationwide scale that Gandhiji was thinking of converting the Congress into a non-partisan *lok sevak sangh*. It is exactly this task that Vinobaji has undertaken. Naturally, he did not have the lead in the race that Gandhiji would have had, but it is remarkable that in the brief span of six years he has succeeded in creating a movement of social revolution and reconstruction from below as well as a new band of *lok-sevaks* to assist in the process.

BHOODAN IN TELENGANA

As a way out of the faults and failures of the party system I toyed for some time with the idea of a co-operative, rather than a competitive, system of parties. I realised, however, that in the first place, there was no climate for such a political experiment and in the second place, the experiment could not succeed within the given framework of struggle for power and the system of parliamentary democracy except for limited purposes and limited periods. I still believe, however, that given the psychological climate for it, such a political experiment might yet be made. But for that the frame of reference will have to be changed from parliamentary democracy to something different. Be that as it may, my disenchantment with the party system

kept on urging me to seek a better substitute for it. Gandhiji's non-partisan constructive approach towards people's self-rule seemed to offer one hopeful line of exploration.

As questioning about politics were not confined to the party system alone, fundamental questions arose in my mind as to the place and role of the State in human society, particularly in relation to the goals of social life that had fixed themselves before me. Perhaps my schooling in Marxism, with its ideal of a State-less society, made these questions more pointed and troublesome. Though I had given up the basic postulates of Marxism, because they did not promise to lead me to my goals. I continued to feel strongly that human freedom could be fully and wholly realised only in a State-less society. I was, and am not sure if the State would ever wither away completely. But, I am sure that it is one of the noblest goals of social endeavour to ensure that the power and functions and spheres of the State were reduced as far as possible. I became at this time, and still am, an ardent believer in Gandhiji's maxim that that Government was the best that governed the least. The test of human evolution for me became man's ability to live in amity, justice and co-operation with his fellowmen without outward restraints of any kind. That is why I have considered the human and social problem to be at bottom a moral problem.

With this conception of the role and place of the State in society at the back of my mind, you can appreciate with what deep apprehension I viewed the march of the State to greater and greater glory. Democratic socialist, Communists, as well as welfarists, (not to speak of the Fascists), are all Statists. They all hope to bring about their own variety of the millennium by first mastering and then adding to the powers and functions of the State.

The bourgeois state had monopoly of political power. The socialist State threatens to add to that the monopoly of economic power. Such a great concentration of power would require equal, if not greater power, to control and keep it in check. There would be no such power at hand in a socialist society. Paper constitutions could hardly be expected to guarantee freedom and sovereignty to the citizen. Economic and political bureaucracy would be so strong and in occupation of such vantage points that the liberties and rights of the people, as well as their bread, would be entirely at its mercy.

I am aware that democratic socialists are conscious of these dangers and are trying to devise checks and balances. The independent trade unions are supposed to be a great bulwark of freedom, though it is recognised that the great trade unions are themselves ridden with bureaucracy. Plans for industrial democracy and public accountability of State enterprises have been drawn up. Consumers' associations and co-operatives of all kinds are rightly supposed to function as balancing and restraining factors. Even decentralisation of authority and functions has figured of late in socialist thinking. But after all is said and done the democratic socialist State remains a Leviathan that will sit heavily on the freedom of the people.

PEOPLES' SOCIALISM VS. STATE SOCIALISM

The only remedy for this that I could think of took me further away from politics and towards *sarvodaya*. The remedy obviously is, as I have said above in the context of internal and external discipline to make it possible for the people to do without the State as far as practicable and to run their affairs themselves directly. Speaking as a socialist I would put it thus : the remedy is to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavour of the people rather than seek to establish socialism by the use of the power of the State. In other words, the remedy is to establish peoples' socialism rather than State socialism. Sarvodaya is peoples' socialism. Whether every socialist agrees or not with *sarvodaya*, he should agree that the more of peoples' or voluntary socialism and the less of State's or enforced socialism, the fuller and more real the socialism. Unfortunately, there are very few socialists who are giving much attention to peoples' socialism. Speaking of British socialists Mr. Jack Baihy, the British Co-operative leader says : "In Britain, the concentration of most socialists upon the capture and use of State power has tended to blind them to the validity of non-State forms of Socialism." (Quoted by Harold Campbell in *Socialist Commentary*, July, 1957). What is true of Britain is true of all the world. It should be obvious that in order to develop non-State forms of socialism, it should be unnecessary for anyone to function as a party or to engage in a struggle for the capture of power. Both power and party have no relevance in this context. What is needed rather is a band of selfless workers prepared to live and move in the midst of the people and help them to reorganise their lives on a self-reliant and self-governing basis. One cannot help being reminded here of Gandhiji's *lok sevak sangh* again.

The question now arises, what will be the form of that society in which it will be possible for the people to run their affairs directly and develop all those values of life that characterise a socialist society: co-operation, self-discipline, sense of responsibility. This is a question to which socialists have paid the least attention as far. Human society has so grown that we have the complex industrial civilisations of to-day, with great human forests that are called cities, with economic and social relationships that are utterly impersonal and non-life giving, with modes of work that are irksome and bereft of joy and opportunities for creativity that have the sole criterion of productivity and efficiency to recommend them. Science has shrunk the whole world into a neighbourhood, but man has created a civilisation that has turned even neighbours into strangers. Such a complex and top-heavy society cannot but be a heaven for bureaucrats, managers, technocrats and statisticians. Such a society cannot be a home for brothers to live together as brothers. Socialists, in the name of science, production, efficiency, standard of living and other hallowed shibboleths have taken this whole Frankenstein of a society lock, stock and barrel and hope, by adding public ownership to it, to make it socialist. I submit that in such a society the very breath of socialism would be hard to draw. Self-Government, self-management, mutual co-operation and sharing, equality, freedom, brotherhood—all could be practised and developed far better if men lived in small communities. This is beginning to be realised by forward-looking thinkers even in the West.

Further, man is a product both of nature and culture. So, for his balanced growth, it is necessary that a harmonious blend between the two is effected. This blending, in spite of parks and green avenues, is not possible in such centres of modern civilisation as London, Paris, New York, Moscow. As a result, modern man's development is warped and one-sided. A harmonious blending of nature and culture is possible only in comparatively smaller communities.

Let me quote Aldous Huxley from his *Science, Liberty and Peace* : "Now, it seems pretty obvious that man's psychological, to say nothing of his spiritual, needs cannot be fulfilled unless, first, he has a fair measure of personal independence and personal responsibility within and toward a self-governing group, unless, secondly, his work possesses a certain aesthetic value and human

significance, and unless, in the third place, he is related to his natural environment in some organic, rooted and symbiotic way."

It was for these reasons that Gandhiji insisted that the Indian and village self-Government (gramraj) were the foundations of his picture of society—the society of equal and free beings living as brothers in peace.

Living in small communities and producing mostly for self or local consumption, on small machines may be described as setting the hand of Science backwards. Science and centralised large-scale production and large conglomerations of human habitations are thought to go necessarily together. Nothing could be more absurd. Science is of two kinds : (a) pure science and (b) applied science. I would call pure science alone science and the other technology. The application of science does not depend upon science itself but upon the character of society. Large-scale big machine production was profitable to the money-makers, so technology took the course of that particular type of production. The money-makers were the dominant class in society and their will had to be done. Governments also irrespective of ideologies—preferred centralised big-scale production because that was necessary for war-making (or defence, if you please), and—no less important—because it also concentrated great economic, and, therefore, political power in their hands. Thus governments and profiteers combined to create the Frankenstein of modern society. Poor science had no say in the matter. Rather had the scientists their way, they would have been happy to smash many of the engines of production and destruction that their discoveries had helped to create. But suppose, society had pursued not the aims of power, profit and war but of peace, goodwill, co-operation, freedom, brotherhood, science could have been equally easily applied to evolve the suitable technology. If that were to happen, it would be not regression of science, but progression in a creative rather destructive direction. It should be pointed out that atomic energy has made more possible than ever before the dispersal of production and the development of small technology.

Let me quote Huxley again: "My own view, which is essentially that of the decentralists, is that, so long as the results of pure science are applied for the purpose of making our system of mass-producing and mass-distributing industry more expensively elaborate and more highly specialised, there can be nothing but ever greater

centralisation of power in ever fewer hands. And the corollary of this centralisation of economic and political power is the progressive loss by the masses of their civil liberties, their personal independence and their opportunities for self-government. But here we must note that there is nothing in the results of disinterested scientific research which makes it inevitable that they should be applied for the benefit of centralised finance, industry and government. If inventors and technicians so chose, they could just as well apply the results of pure science for the purpose of increasing the economic self-sufficiency and consequently the political independence of small owners, working either on their own or in co-operative groups, concerned not with mass distribution, but with subsistence and the supply of a local market. The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath: and the same is true of applied science."

I am not suggesting that the whole picture of this new society is clear to anyone or that all its problems have been thought out and resolved. How, for instance, would these small self-reliant, self-governing communities be related together is a major question that immediately springs to the mind. There is, of course, Gandhiji's grand conception before us:

"In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. 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, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units."

Gandhiji's words give us direction, but much thought and experience will be necessary before the picture becomes more clear. However, one warning must be sounded. While it is undoubted that life in small communities, permitting and promoting personal relationships, will be more suited to realisation of *sarvodaya* ideals, it should not be imagined that small communities, by virtue merely of their size, will necessarily be *sarvodaya* communities. Had that been so, we would have encountered *sarvodaya* in every village of India to-day. The outward forms of living have relevance only when the inward forms are given. Men must understand and accept the

sarvodaya view of life before they can proceed to investigate in what environment and social framework they could live that life best.

The fear is often expressed if self-reliant and self-governing communities will hold together and the unity and integrity of the nation will abide. In a *sarvodaya* world society the present nation-States have no place. The *sarvodaya* view is a world view, and the individual standing at the centre of Gandhiji's oceanic circle is a world citizen. But let us leave for the present the world picture of *sarvodaya*. There is no reason to suppose why self-governing small communities will be hostile to one another or isolationist or selfish in their inter-relationship. If the internal life of a community is laid on sound foundations, its external life cannot but be equally sound.

TRANSFORMATION TO LOK SEVAK SANGH

During Gandhiji's life-time, in spite of the fact that I was gradually drawing close to him, as I have recounted above, I could not see how his non-violent technique could bring about a social revolution. I had seen how that technique worked during the national revolution, but how feudalism and capitalism could be abolished by the same means and a new society created was not at all clear to me. I had, no doubt, read Gandhiji's writings on revolution through change of heart. But in the absence of a direct demonstration those ideas seemed impractical in the extreme. During my Marxist days I had written a vehement critique of the theory of trusteeship: and though I had moved considerably away from Marxism by the end of Gandhiji's life, I was not prepared to accept that trusteeship could be a social, as different from individual, norm of behaviour. As I have indicated above Gandhiji, soon after independence was evolving in his mind a national programme for launching upon the second and greater phase of his unique career. His proposal to transform the Congress organisation which he had fashioned as a non-violent army of freedom into a *Lok Sevak Sangh* was no doubt a sensationally bold stroke of genius. But as I have said earlier, its significance was entirely lost upon me. So, having already rejected the use of violence under democratic conditions as counter-revolutionary, I was naturally left only with the traditional socialist methods of bringing about the social revolution. At the same time the gaping inadequacies of that method and the poor quality of the results achieved through it—some of which I have discussed above—put me in a questioning mood.

(To be concluded.)

The Shanti-Sena and F. F. T.

(Discussion between Vinobaji and Mr. Horace Alexander)

DAMODARAS MUNDADA

Mr. Horace Alexander, Gandhiji's old friend and one of world's great peace-workers, who happened to be in India now, met Poojya Vinobaji as he was approaching Alur this morning (14th Jan., 58) and walked with him into the town. Later he visited him at his camp at 10.30 a.m. and had a very heart to heart talk for about 45 minutes on Santhi Sena, a subject which is so dear to Vinobaji and which was equally dear to Bapuji, and which seems to have attracted the attention of optimistic thinkers like Mr. Alexander.

Mr. Alexander had prepared some questions, but before replying, Vinobaji requested the peace worker to acquaint him with his own impressions about the points he had raised as also about the experiences he might have had during his tour. Mr. Horace pointed out how in Ceylon the friends there, both Tamilians and Sinhalese, had extended through him, an invitation to Vinobaji to visit Ceylon.

Regarding peace efforts Mr. Alexander pointed out that he was not at all pessimistic, as he had found that the process of mutual understanding and good-will was quite afoot and there is no reason to fear.

Then came the turn of his questions:

ROLE OF ENGLAND AND INDIA

Mr. Horace: I am told you are speaking a good deal about demilitarisation and that you have faith that England like India, can take such a step.

Vinobaji: That is what I hope.

Mr. Horace: Good: thank you very much.

Vinobaji: I feel India can take such a step because it has a long tradition, and England, because of its inherent strength. The English people have gained in moral strength also by their action in leaving India.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The next question was about the Society of Friends. Mr. Horace Alexander modestly commented that it was but a minor question

which he was referring to him. But to Vinobaji it was not so. He therefore promptly replied: "The people may be minor people, but the thing is surely not, because friendship is the main thing and the effect of friendship is more powerful than the effect of any military power. So to me this is very important. Of course, we should be modest enough in pursuing our efforts.

Giving his own views about the possibilities of work for the Society Vinobaji continued: "In India we can do a lot in the present state of our country, by trying to raise Santhi Sena as I call it, these Friends may perhaps be useful in creating the atmosphere for Santhi Sena.

"I would like the Society of Friends" said Vinobaji, "to work where they had done some service. Again, in cities like Bombay and Madras, there are people who have a world outlook. If the Society can explain the idea of Santhi Sena to these people they will get response. I don't expect them to do much in village side, but in towns they can do much. I am asking Donald Bhai to take charge of the 'peace brigade' at Bangalore.

Mr. Horace: We have one centre at Delhi, one at Calcutta, and one in Pakistan at Dacca. Our centres can co-operate with your centres in Santhi Sena work.

Vinobaji: Yes, these centres can create a climate for peace.

FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS OF TRUTH

Mr. Horace Alexander then asked Vinobaji if he could send a message to the F.F.T. conference to be held at Sabarmati during the next week. He explained to Vinobaji the aims and objects of the Fellowship. The Fellowship is started with the main purpose of bringing together friends of different faiths so that the barriers that have been raised around every religion may be got rid of and hearts united. Mr. Horace pointed out how after Gandhiji's death, inter-faith fellowship had been developed. There were three hundred members scattered about in India and several hundred members scattered all over the world. Their real difficulty was that though number of individuals liked the idea, they had not been able to carry out a common practical programme.

* Sir Donald G. Groom, who has come to India from England to work for two years in the Bhoodan Movement. He was previously working for the Quakers in Madhya Pradesh.

And naturally the discussion centred around the possibility of accepting the programme of Santhi Sena by the F.F.T. 'Can the F.F.T. turn themselves into Santhi Sainiks (Soldiers of Peace)?' suggested Vinobaji.

While Mr. Horace Alexander appreciated the suggestion, he wanted to know if there was not still in existence that distrust between communities which was shattering India's unity and whether the F.F.T. should not take up the programme of breaking down this distrust. Presenting his own approach to the problem, Vinobaji said: "Although there is some apparent distrust here, it is a modern creation. It is not in the blood. It is the modern politics, especially the method of elections, which is responsible for creating distrust among religions and castes. The question therefore is rather complicated. I have talked on the matter with the leaders about the need of improving the method of elections, and I am glad they all agree on this point. Then there is the ownership of land, which also has been the source of all trouble. The main occupation is agriculture, and if the land remains in the hands of a few and all the rest are labourers, that creates a situation which encourages and upholds exploitation and many troubles have their origin in ownership.

TRUTH IS NOT ONE-SIDED

Referring to the F.F.T. and explaining his approach to the various religions Vinobaji continued: "As regards religions, if we do not insist on our experiences to the exclusiveness of others' experiences, if we are broad enough for accommodating the experiences of others, we can all come together. These religions, the variety of them would prove a blessing. Truth is not one-sided. Our vision usually is one-sided and when we claim that we are in possession of the whole truth, that creates trouble." Vinobaji wanted to know if the friends when they come together at the F.F.T. conferences discussed about various religions and their experiences. Mr. Horace pointed out to Vinobaji how the members, who were rather isolated, conferred on each other an opportunity to meet. "I find it very encouraging to meet them," he added.

* Marjorie Behn who was present during the discussion asked if the F.F.T. might not take up the 'system of election' as a special

* of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sewagram

subject for study. One of the experiences of the Quakers was that one could run an institution without any elections or voting. Many good people think that though this system can work well in a religious society, it may be difficult in the Society as a whole. Mr. Horace commented that it is easier for a village, than for a city, to decide unanimously as to who could be their representative. Vinobaji said "But now we have got a number of Gramdan villages and if some of the friends in the F.F.T. like to go to these villages that itself will be a great experience."

At this Mr. Horace wanted to know as to how they could create this family feeling in cities, to which Vinobaji replied: "It is a very difficult question. In India big cities are trying to imitate the West and in so doing they will all collect only the bad points and not the good ones. But if we work out our schemes in the villages, we shall have an impact on the cities."

Vinobaji concluded the interview with Louis Pasteur's words which Vinobaji has preserved in his book on Upanishads: "I do not ask you either your opinions or your religion, but what is your suffering."

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW

The recognition of individual proprietorship of land is the denial of the natural rights of other individuals—it is a wrong which *must* show itself in the inequitable division of wealth. For as labour cannot produce without the use of land, the denial of the equal right to the use of land is necessarily the denial of the right of labour to its own produce. If one man can command the land upon which others must labour, he can appropriate the produce of their labour as the price of his permission to labour. The fundamental law of nature, that her enjoyment by man shall be consequent upon his exertion, is thus violated. The one receives without producing; the others produce without receiving. The one is unjustly enriched; the others are robbed.

— HENRY GEORGE.

"Progress and Poverty" pages 341-42.

In Quest of Purpose of Life

MISS MARGERETT, GERMANY

I AM very glad to be here with you this evening. Although I have been associated with the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement in India for the last three months, this is the first time that I am present when a village is given in Gramdan. Three months back I came to India to study her culture and way of life and to serve her people in whatever capacity I may be able to do so. What is it that has brought me to India, so far away from my homeland? Even when I was just a little girl, the question often rose in my mind 'What is life?'. Is it just eating and drinking, working and sleeping? Nobody could give me a satisfactory answer. When I spent one year in America as exchange student and later one year in France my quest continued. Often I had discussions about it with my friends. But in vain. Then I came in contact with some Indian students in Germany and learnt a lot about India's age-old culture about Gandhiji and his work and ideals. I heard about the difficulties and problems of modern India, the foremost of which is the poverty of the masses. At that point I learnt about Vinobaji and his devoted followers and workers and about their efforts to overcome this poverty in a completely new way, namely through love, self-sacrifice and co-operation. When I heard about this wonderful movement I decided at once to come to India and to study the movement. I hope that after a thorough study I will be able to do some service through this movement. I am convinced that India can contribute something great to the other countries. She can show the West that there is something beyond a high living standard, beyond material comforts. She can and she must teach the West love and compassion and the spiritual values in life and we from the West who have realised this, should give our share to enable India to give out this great message.

*Speech at 'Oravil Desadan' Declaration Ceremony
in Kerala State on 21-1-58.*

The first Gramdan in Allahabad District

Shri Suresh Ram, a well-known author and a journalist on Bhoodan has become surprisingly an active field worker as the Bhoodan Nivedak of the Allahabad district. He organised the Gramdan week in the district at the end of December '57, with hundreds of college students. The first Gramdan of Baranpur in the district of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was an event of great significance. The danapatras were offered at a special function held on 4-1-'58 to Shri Navakrishna Chowdhry, who relinquished his chief minister-ship of the Orissa State last year to completely devote his time for Gramdan.

Baranpur village has 1203 acres and its population is 247. All the land-owners except three have surrendered their land. Shri Chowdhry Babu went round and enquired the villagers and was amazed at the awakening among them. When he asked the old woman whose son was the greatest landholder of the village and who had given away all his 500 bighas, as to who would now maintain her in her old age, she instantaneously replied, "Now I need not worry at all; the whole village would look after me." When a landless Harijan was asked as to what he would offer, he said that though he had nothing he would offer his whole life to the village. When a villager told that his land alone would not be useful, he said that he would share the use of his bullocks too. Shri Chowdhry gave a gentle and timely caution to the people in his concluding speech at the meeting:

"You have been persuaded by the way of love to try the method of co-operation. There are, however, three landholders who still do not wish to try it. You have taken your decisions after long consideration. Now that you are the majority, I urge you not to turn upon those three and seek to impose your views. Gandhi's way is non-violence, voluntary co-operation, and respect for every individual. Remember him."

Mr. Robert Terry, an American visitor who spent the whole day with Shri Chowdhry and Shri Suresh Ram at the village watching the silent revolution that was coming in the village, spoke a few words

at the function describing how New England was created by the united toil of the first settlers.

"I have come to Baranpur from the United States, half-way around the world. I am from the oldest part of America, New England. It was settled by a group of people scarcely larger than the gathering here. They banded together, agreeing to share both work and difficulties, sailed across an immense ocean and started a new community in a strange land.

"Their way was hard, but they found a new life. So I am glad to be with you today as you decided to work together in trying a new way of life. I wish you the best of fortune in this new endeavour."

He has summed up his impressions of what he saw in his article in the *Sunday Standard*, Madras of Feb. 2, 1958 in the following words:

"I cannot report that revolution has taken place. But I did feel that a needed revolution is trying to take place in one of India's villages."

* * * *

VINOBAJI'S YATRA

About four hundred workers of Karnatak met in a conference at Hubli on 26th and 27th January 1958 at Vinobaji's camp. Vinobaji has decided to extend his Yatra in Karnatak till 22nd March. Passing through Karwar, Belgaum and Bijapur districts Vinobaji will enter Maharashtra on 23rd March '58. The next Sarvodaya Sammelan will be held at Kolhapur or Pandharpur in Maharashtra.

News in Brief

Gramdan Seminar in Andhra: The Government of Andhra had convened a Gramdan Seminar at Hyderabad from 2nd to 5th January '58. Shri C. D. Deshmukh presided over it. Shri. Anna-saheb Sahasrabudhe, Shri. R. K. Patil and more than hundred Bhoodan workers and Government officials participated. Shri. Sanjiva Reddi, Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, while inaugurating urged the necessity of making concerted drive for the development of Gramdan villages and assured Government's full help.

Gramdan work in Kerala: A Gram Panchayat was formed in Naduvanur Gramdan village with a block of 139 families. Edakara village was received as Gramdan during Shri Manmathan's yatra. As a result of intensive work of Shri. G. K. Unniri three more Gramdans were received. Shri. Rajamma received three Gramdans in her campaign at Meladi with many workers. Shri. Achuthan Nair of the Southern Railway and two teachers have taken leave from service to work for Gramdan. Shri. Kamala Nambissan is in charge of Pakkanapuram Gramdan centre. Before the Sarvodaya Mela ends on 12th Feb. a revenue village is expected to become a Gramdan. A meeting of the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal met at Maladi on 15-1-58 for planning a concentrated program in Kurumbaranad Taluk.

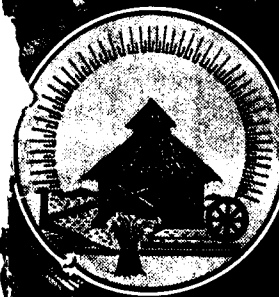
Shri. Jayaprakashji's European Tour: Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan has received invitation through the Peace Friends in England for a tour in England for propagating the Sarvodaya ideology. He has accepted it and is likely to go to England and tour in some of the European countries sometime in April. Shri. Siddaraja Dhadda, the Joint Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh will also accompany Shri Jayaprakash. The tour will begin probably after the next Sarvodaya Sammelan in Maharashtra.

Shri. BABA RAGHAVADAS

The passing away of Shri. Baba Raghavadas on 15th January 1958 is a great loss to the Bhoodan family. He was on a Bhoodan padayatra in Shivani area in Madhya Pradesh when he had an attack of pneumonia which proved fatal. He was the veteran of the Uttar Pradesh and the guiding force of all constructive work during the last 40 years. He was associated with about 200 public organisations in U. P. Vinobaji paid a glowing tribute to him in these words, "It is the singular fortune of the Bhoodan movement that such a valuable life was dedicated and sacrificed to it. I have always had the desire that I should end my life while doing padayatra. My desire has been fulfilled in the life of Baba Raghavadasji."

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SARVODAYA



Vinobaji reading
SARVODAYA MAGAZINE

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BHOODAN & GRAMDAN TILL 31-12-1957

State	Land Received Acres	Land Distributed Acres	Gramdan Villages
Bihar	21,68,857	2,13,150	105
Uttar Pradesh	5,87,615	77,674	36
Rajasthan	4,20,068	35,846	19
Utkal	3,84,589	1,11,361	1,933
Andhra	2,41,950	83,090	312
Madhya Pradesh	1,78,816	49,881	139
Nag Vidarbha	85,265	38,220	94
Tamil Nad	70,823	5,349	258
Maharashtra	64,210	10,561	227
Gujarat	47,486	11,527	18
Saurashtra	31,237	8,185	1
Kerala	29,021	2,126	450
Assam	23,196	225	77
Punjab-Pepsu	19,929	2,659	..
Mysore	14,764	1,152	26
Bengal	12,681	3,463	8
Himachal Pradesh	1,568	21	..
Delhi	396	157	..
Total	43,81,871	6,54,641	3,703

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Gramdan Approach to Industries

THE Bhoodan and Gramdan movements were till now more confined to the rural parts of India. The educated and the commercial classes of the urban area were, of course, approached in the early stage to participate in the movement through Sampattidan (gifts of money) for helping the agriculturists to whom Bhoodan land is to be distributed.

The basic philosophy and the non-violent technique of voluntary sharing of land with the landless ultimately leading to total relinquishment of individual ownership of land to the village community was also propagated among the urban population. But the logical implication and application of this social philosophy was not sufficiently emphasised till now with reference to the commercial and industrial property in the towns.

The time has now come to clearly lay down the fundamental basis and the method of application of the Gramdan principle of voluntary liquidation of individual ownership and communising the property with particular reference to industrial factories etc. Shri Siddharaj Dhadla's article throws some light as to the line of approach to this.

The next meeting of the Sarva Seva Sangh with Vinobaji at his camp at Ajara, fifty miles from Kolhapur in Maharashtra on 28th and 29th May is expected to give a clear lead to the country on the principle and approach to this question of great importance.

This may naturally be the main subject for discussion in the coming Sarvodaya Sammelan at Pandharpur. A radical change in the urban standards of life based on new values and ideal relationship in the commercial and industrial sector is an urgent and moral necessity for maintaining the equilibrium between the rural and urban population and for completion of the Gramdan revolution.



Vegetarianism and Children

Mahatma Gandhi

The first volume of "The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi" published by the Publication Division of Government of India cover the period between 1884—1896. The first public activity in which Gandhi seems to have been interested in London is the vegetarian movement. He was frequently contributing to the "Vegetarian" magazine and here is an interesting article revealing his unique technique of persuasion.

"RECENTLY a grand convention of Keswick Christians was held in Wellington, under the Presidency of Rev. Andrew Murray. I attended it in the company of some dear Christians; they have a boy six or seven years old. He came out with me for a walk one day during the time. I was simply talking to him about kindness to animals. During the talk we discussed Vegetarianism. Ever since that time, I am told, the boy has not taken meat. He did watch me, before the above conversation, taking only vegetables at the dinner table, and questioned me why I would not take meat. His parents, though not themselves Vegetarians, are believers in the virtue of Vegetarianism, and did not mind my talking to their boy about it.

"I write this to show how easily you can convince children of the grand truth, and induce them to avoid meat if their parents are not against the change. The boy and I are thick friends now. He seems to like me very much.

"Another boy, about 15, I was talking to, said he could not himself kill or see a fowl killed, but did not object to eating it."

(*The Vegetarian*, 5—5—1894)

VINOBAJI ENTERS MAHARASHTRA

Vinobaji entered Maharashtra on 23rd March 1958 at Lingnur on the Bombay-Mysore border. Rousing reception was given to him by a large gathering of representatives of all parties including Messrs. Y. B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay, M. M. Naik, President of Pradesh Congress Committee, S. M. Joshi, President, Samyukta Maharashtra, V. D. Chitale, Communist and others.

Gramdan and Communism

Acharya Vinoba

I HAVE been asked to explain the difference between gramdan and communism. Communism believes in the nationalisation of land. By one decree all land is owned by the State. In Gramdan ownership of land vests in the people of the village. The Government or the State does not come into the picture at all. The people of the village become the owners collectively.

In a Communist order the ownership vests in the State; and the worker on the land is reduced to the status of a wage-earner. They have to work as ordered by superiors. They are now trying to modify this a little. In a Communist order all initiative and authority is in the hands of the State. They talk of an ultimate withering away of the State but it is very very distant ideal. As far as the present is concerned the Government is all-powerful. Gramdan has an entirely different connotation. Here all authority vests in the hands of the people. No one can dictate to them. They are free to do as they like. It is also different from a system of land-holding that is created by various statutes or legislation. I have a feeling that Communism in India is undergoing some change.



Vinobaji

I know quite a few Communists. I see that their attitude is changing. Only the other day Shri Nambudripad attended a Gandhian meeting on the 12th of February for the first time. He said he had still some doubts about some aspects of the Bhoodan movement. But by and large he was in full sympathy with it. I have had some talks with him and I find he is undergoing a change of heart. There is nothing very surprising in this. After all, whether one calls oneself an atheist or a communist the heart functions in its own way. It has its own throbbings and intuitions. One who has feelings is bound to respond to new ideas. I have a feeling that the pattern of Communism in India is likely to be somewhat different than what is in other countries. After all the

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An Outline of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme

V. G. Desai

[Gandhiji declared that his handling of Civil Disobedience without the Constructive Programme would be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a stone (M. K. Gandhi: Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place, Navajivan, 1948, p. 29).]

An outline of the Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place was published in Gujarati along with the Outline of the Ashram Observances and with a foreword by Gandhiji, in which he said that although it was only a summary, the beauty of it was that it did not suffer any incompleteness in it. It is now translated into English.]

FOREWORD

The Constructive Programme is the truthful and non-violent way of winning *Purna Swaraj*. Its wholesale fulfilment is complete independence (M. K. Gandhi: Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place, Navajivan, 1948, p. 5.)

Satyagraha (Civil Disobedience) is.....a full substitute for armed revolt. Training is necessary as well for Satyagraha as for armed revolt. For Satyagraha it means the constructive programme (*Ibid.*).

In violence truth is the first and the greatest sufferer; in non-violence it is ever triumphant (*Ibid.* p. 6).

1. COMMUNAL UNITY

It means an unbreakable heart unity (*Ibid.* p. 8).

The first thing essential is for every Congressman, whatever his religion may be, to represent in his own home Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Jew, etc., in short every Hindu and non-Hindu. He has to put his identity with every one of the millions of India. In order to realize this, every Congressman will cultivate personal friendship with persons representing faiths other than his own. He should have the same regard for the other faiths he has for his own.

(Continued on Page 356)

The Challenge before Basic Education

E. W. Aryanayakam

[This is condensed from his presidential address at the Eleventh All India Basic Education Conference held in November 1957 at Turki in Bihar.]

THE ORIGIN OF NAI TALIM

IN July, 1937, Gandhiji placed before the country the basic ideas of Nai Talim, and in October, 1937, at the Wardha Education Conference, he explained his ideas in more detail to leading educationists and Education Ministers. The task of preparing teachers for Nai Talim was begun in April, 1938, and in National Week 1939, work was begun in the first compact area of 35 Basic Schools in the Champaran District.

The ten years which followed were great years in the history of our country. India became independent and was freed from foreign domination. But that in itself was not such a great matter. The supremely great achievement was that non-violence, by a heroic corporate effort, had won for the first time in history a victory in the political field.

It is essential that our workers should recognise the intimate bond between Nai Talim and the non-violent movement which won our freedom. For it is now our task to carry forward the work which Gandhiji began.

OUR SOLEMN PLEDGE

Nearly, ten years ago, after Gandhiji's death we met in Bihar for our fourth conference. At that time we took a solemn pledge. I would like to recall that pledge.

"Nai Talim has a place of special importance among the programmes which Gandhiji initiated in order to show India the pathway to a new life. This is the foundation upon which he wished to raise, in beauty and splendour, the spacious dwellings of free India. We who have followed him for a little distance along the road of Nai Talim pledge ourselves today to continue that pilgrimage as long as there is breath in our nostrils, and in striving towards our goal to direct our lives and work by the following aims:

1. To breathe into education the spirit of truth and non-violence.

2. To make handicrafts, the natural environment and the life of society integral parts of educations.
3. To teach the true love of country and human sympathy, and to eliminate communal prejudice.
4. To arrange for suitable programmes of Nai Talim for every stage of life from childhood to old age.
5. To prepare children and adults for a society in which co-operation shall take the place of competition, and justice of exploitation, where freedom shall go hand in hand with responsibility, and material with moral progress."

Ten years have passed since the Vikram conference, ten years of freedom. We have now met once more on the holy soil of Bihar. We ought as a body to feel profoundly challenged. How far have we moved, during these ten years, towards the goal which we set before us when we started on our pilgrimage twenty years ago?

If Nai Talim is to win the support of the people our workers must carry its message to them, and must demonstrate both by our lives and our words, the social and ethical principles which are inherent in our work.

TRAVELLING UNIVERSITY OF VINOBA

This is exactly what Vinobaji has been doing for the last six years and a half. In villages and cities, jnngles and hills, in talks to peasants, to townfolk, to tribesmen, to landlords and merchants, to teachers and students, to the ignorant and the learned, he has been explaining day after day, with unwearied purpose, the meaning of the idea that society should be founded upon truth and non-violence.

Vinobaji's Bhoodan pilgrimage is a travelling village university. Its studies are carried on in new villages every day. I too have been for 11 months a student of this university, and it has given me a new vision of Nai Talim. It is a matter of great hope and encouragement to us that the people of India are listening to Vinoba and responding to his appeal. Up to the present, 4,200,000 acres of land and more than 3000 whole villages have been given to him. The field is being prepared for our work. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh has therefore recognized that the Gramdan movement is essentially a Nai Talim programme. In its meeting on 18-1-1957 the Sangh passed the following resolution:

"The Boodan work of Shri Vinoba has now taken the form of Gramdan, and the time has come when, through this programme, the non-violent social revolution may be brought to pass. A non-violent revolution cannot be brought about by the power of the State, but it can come about through education. It is therefore the duty of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh to give every possible support to this revolution."

"The Sangh has had experience in Pre-basic, Basic and Post-basic education, and has placed the need for this type of education before the nation. That programme having been completed it is now the duty of the Sangh to enter with all humility into the work of non-violent revolution. It, therefore, calls on all Nai Talim workers throughout the country to co-operate fully with the non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yajna."

A seminar was held at Sevagram in July to study and discuss this resolution. It is now being placed before all the Nai Talim workers of the country.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATION

We now come to a most crucial educational problem—what should be the relationship of the Government to education? In the world today the question is a complex one, for almost every country in the world the control of the State over education is increasing. This is a natural consequence of a mechanised and centralised system. In those periods, however, to which we look back upon as the most creative and vigorous periods in human history, education was independent of the State. In ancient India the king's government had no authority or control over the centres of education, the *Tapovana* or forest schools. The king and his ministers never interfered in the work of the schools. On the contrary, they brought their tributes as a reverent offering to the guru, both from their personal wealth and from the revenues of the State.

A very large proportion of the work of Nai Talim today is being done by Government Education Departments or institutions which depend on Government for recognition and aid. After twenty years' experience the time has come when this situation must be reviewed. We have to consider what, in present social and political conditions, will be most conducive to the welfare of society. Shall education be

based on popular support, and independent of Government authority and administration, or shall it be administered by public authority?

Vinoba has again and again declared himself on this question, and up to the present almost all the great philosophers and famous teachers have taken the same position.

NATIONAL SECONDARY EDUCATION

The foregoing problem is closely linked with that of national secondary education. The Central and State Governments have accorded recognition to Basic schools in the field of primary education. Basic Education has its place in the primary education section of the Government education departments, although it is hardly a place of equal honour. But Nai Talim is not merely a plan for primary schools, it is an integral scheme of national education from the nursery school to the university. Recognition as a type of primary education is a very imperfect kind of recognition for Nai Talim. The question of national secondary education is of importance not only to Nai Talim workers but to every citizen of India. A well thought out and well organised scheme of national secondary education, that will help to build up a true democracy and to preserve and nurture our freedom, is a most urgent need.

RESEARCH

Another important question for Nai Talim is that of research. In fact, the whole work of Nai Talim ought to be, in the truest sense, a work of research and discovery. But we need to have a clearer picture of the purpose of our investigations. A certain amount of research in Nai Talim is, of course, being conducted in training colleges and universities, but it is often in the hands of those who have had no practical connection with Nai Talim. There is a great need today that the method and spirit of scientific research should inform the practical daily work of Nai Talim, and that research should be linked with practical work.

EDUCATION AND NON-VIOLENCE

What is the relationship of education to non-violence? We have claimed from the beginning that Nai Talim is a non-violent revolution in education, that it is a tool for the building of a non-violent society. That is not the claim of Nai Talim alone; most working teachers and educational thinkers agree that true education is that which replaces the hatred, division and conflict in human

(Continued on Page 351)

The Greatest Need of Life

Sankararao Deo

MAN does not live by bread alone, he wants essentially human love. The Upanishads say that man cannot live if friendship and human love do not sustain him. To love is in man's nature. As it is our essential nature, only on its basis can we build a new society.

We may advance scientifically, may create moons and suns, make machinery, but what will give them momentum. They can be made to move, but power should be given by man, for the machine cannot produce it itself. So far our efforts at the construction of society are sheerly mechanical. Our Welfare State may do a lot, but all that will be mechanical and devoid of the human touch. So after all these achievements man finds himself on the brink of ruin, for he lacks this essential element—human love.

Man is what he is by the society, but he should not be lost in it, neither can man neglect society and live by himself. So there are the individual and social phases of all our problems. Only human love can satisfy both the phases and solve our many issues.

Our workers should have this basic qualification of abundance of human love. They should first give and then accept it wherever they go. Love should form the basis of all human relationships. From the bow of love should the arrows of relationships fly. Food, clothing and abode are essential, but when human love dominates these can be got without much effort. Happiness and peace naturally flow out of human love. So the first item of equipment of our workers is the acquisition of this universal love towards all beings. To the extent they acquire it will their work be fruitful.

(From a speech in Rajasthan.)

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Sarvodaya in Industry and Commerce

Siddharaj Dhadha

THE Bhoodan Movement has been mainly confined during the last seven years to the rural sector. This was natural in the beginning. It has given a definite direction to, and a concrete programme for the reconstruction of rural life in India. Gramdan, particularly, has shown the way for rebuilding village life on a pattern which promises to do away with poverty and economic inequality and also pave the way for the solution of the problem of deficit production.

But the present is predominantly the age of big machines and centralised industry. The whole social structure is conditioned by this factor. It is, therefore, essential that we should place before the public the Sarvodaya view-point regarding industry and commerce and urban life generally. I give below a few points for consideration of those who are interested in Sarvodaya.

Just as in the case of Gramdan we request present owners of land to relinquish their ownership, we should similarly appeal to the shareholders in industries to give up their ownership in favour of society. Industries like land are means of production and as such there should be no private ownership over these. But there is one question which requires consideration in this connection. Those landowners who wish to take to agriculture have an opportunity to do so after Gramdan. As members of the village community they are co-sharers, along with their fellow brethren, in the village resources including land. To that extent their livelihood is assured. But what would happen to the shareholders of an industry after they have given up their ownership? At present the shareholders divide the profits among themselves. Will they be given a certain fixed percentage per share after their voluntary surrender of ownership? If so, the present inequality as between a large shareholder and the smaller ones would continue, which is not the case in Gramdan. If not proportionate to the number of shares held by them at present, would all shareholders be given a fixed and equal compensation or an equal recurring percentage? The village people form a natural community and the process of sharing can easily continue after Gramdan. As a matter of fact Gramdan is only the beginning of

this process of sharing. The shareholders of an industry are a scattered lot. They do not and cannot form a community.

So far as the managerial class is concerned there are two directions in which they are expected to proceed. Firstly, both they and the workers in the industry would be acting as trustees in a Sarvodaya society, each contributing to the social need of production according to his capacity. There should, therefore, be as little inequality of wages as possible as among themselves. Secondly, their remuneration should also be in consonance with the prevailing level of earning in the rural areas. However, just as in Gramdan the village people of their own accord often give a larger share to former big owners out of consideration for their sacrifice and their previous standard of living, some consideration can also be shown to the bigger share-holders and the members of the managerial class accustomed to a particular living standard.

As regards the workers, they should feel that they are not mere hired labourers working for their own self-interest, but are participants in the social endeavour of production. As an antithesis of the capitalist ownership of industries, a slogan is often given to the workers that the industries belong to them. In the context of Sarvodaya this also is obviously wrong. None is the owner, all are trustees. At present the workers and their Unions think only of their class-interest and work for it. This attitude will have to change. The workers should consider their work as a social responsibility and put their whole heart into it. So far as their wages or remuneration is concerned, it has already been stated above that this should bear relation to the general level of earning in society, particularly the rural sector. The demand for ever-rising wages would naturally be out of place in this context.

In a Sarvodaya social order, the industries are naturally to be run in the interests of society as a whole. How is this to be ensured in actual working? How will social control operate? What would be the organisational pattern of such control? These are some of the important questions that have to be thrashed out.

Ordinarily there would be no question of profits in industries in a Sarvodaya order. But if there are any savings in actual working suitable ways should be evolved for diverting the savings to social good.

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Danilo Dolci—The Italian Vinoba

By DITCHER in "*Capital*"

"The Gandhi of the Western World." Yes, Europe now has its Gandhi. I suspect that this title might be the invention of the publishing houses that have had a great success with the half-dozen books by and about Danilo Dolci, and yet there is undoubtedly something in the personality and the work of this young Italian that entitles him to be compared, without disrespect, to the Mahatma. Dolci is at this moment on a Vinoba-style tour that is taking him through Switzerland, France, England and Scandinavia. So in a few weeks his fame will have spread far beyond Italy and this is, therefore, a suitable time to introduce him to the compatriots of the saint he acknowledges as his master. In the decade since his death, the Mahatma has not wanted for would-be imitators, most of them crackpots; Vinoba Bhave and Dolci are probably the only two who have had Gandhi's gift of awakening the respect even of those who reject their teachings. Dolci—tall, blond, blue-eyed, bespectacled is the thirty-three-year-old son of a Trieste stationmaster, who since 1952 has chosen to share the life of the poorest, most violent and most ignorant people of all Europe, the peasants of Sicily. There, to a community that still considers murder an honourable exploit, where cold-blooded violence is kept alive by ancient traditions of feud, vendetta and vengeance, where mass unemployment is relieved by banditry and prostitution, and where every spark of humanity has been quenched by the poverty of the people and the corruption of the police and the priesthood, Dolci has gone to preach non-violence, self-help and spiritual regeneration. He has organised collective hunger-strikes—fasting, himself, for eight days together—and founded "villages of God," which are a sort of combined ashram and community development project. Needless to say, established authority has opposed him. A priesthood that in this region is in the hands of the land-owning class has forced him to break with Catholicism, while the police arrested him for "disturbing public order" when he led peasants to restore a neglected road. Dolci differs from Gandhi on two important points. He believes in the machine and says economic improvement must accompany spiritual revival in Sicily; his present tour of North Europe is to collect not money or land but technicians. And of non-violence he says something that I would draw to the attention of some Indian jollowers of the same faith. "I don't make non-violence a universal doctrine. It seems to me to be the faith required in Sicilina conditions. Perhaps it would be absurd applied to other cases."

—By Courtesy—"Capital," Calcutta.

Bhoodan and Community Projects

A. W. Sahasrabudhe

THE Community Development Programme, almost as old as Bhoodan, started as an experiment in 1952 in 55 different areas. The programme has been gradually expanding so much so that it will cover all the five lakh villages of India by 1961 during the Second Plan. The objectives of the C.P.A. have been to lead the villages towards unity and progress by building up co-operative organisations in them. But it is now obvious that the villages could not be approached in the right manner.

Thirty years ago Gandhiji gave the nation a call to "go back to the villages". Many of the college students responded but only a limited number actually entrenched themselves in the villages to serve the rural folk whole-heartedly. The relief work carried in the villages had a significant effect in the freedom struggle but after freedom it was found that the rural reconstruction was not possible through that approach.

The Government set out to discover new approaches. American guidance was sought. Country-wide planning was based on the experience gained at Itawa and Allahabad and the C.P.A. was raised with the Block Development Officer, Social Education Officer and an agricultural expert in each Block. Extension Services were raised to impart scientific know-how to the villagers. New techniques, improved seeds and artificial manures were introduced. Soil conservation operations and minor irrigation projects were taken up.

Those who had worked with Gandhiji in the rural sphere were also actively thinking in that line and felt that without the basic unity in the village, no results could be achieved in spite of the best intentions, efforts, influence or knowledge at one's disposal. There was a close similarity in the objectives of the two approaches but active participation was not forthcoming from the people.

The fact remains that 60% of the total land is managed through hired labour. There is a larger percentage of owners who don't till. Obviously enough, it is difficult to achieve much without solving the land problem. There are over one hundred laws enacted

about the land tenure and management. The President has signed nearly 127 Acts after freedom but the problem still remains unsolved.

There is a talk going on in Orissa and elsewhere about ceiling. It was estimated that 30 lakhs of landless families would gain by the measure of fixing ceiling on land in Hyderabad, but hardly 3 lakhs of landless families got some land. Why? The owners had passed on the title of ownership to their relatives, sold away a portion of their estates and enrolled their tenants as farm servants. It is obvious that the land problem would evade solution through law and legislation. But so long as the right spirit does not permeate the village these laws will remain only on the statute book. The C.P.A. failed to pursue its objectives since land problem remained unsolved.

Vinoba started the Bhoodan movement six years ago in Telengana where Harijans approached him for land and a landlord came forward with an offer of 100 acres. Gifts followed one after another and he got 18,000 acres in the Communist-dominated area. Thereafter he moved on to Delhi and continued his tour in U.P., Bihar and so on, collecting 40 lakhs of acres in the first six years.

In Bhoodan, we got also bad lands in the first round but good lands in the second round. Later Vinoba raised the demand for 1/6th but in the end announced his stand for the total abolition of private property.

Bhoodan movement is concerned not merely with land but with much more—the values of life. The land problem has been solved in Indonesia, Burma and China. In China each family got 7 acres of land but thousands were shot dead to do this. In Japan each family got 2½ acres. MacArthur got land distributed through the force of law. Same thing followed in other countries. Brought up under the guidance of Gandhiji we wanted to do it not through bloodshed but through non-violence. Bhoodan will strengthen the democratic forces in the country and make the villages self-reliant.

New approach creates an upheaval in thought. We did not welcome Bhoodan as it emerged. It was hailed more by the foreign countries than by India. "A roaming saint is getting gifts of land for the landless. It could happen only in India", wrote the *Manchester Guardian*. The French writer, Mr. Lanzo de Vasta (Shanti Das) who stayed with Vinoba during his Padyatra in

Bihar stated, "Vinoba is a greater seer, who through Bhoodan is trying not only to solve the land problem but pioneering a path of peace." Bhoodan is a key to solve peacefully and democratically a number of major problems facing mankind. Bhoodan has a role to minimise social inequalities. Swaraj has brought an awakening in thought. The Adivasi in a village now understands that he can also talk of high-sounding philosophies if fed well. During the First Plan period there was 18 per cent increase in national income and, it is stated, there will be 25 per cent of increase in the Second Plan period. But with our average national income of Rs. 250/- per annum there is a wide disparity of income in rural and urban areas. It is Rs. 140/- in the former and Rs. 850/- in the latter. This gulf has to be bridged. We must share our comforts with our neighbours and provide equal opportunities to all. After land distribution in China the food production increased 2½ times. It is a lesson for us.

In India the land per capita is only ⅓th of an acre per capita. In America it is 12 acres and in Russia it is 16 acres per capita. In Asian countries where land is comparatively less and population higher, the land has to be brought under the public utility service. Buildings in the towns were so managed during the war that the tenants could not be removed from the houses due to scarcity of accommodation. Similarly in our country the population is larger than the availability of land. Our country imports grains worth 10 million tons every year and our grain is 40% cheaper than the other countries. During controls we imported grains worth 900 crores of rupees. For how long can this liquidation of economy go on?

India has decided not to join any Power Block. In that case we have to pay the price of freedom and become self-reliant. To solve a number of problems it will be advisable to declare land as an object of public utility service. Only those who work on it should own it.

During the period of controls we imported 3,500 tractors annually. After 5 years the Government realized that the West cannot help us to solve our food problem. An American expert was called to India for advice on a salary of Rs. 21,000 p.m. staying here for nearly six months. He advised that India should take to mechanised farming and industrialization. But the Government had to reject his advice. There is no capital for industry to offer employment to a population of 30 crores working on land.

To employ one man in a textile mill it requires a capital of Rs. 2,500; in a cement factory it requires Rs. 10,000 and in steel the capital investment is nearly Rs. 30,000 per man. For cottage industries it is Rs. 50 per head. There is a plan to electrify 18,000 villages. The cost of electrifying one village is nearly Rs. 75,000. To electrify a village road it further needs Rs. 2,500 and an additional cost of Rs. 2,500 to electrify a country house.

Wherefrom will this capital come? Looking at that we must not talk in the air and should not think of providing employment to people through industry for another 50 years or a century but should lay stress on farming and handicrafts.

The First Plan proceeded with food production as the basis which would lead to the formation of Capital to be invested in industries. Second Plan proceeds with industries as the foundation; the surplus capital thus formed will go into agriculture.

This means that industry will receive priority for capital investment and agriculture will be deprived of it. 7 lakh acres of land can be brought under irrigation through the Machkund Project but the capital requirement is Rs. 150 per acre even after the water reaches a plot of land. Ordinarily, it is Rs. 25 per acre.

Moreover, we have to do away with the employer-employee relationship in land. A labourer having no stake in farm gets the wage, does not put in work and steals the crop. Since the labourer is denied his share according to work and the capital investment in agriculture is negligible, the results are unsatisfactory.

The solution lies in allowing share in land to all and sharing income according to work. This must lead to co-operation which ensures prosperity to those subsisting on farming and handicrafts.

After years of experience those running the Government have now agreed to this solution and have declared that the co-operation between the C.P.A. and Gramdan will yield best results. Both the movements had similar objectives but Gramdan made the contribution that land must belong to the community. Fortunately, the country accepts the idea; the Government has adopted the policy of giving priority to the Gramdan villages and is going to implement it. (From "Gramdan" February, 1958).

Madras Bhoodan Bill

The following are the important sections and sub-sections of the Bhoodan Yagna Bill of Madras State passed by the Assembly in February, 1958. and by the Council in March '58. This is a comprehensive Bill including the Gramdan for vesting its land in Sarvodaya Panchayat.

WHEREAS it is necessary and expedient to facilitate the donation of lands for the Bhoodan Yagna initiated by Shri Acharya Vinobha Bhave and the transfer and settlement of such lands for the benefit of landless poor persons or for community purposes and to provide in Gramdan villages for the vesting of lands in, and the management of those lands by, the Sarvodaya Panchayat in the State of Madras;

Be it enacted in the Ninth Year of the Republic of India as follows:

2. (a) 'Bhoodan Yagna' means the movement initiated by Shri Acharya Vinobha Bhave for the acquisition of lands through voluntary gifts for distribution to landless poor persons or for community purposes;

2. (e) 'Gramdan Village' means any revenue village or part thereof in which not less than two-thirds of the number of persons owning lands donate all their lands for Gramdan and the total extent of lands so donated amount in the aggregate to not less than one-half of the total extent of the lands in that village and declared by the Government to be a 'Gramdan village' by notification;

2. (h) 'Sarvodaya Panchayat' means the Sarvodaya Panchayat constituted for a Gramdan village; and

2. (i) 'State Board' means the Madras State Bhoodan Yagna Board established under Section 3.

3. *Establishment and incorporation of State Board.*—(1) The duty of carrying out the provisions of this Act, shall, subject to the restrictions, conditions and limitations therein contained, be vested in a Board to be called 'The Madras State Bhoodan Yagna Board'.

(2) The State Board shall be a body corporate having perpetual succession and a common seal with power to enter into contract and to acquire, hold, administer and transfer property, movable or immovable, and shall, by the said name, sue and be sued.

4. *Constitution of State Board*:—(1) The State Board shall consist of a Chairman and ten or more but not exceeding fourteen other members who shall be appointed by the Government in consultation with Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave or a person nominated by him in writing in this behalf.

(2) The appointment of the Chairman and the other members of the State Board shall be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

5. *Term of Office*:—Every member of the State Board, including the Chairman, shall hold office for a term of four years from the date of appointment, and shall be eligible for reappointment.

10. *Dissolution of State Board*:—(1) If at any time the Government are satisfied that—

(a) the State Board has failed without reasonable cause or excuse to discharge the duties or to perform the functions imposed on or assigned to it by or under this Act; or

11. *Vesting of land in State Board*:—All lands donated for purposes of the Bhoodan Yagna whether before or after the commencement of this Act shall subject to the provisions of sections 16, 17 and 20 vest in the State Board.

14. *Acts of State Board, etc., not to be invalidated by informality, etc.*:—No act of the State Board or of any person acting as Chairman thereof shall be deemed to be invalid by reason only of a defect in the establishment of the Board or of such act having been done during the period of any vacancy in the office of Chairman or member of the State Board, or on the ground that the Chairman or any member of the Board was not entitled to hold or to continue in such office.

(15). *Local Committees*:—(1) The State Board may, for any district or portion of a district, constitute a Local Committee consisting of not more than five members who shall be appointed by the State Board from among the residents of the area concerned. The appointment of such members shall be subject to the approval of the Government and shall be for such period as may be prescribed.

17. *Hearing of objections*:—(1) Every declaration filed under sub-section (3) of section 16 shall, as soon as may be, be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in such other manner as may be prescribed.

(2) Any person whose interests are affected by any such declaration may within two months of the publication or the declaration file objections on the same before the Tahsildar or the Deputy

Tahsildar in independent charge having jurisdiction in the taluk or sub-taluk where the land is situate.

19. *Grant of land by State Board*:—(1) The State Board may, in the manner prescribed, and as far as possible taking into consideration the wishes of the donor, grant any land which has vested in it to a landless poor person who is able and willing to cultivate the land or to the Government or to a local authority for community purposes, and the grantee of the land shall acquire therein such rights and liabilities and subject to such conditions, restrictions and limitations as may be prescribed, and the same shall have effect, any other law to the contrary notwithstanding:

20. *Donation of land made prior to commencement of Act*:—(1) The State Board shall prepare a list of all lands donated for purposes of the Bhoodan Yagna, prior to the commencement of this Act, showing therein—

- (a) the area, description and other particulars of the land,
- (b) the name and address of the donor,
- (c) the date of the donation,
- (d) the nature of the interest of the donor in the land,
- (e) if the land has already been granted to any person in pursuance of the Bhoodan Yagna, the name and address of the person to whom the land has been granted (hereinafter called the grantee),
- (f) the date of the grant referred to in clause (e), and
- (g) such other particulars as may be prescribed.

(2) Every list prepared under sub-section (1) shall be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

21. *Funds of State Board*:—The State Board shall have its own fund and may accept grants, donations, gifts or loans from the Central Government or the State Government or any local authority or person for all or any of the purposes of the State Board.

24. *Exemption from stamp duty and registration*:—Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law, every declaration and every grant of land made or deemed to have been made under this Act shall be and be deemed always to have been exempt from the payment of stamp duty and of encumbrance certificate fee, registration fee or of the fee payable for the attestation of a power-of-attorney under section 33, sub-section (2), of the Indian Registration Act, 1908 (Central Act XVI of 1908).

14492.

GRAMDAN LANDS

25. *Vesting of Gramdan lands in Sarvodaya Panchayat*:—(1) The provisions of sections 16, 17 and 20 shall, as far as may be, apply to lands donated for Gramdan as they apply to lands donated for Bhoodan Yagna.

(2) In any Gramdan village all Gramdan lands shall vest in the Sarvodaya Panchayat.

(3) No act done by a Sarvodaya Panchayat shall be invalid on the ground merely of existence of any vacancy in or defect in the constitution of the panchayat.

26. *Management of Gramdan lands*:—(1) The Sarvodaya Panchayat shall have possession of and manage all the Gramdan lands vested in it.

(2) The Sarvodaya Panchayat shall have power—

(a) to arrange for the cultivation of all lands vested in it either by itself or by distributing them among the residents of the Gramdan village concerned whether jointly or severally;

(b) to distribute the produce of the lands among the villages in any manner it deems fit;

(c) to set apart lands for growing trees, raising fruits and vegetables or for any other purpose which is, for the general good of the community, specified in this behalf by the State Board from time to time;

(d) to make advances in kind or cash to the families of the Gramdan village to whom lands are distributed for cultivation and recover those advances;

(e) to carry out land improvements;

(f) to buy and instal any machinery for improving cultivation;

(g) to provide, maintain and augment irrigation sources and facilities;

(h) to undertake reclamation of waste lands;

(i) to carry out soil conservation measures; and

(j) generally to undertake and carry out all measures to increase agricultural production.

(3) The Sarvodaya Panchayat shall have power to incur expenditure for all or any of the purposes mentioned in this section.

Asian-African Conference of Women

Amrita Ramasubramaniam

THE Asian-African Conference of Women which met between the 15th to the 24th February '58 at Colombo, in Ceylon marks a unique achievement in more than one way. This Conference, the first of its kind was convened under the joint sponsorship of five outstanding non-governmental Women's organisations hailing from Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and India—the group familiarly known as the Colombo Powers countries.

In the context of the resurgence of Asian and African countries and the attainment of their political freedom in recent years without recourse to bloodshed and violence in which the women played an important role, the necessity for women of these countries coming together and discussing their problems from a common platform was keenly felt. Owing to historic and political vicissitudes the contacts between the Asian-African countries despite geographical proximity and cultural affinity dating back to ancient times—had been interrupted over a long period. The urge for reviving and refining the old ties and marshalling women of these regions as a powerful force in the cause of world peace and human wellbeing proved irresistible.

Colombo was a most appropriate venue for the Conference. The captivating charm of Ceylon richly endowed by nature and sanctified by the message of peace and enlightenment of the Great Buddha presented a most fit setting for the event.

There were about 120 delegates and observers in all coming from 19 countries. In addition to the five sponsoring countries the others that participated were:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. Afghanistan | 8. Mongolia |
| 2. Burma | 9. Philippines |
| 3. China | 10. Singapore |
| 4. Egypt | 11. Thailand |
| 5. Ghana | 12. Tunisia |
| 6. Iran | 13. Turkey |
| 7. Japan | 14. The democratic republic of Viet-Nam, Uganda sent observers. |

The Prime Minister of Ceylon Sri. Bandarinayake who inaugurated the conference spoke with fervour and exhorted women of the Asian-African countries to come together and make a supreme effort to save civilisation from the ominous grip of nuclear weapons and the disaster that threatened the world. He said we had to 'wage total peace'. The world could not march piecemeal today; We had to survive or perish together.

The Conference discussed the varied aspects of Educational opportunities for women, Health Problems, Women and Citizenship, Traffic in women and children and measures for rehabilitation, women in labour force and promoting closer contacts among women of Asian-African countries. It is interesting to note that the members believed that the failure to include liberal religious instruction as an integral part of education (a child's) is a great defect leading to an imperfect development of the child's personality and wrong values in life. We forget the inner spirit in man at our peril. The delegates realised that guaranteeing for the millions of silent toilers in our countries a life of reasonable comfort consistent with human dignity was a pre-requisite for enlisting their co-operation for the higher ends of life. A hungry person had to be fed before he could take in aught else.

A unique feature of the Conference was that a number of young women participated in the discussions and the earnestness they displayed compelled one's admiration. The women of the 20th century have by intuition read the signs of impending tragedy that is threatening to overtake the world in this age of nuclear weapons. The delegations spoke with solemn determination to fight for the cessation of nuclear tests and the destruction of all nuclear missiles and for the abolition of war. Women have to bring mankind back to sanity and enthrone compassion, fellowship and trust in place of the fear, suspicion and greed that marred human relationships today.

Those who had been erstwhile strangers had grown to be friends with common hopes and aspirations. Beneath the differences of language, customs and manners, creed and complexion there was a vital current of unity and fraternity which bound all of us at the conference as though we were members of a mighty family—the Sarvodaya family. In these fine women inspired by lofty ideals I discovered with a thrill the champions of Sarvodaya.

Kumarappa's Request to Friends

My dear Friend,

Madras, 4th March, 1958.

You know for several years I have been suffering from high blood pressure and I have been under the treatment of Drs. Jeevaraj Mehta, Gilder and other specialists. In the beginning of last year I was settling down in Gandhiniketan, a Research Centre in Madurai District. I thought at that time, I should retire from all Public work as the Doctors advised me to do so. Hence, I resigned my various activities including my position as Secretary, in The All India Village Industries Association. I left Maganvadi, my headquarters in Wardha District where I had been working since over twenty-four years, from bodies connected with Gandhian activities.

While I was there for about ten years my brother, Dr. Bharathan Kumarappa, was collaborating with me in that work. After my retirement, Bharathan was charged with the work of preparing the authenticated Biography of Gandhiji to be published by the Navajeevan Sangham and later by the Publication Department of the Government of India. Unfortunately, for us, he too had overworked and succumbed to a stroke of high blood pressure on 25th June, 1957. This sudden passing away of Bharathanji was too much of a shock for me and I was taken severely ill and so was removed from my house in Gandhiniketan to the Madurai Mission Hospital, and treated under Dr. E. S. Chellappa, Superintendent of all Mission Hospitals in South India. After having been treated, almost well, I went back to Gandhiniketan.

Unfortunately again the hand of Nature fell on me as my eldest brother Dr. J. M. Kumarappa who was a moving spirit in the Tata School for Welfare work in Bombay succumbed in October to blood pressure also. Evidently these shocks in my weak state of health proved to be rather heavy and again I had to be removed to the Madurai Hospital, where I recovered somewhat after some treatment. On my getting back to Gandhiniketan there was unfortunately a lapse in December and I was strongly advised medically that I should remain hereafter under medical treatment in Madras. Dr. Chellappa himself took the care to travel with me and bring me to the Madras Government General Hospital.

Although after treatment of several weeks I was thought cured and discharged, thrice I had to be admitted here with the same trouble in aggravated form and I have been under treatment since.

In these conditions doctors have disbanded all my facilities for clerical work and have strongly restricted many of the contacts I have been keeping up with even friends such as you. Although I must acknowledge the kindness of many who have sent me Greetings, Good Wishes and been a source of pleasure to me, I have not been able to respond and even acknowledge these. But I have been compelled to ask a few friends to kindly do the needful. I do not know when I shall be well enough to acknowledge all the numerous letters, communications etc. individually but I am sending this long letter to give you a rough idea of the difficult position in which I am placed. It is extremely kind of you to have been, one among many others to have kept up connection with me by several communications during the past. May we thank God for having spared us to come together in these times.

Kindly treat the address below as my permanent abode in future. I shall be always happy and grateful to hear the good news from you. Please take this as an answer to the several letters etc., I have received from you.

With loving remembrances I always recollect our association.

Dr. J. C. KUMARAPPA,
C/o. Mrs. E. S. Appaswamy,
T. Nagar, Madras-17, South India.

Yours,
J. C. KUMARAPPA

[Sarvodaya in Industry & Commerce] (Continued from Page 337)

The question of the size of industries is also important. In a capitalist order there is a tendency towards bigger and bigger units of production in order to cut costs and increase the margin. Just as small village communities form an ideal foundation for real democratic working, the size of industrial units should also be ordinarily such that mutual personal contact among those working in the industry is maintained.

Public services of a commercial type such as railways, posts, telegraphs, etc., may be run by Public corporations instead of by the State, for, as far as possible concentration of power should be avoided. However, effective means of social control will have to be worked out in such cases.

Small-scale industries could be organised on a co-operative basis, so that workers could effectively participate in actual management. But these co-operatives should also be run as trusts and not as owning the industry. Most of the trade and commerce could also be organised on co-operative lines as above.

[The Challenge....]

[Continued from page 334]

society with love, friendship and co-operation. In the constitution of U.N.E.S.C.O. it is stated that war has its origin in the minds of men, and it is therefore in the minds of men that the seeds of peace must be sown. When Gandhiji described his idea of Nai Talim in his inaugural address to the Wardha Education Conference of Education Ministers and Experts in 1938, he said :

"If we want to stop civil and international conflict, we must educate our children by this method which I have described here, and begin on a pure and firm foundation. This whole plan of mine is rooted in non-violence.

If India should decide to abandon violence, this type of education will be an important point of the new national way of life."

It is essential that in the present state of the world we should remember this goal of Nai Talim, for the country and the whole world are filled with violence and unrest. Nai Talim must build up the power of non-violence in students and teachers, so that in its strength they can stand to the power of violence and, what is more, can help to establish a non-violent society.

TEACHERS AND SHANTHI-SENA

It has already been said that the gramdan movement is itself a programme of education in non-violence. As that movement has gone forward, the question of a Shanti Sena has come to the fore.

The concept of a Peace army is not new in India. Gandhiji placed it before the country and the world twenty years ago. At that time however we had not the moral strength to put the idea into practice. Today not the Nai Talim workers only, but the whole body of teachers in this fear-ridden world, should ask themselves whether it is not their duty to stand up in the power of non-violence against the increasing power of violence. I hope that question will be answered by this Conference.

TENTH SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The Sammelan will be held at Pandharpur on 30th, 31st May and 1st June 1958.

15th World Vegetarian Congress

Geoffrey L. Rudd

[India had the unique honour of holding the 15th World Vegetarian Congress which had its sessions in Bombay, Delhi, Benares, Patna, Calcutta and Madras. We have taken the privilege of extracting here part of the editorial on the 15th Congress in the Winter number of 1957-58 of the World Forum, London.]

THE sixty or so delegates from twenty nations who travelled around India to take part in the regional sessions were everywhere received with fabulous hospitality—often literally overwhelmed by exquisitely prepared dishes unfamiliar to Western digestive processes—garlanded with fragrant leys, and treated like royalty. An unforgettable experience which made nonsense of Kipling's idea that "never the twain shall meet".

Not since the time of the Emperor Asoka has the vegetarian movement been acknowledged by the Head of a State, and its representatives so feted by Cabinet Ministers, Governors of Provinces, Maharajahs and civic dignitaries. Although vegetarianism has always been an integral part of Indian life for countless generations, it has not been emphasized so resoundingly since the time of Asoka. It can be truly stated that the whole of India has now been made aware of the practical advantages of vegetarianism, from the economic and nutritional points of view, and that those who stand by India's ancient ethical principles have been greatly encouraged—everywhere gratitude was expressed for our initiative in beginning the practical work hitherto neglected in India.

India has its problems. Vast and seemingly insoluble problems. But there is no doubt that India has a great contribution to make in world affairs. At its heart is the principle of *Ahimsa*, deeply rooted. It has a cultural background to which the whole world is indebted. In its philosophies and outlook on life India has everything for man's intellectual and spiritual needs—if its people can hold these in face of "westernization" it will be truly great.

The 15th World Vegetarian Congress has stirred the nation. There is no doubt about this. We can only hope that immediate action will be taken to consolidate the gains made.

Shram Vidyapith (Labour College) in Allahabad District

"THERE are only two castes in the world today—*huzoors* (masters) and the *mazdoors* (labourers). The former exploit the latter in various ways. Again, there are four types in the *huzoors* or intellectuals. Firstly, the administrators, secondly, the businessmen, thirdly, the constructive workers and fourthly, the saffron-robed. These four take every advantage of our village people and allow them no peace. They all enjoy what is produced by the *mazdoors*. The schools and villages opened by the British became *huzoor*-manufacturing factories.

"Mahatma Gandhi discovered this malaise and he called upon us all to become *mazdoors* or perform bread labour whence this *Shram-Vidyapith* (Labour University). Here *huzoors* will be converted into *mazdoors*. India will know no solution of their problems until her intellectuals take to agriculture and productive physical work. This Vidyapith will be like a "power house". I would request the people of this area to help it not by money, but by their physical labour or *Shramdan* (gift of labour). Your goodwill in this form will be the source of strength to this Vidyapith.

"No military or legal power can change this order. It is only through love and bread labour that the social transformation can be achieved. This new experiment will be carried out here."

The above is the gist of the speech of Sri Dharendra Mazumdar, President of Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, while inaugurating the *Shram Vidyapith* (Labour College) at Pasna in the Meja Tehsil of Allahabad District on 25th January, 1958.

Sri Suresh Ram, District Bhoodan Sevak, mentioned about the work of the Vidyapith. He said, "Various activities would be carried out here, viz., workers' training, *Nai Talim* (Basic Education), village crafts, agriculture and *Go-Seva* (Cow-protection), study of Gandhian Sarvodaya ideology. But the essential object is to produce *Jan-Shakti* (power of the people) or self-reliant power of the people and help in the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj (Society) through truth and non-violence." Sri Bramha Deo Vajpeyi, Vinobaji's representative for U.P. expressed the hope that this Vidyapith would serve as a light-house for the province. He added, 'Under Shri Dharendra
(Continued on Page 355)

Sister Hema from Germany

A. K. Rajamma

THE papers brought the interesting news that Baba had become busy most of the time studying German with the help of a German lady. Days passed on and one day we got a letter that a Miss Hema, Baba's German teacher,—so, that is her name!—was coming to see Kurumbranad where we were all working for Gramdan. When we saw her red complexion and golden hairs, Hema looked very familiar in her simple Indian dress. Every minute that we spent together revealed why she is more Indian rather than German. She stayed for five days in our midst; we took her around our work camps in Kurumbranad Taluk. She addressed thirteen gatherings and her simple answers cleared the varied inquisitive questions of the people.

Hema is an young philosopher and seems to have been so from her school days. Whether in her home land or in France or in America where she had studied for some time, her quest for the purpose of life being unanswered, she spent days of discontentment in the luxuries of Western life. She longed to redeem herself from the clutches of the enigmas of the modern society and to do real service to the suffering masses. Hema's Indian friends told her about India's age-old culture and her mystic philosophy. She heard and read about Gandhiji and his ideals, which impressed her very deeply. She tried to understand more about India from all available sources; she used to attend the Indo-German Association in her village from where she learnt more of the rich heritage of India. The 'Adwaita' philosophy and the concepts of 'Atman' and 'Brahman' created in her heart a glowing passion for India. In course of time, the conviction that India can guide the whole world took such deep roots in her thoughts that she made up her mind to come to India and serve her. She was preparing herself and adapted Indian ways of living; grew long hairs and accepted an Indian name from her Indian friends in Germany. She began to relish Indian dishes; her high admiration of India's 'Ahimsa' made her abstain from delicious non-vegetarian dishes and stimulants to which she was accustomed.

Money for this long journey was to be secured and Hema, hardly twentyone in age accepted a job with a decent pay out of which she began to save with a frugal life for the long dreamt of

journey. Hema's anxiety to reach India grew boundless when she heard of Saint Vinoba and his Bhoodan movement. At last she secured enough money for the journey for which her friends also helped. Her noble parents boldly bade adieu to their only daughter Margarete; the mother whose love knows no bounds had nothing to grudge or murmur at the choice of a new mother by her beloved Margarete: she was only proud to witness the spiritual growth in her child. Hema's two younger brothers could not but courageously wave their trembling hands and see their loving sister off, with tears in their eyes!

She had already the permission to join Vinobaji, and she reached Khadigram (in Bihar) first, clad in soft smooth mill cloth. Hema, as she stepped in the soil of Khadi, took to khadi; and started spinning. While talking to some friends here Hema remarked, "Even though I feel very hot, I would not wear anything but Khadi. I like Khadi because there is such a great meaning behind it, especially that of the spirit of self-sufficiency and the dignity of labour. When I wear Khadi, I become one among you, the villagers in India, the India, which I love and which I want to serve."

Let each and every one of us become restless even like that Margarete of Germany. If the various women's organisations and institutions all over the country would only judge Hema with unprejudiced minds and respond to the touching appeals of this great Yogi of the Time, knocking at the doors of their hearts a miracle would happen in India.

SHRAM VIDYAPITH

(Continued from Page 353)

Bhai's guidance, we shall strain every nerve to make the Gramdan revolution a success. It is characteristic of our national genius that the richest man of this area, Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh, the Raja of Manda, has sacrificed his all and is going to lead a life of labourer. I am sure that this Vidyapith would win the heart of this area and be a tower of strength."

Then Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh said, "Those who kill others by the sword are remembered and honoured in history. But none cares for those who consecrate themselves in the service of the soil by the ploughshare. This is both unjust and unfair. This state of affairs cannot stay longer. Both science and religion demand detachment and non-possession, which shall be the basis of the family of workers living in this Vidyapith".

An Outline.....

[Continued from page 330]

In such a happy state of things, there would be no disgraceful cry at the stations such as "Hindu Water" and "Muslim Water" or "Hindu Tea" and "Muslim Tea" (*Ibid.*).

2. THE LAW

We have been accustomed to think that power comes only through Legislative assemblies. I have regarded this belief as a grave error. The truth is that power resides in the people.....Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people....Civil Disobedience is the store-house of labourer. Imagine a whole people unwilling to conform to the laws of the Legislature, and prepared to suffer the consequences of non-compliance. They will bring the whole legislative and executive machinery to a standstill....No police or military coercion can bind the resolute will of a people who are out for suffering to the uttermost. (*Ibid.* p. 8-9).

3. REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Every Hindu should make enough cause with Harijans and befriend them in their awful isolation(*Ibid.*, p. 10).

4. PROHIBITION

Medical men have to discover ways of winning the drunkard and the opium-addict from the curse.

Women and students have a special opportunity in advancing this reform. By loving service they can acquire on addicts a hold which will compel them to listen to the appeal to give up the evil habit.

Congress Committees can open recreation booths where the tired labourer will rest his limbs, get healthy and cheap refreshments and find suitable games. (*Ibid.*).

5. KHADI

It connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country.....It means a determination to find all the necessities of life in India and too through the labour and intellect of the villagers. (*Ibid.*, p. 11).

The formula is every village to produce all its necessities and a certain percentage in addition for the requirements of the cities. (*Ibid.*, p. 12).

Only a few broad rules can be laid down here:

1. Every family with a plot of ground can grow a portion at least for family use.....The farmer needs to know that his first business is to grow for his own needs.

2. Every spinner could buy—if he has not his own—enough cotton for ginning which he can easily do without the hand-ginning roller frame. He can gin his own portion with a bound and an iron rolling-pin. When this is considered impracticable, hand-ginned cotton should be bought and carded. Carding for self can be done well on a tiny bow without much effort....The slivers made, the process of spinning commences. For this I strongly recommend the *dhanush takli*.....(for this reason) that it is more easily made, is cheaper than and does not require frequent repairs like the wheel (*Ibid.*, p. 13).

Imagine the unifying and educative effect of the whole nation simultaneously taking part in the process upto spinning. Consider the levelling effect of the bond of common labour between the rich and the poor. (*Ibid.*, p. 14).

GRAMDAN AND COMMUNISM (Continued from page 329)

Communist philosophy is a reaction or a corrective. It is not an original or independent thought. It was devised as a corrective and alternative to the 19th Century Capitalism of Europe. It cannot last for ever. Sarvodaya is an independent point of view. It has behind it a deep insight. It is a way of life in which each individual is an end in himself.

It is our duty now to prove the efficacy of non-violence in social and economic spheres. Gramdan has now taken the place of Swaraj. It has inspired hundreds of young men and women who are walking through the country. Leaders of the leading political parties have given their hearty support to the idea of Gramdan. I was very happy to see that at the recent meeting the Communist Party of India has come out with a declaration that their objective is to achieve Socialism by peaceful methods. It may be a statement of policy and may or may not represent the inner faith of an average Communist. All that I am interested in pointing out, is that the Indian soil has begun to affect them. Their theory and practice has to become Indian if it is to succeed here. They have begun to show some awareness of this basic fact. (Adapted from "Bhoodan")

A New Technique for Gramdan

S. Jagannathan

DURING the Sarvodaya Paksh Days from 30th January to 12th February we had a new experience. When the workers met for planning, a peasant from a Gramdan village said, "Instead of Bhoo-dan workers, we Gramdan villagers will march not in small groups, but as one single large yatra group of nearly 100." This was a courageous step. We were doubtful, how a yatra group of 100 men, especially villagers can go with the discipline and how we are to meet the expenses. The Gramdan villagers said, "We shall give grains, vegetables and we shall conduct the yatra."

Nearly 200 villagers, men and women from 22 Gramdan villages met at Batlagundu on 29th and 30th January. 29th was Keithanji's sixtieth birthday and they all participated in the celebration. Sarvodaya Ashram was founded on that day at Kanavaipatti, a Gramdan village where Keithanji will reside. On the 30th the villagers had discussions on how to conduct the yatra, etc. A huge procession and a public meeting were held at Batlagundu on 30th the Sarvodaya day. Two villages were announced as Gramdan on the occasion of Keithanji's sixtieth birthday.

From the 31st nearly 100 Gramdanees started on the yatra. There were four or five old men of 70 years and more in the yatra, and they spoke everyday in the prayer meetings on how they had to face difficulties before and after their village was declared as Gramdan, how they were solving the problems and their future programmes, etc. These elders' talk was so simple and direct in their own colloquial language that it was so appealing. All this is a novel experience to us. During this yatra they have secured seven more villages as Gramdan and all the expenses for these 12 days' yatra consisting of 100 members nearly Rs. 1,500/- has been contributed by the Gramdan villagers and other sympathisers by grains, vegetables, fuel, and other food materials.

Now out of the 83 villages in the Batlagundu firka, 29 have come as Gramdan. By the result of this yatra many more are preparing for Gramdan and a group of 10 Gramdan villagers are at the work and they are hopeful that half of the number of the villages in the firka will come as Gramdan before the end of this month.

(From a letter to Vinobaji)

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SARVODAYA



"When I was in Kanyakumari I took the vow of continuing this Yatra throughout the country for the rest of my life till Gram-Swaraj becomes a fact."

--From a Speech on 23-3-58.

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From Kaladi to Pandharpur

LOOKING back to the year that has passed since the last Sarvodaya Conference at Kaladi and considering the time and energy devoted to the mission, there is ground for deriving reasonable satisfaction at the pace of progress in our Sarvodaya pilgrimage.

The progress cannot be measured in terms of acreage of Bhoodan and the numerical villages of Gramdan received in the year. The general acceptance of the basic ideas and the endorsement of the non-violent and co-operative approach of the Gramdan movement by the public and the leaders of all parties is a significant moral gain. "Gramdan has come to stay" in the words of Pandit Nehru. No State can ignore a revolutionary movement of this nature with voluntary relinquishment of land. The State which is interested in serving the Community at bottom naturally will come forward in availing of the Gramdan movement for building up self-sufficient units of Community life. There have been successive high level conferences at Delhi between the officers of the Govt. and the workers of Gramdan movement, which have created a new climate necessary for Gramraj becoming a reality.

The Gramdan movement has also begun to move the educationists who have to reconstruct the educational system in tune with the new values created by the community ownership through Gramdan. The conference of the Directors of Public Instruction with Vinobaji in Hansabhavi has effectively paved the way for radical change in the educational sphere.

New vistas of Sarvodaya became clearer to Vinobaji in his march. Shanti-sena of Gandhiji's conception is being revived with a new application to the modern conditions of cities. Sarvodaya-patra in which a handful of grains is offered daily in every home would forge the necessary moral sanction of the people for the Sarvodaya ideology. Sarvodaya work in cities like Bangalore is being intensified. With Gramraj at bottom we are looking up to the horizon of universal peace in the world. From Bhoodan in 1951 we have got the world vision of "Jai Jagat". It is but natural that Vinobaji has repeated his pledge at Kanyakumari to continue his Yatra till Gramdan becomes a fact everywhere as Gramraj is the true foundation of world Peace.

—"JAI JAGAT"

Gandhiji on Socialism

Pyarelal

In our last issue Gandhiji's appraisal of Marxism was published from Pyarelal's monumental book—Vol. II of Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase. Another portion from the same which lays down the Socialism in action is given here. We are indebted to Navajian Trust.

GANDHIJI was a firm believer in a classless, egalitarian society in which there would be no distinctions of rich and poor, high and low. In some respects he went further even than the orthodox Socialists in as much as he would not exempt anyone from obligatory socially useful body-labour. "If a man work not neither shall he eat." He further held that all work—whether physical or intellectual—should carry equal remuneration. But he refused to accept the doctrinaire Socialist approach to current problems. Nor did he believe that society could be retailed by merely "dreaming by systems so perfect that no-one will need to be good". On the contrary he most firmly held that the only way to abolish privilege was to renounce it oneself. His Socialism was derived from his practice of the principle of "Unto this last". The orthodox Socialists questioned his claim but he maintained that he was a better Socialist than they. He had practised Socialism all his life by identifying himself with the poor, the lowliest and the lost, and sharing with them their handicaps whereas those who called themselves Socialists were content to dream and prate about Socialism, while continuing to live in their old, easy way till "all were converted".

"The ideal of Socialism is not a new discovery", Gandhiji once remarked to one of his companions during his stay in Bihar. "It is to be found in the Gita. It means that we may not own anything beyond our strict requirement but should share equally with all God's creatures the means of subsistence. No big organisation is needed for the realisation of this ideal. Any individual can set about to practise it, beginning with himself. The first thing is to keep no more than what is strictly needed. To have a personal bank account would thus be incompatible with this ideal. Strict,

ceaseless watch cover one's own life is the first essential. Even a single individual if he enforces this ideal fully in his own person, can leaven the whole society. To become a trustee in the true sense of one's own wealth and talent is true Socialism. But today Socialism has come to mean taking forcible possession of other people's possessions. This is a travesty of true Socialism."

A group of fifteen students came to see Gandhiji some time after. He was at the moment observing his Monday silence. They called themselves Socialists. Gandhiji wrote out replies to their questions on slips of paper. The first step towards Socialism, he scribbled, was to shed sloth and aversion to physical labour. "Now tell me how many of you have servants in your homes?" he asked. They admitted that altogether there was at least one servant in each home. "And you call yourselves Socialists while you make others slave for you!" Gandhiji asked them. "It is a queer kind of Socialism which, I must say, I cannot understand. If you will listen to me, I will say, do not involve yourselves in any ism. Study every ism. Ponder and assimilate what you have read and try to practise yourself what appeals to you out of it. But for heaven's sake, do not set out to establish any ism. The first step in the practice of Socialism is to learn to use your hands and feet. It is the only sure way to eradicate violence and exploitation from society. We have no right to talk of Socialism so long as there is hunger and un-employment and the distinction between high and low amongst us and around us."

He then sketched out for them a basic course in practical Socialism:

- (1) fold your bedding on getting up in the morning.
- (2) give a helping hand in preparing and laying out the breakfast.
- (3) help in dusting and cleaning up the house.
- (4) wash your own clothes.
- (5) help your mothers and sisters in cleaning and scrubbing utensils.
- (6) spin daily to provide yourself with the clothes you need.
- (7) keep your books and papers neat and tidy, and

(8) use a two-anna steel nib in preference to a fifty-rupee-worth fountain-pen.

If they practised Socialism in this way, instead of talking or preaching to others, he concluded, they would create a Socialist society in their immediate neighbourhood, with themselves as the first converts. "You will not then need to 'convert' anyone to Socialism; your example will do that and, what is more, it will provide a welcome relief to your long suffering parents. You would cease to be a burden on them."

THE FULFILMENT OF SARVODAYA

Vinoba

No one could ever have expected its completion within five or ten years, though some of us looked to the achievement of some concrete form by the end of 1957, some that within that period at least party conflict would come to an end, that there would be some impression on the Government and the people. Gandhiji also said that we should build up a Lok Sewak Samaj, in other words that Congress should undertake the work that we are now undertaking, that elections should be carried on on a personal basis, that only people of exemplary character should be chosen for responsibility, that whatever Government were chosen it would be motivated by the SARVODAYA ideology. I consider the people and the Government to be one. Whatever influences the people, must influence the Government. Whatever plan there may be for India, it must be that of SARVODAYA. However, for the influence of SARVODAYA to reach all aspects of the life of the people political, social and economic, it will certainly take time.

"In a sense the fulfilment of the Sarvodaya conception is equivalent to the fulfilment of man."

(Sarvodaya Bangalore Nagar)

Seven Years of My Yatra

Acharya Vinoba Bhave

I am essentially a devotee. I like to read and hear the glory of the Almighty. I have a burning desire to communicate His name and listen to His stories. I am a *Kirtankar* of a kind, singing the glory of God. I submit that I have done nothing else for the last seven years of my yatra. Bhoodan and Gramdan are only a part of it. The land problem has a special urgency and importance in India and Asia. I am trying to spread His Name while tackling the land problem.

I have spent the days of my youth in study and contemplation and doing service in a quiet way. I tried to take a few young men in hand and imparted instruction to them when I was sitting quietly in a corner of the world, carrying on my *Sadhana*.

Obviously I am not an agitator. I cannot work myself up and go about creating a commotion among the people. I have not the temperament for it. Moreover one has to be young in body and mind and have emotional exuberance. I cannot possibly grow into a propagandist at such a late period of life. I do not believe in preaching and holding forth as some learned men do before select listeners.

A mystic saint has said that His name will become universal when man conquers the sense of "I" ness. As long as the feeling of separateness, the sense of "you" and "me" persists in our hearts, we can have no vision of Him. We have isolated ourselves and we have built prison walls around ourselves.

We see that in a moment of real happiness there is no feeling of separateness. We feel happy only when we are overpowered by feeling of oneness. Whatever produces a feeling of spontaneous kinship and fellow-feeling must be understood as a manifestation of self. We must therefore try our best to get over the feeling of separateness and transcend the sense of "I" ness. We can then spread His Name in the distant corners of the country. There will be then some hope of creating a new society.

There is a well-known saying of Christ: Ask and it shall be given. I am going to try this in the reverse. 'Don't ask and it shall be given' would be my motto. Isn't there a saying that the Goddess Laxmi blesses him who does not ask? I have decided to adopt this line in Maharashtra.

This would incidentally serve as an example of 'Sublimated Satyagraha'. When I was in Kanyakumari I have taken the vow of continuing this yatra throughout the country for the rest of my life till Gram-Swaraj becomes a fact everywhere in India. That will of course remain.

Adapted from—Bhoodan.

BABU LAXMINARAYAN OF BIHAR

Before we could recover from the shock of the death of Gopabandu Chowdhry of Orissa, news of the demise of a great veteran of Gandhian Era in Bihar has come as a blow to the world of Sarvodaya workers. Laxmi Babu was on his Bhoodan yatra, when he passed on the 9th May as an immortal Jivan-dani at the village Bopara in the Dharbanga district. He sacrificed his career in the Bar in 1920 during Non-Co-operation and was specially devoted to Kadhi and other items of constructive programme. He was the creator and the very breath of all the constructive institutions in Bihar. His identification with the Bhoodan ideology contributed to the tremendous success of the movement during Vinobaji's two years' yatra there. His simplicity, sweet demeanour, soft and winning words and his overflowing love to all won the heart and has endeared to himself thousands of constructive workers in Bihar. Who can fill the place of this venerable and illustrious personality who was a tower of strength to all the activities associated with the names of Gandhiji and Vinobaji in Bihar!

The Problem of Peace

Dhirendra Mazumdar

If we really desire peace we have to spot out the various factors in society which breed violence and eliminate them. Armaments and war are only their final outcome. We have to cut at the root of these for peace in society. Competitive and acquisitive society breeds violence. We have to build up a new society based on mutual aid and co-sharing. Centralization of power and private property are the root causes of war. Competition is the mother of violence. Gandhiji was aware of the fact that a non-violent society would not need the institution of Government. It would be a society where the state would have actually withered away.

Karl Marx also talked of the ultimate withering away of the state. But he turned his theory of class war into a dogma. It has created a new Leviathan. So the problem remains. How can the process of making the state wither away be set in motion? The process, obviously, must begin with the various social institutions we have created and with the governments that we have brought into existence in the various states.

Society, today, is fragmented. We have class and caste distinctions. Whatever the form of government, broadly speaking, society is divided into two classes, viz. the managerial class and the working class. To classify this division in society as "haves" and "havenots" is an over simplification and based on capitalist values. Sarvodaya believes that in God's creation there is no species or individual who is a "have not". All are indeed "haves". That is why I would classify the present society into two sections: manual labourers and intellectual labourers.

Sarvodaya accepts that there are classes in society but does not believe in class-war. Gandhiji's alternative to it was class-transformation. He insisted that every honest man must devote some hours to "bread-labour" every day. This idea should not be confused with Marxist idea of "declassification". It posits that society is a whole; it cannot be transformed in parts. We need a total social transformation. All who live in society, therefore, have to accelerate this process.

Vinobaji on Jayaprakash

This is Vinobaji's introduction to the book "From Socialism to Sarvodaya". containing his letter to friends of P. S. P. already published in "Sarvodaya". This book was published by the Sarva Seva Sangh, Prakashan, Kashi.

I HAVE been impressed by Jayaprakashji's numerous qualities ever since I came to know him. What attracts me most is the simplicity of his heart. This simplicity often causes considerable misunderstandings about him. Sometimes he may also commit errors on account of it. Gandhiji once described *Swaraj* as the "right to commit mistakes." He who cannot commit mistakes is not capable of doing anything. This statement of Jayaprakashji will give the readers a clear impression of his simple-heartedness.

The "isms" that arise as reactions may have some influence in particular periods, but they are essentially transient; they have no abiding value. Of late, various collectivist creeds have found favour in the world as reactions against individualism. These creeds have proved to be very popular for the time being. But most of them are now faltering, fading out or getting deformed and giving rise to new reactions.

Sarvodaya is not a reaction to any "ism". It is India's own thought and her own system but not something that cannot be applied in any other time or country. Its external form may vary according to the needs of particular times and places. (This non-insistence on a specific form is a fundamental element of *Sarvodaya* philosophy. But its inner core is eternal. I have already dwelt on this point in my *Swarajya Shastra*.)

In this statement of Jayaprakashji, we have a well-knit account of the evolution of his thought. Its echo is sure to ring in many hearts. I am firmly convinced that the various one-sided ideologies, grouping towards their own fullness, will ultimately merge in the ocean of *Sarvodaya*. In any case, I am sure that this statement will encourage readers to give deep thought to the *Sarvodaya* philosophy.

Jayaprakash Narayan on his European Tour

The following is the gist of a Speech on the occasion of a Send-off function at Patna on 26-3-'58.

SHRI Jayaprakash Narayan said, he was overwhelmed with the hearty send-off on the eve of his tour abroad for three months. As a humble messenger of Gandhian doctrine and philosophy of *Sarvodaya* he would address group meetings in London and other places in the United Kingdom. He would also visit European countries including Poland and some other Communist countries.

Shri Narayan said with an open mind as a student he would like to learn from British and European countries and if asked would tell them on broad features of *Sarvodaya* movement. This movement was based on humanism and was not sought to be confined within geographical or physical limits. In the modern scientific age, distance was no handicap to implementing revolutionary ideas. He was optimistic that model community life free from human exploitation was possible in a country like India whose largest population wholly depended on agricultural economy.

In the Western countries most of which had gone a long way in industrialisation and were forging ahead for material prosperity it was difficult to suggest that the conception of *Sarvodaya* was a panacea to social and moral ailments. But he was hopeful that in communist, socialist or democratic countries, none were free from fears and apprehensions. Though science and technology were being perfected and new weapons were being invented, every nation was living in the midst of social and moral tensions. It showed that however perfect communist, socialist or democratic systems may be they had inherent contradictions. Apart from communist or socialist systems, the countries where political democracy was in vogue, people were restive. There was the need to supplement it by economic democracy but there was again the fear that a coterie might rule the roost.

Shri Narayan thought therefore that Sarvodaya or 'Mangalbad' or call it 'welfarism' should have to be pursued with devotion and single-mindedness. Men and nations needed to be understood that they would have to pattern their existence on a moral plane where human dignity, individual personality and freedom were not strangled while developing a wider community life.

But he had great hopes that Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence, truth and human dignity and universal love and tolerance had attracted great thinkers and philosophers all over the world. There were great men all over this universe who sought to understand the principles of Sarvodaya and it is on their persistent invitations that he was going abroad. He would spend a fortnight in London and another fortnight in other places in the United Kingdom. He would visit European countries, both Communist and non-communist in character from where he had invitations to talk to them on the Sarvodaya movement. He regarded Sarvodaya as the last resort on which human race could seek the safest and happiest anchorage for he considered that ultimate fulfilment of human existence did not lie alone in ensuring the highest form of material prosperity.

He hoped to leave for the United States of America, Australia and Canada next year to propagate the doctrine of Sarvodaya.



SHRI JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN,
ADDRESSING A MEETING.

Gandhiji's Non-violence and Christ's Love

Martin Luther King

(A Baptist clergyman in Montgomery, Alabama, Dr. King has been called "The American Gandhi" for his leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association in its successful campaign against bus segregation using non-violent methods).

Mahatma Gandhi has done more than any other person in history to reveal that social problems can be solved without resorting to primitive methods of violence.

In this sense he is more than a saint of India. He belongs—as they said of Abraham Lincoln—to the ages.

In our struggle against racial segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, I came to see at a very early stage that a synthesis of Gandhi's method of non-violence and the Christian ethic of love is the best weapon available to Negroes for this struggle for freedom and human dignity.

It may well be that the Gandhian approach will bring about a solution to the race problem in America. His spirit is a continual reminder to oppressed people that it is possible to resist evil and yet not resort to violence.

The Gandhian influence in some way still speaks to the conscience of the world as nations grapple with international problems. If we fail, on an international scale, to follow the Gandhian principle of non-violence, we may end up by destroying ourselves through the misuse of our own instruments.

The choice is no longer between violence and non-violence. It is now either non-violence or non-existence.

Oppressed people can deal with oppression in three ways. They can accept or acquiesce. Under segregation they can adjust to it. Yet non-co-operation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is co-operation with good. The minute one accepts segregation, one co-operates with it.

Oppressed people can, on the other hand, resort to physical violence, a method both whole nations and oppressed peoples have used. But violence merely brings about a temporary victory and not permanent peace. It creates ever new problems.

Gandhi has come on the scene of history with still another way. He would resist evil as much as the man who uses violence, but he resists it without external violence or violence of the spirit. That is what Gandhism does. It is a method of the strong. If the only alternative is between cowardice and violence, it is better—as Gandhi said—to use violence, but there is that other way.

I myself gained this insight from Gandhi. When I was in theological school I thought the only way we could solve our problem of segregation was an armed revolt. I felt that the Christian ethic of love was confined to individual relationships. I could not see how it could work in social conflict.

Then I read Gandhi's ethic of love as revealed in Jesus but raised to a social strategy for social transformation. This lifts love from individual relationships to the place of social transformation. This Gandhi helped us to understand and for this we are grateful a decade after his death.

Courtesy—"Peace News" January 31, 1958, p. 2)

THE PSEUDO-SCIENCE AND MONEY

If this pseudo-science, political economy, were not occupied, like all the juridical sciences, with devising excuses for violence, it could not avoid taking note of the strange fact that the distribution of wealth—the circumstance that some people are deprived of land and capital and that some men enslave others—is all dependent on money, and only by means of money does one set of men now exploit the labour of others, that is, enslave others.

I repeat: a man who has money can buy up all the corn and starve another and make complete slave of him through his need of bread. And this is done before our eyes on an enormous scale. It would seem necessary to seek the connection between the phenomena of slavery and money; but science asserts with full confidence that money has nothing to do with the enslavement of men.

Tolstoy—*What then must we do?*

Basic Education

Acharya Vinoba Bhave

(The following are extracts from Acharya Vinoba's speech at the Basic Education Seminar, organised by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, at Hansbhavi, Mysore in December '57.)

I NATURALLY accepted the invitation to speak because I have myself been a student as well as a teacher all through my life. Even during the course of my walking tours in connection with *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* work, I have always been very keen about my studies. Like a university student, even today, I have been pursuing my studies with zeal, and teaching at the same time. In fact, educating the society is also a form of teaching. In addition to it, I have been teaching something or the other to all those who have been associated with me. The subject of education, therefore, is the natural outcome of my own practical experiences. You might have gone through my book on the subject of education. It is a collection of my articles and speeches on this subject. Whatever is said in that book, is in fact the result of my own practical experience. It is not in the least based on imagination.

The Purpose of Education

I have evolved a working definition of education from my own personal experience. According to it, the object of education is to make the student self-dependent as soon as possible. What is meant by 'self-dependent'? Firstly, it connotes that the student should be enabled to earn his living by dint of his own labour. In fact, no one can be socially useful without this. If he is not made such, he would become a burden to the society. Secondly, the students should be enabled to become self-dependent in the matter of knowledge. They should themselves practically experiment and learn from it. The purpose of instruction is to arm the students with power to learn from their own experiences and from the experiences of others.

The Veda of Vedas

As far as I am concerned, even at present at the age of 62, I have tried to learn the German language anew. Who was there to help me? There was a dictionary and a grammar. With their help,

I myself have tried to learn this language. Of course, I learned a little bit of pronunciation from a German girl who had been with me for 10 to 15 days in course of my *Bhoodan* tours. But with little effort, I was able to learn German language very well. Thus only in a few days by self-help and effort, I have been able to read the best books in German language in my own home. So, perfect grasp of any one language enables you to learn other languages easily, because it is the knowledge of learning knowledge. Referring to the subjects which should be taught to the students, the Upanishads have said: "We have to teach the Veda of Vedas". But what is the condition at present? We know that when we teach *Vedas*, we keep aloof from the *Bible*. If we teach *Bible*, we ignore *Quran* and if *Quran* is taught, *Dhammapad* is neglected; when *Dhammapad* is taught, politics is neglected and if politics is taught, history is neglected. This is the way we pursue our knowledge at present. That is why it is said that we have to teach the Veda of Vedas, i.e., we must try to learn the art of learning all these branches of knowledge. It suggests that we should try to gain power of learning Vedas.

Cent Per Cent Knowledge

There is always some key to knowledge. Efforts should be made to secure that key. But what is going on today? When a student passes B.A. he is faced with the problem of what to do next. Then, he tries to complete his M.A. That is the end of education. It is supposed that after completing M.A. the student has obtained perfect knowledge. Has he actually done so? The teachers are also well aware that the knowledge they have imparted to the students is not worth retention. They pass the student even if he gets only 33% marks. If for example, a cook says that he can prepare 33% good bread and 67% rotten, will you like to keep him in your service? Similarly, the student who gets 33% marks, is actually a 67% failure. Yet the teachers have to pass him because they acknowledge that the subjects they have taught are not worth cent per cent retention. We, however, wish that the knowledge should be perfect. It should be such as could be retained 100%. In ancient times, the disciple used to go to the teachers and after completing his studies entered the society. But before entering the society, he could say: 'All the four directions are bowing

their heads before me, that is, I am the master of all creation. I have attained insight. I am capable of giving any shape to the earth according to my own desire, because I am animate and the earth is inanimate. Thus, he left the house of the teacher with this confidence and strength. He was certain of giving shape to the inanimate because he was animate and conscious. But what is the state of affairs at present? The teachers at the most transmit information to the students. The purpose of teaching today is not to infuse the students with a capacity for attaining knowledge themselves.

Dependent Planning

Thus, speaking about the objects of education, I have told the student to become self-dependent in the matter of attaining knowledge. Now, I will deal with the second object of education. Recently an Educational Conference was held at Turki in Bihar. I had sent a message for the Conference in which I had stated that from the point of view of meditation or thinking education represents only one aspect while the other aspect is represented by defence. But as far as non-violent society is concerned, education itself is defence. The responsibility of education is to annihilate the necessity of police and army. Whenever we think of education, we are prone to say that education is costly; it involves huge expenditure. Therefore, in a poor country like India, it is difficult to carry it on. It is, however, essential as well as proper that we should expend at least half of our national income on education. In Gandhiji's life-time, people of our country had said that when a national government is established, we would cut our defence expenditure to a half. This was our pledge and our determination. But where has that determination or pledge gone? At present, we are making a show of planning. But actually, it is not we who are hatching this Plan. In reality, it is Pakistan which is forcing us to plan in that way. Thus, we are not free to plan according to our desires. The same is true in the case of U.S.A. also. Under such conditions, it is all the more essential that education should claim to defend the country with the help of non-violence.

Weapon of Learning Knowledge

In fact, all the other weapons are useless when compared to the weapon of learning or knowledge. If knowledge is not so powerful,

it is not true knowledge. Do you consider it true knowledge if it is not devoid of fear? Therefore, the purpose of education in our country should be to give it a turn that might wipe off the necessity of maintaining police and army. This is, in fact, the national and social objective of education.

Thus, I have placed before you, two ideas : one : every person must be self-dependent in respect of learning and attaining knowledge. Second: the social and national objective of education should be to destroy the complex of fear both inside our own country and in the whole world.

But how to get rid of this fear complex? We have to think and consider. When we think of education, we also think of the method of teaching, such as the Montessori method, etc. Basic education is also a method of teaching. But it represents not only a method of teaching but also a different point of view. Why are there quarrels in the world? Because learning is separated from work. That is, our learning is only related to imagination. No knowledge is attained without labour. There is only one example of inactive knowledge, that is, knowledge which is produced without activity. It is the state when 'I' is assimilated in the Brahma. But in order to understand the significance and inherent meaning of Self, we have to go to Rishis like Ramana Maharshi. This is the only instance of self-knowledge which is possible without work. And the rest of knowledge is always related to activity. It can never be separated from action. Any knowledge that is not related to some activity is not true knowledge ; any work is unthinkable if it is not related to knowledge.

Knowledge Through Work

Sometimes, people express doubt that if according to my method of teaching, students have to work for at least two or three hours a day, how will they gain knowledge. But on my part, I also question that if the students are asked to read and study books all the time, how will they attain knowledge. I believe that books are actually barriers between, myself and nature. Is it inconceivable that we can get the same knowledge from looking into the picture of a cow which we may attain by seeing the cow itself. Do you think that if work involves greater amount of time, it would be a barrier to knowledge? We ourselves learnt the method of bee-keeping in

some books. We finished the book in 2 or 3 days. After that, we collected some bees. But do you think it involves no time? Actually we had to spend so many days in collecting bees. We had to control them and gain their confidence. That involved a period of more than 2 or 3 months. Of course, we had learnt all that was written in the book. But practical work was the surest method of learning.

Social Injustice

We would take an example. Somebody takes a book to read it. He says, he is unable to see and read the book. Why is it so, because his eyes are weak and he has no spectacles. But somebody may ask: "What is this, is it the eye or the spectacles that see. "Of course, the spectacle cannot see." It is only the eye that is capable of seeing. Therefore, the true medium is the eye and the spectacle is only a helper. Therefore the book cannot be the best means of learning knowledge. But, then doubt is expressed as to how to attain knowledge without the help of books. Therefore, work is separated from knowledge. Such reasoning has actually led us to commit a great social injustice by dividing people in two groups. In one group are included those people whose avocation involves learning and mental knowledge while the other group includes people who have to do manual labour. Consequently, the society has been divided into two classes, nay—into several classes. When learning is separated from work, it gives birth to a serious social injustice. Thirdly, we have also committed grave injustice in the economic sphere. Whereas we pay only one rupee or 12 annas at the most to those who do physical labour, we pay as much as Rs. 25 to 30 a day to mental workers. This is really a very great injustice. Thus, in the economic sphere, society has been divided into two classes only because knowledge has been separated from work. The purpose of education should be to destroy this triple injustice. These are some of the basic considerations that I have placed before you. We have, therefore, to think about the form of our education that should be evolved. But what is more essential is that social differences must go. They do serious harm to the society. They would never lead to prosperity.

Contact with Nature

I would like to say one thing more. What should be the object of our life? The greater the contact with nature, the greater is the prosperity in life. The farther we go from nature, the scarcer become the blessings of nature we may enjoy. The Sarvodaya ideal is based on two principles; first, our efforts should be directed towards lessening the burden of population on agriculture; second, we should try to provide greater employment through industries. Everybody should be somehow or the other connected with agriculture. If even a single person is separated from agriculture, his life would remain incomplete and to that extent, he would be devoid of the joys of life. From the spiritual point of view as well, everybody should be given an opportunity to serve land. He should be related to soil just as the roots of trees are deeply related to soil.

Basic Scheme for the Cities

Then the problem arises as to what should be the form of education for big cities. We have to think and look into these problems. As a matter of fact cities are less fortunate so far as they have less contact with agriculture. Even when I was in jail, I was enjoying life. But my other colleagues were morose. One day, the jailer asked me whether I had any trouble. I said, yes I have. He said, "I always see that you are happy. I do not think you have any troubles," I said, "yes, I have some trouble. But what is it. Go and think over it for a week and come back. This is your test." The jailer returned after seven days. He said "I could not trace the source of your trouble." I said, I was troubled because I was unable to watch the sun rise and the sun set in jail. In fact, if we go and establish direct communion with nature, enjoy fresh air and think of God, it gives limitless pleasure. But people in the said cities are deprived of such opportunities.

The Scheme for Blind

Sometimes I am asked as to what should be my scheme for cities. People in cities are unable to come in direct contact with nature. If somebody has no eyes, we make provision for him. Similarly, there are lame people. Therefore, the problem is what should be the form of scheme that we may evolve for inefficient, lame and disabled people. Of course, we have to evolve some scheme and provide for them. Just as we provide for the blind people, thinking that they have no eyes and try to rescue them; similarly, we must try to rescue

the people in the cities, thinking that they are disabled. And the only way out in their case is to try to bring nature in contact with the method of education to the extent it is possible. It is the only remedy.

We have to become 'Purandar'. There is reference to God in the Vedas. He has been described as 'Purandar' that is, he is the destroyer of cities. We have a number of cities, whose population is over millions. There is no provision for healthy habitation. Therefore, storeys upon storeys are constructed. That was why when Khrushchev reached Calcutta, he had to say: "If you construct such high buildings in the city, in this atomic age, it would prove to be dangerous." Such is our condition. We have to break through the artificial life in the city.

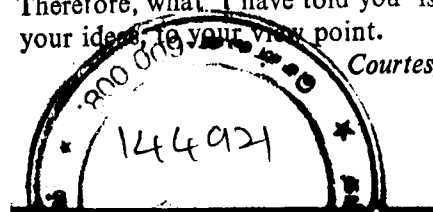
True Happiness

If we try to grasp the true meaning of natural life, I am sure it would be easier for us to do so. Science has created serious problems for us. Previously, there was serious infant mortality; children died in large numbers during the first two or three years after their birth. This gave some relief to the society, because our population did not increase so speedily. But at present, science has created such means with the help of which it is possible to prevent mortality. Consequently, the population has been increasing. And it has led to serious problems. I would like to state that the best method of controlling the population growth, is to bring about contact with nature. It gives so much happiness that artificial pleasure appears to be useless before it. This is the outcome of my own experiences. The greater is our communion with nature, the greater is our method of education related to nature, the greater would be the pleasure of life. Therefore, we must try to bring about nearer relationship between nature and the method of education so that our joy may increase and may be an inseparable part of our life.

New Education

I have placed before you some basic ideas. Nobody should be under the impression that I am speaking about the basic education of the Talimi Sangh. I have repeated oft times, that new education and the Talimi Sangh are quite different things. New education is an independent thing. Everybody is free to think on this subject. Therefore, what I have told you is only by way of giving a turn to your ideas, to your view point.

Courtesy—A. I. C. C. Economic Review.



Buddha and a Deva

THUS I have heard. On a certain day the Blessed One (Buddha) dwelt at Sravasti, at the Jeta grove, in the garden of Anantapindaka. When the night was far advanced, a radiant celestial one (Deva), whose countenance was exceedingly sublime and whose refulgent splendour illuminated the whole of the grove, approached the Bhagavat (Buddha) and worshipped him, standing aside. He then addressed the Bhagavat in verse—What is the sharpest sword? What the deadliest poison? What the fiercest fire? What the grossest darkness?

Bhagavat replied in verse—A harsh word is the sharpest sword; covetousness, the deadliest poison; anger, the fiercest fire: ignorance, the grossest darkness.

The Deva asked: Who does gain the greatest benefit? Who does lose the most? What is the most invulnerable armour? What the best weapon?

Bhagavat replied: He is the greatest gainer who gives to others, and he loses the most who receives from others. Patience is the most invulnerable armour; wisdom the best weapon.

Deva: Who is a thief? What is the most precious treasure for the wise? Who is a robber (not only on the earth, but also in the heaven)?

Bhagavat: Evil thought is a stealer; virtue, the most precious treasure for the wise, Immorality is a robber, not only on the earth but also in the heaven.

Deva: Who enjoys the greatest happiness? Who is the richest? Who is the noblest? Who the most ignoble?

Bhagavat: He whose desires are moderate is most happy; he is richest who is contented; the virtuous is noblest; the vicious is basest.

Deva: What is that which is attractive? What is that which is disgusting? What is the most horrible pain? What is the greatest enjoyment?

Bhagavat: Good is attractive, evil, disgusting. Of all the pains, the hell is the most tormenting; the deliverance from rebirth is the height of bliss.

Courtesy—The Theosophical Movement.

The Sacrifice of the Animal in Man

Esme Wynne—Tyson—(Sussex, England)

DURING my recent researches for a book on MITHRAS, to be published by Rider in July, my attention was constantly being brought to the persistent custom of animal sacrifice in the primitive religions. It was astonishing to see how long this hideous practice survived, for instance, in Judaism, being still in force in the days of Jesus, despite the denunciation of it by Isaiah (Isaiah 1: 14-16); and there is nothing to suggest that the Master's indignant purging of the Temple—so like Gandhiji's reaction to the sacrifice of lambs to Kali, described on page 196 of his Autobiography—put an end to this hideous traffic.

Over 300 years later the Mithraic Roman Emperor, Julianus, a most cultured religious eclectic who was planning to found a universal religion of solar monotheism, was rejoicing in a letter to his *Guru*, maximus at being able to sacrifice hecatombs of cattle to his God. Although the priests of the various creeds all rationalized this habit according to their beliefs, the Etruscans and Romans, for instance using the entrails and livers of the slaughtered beasts for augury, it almost seems to those of us who believe with Gandhiji that "in our present state we are...only partly human; the lower part of us (being) still animal", and that the whole purpose of life is to put off our animalism and evolve to a higher species, that this idea must have existed in a dim and confused state in the primitive consciousness of mankind, like something once, known but almost forgotten, yet leaving an urgent sense that the 'gods' demanded the sacrifice of the animal. To the crude, materialistic mentality this was naturally interpreted as meaning the external animal, the helpless, dumb beast.

Yet all the great world—Teachers, from Buddha to Gandhiji made it clear that it was the animal *within* that must be slain. Referring to Buddha (page 77. TRUTH IS GOD) Gandhiji wrote: "his whole soul rose in mighty indignation against the belief that a being called God required for his satisfaction the living blood of animals in order that he might be pleased." In place of this belief Gotama taught the need for eliminating the animalistic lust and violence, the brute instincts *within* man, and for expressing instead the harmlessness, gentleness and wisdom that are the marks of the

evolved man. Both Jesus and Gandhiji taught this same creed of compassion. In his autobiography, page 167, Bapu wrote: "I should be unwilling to take the life of a lamb for the sake of the human body. I hold that the more helpless a creature, the more entitled it is to protection by man from the cruelty of man". This is the noble utterance of a truly evolved man; but he saw, to his sorrow, that although in the West there is no longer any animal sacrifice in religion, the instinct calling for the slaughtering of animals has been transferred to the new religion of Science which at present believes that the massacring and tormenting of millions of animals per annum is necessary for maintaining health of body in the human race, just as surely as the primitives believed that it was necessary for the human soul.

In TRUTH IS GOD page 15, Gandhiji writes: "I know how in the name of truth and science inhuman cruelties are perpetrated on animals when men perform vivisection", and on page 115, he explains why he has called Western medicine, despite its achievements, 'Black Magic'. "I have used the harsh term, and I do not withdraw it, because.....it has countenanced vivisection and all the awfulness it means, and because it will stop at no practice, however bad it may be, if it prolongs the life of the body, and because it ignores the immortal soul which resides in the body!" Gandhiji's attitude was purely logical for he believed that disease all too often came from sinfulness and bad habits of living that can only be exercised by slaying the animal *within*, and that "Salvation is nothing more and nothing less than being well in every way." (page 116.)

Now that the scientific fact of evolution has rationalized man's age-old instinct to sacrifice the animal, and even suggests that the idea of the fall of man taught by so many religions might literally have been a fall from a higher state of knowledge, the knowledge that the spiritual evolution of mankind is the only worthy purpose of life since without better men the world will never be any better than it is to-day, it is surely time that humanity renounced the superstitious belief that salvation, either for soul or body, can come from the sacrifice of harmless animals. Now that evolution is accepted both as a biological and metaphysical fact we can no longer blame our ignorance as an excuse for the continuation of this barbarous habit either in religion or medicine.

Spiritual Communism in New Age

Swami Avyaktananda

Batheaston Villa, Bath, England.

This is from an interesting brochure of 56 pages of critical study and analysis of the spiritual nature of Communism that India was enjoying on the basis of pure Vedanta. Among the eight points mentioned in the concluding portion the fourth stresses on the need of socialising the land throughout the word in the tone of Gramdan movement. The italics are our own. Copies of the booklet can be had from the author.

A NON-VIOLENT revolution is based on the faith in human nature—the faith that response comes when the noble side of people is touched. On the strength of this faith we feel that the appeal of Spiritual Communism can reach all sections of the people of the world. For the establishment of a new world community, it is most desirable that all power is transferred to the common people everywhere through consent and in a peaceful manner. Spiritual Communism, therefore, appeals to :

- (1) all monarchs to abdicate voluntarily in favour of the people;
- (2) the aristocracy in every country to relinquish its false status and privilege which create fear, hatred and division in society;
- (3) the industrialists, financiers and the big traders to give up private profit, monopoly and the manipulation of money so that industry, finance and trade can be organised for collective welfare, and so that competition for raw materials and markets, which leads to international warfare, can be eliminated by a world-wide economic commonwealth;
- (4) the landowners in different countries to give up their unjust hold over land, so that the horrible exploitation of peasants may cease and land may be socialised throughout the world;
- (5) the army, the navy, the air force and the police in every country to realise that an atomic war may mean extinction of the human race, and that complete disarmament and non-coercion are the only means to save mankind from destruction in the nuclear age;

(6) the technocracy, the bureaucracy, the military class and the professional groups in every country to desist from looking upon manual labour as mean work for inferior people, to realise such an outlook to be the basis of all exploitation, and to accept a uniform salary system for all forms of intellectual, skilled and unskilled labour ;

(7) the workers and peasants in every country to realise, with the help of a progressive and spiritually-minded intelligentsia, the need for a moral scheme of life, and to adopt a method of non-violence, democratic persuasion, strikes (without animosity), non-participation and civil resistance in order to bring about a new order of society;

(8) all churches, religious organisations and leaders of the great faiths to clarify the implications of the gospel of brotherhood that they profess, to refrain from making false compromise with a corrupt order of society, and to take the initiative in establishing a Communist society on a spiritual foundation.

The Ten Sarvodaya Sammelans

Immediately after the demise of Mahatma Gandhi the Sarvodaya Samaj of universal fellowship of those who believe in truth and non-violence, the two basic tenets of Sarvodaya, was formed as the fittest memorial for Mahatma Gandhi in March 1948. Those devoted to the Sarvodaya ideal have been gathering every year in a conference for self-introspection and for mutual exchange of experiences without passing any formal resolution at the places mentioned below:

SAMMELAN	YEAR	PLACE	STATE
First	1949 March	Rao	Rajasthan
Second	1950 „	Angul	Orissa
Third	1951 „	Sivarampalli	Hyderabad
Fourth	1952 „	Kashi	U.P.
Fifth	1953 „	Chandil	Bihar
Sixth	1954 „	Buddha-Gaya	Bihar
Seventh	1955 April	Puri	Orissa
Eighth	1956 May	Conjeevaram	Madras
Ninth	1957 „	Kaladi	Kerala
Tenth	1958 „	Pandharpur	Maharashtra

Talks on the Gita by Vinoba

LATEST ENGLISH PUBLICATION

A CHARYA Vinobaji's eighteen Marathi discourses on the Bhagvad Gita in Dhulia jail in 1932 have been published in several Indian languages. About a million copies of cheap rupee editions have been published and sold till now. Thousands in the places visited by Vinobaji during his Bhoodan yatra bought the copies and got his autograph in the language of the book with devotion. In recent times probably no book has become so popular as this.

There has been incessant demand for the English translation of this popular book. Vinobaji's consent for publishing the English translation could not be easily obtained. It took years of labour of love and devotion of some eminent scholars to bring out a satisfactory English translation. The translation appeared first in weekly instalments in Sunday Standard (Madras, Bombay and Delhi, from Dec. '56 to Sept. '57). The Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi in whose name the English translation is just now published after thorough revision on the eve of the Tenth Sarvodaya Sammelan at Pandharpur is greatly indebted to these friends who could bring out the book with marvellous speed within a period of a fortnight.

The English translation contains 288 pages of crown size and is priced at a very low level of Rs 2. The printing is flawless and pleasing. This cannot claim to be a literal translation of the original Marathi or the Hindi. But it is a free rendering of the sense and spirit of the ideas that flowed from the lips of the author in his inspiring talks. The language as it comes from eminent scholars in English deeply immersed in the Vedic philosophy who have done the translation is sweet, elegant and majestic with a melodious flow that would straight reach the heart of the reader. Probably, if Vinobaji had delivered the original talks in English he could have chosen almost the same words and style.

The book is now available at the Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi, and at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

VINOBA AND HIS MISSION BY SURESH RAM

Revised enlarged edition of 360 pages brought up to Vinoba's
Karnatak Yatra with photographs, maps and appendix etc.

Price Rs. 5 Foreign 15 Shillings

Published by The . B. Sarva Seva Sangh, Kashi.

Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

Gopabandhu Chowdhury The Bapa of Orissa.

Suresh Ram

THIRTY-seven years ago, looking at a report prepared by a young Deputy Magistrate, his boss (an Englishman) flared up in rage :

"What is it that you have given me?"

"I have carried out your orders, Sir: I have written what I saw in that area.

"Doesn't matter. But don't you know what the Government policy is?"

"The Truth is here before you. You may now take any steps you like."

"Hang the truth: I have not become the first officer of the district in order to declare it as famine area. And your report must be in keeping with Government policy."

"May I respectfully submit that I cannot go against my conscience?"

"I am, then, afraid you cannot carry out your job."

"I don't want such a job. Here is my resignation."

And he offered it then and there.

* * * *

A terrible flood ravaged the Cuttack district in 1932. Accompanied by his devoted consort, Rama Devi, he went into the farthest interior to provide some succour to the helpless who had lost their home, hearth, cattle and all. He gave them shelter at a village called Bari and taught them the craft of spinning. He won an enviable place in their heart and moved by their agony, abandoned the dust of politics and took to silent service of these famished masses and set up his headquarters at Bari itself.

* * * *

26th January 1955. Vinoba set his foot on the soil of Orissa. He offered Vinoba a gift of a lakh and twenty-two thousand acres of land and ninety-three complete Villages whose residents had cast off their land ownership. It was virtually a miracle—Gramdan of 93 villages: And by the time Vinoba left Orissa, on 30th September 1955, the number shot up to 812. Thus Gramdan was made a living reality.

* * *

The three incidents above give us an insight with that charming character and rare personality—Gopabandhu Chowdhury, lovingly known as BAPA—whose passing away on 29th April last has plunged the whole of Orissa in sorrow and gloom.

Born with a silver spoon in his mouth in 1895, Gopabandhu was the elder son of Sri Gokulananda Chowdhury, a leading and prosperous lawyer of Cuttack; the younger being Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, the well-known Chief Minister of Orissa, who has given up his career for the service of the lowliest and the lost. After his elementary education in Cuttack, Gopabandhu joined the Calcutta University, took up his M. A. degree (Mathematics). Immediately he got an appointment as Deputy Magistrate which, as we have seen, he did not take long to resign and joined the non-cooperation movement.

Soon he came to occupy prominent position in the congress and became the right-hand of the Orissa Congress Chief, Sri Gopabandhu Das. The two Chaudhurys—Gopabandhu and Nabakrushna—became the leading lights of the Orissa Congress, nay, of all popular causes in that poverty-ridden province.

After the 1930-31 movement, Gandhiji gave the nation-wide call: 'Back to the Villages'. Gopababu gave up congress political work and, as observed earlier, buried himself in constructive work with his centre at Bari. On his visit to Bari in Feb. 1955 Vinoba called it a "power-house of non-violent revolution".

In 1937, Gopababu was asked by the Congress High Command to take up a ministerial appointment. But he refused and concentrated on constructive work in order to develop *Jan-shakti*—power of the people. Gopababu and Ramadevi identified themselves with the underdog and led a relentless life of service and sacrifice. Orissa gave them the loving name of *Bapa* and *Ma*.

With the commencement of the Bhoodan-Yajna mission, he seemed to have recovered his buoyant youth. He lost no time in recognising Bhoodan as the spear-head of non-violent revolution and resolved to carry its message from door to door in Orissa.

The greatness of Bapa is best revealed by the fact that he infused his entire family with his spirit of selfless service. Generally public workers have their near and dear ones in lucrative posts. Their idealism has little to do with their families. But Bapa's is a unique case. The whole family—consisting of his son and daughter-in-law, his daughter and son-in-law, his brother and sister-in-law, brother's daughter and her husband is in constructive work. A glimpse of his inner urges can be had by the wonderful translations that he has rendered of the Sanskrit texts of *Isha-Vasya-Upanishad* and the *Gita* into parallel Oriya couplets.

Bapa has gone: but no, people like Bapa never go! And coming generations will remember him with gratitude as one of the pioneer-builders of the early part of free India.



Sri Gopabandhu Chowdhry is seated between
Babu Rajendra Prasad and Vinobaji.

J. C. Kumarappa

On Sarvodaya Marriage

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa blessed the couple of devoted Sarvodaya workers at a simple marriage function at Madras on the 8th April 1958. He gave an exposition of the Sarvodaya concept in marriage. The following is a brief Report.

THE marriage was a simple ceremony that the poorest can undertake without any waste or pompous exhibition of wealth. It could be performed in Mosques, Temples or Churches or even houses without distinction with the vow taken before God. The vows as enunciated by Sri J. C. Kumarappa were accepted by the couple orally and in a written form which ran as follows:

"Before God and in the presence of this august company of friends I, the daughter of Shri. V. P. Iyadurai and Shri. Esther Iyyadurai of Kumarappa Grama Eyyakam accept you, Shri. Krishnan, as my life-companion. Before you friends, we promise to Love and Cherish each other and share all our belongings. We regard the human family as one unit under God. There is no reservation of caste, colour or creed in this union, and if God blesses us with children we shall also bring them up to follow this ideal and we will work to spread this ideal of one family under God. May God help us in this under-taking".

It was pointed out by Shri J. C. Kumarappa that this is a sacrament rather than a legal rite intended for passing property in the usual accepted form in the present capitalistic society. If this legal function also is desired, a further ceremony will have to be gone through the Registrar of Marriages. He made a short speech explaining the shortcomings of the marriage ceremony rites as usually practised among Christians. The Common Prayer Book follows largely the philosophy of St. Paul and not of Jesus. It enjoins wives to obey their husbands and that marriage is looked upon as an escape of man from "burning" with lust, thus making 'Marriage' a euphemistic term for "licence" for prostitution, instead of it being a sacrament. Therefore, Shri. J. C. Kumarappa felt the need for a change in this philosophy. A man who looketh on a woman, lusting after her, even though if she be his wife, commits adultery in his heart.

Co-ordination of Gramdan and the Community Development

K. Arunachalam

IN pursuance of the decision in the Gramdan Conference held at Yelwal in Sep. 1957 that the closest co-operation was desirable between the Community Development Movement and the Gramdan Movement, the Officers of the Community Development Movement and the Workers of the Gramdan movement have met already twice to work out ways and means of such co-operation. In the first meeting the basic objectives and methods of work and procedure were decided upon. The second meeting studied in detail the needs of Gramdan Villages and the various ways in which the Community Development Ministry can help in the development part of the Gramdan movement. It was also decided in this meeting that two working groups should be constituted to study, (1) the pattern of Panchayats, Co-operatives and Village Development (2) the programme Training and collaboration between Gramdan and Community Development movements.

These two groups consisting of officers of the Community Development Ministry, representatives of the other Ministries, the Planning Commission and Workers of Gramdan movement met at New Delhi on the 6th, 7th and 8th of May 1958 in 'Krishi Bhavan.'

Both the working groups studied the problems that were referred to them in the light of the following changed objective of the Gramdan movement:

"The objective of the Community Development Programme is to promote the all-sided development of the village community including their economic, political, social, cultural and moral developments in particular,

(a) to develop a spirit of community life among the people by promoting co-operation and mutual sharing, leading ultimately to Voluntary Community ownership of the basic means of production such as land, and fulfilment by the village community of responsibility for the welfare, employment and livelihood of all its members.

(b) to make the village self-sufficient in the primary needs of life, such as food, clothing and shelter and to promote the development of each village along with the development of the local area of which it forms part, and.

(c) to develop self-reliance in the individual, and initiative in the community so that the people are able to manage and run their affairs themselves and make the villages self-governing units of the larger Indian democracy."

It should be noted that the three objectives state the ideas contained in Gramdan, *Grama Swalamban* and *Grama Swaraj*. The discussions centered round various problems with the above objectives.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS

H. S. L. Polak—Friend of Gandhi.

Gandhiji in Ceylon—The memory of a visit 30 years ago.
By Shri Durai Raja Singham, Kuantan, Malaya.

Size and distribution of Holding in Two villages of the Delhi State in 1953-54.

Survey of Milk production in the Jamia development circle.

Survey of Rural Employment in Two villages in the Delhi State in 1955-56.

Published by the Jamia Institute of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi.

Bapu—Conversations and Correspondence with F. Mary Barr.

Second Edition—Rs. 4.50.

Published by International Book House (Private) Ltd., Bombay-1.

Mahatma Gandhi's Life for the Young.

By K. T. Narasimhachari, Price Re. 1.25.

Published by M. Seshachalam & Co., Madras.

Spiritual Communism in New Age.

By Swami Apyaktananda — The Vedanta Movement, Batheston Villa, Batheaston, Bath, England.

The Kibbutz.

Forms of Settlement.

Published by the Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Zionist Organization, Jerusalem.

Corrigenda

We regret for some misprints in the article "An outline of Gandhiji's constructive Programme" by V. G. Desai in the April number of Sarvodaya. We are grateful to Sri V. G. Desai for the correction sent for publication.

On page 330 in the third line "Communal Unity" please read 'person' for 'home' and in the 6th line read 'feel' for 'put'.

On page 356, line 4, omit 2. The Law. In the para following in line 5, read 'power' for 'labourer', and in line 9, read 'bend' for 'bind'.

Before Removal of Untouchability read 2 for 3 and in the next line read 'common' for 'enough'.

Before Prohibition read 3 for 4 and in the next line read 'weaning' for 'winning'.

Before Khadi read 4 for 5 and in the next para, in line, 3 add 'that' between 'and' and 'too'.

In page 357 in line 2, read 'cotton' for 'a portion'. In rule 2, line 1, read 'would' for 'could'. In line 3 read 'board' for 'bound' and in line 4, read 'where' for 'when'.

In the last para, line 2, read 'processes' for 'process'.

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore

THE Sarvodaya (Prachuralaya) Publications had a small beginning as the publication department of the Tamilnad Branch of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh at Tirupur in 1948. As the work was growing it was transferred to the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh as its Southern Publication Section in 1952 June. The office was shifted to Tanjore in October 1954.

Besides this Monthly English Sarvodaya, a Tamil Monthly "Sarvodayam" has been published since 1948 with an average monthly circulation of 2,500 copies. Its annual subscription is Rs. 3.

The Sarvodaya Publications has published a large number of titles of Sarvodaya literature in Tamil. Besides a few books in English have been published. The following statement shows the volume of work done during the period of nine years ending with 30th April 1958. The sales for 1957-58 could only be roughly estimated as the final statement of sales and stock are still to be received from our numerous agencies.

BOOKS PUBLISHED AND SOLD TILL 30-4-1958

Description	No. of Titles	No. of Editions	Books Published		Books Sold	
			No. of copies	Value in Sales Price	Copies	Value
			No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.
General Literature	58	97	2,21,100	1,45,527	1,95,580	1,27,459
Gita Pravachan (Tamil)	1	7	1,00,000	1,05,225	80,850	84,500
Bhoodan Books ..	41	88	4,17,330	59,632	2,97,430	35,010
Bhoodan Books (Eng.)	16	28	78,900	24,203	59,600	17,063
TOTAL	116	220	8,17,330	3,34,587	6,33,460	2,64,032

The closing stock on 30-4-58 is estimated to be worth Rs. 70,000.

Besides the sale of our own publications more than Rs. 50,000 worth of Gandhian literature published by Navajivan Trust and others have been sold by the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya during this period.

SARVODAYA

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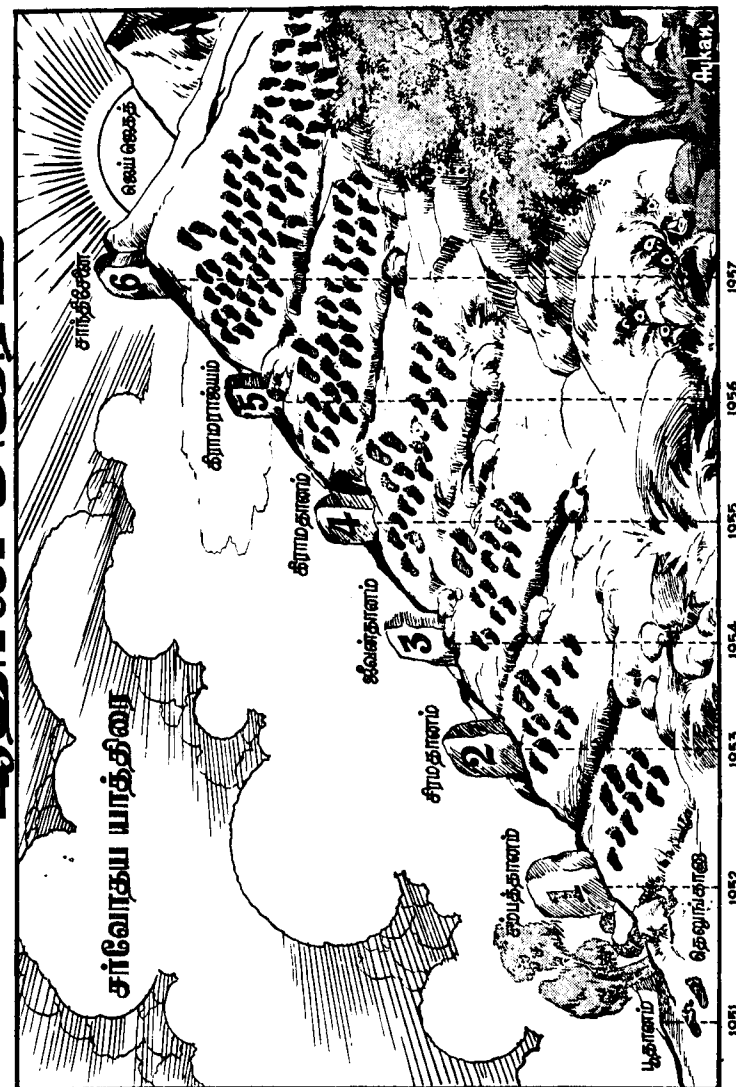
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Gandhian Sarvodaya Literature

Write to :—

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE,
MADRAS STATE (INDIA).

THE EVEREST OF BHOODAN
புகதான சிகரம்



Rhodian had its origin in 1951. But at the various stages of progress there were revelations of new phases of Sarvodaya in the form of Sampati-dan in 1952, Shramdan in 1953, Jeevandan in 1954. In 1955 there was the picture of Gramdan which opened up a new phase of Sarvodaya. It led us to Shanti-sena in 1957. Shanti-sena has logically led to the dawn of world peace.