

173

SARVODAYA

VOL-VIII	JULY	NO: 1
VIII	AUG	2
VIII	SEP	3
VIII	OCT	4
VIII	NOV	5

JL

12 M211, NS2 SV

NS18.15

144922

242

SARVODAYA

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
VOLUME VIII
1 JULY 1958
PANDHARPUR SARVODAYA SAMMELAN



SHRI DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR,
PRESIDENT OF SARVA SEVA SANGH WITH VINODAJ

SARVODAYA
PRACHURALAYA,
TANJORE. (S.I.)

Annual Sub.
India Rs. 4.50
12 Sh. or \$ 2.00

Sing
Co P
0.37 i



Vol. VIII	SARVODAYA—JULY 1958 EIGHTY-FIFTH ISSUE	No. 1
CONTENTS		
—:—		
Dedication	...	1
Gandhiji on Trusteeship— <i>Pyarelal</i>	...	2
Women and Shanti-Sena— <i>Vinoba</i>	...	3
Love Thy Enemy— <i>Vinoba</i>	...	5
The Message of Pandharpur— <i>Vinoba</i>	...	9
Greeting and Homage to Vinoba — <i>Jawaharlal Nehru</i>	...	13
Method of Propagation of Ideas— <i>Vinoba</i>	...	14
Sarvodaya—New Values in Life — <i>Dr. Rajendra Prasad</i>	...	17
Let the Villagers Plan— <i>Vinoba</i>	...	19
Sarvodaya Approach to Industry, Trade and Labour.	...	21
Non-violence in Sicily— <i>Gene Sharp</i>	...	27
Science and the Humanities— <i>New York Times</i>	...	29
Whole Living and World Peace— <i>Wilfred Wellock</i>	...	30
Bhoodan Magazines and Literature — <i>Radhakrishna Bajaj</i>	...	32
From Desk to Plough— <i>Govind Rao</i>	...	33
Prof. Bansali's 66 Days Fast	...	34
Sarvodaya Literature in Andhra — <i>Dr. Vempati Suryanarayan</i>	...	35
Jayaprakash in Europe— <i>Siddharaj Dhadha</i>	...	38
Laxminarayan Babu of Bihar— <i>Sureshram</i>	...	40
From our Overseas Friends	...	42
Gramdan Work in Kerala— <i>K. Kelappan</i>	...	43
Gramdan Work in Tamilnad	...	44
Sarva Seva Sangh's Appeal	...	45
Pandharpur Sammelan	...	47

★ Dedication ★

THE Sarvodaya enters its eighth year with this number of July 1958. We are highly grateful to all friends in India and other countries who have been sympathetically helping in its growth.

We take this occasion to rededicate ourselves to the Sarvodaya ideology based on truth and non-violence for upholding the dignity and freedom of man and for vindicating the sanctity of life and pray that God may give us enough strength to pursue this spiritual pilgrimage with faith.

The Sarvodaya ideology has attracted a larger number of friends all over the world. The scope of the magazine has been ever widening. But limitation of space did not permit us to do full justice to many subjects and authors. Friends have been advising us to increase the subscription and the pages.

We see now compelling reasons to increase the pages and to set apart more pages for overseas friends from whom we are getting articles and news on many phases of Sarvodaya ideology in thought and its actual application.

We have now ventured to take the liberty to increase the subscription per year to Rs. 4-8-0 from July 1958. This is almost on the same basis of the present subscription without providing for the increased price of paper, printing and the actual cost of services of the editorial and managing staff. Though this involves financial loss, the subscription is kept down with a view to avoid additional burden on the readers. We hope that the readers will appreciate this change and continue to extend the same sympathetic help as till now.

The balance of subscription on 1-7-'58 in the account of each subscriber will be adjusted on the basis of enhanced rate and intimation will be duly sent in time for favour of renewal. Revised subscription from July 1958 is as follows:

Annual Subscription : Rs. 4-50 nP.

Foreign : 12 Shillings or 2 Dollars

Single copy : 6 Annas or 37 nP.

Gandhiji on Trusteeship

Pyarelal

Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of trusteeship and its bearing on ~~Bhoodan~~ loomed large in the discussions at Pandarpur Sammelan. Pyarelalji spoke on the subject. The following small extract from his book "Mahatma—The Last Phase, Vol. II" will be of special interest. This is from the author's discussion with Gandhiji in detention at Poona in 1942.

GANDHIJI confirmed that under non-violence people have to be prepared for heavier sacrifices if only because the goal aimed at is higher. "There is no short-cut to salvation", he said.

"That would mean," interpolated my sister, "that only a Jesus, a Mohammad or a Buddha can be the head of a non-violent State."

Gandhiji demurred. "That is not correct. Prophets and supermen are born only once in an age. But if even a single individual realises the ideal of Ahimsa in its fullness, he covers and redeems the whole society. Once Jesus had blazed the trail, his twelve disciples could carry on his mission without his presence. It needed the perseverance and genius of so many generations of scientists to discover the laws of electricity but today everybody even children, use electric power in their daily life. Similarly, it will not always need a perfect being to administer an ideal State, once it has come into being. What is needed is a thorough social awakening to begin with. The rest will follow. To take an instance nearer home, I have presented to the working class the truth that true capital is not silver or gold but the labour of their hands and feet and their intelligence. Once labour develops that awareness, it would not need my presence to enable it to make use of the power that it will release."

He ended up by saying that if only we could make people conscious of their power—the power of non-violent non-co-operation—the realisation of the ideal of trusteeship would follow as surely as morning follows night.

★

Women and Shanti-Sena

Vinoba

(From a talk at Pandharpur Sammelan on 31-5-'58)

I AM asked by Asha Behn to speak on the role of women in the Gramdan movement. I have already spoken in my talk in the morning to the Kasturba Trust's women workers. Though they are small in number their achievement deserves high praise. They have done commendable work in Orissa, Kerala, Tamilnad, Gujarat and in almost all the other States of India.

Women have played their great part in Gramdan movement. Young girls have worked wonders in the jungles of Koraput in connection with the Gramdan. They have tried to revolutionise the social life in that area. The record of their work deserves praise. They are inspired workers like Meera. They have lit the fire of revolution in the country. But they were ignored and suppressed by men. If I am to say so, I will advise them to rise in revolt against the world dominated by menfolk. Unless they do so nothing could be achieved.

Men have mismanaged the affairs of the world and they are responsible for two world wars within a period of 25 years. Even now men are trying to arm women with weapons in the name of equality with men. What is actually needed is the awakening of the spirit of motherhood in women. Instead, they are trained to become cadets in the army. In fact there is no relationship between fearlessness and the gun. If guns can create fearlessness they could have taken U.S.A. and Russia as their model. But in reality, they are against each other and both are spending much money on the armaments. This is all the result of mismanagement by men. If humanity is to be saved and led on the path of progress, womenfolk must come forward and try to put some check on men. Young girls taking part in the movement are setting examples of bravery through non-violence.

If women come forward to take the command of *Shanti-Sena* the very face of the world would change. Men are incapable and they have no foresight. The age of science has benumbed their

mind. It is necessary, therefore, to awaken the spirit of motherhood and compassion in women. To think that violence is for the defence of society is a myth. At present Indian mind is so helpless that our planning even is done by Pakistan. If men's mind is not free, how can they plan for themselves?

The women have to shoulder the responsibility of saving the world. It had been our tradition to give honourable places to women in managing the affairs of society. Even the word 'Mahila' was used by the ancients. It connoted something very big. But as time passed womenfolk were called "abalas", i.e., those that are weak. As long as women were bound with the shackles and could not be given a proper place in society the world could not progress. The women should realise their real strength and come forward to save humanity.

Women have played a glorious role in the Bhoodan movement. Gandhiji was the first to realise the great power potential and I made some effort in drawing them out for some social work. People talk of giving protection to women in society. What is however needed is that they should be made capable of self-defence. The truth is that women are most competent to use the weapon of non-violence. When Gandhiji decided to send women volunteers for picketing the liquor shops people were astounded. But when the women were successful in the picketing work people praised Gandhiji for his decision. But it is actually the non-violence that worked wonders. It has been the tradition since the time of Mahavir and Buddha to defend the society through non-violence and as the women are most competent to handle this weapon they have to take up the work of *Shanti-Sena*. The women workers have decided to spread *Sarvodaya Patris* in every home of this country. I am glad that the ladies of Orissa have decided to do this work as a kind of memorial for late Gopa Babu.

(Condensed from 'A.I.C.C. Economic Review')



Love Thy Enemy

Acharya Vinoba

Vinobaji in his speech on the first day of Sammelan on 30-5-1958 prayed that it be a SNEHA SAMMELAN or a Conference of Love and he appealed to apply the positive aspect of love by loving the enemy in the words of Christ.

I WISH to call this Sammelan as *Sneha Sammelan*. If it could actually become a *Sneha Sammelan*—a conference of love and fellowship, our objective would be achieved and I would dance in joy. Our needs are many, but our basic need is love. Love does not indicate any sense of indulgence. There are two kinds of love, positive and negative. According to the positive love, one is actuated to express love only when the other person also loves. This is actually a kind of reaction and reciprocation. It is not of an extraordinary kind showing the strength of heart, for love naturally begets love. It is found in common even among animals. Even the cows and dogs reciprocate love. But there is another kind of love that is superior to this because we are actuated to love a person even when he is our enemy. This kind of love is true *sneha*. It passes through all suffering and leads to peace. Love signifies a vitality when it is extended to one who is an enemy. It may be asked if this is practicable for an average man. I can say that it is perfectly possible. This is the demand of the present day world and is rather a historical necessity.

Thus love and amity should spread. This is the essence of the teachings of all prophets. It is in our tradition. It is in our bones and there is no reason why it cannot permeate our land. Why should we not love our enemies? In fact, our enemy our greatest friend. He scans our defects diligently and places them before the world. Even our own parents cannot do greater good to us than our enemy. We learn from him in a unique way to look at ourselves and search our own heart. He is like God. If God incarnates in the form of our benefactor coming with love we would consider him as our own mother, brother or friend. He does come also in the form of an enemy. It is said that when somebody becomes an enemy, he does so because he is inspired by God to be so.

I consider my enemies as my greatest benefactors. Those who speak ill of me by exposing my weaknesses do me the greatest good. I have made it a point not to speak against anybody who defames me. During these seven years people have praised me enough, but of late, much has been said against me also. It has however created no illwill in my heart; rather it has given me joy. The Yelwal Conference has recognised our success. Great leaders of our country attended the conference. I have great love for them. When they praised our movement I was reminded of the words of Lord Christ "Woe unto thee when all talk well of you." Therefore I felt happy when there were some who criticised and spoke against me. It is true that all the criticism against our movement is not sound. Part of it is baseless. Part of it is sound with basis. The critic's work is like the scientist's work. The scientist looks at the germs in our stomach and magnifies them with a microscope. He does us a service for our good.

This kind of love is characteristic of our nation. It is in our country that Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa worked for that synthesis of religions. It was here that Shri. Aurobindo gave expression to the concept of supermind. It was here again that Gandhiji who sacrificed himself for liberating the entire humanity was born. If we do not recognise this vitality of our country what is there about which we can feel proud?

At present we are spending Rs. 300 crores per year on defence which is proving to be a great burden on our poor country. America and Russia are also spending huge amounts on armaments but they can afford to spend. The amounts that they spend are astounding. Where do we stand in comparison with them? We cannot hope to stand against them with the amount of Rs. 300 crores we spend now on defence. In fact we are compelled to spend this much on account of fear of Pakistan. Pakistan also is afraid of us and is spending Rs. 100 crores on defence. Thus both of us are racing in military expenditure.

Our country possesses a great power which has to be harnessed. Those who practised non-violence were known as Mahavirs in this country. Mahavirs are not only fearless but make others also fearless. After all, think of the country that has given birth to Mahatma Gandhi. Butter comes out of milk. The percentage of butter in it

determines the quality of the milk. It is the nation that extolls non-violence which gave birth to Gandhiji. If in this Sarvodaya Sammelan we do not realise this great power where else are we to seek it? And where shall we find it if not in the land that gave birth to Gandhiji?

America has twelve times more land than India. If we get 12 times more land we may perhaps become equal to America from the material point of view. Similarly we should understand that we can never hope to reach parity with the great powers on the level of violence. It is a great blessing of God that we have no other alternative. The choice before us is that either we should follow whole non-violence and increase our moral strength or else we should follow violence and total destruction. There is no escape from this.

We have placed before ourselves the ideal of a classless society. We must try to increase the power of service of the people which is *Lok shakti*. We must apply ourselves to think of a programme and plan through which we can awaken this dormant power of the people. We must take up dynamic programmes. It does not depend upon one man's decision. All of us have to think and decide. It has taken ten thousand years to evolve the weapons of destruction and violence to the present level. Just imagine how much money and labour was spent upon it. Similarly we have to carry on ceaseless experiments on non-violence.

The power of weapons has reached a point when they would become almost useless. It is time that we have to use all our time and resources for perfecting the weapon of non-violence. The quality that is most needed for this is the virtue of humility. That is why Lord Krishna has said that the first characteristic of knowledge is *Vinayam*, that is humility. The person who is not humble is never a clean-hearted man nor is he a man of vision and understanding. Therefore we must seek knowledge through humility. Our main task should be to evolve the power of Satyagraha which was taught by Gandhiji to us. The very mention of the word, Satyagraha should be enough to fill us with joy. But what is the condition now? When we hear of it it creates a kind of fear in our hearts. It has lost its value. We must now perfect it. I appeal to Dhebarbai to extend his helping hand in this mission. We have certain ideas while

others will have their own. There are literatures also sitting here. I would appeal to them all to help us. We have to become very humble in fulfilling this great task that has devolved on India through the grace of the Almighty.

I have been thinking much about *Shanti-Sena*. I was wondering why the last wish of Gandhiji, i. e., the establishment of *Shanti-Sena* had not been completed, for it was never formed. But after deep pondering a day came when my riddle was solved. The idea that had not come to my mind for a period of ten years flashed in my mind. This year on Gandhiji's commemoration day I said that *Shanti-Sena* has become a practical reality. Its first commander was already selected and the first soldier was also recruited. Gandhiji has completed his work and has gone; we have but now to follow him. Gandhiji was the first Commander of the *Shanti-Sena*; and he was also the first soldier. As a Commander of this army, he had left certain orders and as a soldier, he followed them by laying down his life. Therefore one should not be under the impression that *Shanti-Sena* could not be formed. He worked for it faithfully and he showed us the path.

I submit that I am a seeker of Truth. I am after it. I appeal to you all to extend your helping hand in strengthening this *Shanti-Sena* because it is only through your help that I can dream of any success in this task.



Vinobaji talking to visitors in Pandharpur Camp

The Message of Pandharpur

Acharya Vinoba

This is the gist of the evening prayer speech on 30-5-58

I confess that this year's Sarvodaya Sammelan is being held in Pandharpur because of my preference for this holy city. This is a centre of spiritual aspiration. The tradition of mystic saints in Maharashtra has grown around the shrine that stands in this city. The rapid development of science has created conditions in the world which give relevance and urgency to the teachings of the saints. Men all over the world are hungry for the word which will give a meaning and significance to life. Science can be a boon to humanity, if it is wedded to spiritual wisdom. The teachings of saints had a meaning for the spiritual aspirant in old days. Science has given new relevance to their teachings of religion which have become necessary for material existence. Centres like Pandharpur and the power that emanates from them are forces that can be of great help to the modern man in the crisis he is passing through. It would be wrong to look upon Pandharpur as a holy place only of the Hindus. Spiritual wisdom is for all. It has no exclusive boundaries. All mankind has a claim on places like these.

I am visiting this place for the first time though I am 63 now. But it was ever in my mind. I have a profound devotion and regard for the religious tradition which has been inspired by the deity that is worshipped here. It is a home-coming for me. In one sense all places are equally sacred; for God pervades the whole world. I have been walking in the country and meeting people of all religions, because I want to see God in them. My Mecca, Jerusalem, and Kashi are among the people wherever they may be.

Sane Guruji's service

I am happy to stay in the same place which was occupied by my dear friend Shri Sane Guruji when he fasted here for getting the shrine opened to the Harijans. In the 1942 movement when I was lodged in the Dhulia jail, Sane Guruji wrote down my talks on the Gita given to my fellow-prisoners. The same have been edited

and published as '*Githa Pravachane*'. They have been translated now in all the Indian languages and have reached about a million homes. The credit for the book goes to Sane Guruji.

How I began the yatra

There is a story in the *Bhagwat*. Uddhav went to Shri Krishna. A servant told him to wait for sometime as the master was busy in prayer. When he met him Uddhav asked Krishna whom he was worshipping. Krishna smiled and said that he was worshipping Uddhav. So in our tradition the deity worships the worshipper. How can we prevent anyone from entering the temple of a God who is so humble? Sane Guruji toured throughout Maharashtra for six months to create public opinion in favour of opening the temple at Pandharpur to Harijans; and then he fasted for ten days and succeeded in getting the temples opened to them. Namdev had also done something similar. It is not possible for me to express in words the deep feeling and regard I had for Sane Guruji. He wrote to me and asked me to tour through Maharashtra in 1948 after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Some ugly incidents had taken place in the State and Sane Guruji was deeply concerned at the drift of things. He failed to make me move out of my place. But I told him that I would be on the move some day. Once I began walking, nothing would stop me. I got my urge to move out when Ramachandra Reddi offered the first hundred acres in Telangana. I saw the hand of God in that small incident, and started on the pilgrimage. Otherwise what sanction had I? I am not a leader: I have no organisation behind me. I have no following. Still I started my walking yatra on the strength of my faith that it was the will of God that I should move out.

In Vaidyanath Temple

When I was walking in Bihar, I happened to pass through Vaidyanath. A famous Hindu shrine stands there. The managers of the temple had allowed us to visit; but a party of Sanatani Hindus attacked us as we were entering the temple and gave severe beating to some of the members of our party. They did not spare even the ladies. I received a blow on the left ear which has since become completely deaf. None of us got angry. We

bore it with a smile and had no illwill. Gandhiji also had received a similar treatment when he tried to enter the temple about 30 years ago. Swami Dayanand had also received similar treatment before Gandhiji; and I had thus the consolation of being in great company.

A friend wrote to me if I believed in idol worship. I told him, "I have a childlike faith in visiting temples. Namdev has told us that the idol he worshipped talked with him. I have something of that feeling." In my discourse on the 12th canto of the Gita, I have said that the worship of the non-manifest was like Bharat's worship of Shri Ram when he had gone to the forest. When Ram returned from his wandering, the two brothers embraced each other. I have said in my discourse that this was an ideal situation for an artist to paint. The two brothers looked so identical. Mysteriously, years later when I was staying in Pavnar near Wardha, we came across an archaeological find. As I was digging in the field I came across a slab of stone on which was depicted the meeting of Bharat and Ram as I had imagined. It was identified as a find belonging to the *Vakatak* period, 1,400 years ago. How could I think that this slab is a mere piece of stone? We built a small temple for this carved image. I used to sing songs of the saints before this idol every evening. I do have faith in idol worship as I have in finding Him in every human being.

My Experience in Puri

When I was in Puri I wished to visit the shrine there. I happened to have a devout French lady in our party. The managers refused to allow non-Hindus to enter the temple. So we dropped the idea of visiting the temple. Guru Nanak was similarly denied permission to enter the temple 500 years ago. He composed a song when he was sitting outside the temple. It is sung by the Sikhs every evening. It says that the sky is like a plate; the sun and the moon are the lights in it; let us worship the world with these lights. We visited many shrines in Tamilnad. We were allowed to visit the shrine of Gokarna Mahabaleswar in Karnatak.

Reports had appeared in some papers that I was thinking of forcing my way into the temple. They were so misleading. Aggression of any kind is not in my temperament. It is alien to me. I would

never dream of forcing my way anywhere. If I believe in idols I believe equally in the God in man. Idols become a storehouse of the aspiration and devotion of millions of men.

The invitation from the Trustees of Pandharpur Temple

The managers of the three main shrines have been good enough to meet me and invite me to visit them. I told them that I trust them. But I requested them to give the invitation in writing. The trustees of the temples of Pundalik and of Rukmini met me and also invited me in writing. In my discourse on the second canto of the Gita I have said that Pundalik personified the *Sthitapragnya* (Man of Steadfast mind) of the Gita. I replied to them as follows :

"I am overwhelmed by your kindness. I shall ever remain grateful to you. I am a simple aspirant. You should not give me imposing titles which mean little. My one longing throughout life is to merge my individuality in Him. I shall now visit the shrine tomorrow at 4-30 a.m."

Why Ban Non-Hindus against temples

Friends, please understand why I am so keen on the Non-Hindus being allowed to visit the Hindu shrines. If you don't allow them you lower Hindu religion. I have been allowed to enter mosques and churches. I have been allowed to discourse in these shrines. I have addressed thousands of Muslims in the famous Muslim shrine at Ajmere. All the leaders of the Christian churches have invited me to attend the church. How can Hindu religion be ever exclusive and bigoted? Religion must be broad-based and all-comprehensive. It must reconcile the various view points. I believe in philosophic reconciliation. We started an ashram in Gaya where we are trying to bring a synthesis of the teachings of Vedanta and Buddhism. The Buddhists have testified that the Gramdan movement is a continuation of the work of spreading righteousness that Buddha had begun through *Dharmachakra-Pravartan*. Similarly some of the leaders of the four Christian sects in Kerala have supported Gramdan. They said that it is in tune with the teachings of Christ. Tukaram has said that he had four companions in life: Gnanadev, Namdev, Eknath and Kabir. Is it wrong, then, for me to wish that the gates of the temple should be opened to the Harijans, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, and men of all

(Continued in page 37)

Greeting and Homage to Vinoba

Jawaharlal Nehru

(Being a message sent for the Sarvodaya
Sammelan at Pandharpur)

IN the ferment that is going on all over India, the excitement of working for the Five-Year Plan, of improving our agriculture, of putting up big industries and of small activities for social welfare and reform, of political and economic controversies, of arguments about language or State boundaries, of disruptive tendencies and appeal for unity, of disappointments and disagreements, in short, in the troubled but dynamic scene that is India today, the frail figure of Vinobaji stands like a rock of strength, modest and gentle, yet with something of the strength of India's long past in him and something of the vision of the future in his eyes. It is not for us, smaller folk, to judge him whether we agree with him or disagree in some matter, for he is above these minor judgments. He represents as none else does, the spirit and tradition of Gandhiji and of India.

It is well for us and for India that Vinobaji is with us, ever pointing upwards, ever using the language of affection and of appeal to the hearts of men and women. His concept of Sarvodaya may seem a little odd to many of us, and yet basically it is a far better word and concept than the many that we use. In fact, I have refrained from using it because I think we were not good enough for it and I do not wish to exploit a noble word and idea.

Vinobaji is of all India and no State or province can deny him to the rest of the country. It is, however, the peculiar privilege of Maharashtra for having produced this saint among men. On the occasion of Sarvodaya gathering at Pandharpur in Maharashtra, I send my greeting and homage to him.

New Delhi,
15-5-'58.

S 4

Method of Propagation of Ideas

Acharya Vinoba

This is the gist of Vinobaji's concluding address on 1st June '58 at the Pandharpur Sarvodaya Sammelan. Vinobaji did not complete this speech and he abruptly stopped on account of some disturbance behind the dais.

INDIA is an ancient country. A number of experiments had been carried on in this country in the spiritual and social spheres. Our history is based on the background of those spiritual and social experiments. By the grace of God, our country had its relations with outside world since a very long time and there had been exchange of ideas. Sometimes there had been aggressive propagation of ideas. At other times, it went on with love and affection. It is significant that although India had been attacked from outside, India herself was never aggressive on any other nation. History is a witness to this great truth. It is not a matter of insignificance. In my opinion, it is important and typically characteristic of this country. This country has always shown reverence for the ideas of others. That was why all those who came from outside whether on travel or for trade, or for establishing their rule or for exchange of ideas, were always welcomed in this country. This has been the tradition of this country to welcome everything from outside and to assimilate it. My thought processes were working in this way during the last 7 years. I have bestowed much thought and I would like to acquaint you briefly about it.

During the course of this period, I was able to perceive how the process of this assimilation was going on in our country. When I analysed my ideas, and also when I analysed the ideology of other countries, I came to a certain conclusion. In this world, there had been a group of people who had pinned their faith only on their own ideas. In this connection, I would like to mention the name of Mahavir Swami. Whenever he met others, he did not like to force his views on them. He always reached the other person's level for explaining his ideology to him. He always respected others' ideas. There were similar other systems also by which exchange of ideas was carried on. We find mention of many of them in *Sanskrit* and *Pali*. They believed that no principle or idea

was one-sided. They thought that not only their ideas might be right but that the ideas lying outside their own could also be right. Therefore they always kept their minds open. They said, if anybody came in a receptive way, he should of course be taught their ideas. But they should not force their own on them. They followed a middle course of selflessness and detachment in communicating their views to others.

Forty years after him, Gautam Buddha followed another system. He had placed before the society a particular ideology but he required an objective medium to place his ideas before the society. He

explained to the people the defects in the 'sacrifice' or *yajna* system. He aimed to create faith in his ideology. But for that, he required some objective medium. That is why he had to place a programme before the people.



Vinobaji and Dr. Rajendraprasad at Pandharpur Sammelan

In course of time, the evolution of thought processes gave birth to sectarianism. A number of sects sprang up commanding millions of followers. History abounds in such examples which proved that by placing absolute ideas only, one could not win over others in his favour. In course of time, the system of forcing ideology on others and governing the people through it began. The object was to provide facilities for those who followed the ideology and to punish those who were opposed to it. Thus religion became wedded to power. The States or Governments which adopted religion as their duty became popular. The State created facilities for the believers and trouble for the non-believers of the faith.

Later the ideas which were supposed to be very holy were propagated for the welfare of the people, but if they were opposed and attacked, they were allowed to defend their faith by the use of sword. The prophet Mahammed enjoined his followers not to run away like cowards when attacked but to defend their faith with the use of sword. Thus violence was allowed not for the propagation of ideas, but for defendig them. Thus, if we trace the history of the evolution of ideologies, we would find various stages in it; firstly the propagation of pure ideas; secondly, creating facilities for the believers and difficulties for non-believers; thirdly, the use of violence and force for the defence of faith.

The desire for propagating one's ideas gave birth to injustice. I have been constantly going on analysing this process of propagation of new ideas. I have been trying to judge my own activities in the light of this process. It has presented a dilemma. I would like to declare that my faith lies only in the ideas and nothing else. Experience has taught me that between the germination of ideas and their development there is something in the intervening stage which has to be done. In my opinion, if an idea has to be put into practice, it must be clearly understood first.

Now, the question as to the necessity of forming *Shanti Sena* has arisen. I have no answer for this question. If I were to decide, I would never like to form *Shanti Sena*. If I am free to do so, I would propagate my ideology without any medium whatever. Deeds are more effective than words, as it is asserted by many and I also sometimes say so. In reality, the word is a better means than the deed and silence is more effective than the word. This is my faith and it is becoming stronger day by day.

(Adapted from 'A.I.C.C. Economic Review')

BHOODAN A WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT Annual Sub. Rs. 6. Write to : BHOODAN 374, HANVARPETH, POONA.	SARVODAYA ANNUAL BOUND VOLUMES-VI & VII are available at Rs. 5 per copy (Postage Extra) Write to : SARVODAYA TANJORE, (India)
---	--

Sarvodaya—New Values in Life

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

(This is a gist of the speech at the Pandharpur
Sarvodaya Sammelan on 1st June, 1958.)

IT has always been my effort to participate in the Sarvodaya Sammelan every year with an earnest desire to take inspiration from the Sammelan.

In the conditions obtaining in our country and in the world today, the Sarvodaya thought cannot be neglected. It is irresistible. The world has today become the hotbed of mutual distrust and competition, and love and sympathy are conspicuous by their absence. One feels that this is all the dire consequence of the frightening speed with which science is making headway. A possible effect of scientific development is that man wants to make his material life happier by securing more amenities. If the scientific achievements are put to wise use, they are capable, no doubt, of procuring material prosperity for the masses. Otherwise, they have dreadful potentialities also as carriers of death. Today, science has been made a handmaid for evolving more and more harmful weapons of destruction.

This danger has been realised by all thinkers in all countries. The world, that is to say, is at the cross-roads and is not able to make up its mind. It does not quite see its path clearly. Not that the path to peace and contentment has not been shown. Sages of yore have shown the path.

Our country has a certain tradition of its own. Here man has not attached undue importance to material prosperity without quite neglecting this aspect of life altogether. But because material aspect was relegated to the background, our people could have a measure of contentment in spite of the low standard of living. Indeed, often the man who did not have any amenities nor even the basic necessities of life had more mental peace than another who rolled in riches. An Indian is an introvert. This approach and spirit have sustained this nation through the ups and downs.

of history. The adversities this ancient nation had to face did not change its basic character and its values and attitude towards life.

This is not to say that poverty should be perpetuated and deified. We desire that all ought to get the basic necessities of life. But if they do not, it should not make their life unreasonably miserable and unbearable. I often wonder whether our accent on material prosperity has not diminished our capacity for self-denial and for withstanding adversity.

During our struggle for Independence, we spread dissatisfaction but it is not always advisable to make dissatisfaction the spring board for progress. We have to strike a mean in our approach. Dissatisfaction with the present state is also a cause for corruption and low moral standards in public life. In an effort to change one's position for the better, man allows ethical values to go by the board.

The revolution that Vinobaji has brought about is of great significance in as much as land had been the cause of great conflicts. In such a matter, he persuaded the people to surrender their rights willingly. This is no mean achievement. We have thus to follow the path which is in agreement with our national genius and keeping with our traditions. If we try to compete with other nations in the matter of material prosperity we would be hopelessly beaten. If however, we stick to our cherished values, we can offer to the world a new way of life and a solution for their ills. It is easy to swim with the current, but credit lies in swimming against the current and in establishing new values in a world which is fast moving towards self-destruction. ★

★ THE FIVE GIFTS ★

THE STORY OF BHOODAN AND VINOBA BHAVE
By R. P. MASANI

WITH A FOREWORD BY DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Cheap Edition—192 Pages Price Rupee one
(Postage Extra)

Write to:

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE.

Let the Villages Plan

Acharya Vinoba

THE individual has to make good decisions; so also society must commit itself to high ideals. If the entire society pursues an ideal with a unity of will and effort, the ideal can and must be realised.

At Yelwal, all parties and leaders came together and lent their support to the ideal of Gramraj. But had it been a decision of the entire people it would have been realised by now. When all of us were united on the achievement of Swaraj we realised that goal.

But what does Swaraj actually mean to us? Bharat is a free country now, so whatever is decided at Delhi reflects the wishes of all of us.

But what is Gramraj? It must mean truly that the decision of a village must be final and unshakable; it should not be possible for a powerful or moneyed person in the village, to go to the city and upset the decision of the village community. But this is exactly what is now happening. The will of the community is flouted by persons whose hands can reach from the district town upto Delhi.

This brings me to the question of planning. I said at Pandharpur that the plan for the village must be made by the people of the village. It should not be cooked at Delhi. I am surprised to find that the editor of a certain newspaper has found fault with my suggestion. He argues that the village folk are too ignorant, helpless and weak to plan for themselves and men in Delhi must plan for them.

I submit that Delhi should only provide help because the State levies taxes on the villagers. But the planning must be the creation of the village community.

The people of the village can unite and declare: Are we not free and capable enough to have quarrels amongst ourselves! Well, then, we are also capable enough to resolve them. We shall not depend upon you to do it. So shall we have our own arrangements for promoting our health, for improving our agriculture and so on.

Today, I will advise the villagers not to be satisfied with the ideal of some prosperity. Formerly, we said that we were not satisfied with good government and wanted self-government. So also, the villagers should not be satisfied with good planning alone but insist on self planning.I even declare that such self-planned villages are our best and strongest line of national defence.

In the unfortunate event of a third world war, the whole Five Year Plan will collapse like a house of cards and then our villages will be left helpless, defenceless, unless they have built up the defence-line of self-created plan. Self-planning in villages will create local leadership and remove the haunting fear now nursed in the feeble hearts of those who ask the question: "What after Nehru?"

If some were to interpret me to be saying that the villages should boycott all outside help and advice I state clearly that it is a wrong interpretation. How, could I advocate such a boycott of outside influences? Am I not myself reaching the villages from outside? Let there be outside help but the plan must be of the villagers' own making.



SACRIFICIAL SPINNING AT
PANDHARPUR SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

Sarvodaya Approach to Industry, Trade and Labour

In January some of the leaders of Bhoodan talked with Vinobaji to review the progress of the Movement and the future programme. It was the general consensus at their talks that during the last seven years the movement had brought about a remarkable revolution in ideas so far as the concept of ownership of land was concerned and had shown a clear and definite direction in which rural life could be reorganised with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Sarvodaya society. The physical achievement, in terms of acreage of land collected and the number of gramdams offered, was also by no means small. The results achieved had once again demonstrated the practicability of Gandhian ideas and methods.

It was felt the time had arrived to apply those ideas to the urban sector also, particularly to the field of Industry, trade and Labour. To explore this question, it was decided to call a small seminar of sympathetic persons drawn particularly from these fields. Two such seminars have so far been held—one at Rajghat, (Varanasi) and the other at Bombay. Shri Shankarrao Deo presided at both the seminars.

The following is a brief statement of the general conclusions arrived at in the course of the discussions issued by the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The Problem

IS there a Gandhian way, distinct from the current ways, of dealing with the problems created by the manner in which industry and trade were run at present. It was obvious that private enterprise in its present form was not working for the common good. Its benefits were so unevenly, even unjustly, distributed that it could not hope to enjoy the support and good-will of the people. A radical change in the character of industry and commerce was therefore listed high up on the agenda.

Two current ways to effect this change are those of Socialism and Communism. There is no essential difference in the character

of the change, that either of these *isms* seeks to bring about. Both seek to transfer to the State the power and authority of running trade and industry. No doubt, the one wants to do it democratically (i.e., through the instrumentality of a democratically elected parliament) and the other to do the same by force, if necessary.

Does, however, State ownership and management of trade and industry work fully for the common good? Are its benefits evenly and justly distributed? Such a system has been found to concentrate excessive powers in a few hands—whether in a democracy or autocracy. This concentration leads to denial or restriction of freedom, to violence, to exploitation and inequality, to inefficiency and mismanagement and to spiritual starvation.

Gandhian Approach

Is there another way? It was suggested that there is the way of Gandhiji and the seminar had been called to explore that way.

Gandhiji's way is to bring about an inner change in man—change in his ideas and values; change in his heart—and then to make that change the lever of social change. Gandhiji's way is the way of "conversion" as he called it.

Vinobaji has successfully used this method in the agrarian sphere. How could it be used in the sphere of commerce and industry? It was agreed at the Rajghat seminar that the first thing to do was obviously to change the ideas that are current in the industrial and commercial field and that are responsible for the evil that results together with the good. Today the idea that rules not only the field of industry and commerce but the entire economic field is the idea of the private gain and private ownership.

Gandhiji rejected this idea as an untruth and adumbrated his own concept of trusteeship—which was in line with the ancient "gospel of wealth".

The Concept of Trusteeship

This concept of trusteeship is based on the view that all forces of property and human accomplishments are gifts of nature and products of social living. As such they belong to society as a whole and should be used for the good of all.

Thus, the possessions of the man of property, the skill and knowledge of those who have acquired them, the labour power of the labourer are all in the nature of a trust that they hold on behalf of society and which they are in duty bound to expend, manage and regulate in the interests of the common weal.

In accordance with this view every member of society has further an equal right to the goods and services available and is entitled to receive them according to his needs. Obversely, every member of society is under a moral and social obligation to place his services, fully and freely at the disposal of society.

The Definition of A Trustee

A trustee, therefore, is a person who holds his possessions, material or other, as a trust for society and devotes them to and uses them for the benefit and good of the whole of society, taking care to help those most and first whose need might be the greatest.

Such a trustee will first of all endeavour to conduct himself in life truthfully, and, if he is living on a higher standard than the common man, will try to limit his wants as far as possible, endeavouring at the same time to raise the lowliest so that the disparities between the high and low are progressively narrowed down.

Propagation of the ideal of trusteeship

In accordance with the Gandhian method the first thing to do was to spread the ideal of trusteeship among the people—not only among the wealthy, but among the whole of society—so that there was a general change in the outlook and values in society. This could be done by individual talks, group discussions, speeches, writings, etc. As the idea spreads and the leaders of society accept and put it into practice, others—including the rich and poor—would follow suit.

It might help the propagation of this ideal if it were possible to create a few models in which industry or trade was run on trusteeship lines.

Trusteeship by stages

It was felt at the seminar that it might be difficult even for those who intellectually accepted the idea, to put it into practice at once. The experience of the Bhoodan Movement has been that it was the atmosphere created by partial gifts of land, i.e.,

partial surrender of ownership, that made full *grani-dan* possible. The same may happen in other spheres too. In fact, *sampatti-dan* was conceived of as a first step towards trusteeship. But unfortunately its true import has been missed, and it has been identified with the ordinary donation. The next step beyond *Sampatti-dan* might be that a person anxious to act as a trustee decides to treat a portion of his wealth or source of income as trust. It would follow that such an individual would be prepared to place before the public a full statement on the portion of his property or income that he decides to treat as trust.

Trusteeship & Code of Conduct

It needs no special emphasis to make clear that any person who accepts the ideal of trusteeship, even though he might be able to implement it only partially, must uphold the highest codes of morality in business and resist the temptation of seeking gain through dishonest means.

Trusteeship and The Sarvodaya Worker

A believer in Sarvodaya who actively propagates the ideal of trusteeship has a special responsibility to see that he sets an example by practising what he wants others to accept. He will, therefore, hold no property except as a trust for society and will make a declaration of all his property and sources of income.

Trusteeship and The Share-holder

Those share-holders who accept the idea of trusteeship will naturally regard themselves as trustees of what they hold and not as owners.

Management and Trusteeship

The managers (including in the term managing agents, directors and managers of all grades) should become trustees *par excellence*.

Today they are managers on behalf of share-holders; under trusteeship they would be doing the same on behalf of the society as a whole. As trustees they will work not for private gain but for public good. Honesty must rule their actions and they too must be prepared to reduce their standard of living as far as possible so as to identify themselves with the common people.

Labour As Trustee

According to the concept of trusteeship, the labourer, too must look upon his labour-power and his skills as a trust which he must use for the benefit of society at large.

A labourer who accepts the ideal of trusteeship will therefore

- (a) work honestly and diligently ;
- (b) treat the plant, tools, etc. with care ;
- (c) avoid waste ;
- (d) shun and prevent corrupt practices ;
- (e) cease to think in terms of sectional or class interests and keep always the good of the community as a whole ; and
- (f) regard his wages, not as return for his services but as his share in the total produce.

The trend at the Bombay seminar was along similar lines. It was generally agreed that whatever be the formal or theoretical position with regard to the ownership of industries, one had to take into account the interests not only of shareholders but of labour engaged in industry, of the consumers and of the community, both local and national in running these industries. The talent and experience of those who are running the industries would certainly continue to be necessary but they should learn to work as trustees for society. When once they begin to do so they will themselves appreciate the necessity of keeping their remuneration at a reasonable level bearing in mind the general conditions prevailing in society. Ostentatious living should and would naturally be avoided.

It was emphasised that the process towards trusteeship was to be voluntary. Many problems would arise in practical working but they could just be solved by actual experience as has happened in the case of *Gram-dan* and village-reconstruction. Here also it was agreed that if some industrialists came forward and took the initiative, a few models of industries run on the basis of trusteeship could be established which could provide the necessary practical experience.

In a recent talk Vinobaji has suggested that a beginning towards trusteeship could be made by at least the grain trade being lifted out of the present methods of business. We were faced with

a difficult food situation. Conditions of scarcity prevailed over large areas of the country. Under such conditions it could be a fine gesture if the grain merchants put a voluntary restraint upon themselves and assured the country that there would be no hoarding of food grains nor any attempt to take advantage of scarcity conditions. Those present at the meeting appreciated the suggestion and agreed that an approach might be made to the grain trade. Some also pointed out that it was not the grain dealers who did the hoarding but the farmers themselves. The following decisions were taken at the Bombay meeting:

1. Another meeting should be convened in Bombay to discuss the question and efforts made to see that as many as possible of those invitees who could not attend the present meeting are present.
2. Similar meetings and discussions should be arranged in other important industrial and business centres so that the idea may be popularised and the issues further clarified.
3. Some arrangements should be made for a detailed study of the important issues involved, such as the question of relationship between management and labour in a trusteeship industry.
4. A study should be made of the experiments, approaching the idea of trusteeship, made in different parts of the world.
5. A committee should be formed of all those attending the Bombay seminar, with Shri Gheewala as convenor, to continue the work in the city.



The artistic entrance of the Sarvodaya Exhibition at Pandharpur Sarvodaya Sammelan.

★ Non-Violence in Sicily ★

Gene Sharp

Here is an interesting speech of Danilo Dolci who was introduced to our readers as the Italian Vinoba in our Sarvodaya of April. Dolci says in a speech at London reported by Gene Sharp in Peace News, London about Dolci's varied experiments in non-violence at a time when he had not heard or read of Gandhiji's method of non-violent resistance.

DANILO Dolci, known for his work among the poor of Sicily and his Gandhi-like acts on their behalf, spoke at a reception in London on March, 3. The meeting was sponsored by the National Peace Council and held at the Friends International Centre.

After an introduction by Reginald Sorensen, M.P. Mr. Dolci spoke about his work and beliefs. He remained seated and looked down as he began recounting his work in Sicily. He spoke quietly and conversationally in Italian.

He told how six years ago he had gone to Trappeto as the poorest place he could think of. Rather than follow his profession of architecture and building houses for the rich, he preferred to do work which appealed to his conscience. He discovered in Trappeto an unknown world. He related how he began his work.

As he began talking less about his own work and more about the needs of the people he looked directly at his audience, and his voice became more animated. He spoke of the futility of repressive measures used by the Italian authorities to deal with banditry in the area. The repression, he said, produced more violence. It was first "essential" to investigate thoroughly the facts of the situation.

Then it was sometimes necessary to take a stand and fight hard to right the wrongs. But the methods of fighting must be pure. Dolci said he had not begun with a predetermined plan and had never at that time read Gandhi's writings. But the idea of non-violence had appealed to the people in the district. Gandhi's name had been known in Italy, but his message had been practically unknown. He had not known there was such a thing as non-violent resistance. He had discovered it by himself, and then only later read Gandhi, which had confirmed his own feelings.

As he had developed the idea of talking non-violent action his friends were very sceptical. It was all right for India, they said, but it would have no success in Sicily, where violence was so widespread and entrenched as the method of reacting. But when the method was used a favourable reaction was created by his fasts and the reverse strikes in which the people voluntarily did extra work that they were not required to do. As the method was so strangely different from their own ways of thinking, people began to doubt their own traditions, and to discover for themselves a better approach.

It was not an isolated act of goodwill, but an effort to dissolve the problem by going to its base. It was difficult to evaluate the results of his work. There was a greater interest in the problem of poverty in Sicily now, among the poor Sicilians' interest in unions, and an increased consciousness of their own strength. There was a kindergarten, a social centre and a popular university. But as an example of the changing situation two sons of rich Sicilian landlords resident in Switzerland, on hearing of the conditions began to collect funds. This was amazing in "a completely feudal world".

When he began, he said, he naively believed all would help, but soon he faced opposition in addition to inertia. The police, clergy, people in important positions, and political parties opposed him when he publicised the violence of the police. In depressed zones all powers are one, he said.

When non-violent methods were used the clergy did not interfere on either side, and were absent. Local leadership was arising in his centres in Sicily. The director of the social centre was now a local person, and the teachers had recently refused to accept their pay. But it was a very slow process.

As new people came into previously closed communities they had to show sincerity and sacrifice before the people would open up to them. There was, however, a moral awakening taking place, and a response to the call to study the problems. Regarding his trials, he said, he would still be in jail if he had not been helped by publicity in other parts of the world. He believed with Gandhi that there was strength in truthful reports—not propaganda—and these were of tremendous importance. The problem there now was not so much of money as the need for people to help.

* *

Science and the Humanities

Education has tried to divorce science from life which accounts for the discord in the various spheres of life. The following editorial note in The New York Times—April 27, 1958 presents the Sarvodaya concept of unity of life and pleads for the need of whole men by bridging the gulf between science and philosophy for the peace of humanity.

THE current debate over the proper balance between science and the humanities in higher education was going on last Friday in Denver at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Association of University Professors. Dr. Eugene Rabinowitz, an atomic scientist from the University of Illinois, came out with the attractive suggestion that "science should be taught not as a separate body of technical facts but in relation to other disciplines, including history, political science, sociology and religion."

To those who listened it may have seemed that the discussion was at last getting somewhere. Why should there be an arbitrary distinction between the working of the mind when it is applied to what we call science and its working when it is applied to history, sociology and art? It continues to be the same mind. The greatest scientists have not been mere thinking machines. Dr. Einstein wasn't—he even played the violin quite well. There is something of the poet in every creative scientist and something of the scientist in every creative poet. The good mind is not lost in any subject.

We need whole men today, even more than in any preceding stage of history. How can there be today a wholly detached and unemotional pursuit of truth? The truth to which we gain access may lead us to a new concept of matter or of "anti-matter", or it may reside in a new concept of harmony in music, or of perspective in the graphic arts, or of the meaning of words, or the reasons why men desire beauty and see it in such varied phases. The time has passed, in short, when scientists dared be cold-blooded, or when the poets, the artists and the philosophers dared be inaccurate and illogical.

We must now seek to humanize the science and enlarge and co-ordinate them with the other disciplines. Education need have no conflict. What we require is a sort of brotherhood among all those who in the various branches of learning seek to understand and to guide man in his relationship to the universe.

Whole Living and World Peace

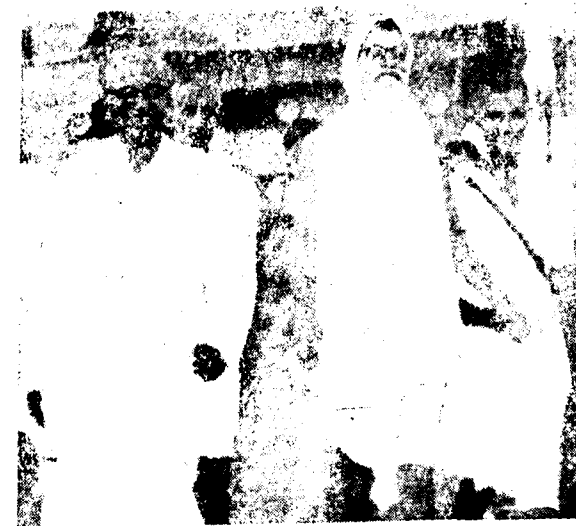
Wilfred Wellock, England

While there has been a vigorous campaign against the nuclear bomb in England at the surface Mr. Wellock is more concerned like Sri J. C. Kumarappa with the diagnosis of the deeper causes that lead to tension among nations in a recent letter to us dated May 11, 58. We are extracting here a portion of the letter which is a timely warning to India.

DURING the last three months there has been in this country a fairly hot campaign for the abolition of nuclear bomb tests, and a less hot and extensive one for the cessation of the manufacture of all nuclear weapons. As a pacifist I am of course in favour of these demands, but as a person who has tried to probe these issues to their roots, I cannot take part in these campaigns unless I am permitted to state that these evil instruments are the logical requirements of aggressive societies, that is, societies which pursue aggressive economic policies, and think about nothing but raising the levels of consumption of goods and services. When these habits become universal, the demands for raw materials, and for markets in order to procure them, by means of exports, becomes so heavy that there is keen competition for them, more demand than supply, whence follow unemployment, social unrest, and social conflicts over the sharing of national wealth. Today in the West many nations are suffering from a dearth of international market for their surplus production. Hence machines stop, factories close down and the toll of unemployment rises.

These conditions are exactly what Russia desires to happen and why she has given up the idea of world revolution. Why world revolution, she asks when a process of economic break down will drive the workers to Communism? The fear that such things may happen is one of the reasons why the United States fears Russia even more than she fears war. At the same time the U.S.A. fears capitalist America more than she fears war.

In these circumstances disarmament remains an idle dream. At root the problem is a moral and spiritual one. As Gandhi stated one of the conditions of world peace is that all the nations should be largely self-supporting, and not be dependent upon a big export trade in order to procure the means of carrying on large industries whose output must be exported because manufacturing goods is usually more profitable than growing food. Another condition of world peace lies in distinguishing between sufficiency and abundance between need and luxury. It is as bad to eat too much as it is to go half-starved, and as gluttony injures the body, so vanity, ostentation and extravagance poison the mind and injure the spirit. These basic human facts vindicate Gandhi's philosophy of whole living and world peace.



Sri Dwarakanath Lele
receiving Vinobaji at the Sarvodaya Exhibition
at Pandharpur

Bhoodan Magazines & Literature

Radhakrishna Bajaj

Sanchalak, Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi

At present there are 23 Bhoodan periodicals all over the country in different languages. There are 4 monthlies, 6 fortnightlies, 2 trimonthlies, 10 weeklies and one daily. The aggregate circulation of all these is about fifty thousand copies. The Hindi 'Bhoodan Yagna' Gujarati Bhoomi Patra and Tamil 'Gram-Rajya' have the largest circulation.

Vinobaji's popular book is "Geetha Pravachan". It has been translated in 16 languages. Seven lakhs and seventy-five thousand copies have been so far published.

TALKS ON THE GITA

BY

VINOBA

English Translation of the original Marathi

284 Pages Price Rs. 2

Card-board Rs. 3

(Postage Extra)

Available at

All Kadhi Vastralayas
& Khadi Bhandars.

Sarva Seva Sangh
Prakashan, Kashi &

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya

TANJORE.

Besides, the Gujarati, Panjabi, Telugu and Oriya translations have been printed in Nagari script. The English translation was published recently on the eve of the Pandharpur Sammelan.

About 500 books on Bhoodan — Sarvodaya ideology were published in several languages as below:

Hindi	110	Marathi	70
Oriya	50	Kannada	40
Malayalam	32	Telugu	30
Bengali	17	Assami	25
Punjabi	11	Tamil	18
Gujarati	30	Sindhi	5
Nepali	1	Bagdi	3
English	47	Urdu	19

The "Saint on the March" by Hallam Tennyson is published in Swahili, an East African Language.

In the year 1957-58 the Kasi Paakashan office of Sarva Seva Sangh alone has published 48 new books and 38 reprints, mostly in Hindi. The total number of copies published is 5,50,000 at the sales value of about Rs. 4 lakhs, out of which Rs. 3 lakhs worth of books were sold in the year. The total publication of literature in all other languages is estimated to be about Rs. 3 lakhs.

From Desk to Plough

Govind Rao

The following extract is taken from China's new weekly "Peking Review":—

"Urban office workers on the farms are doing so well that many have been single out for their good work by the peasants in the locality. Until they went to the countryside quiet a few, trained in the old society, where intellectuals to the manner born—incapable of sustained manual labour of any kind and so ignorant of farming that they could not tell barley from wheat. A few months of work in the rural districts have meant a world of difference. Often contentious of working men and their calling before, they have now come to appreciate that it is labour that creates the world and to understand that while learning they can also make themselves useful in the countryside. They share their knowledge with the peasants and help them set up schools and literacy classes and organise sports and recreational activities. Peasants by day, these erstwhile office workers in the villages are often school masters in the evening. In this give and take new bonds of friendship have been forged between them and the peasants.

Office workers from government departments and enterprises went to work in the countryside to give support to agriculture which is fast expanding, and to mingle with the peasants, so as to transform themselves into intellectuals of the labouring people.

The movement began last autumn and by the first week of February this year a total of 1.3 million office workers had begun a new life on the farms, in factory or in local administrations."

There is much that our Indian office-goers can learn from the above. Respect for land can be shown only by working on land. China and India are both agricultural countries. Our people need to recognise this and offer their free labour to our peasants. The Government, on the other hand, can and should encourage periods on leave enabling our pen-masters to become plough-masters.



★ Prof. Bhansali's 66 Days Fast ★

(A Prayer to save mankind from the catastrophe)

ACHARYA Bhansali ended his 66 days fast at 10-15 a.m. on 7th June by sipping lemon juice. He told the pressman at Nagpur that his fast was not in protest against production or testing of nuclear weapons but as a prayer to God to save mankind from possible catastrophe. He said that the fast was not a "Hatha Yoga" and that he had no grudge against the atomic powers. This penance of fast was performed, he said, only "because in our rituals a prayer is generally followed by a fast to make it more effective. 'I am not concerned whether my objective would be realised. I am a follower of the Gita and do not care for the fruits of the penance'"

Acharya Bhansali said in the course of the fast that he would give it up if there was any danger to life. He was taking only plain water during the fast. His normal weight was 158 lbs. He lost 54 lbs. during the fast. He had no pain or feeling of exhaustion as a result of the fast and spoke in clear voice.

He had already gone through a 62 days fast in 1942 as a protest against the atrocities committed by the military on the villagers of Chimore in M.P. during the "Quit India" movement. He has been running a Gram Seva Ashram at Takli, 10 miles from Nagpur.

He had addressed letters to the Prime Minister of Russia and the President of U.S.A. before commencing the fast.

Vinobaji in a message to Bhansali said that his fast would definitely "infuse love in the hearts of the people". He paid a glowing tribute to him in his speech at the Sarvodaya Sammelan. ★

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 A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh, Kashi.
Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

Sarvodaya Literature in Andhra

Dr. Vempati Suryanarayana, Tenali

The writer is a leading and popular eye-specialist of Andhra. His home and clinic are run as an ashram. The doctor is a Gandhian institution by himself. His contribution to Bhoodan movement and literature are invaluable.

IN October 1957 Vinobaji wrote to me to meet him at Bangalore. When I meet him he advised me to institute a "Seva Sena" (service-corpse) dividing Tenali town into sixteen divisions. The whole-time workers who are to help in this institution should be maintained from 'Sampattidan' and 'Sammatidan' collected from the householders of the several divisions of the town. Fulfilment of human existence consists in spreading love. For this one should share a part of his surplus with their needy. A person having money in excess of his needs should lovingly give away to the more needy neighbour. This act of grace should be a permanent feature of the person's daily life. Thus, a person's 1/6th, 1/8th or 1/10th of his annual income should be set apart for service of the society. This is Sampattidan.

Sammatidan is what is given from week to week or month to month in kind or coin as a token of identity of ideas which bind the server and the served. One anna per head per month or an equivalent thereof in kind was suggested by Vinobaji for Sammatidan (consent). Gradually sammatidan (consent) evolved itself into what is now popularly known as 'Sarvodayapatra.'

To popularise Sarvodaya ideology in an intensive way, Vinobaji further advised that the fortnightly "Bhoodanam" (Telugu Bhoodan Magazine) that was so far being run from Hyderabad be shifted to Tenali and run as a weekly with Sri K. V. N. Appa Rao, Principal, Sanskrit College, Kovvur as Editor and me as the publisher. The Sarvodaya Sahitya Prachara Samiti, Andhra Pradesh accepted the advice of Vinobaji. After some unavoidable delay, the first weekly came out on 10th Jan. 1958.

During a period of nearly five months 1750 subscribers could be enrolled. It is interesting to refer to some factors that helped in creating a favourable atmosphere.

The path of truth and love shown by Mahatma Gandhi attracted me in the year 1931 as it has innumerable others. I was

anxious to evolve a way by which I could serve in a wide sphere. In the year 1936 I had the opportunity to contact Vinobaji to whom I presented my case. He patiently heard me and suggested a method by which I could serve a large number of patients and win their affection.

Vinobaji said that in charging patients, I should not be guided by their monetary position. While poor patients may be shown some consideration, the rest should be charged a moderately uniform fee for the treatment of a particular disease. The method of equal fee removed the sting from the rich as well as from the middle class. The middle class felt assured that the same kind of treatment that was meted out to the rich was being given to them also while the rich on the other hand, had the satisfaction that they had not to pay any thing more on account of their riches for the same treatment than any other person did. This psychological truth is the background of the advice which Vinobaji gave me over two decades ago. Since then the rich and poor fraternize with each other and take service from our institution which they leave with deep and lasting impressions of love and gratitude.

To add to this, Vinobaji entrusted me with the work of translating "*Geetapravachan*" into Telugu which has now acquired great popularity. About 50,000 copies of "*Geetapravachanamulu*" have been sold out in about 3 years. The sixth edition of the same is to be brought out shortly.

With this store-house of overflowing love in the hearts of people who have taken service from my institution, my work of enlisting subscribers had become easy. Two days in advance of my visit to a village, I send a worker or two who contact persons of all parties of the village and seek their co-operation for my impending visit. Then on the appointed day, along with some workers I go to the village and proceed from door to door appealing to people regarding the need for acquiring knowledge that is disseminated through the speeches of Vinobaji and other great leaders.

Another interesting and useful piece of work is the recent publication of Telugu "*Geetapravachanamulu*" in NAGARI script. This would enable persons of other languages to learn the Telugu language.

Continued from page 12.

Message of Pandharpur.

Faiths? Opening the doors of the temple to all means opening the doors of one's own heart. If the doors of the Pandharpur shrines are opened to non-Hindus, men in Maharashtra must open their hearts and give their friendship to all, irrespective of caste, colour and faith.

My unbounded joy

When I went to the temple and bent my head before the image there was no stone image in the temple but I saw my own mother and my father, and also my teacher there. There I saw everyone whom I respect and love. I was accompanied by the two sisters, Fatima and Hema; one is a Muslim and the other is a Christian German. The priest asked both of them to worship by touching the idol. I am quite certain that God would have been thrilled by their touch. The Muslim Girl is married to a Jain youth and I performed their marriage ceremony. The other is a German girl, who has left her parents, brothers and sisters, home and hearth to serve India. She has imbibed Gandhiji's ideas and has come here to see his work that is going on. She has however not forgotten Lord Christ, nor is there any need to do so. When she was allowed to enter the temple I was overwhelmed and my happiness knew no bounds. I saw for the first time that the scheme of God, the Almighty, has materialised. It is the call of the time that today the forces of peace and love must grow. This event of temple-entry is a momentous event as it has encouraged the power of peace and love.



A view of the Pandharpur Sarmelan

Jayaprakash in Europe

Siddharaj Dhadra

WE just went to Switzerland and spent a fortnight there. After a tour in West Germany we arrived in London via Paris on 4th June, 58. A month on the continent gave us the first glimpse of European life and nature in all its glory and bloom.

The first public engagement in Europe was with Indian students who were anxious to hear Jayaprakash. He addressed more than six meetings of Indians at Zurich, Geneva, Berne, Stuttgart, Bonn, Berlin etc. Germany now seems to be popular with Indian students. Some of the European friends hinted that it would be better if the students coming from India have a better grounding and grasp of the tradition, culture and history of India to be able to give a glimpse of these to the West.



The one question often put to Jayaprakash was about his having given up "politics". Jayaprakash had always to explain the deep significance of Bhoodan and lay emphasis on "Lokniti" as opposed to "Rajaniti".

During the last few weeks of our European tour we observed something that is missing in the midst of material advancement. Many Socialist friends have also begun to realise that the old urges and motivating forces begin to fade away with the material achievements. The over-emphasis on material advantages and higher standard of life have tended to make the socialist movement lopsided.

They are examining whether an ethical approach should now be revived. I cannot forget the words of a German Professor in Stuttgart, the secretary of the Indo-German society there, who said: "Although there is darkness in the valleys below, the light is already beginning to appear on the peaks. I have no doubt that the light will drive away the shadows and soon the whole valley will be filled with the glorious sunshine of the Spring."

In Germany, I found a genuine desire to understand India. The German mind is similar to the Indian mind in many respects in the desire to go into the first causes. A small municipality in Germany spent 30,000 marks (one mark = Rs. 1.12 nP.) to celebrate "Indian Week" to acquaint the people with the past and present of Indian life and thought.

The visit to Berlin brought out to us the horrors of war. We have seen Paris and London also. While Paris escaped large-scale destruction during the war, London had its share, but perhaps nothing compared to Berlin. We saw the whole city—one of the most important, populous and beautiful of the European Capitals laid low. Although in the Western Berlin much has been restored in the Eastern sector under the Communist rule one can still see the ruins of a great city. We stood a few yards away from the spot where Hitler spent his last hours. There is not even any indication or memorial where Hitler met his doom.

We had a full programme of meetings, interviews and discussions and we seized opportunities to have a glimpse at the majestic Alps in Switzerland, the cathedral at Cologne and Notre-dame in Paris.

I should refer to the small village of Bukeburg near Hanover in Germany. There Pastor Mensching and his colleagues have a centre of work and training resembling very much of our Ashrams. It was Whitsun holiday on the day of our visit and we saw a small international group for discussion and exchange of ideas on peace.

(Condensed from 'Bhoodan'.)

Laxmi Narayan Babu of Bihar

Sureshram

ŚRĪ Laxmi Narayan, the illustrious servant of Bihar and there through of humanity, joined the realm of the Immortals on 9th May last. In the course of Bhoodan *pad-yatra*, he reached *Rosara*, a small town in the Darbhanga district. There was a public meeting in the evening. The prayer was followed by his speech. It lasted fifteen minutes—on the efficacy of Gramdan and the way to peace and happiness. He then went to the closet His leg stumbled. Others helped him to sit and make water. On return also he could not walk unhelped. They made him sit on a chair. He expressed a desire to lie down. They laid out a cot for him and he stretched himself. The sleep proved to be eternal. What a majestic and enviable end!

In Lakshmi Bhabu's departure, lakhs of Bihar spinners have lost their real brother, thousands of her weavers their most sincere friend and hundreds of her public workers their most sympathetic comrade. For the last forty years he had known no rest and had identified himself with the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. His was a rare type. During the great earthquake which shook Bihar in 1934, Lakshmi Babu's wife, with a child in her arms died due to a wall-collapse. When he came to know of it, he did not rush back to his house. Thinking of others who had suffered in the great tragedy, he took to relief work organised by the Bihar Relief Committee and buried himself in the task. He had a unique capacity for reducing himself to zero.

Born at Ulao in the Monghyr district of Bihar, Laxmi Narayan had his early education in Muzaffarpur where his father shifted to run on his business. After passing the Matriculation in the first division in 1914, he joined the Calcutta University for a science course. He took up his B.Sc. with distinction in Chemistry. While in his M.Sc. class, there came the great call of the Mahatma. He gave up his studies and plunged into the movement.

Laxmi Babu first came to lime-light in 1926 when he was appointed the Secretary of the Bihar branch of the Charkha Sangh (A.I.S.A.) of which Rajendra Babu was the Agent. It was on account of his 20 years' silent work that Khadi gained a firm foot hold in Bihar. Bihar khadi earned a reputation also all over the country.

In the freedom struggle he went to jail several times and though he was not in the A.I.C.C. or an agitational leader he was arrested in August 1942 and was detained for more than a year. In 1944, after release Gandhiji decided to give a new turn to khadi work. Lakshmi Babu was the first to express his willingness to try Bapu's revolutionary experiment in Bihar. The Bihar branch of the A.I.S.A. was wound up and the Bihar Khadi Samiti came into being. It has now enlarged its scope with the new name of Bihar Khadi Gramodyog Sangh of which Lakshmi Babu was the first president.

When Vinoba started his Bhoodan mission, Lakshmi Babu took to it with his characteristic devotion. It is Bihar which gave Bhoodan a popular character and turned it into a people's movement. Vinoba stayed in Bihar from 14th September, 1952 to 31st December, 1954.

On the eve of Vinoba's departure from Bihar, Lakshmi Babu rightly observed: "Bihar has established the same relationship with Vinoba as it had with Buddha and Gandhi."

Lakshmi Babu was connected with almost all the constructive institutions of Bihar. He was the Director of the Bihar branch of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. He played a leading role in the Kasturba Fund work too. Village industries, leprosy, Harijan work, Nai Talim, village reconstruction, etc. had their best champion in him in Bihar. He was also a member of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board, which he resigned in response to the Bhoodan call. And it was at his persuasion that the Bihar Khadi-Gramodyog Sangh launched the revolutionary step of equal allowance to all workers—starting from Rs.60 and going up to Rs. 100 according to family needs.

It was during the *pada-yatra* that the River of his life entered the Sea. His is Bihar's greatest, noblest and most shining sacrifice for the Bhoodan cause. Baba Raghavadas passed away in January this year. Gopabandhu Chowdhury, the Bapa of Orissa, followed in April. And now Lakshmi Babu too. What bright gems were they! The noble example of their renunciation and sacrifice is both an inspiration and challenge to the Indian youth to work for India's socio-economic freedom by pure, truthful and non-violent means. Then will usher in the new dawn.



From our Overseas Friends

The Sarvodaya ideal and the message of Bhoodan has brought us nearer to many friends in different parts of the world. Here are excerpts from letters of a few friends addressed to the Editor of Sarvodaya.

2228 SOUVENIR ST., (APT. 2.)
MONTREAL, 25, CANADA.

It may interest you to know that a few local persons (including the local President of the U.N. Association) are trying to set up a Canadian Bhoodan—for helping India by asking individuals to make personal contributions to your 'Prime Minister's Fund', C/o your Government's High Commissioner in our capital—Ottawa.

These are times when more and more are looking to India's Gandhism for inspiration.

Sam Fogel.

* * *

1936 11TH AVENUE S.W.,
CALGARY, ALBERTA, CANADA,
MAY, 31st '58.

We are very much interested in your work and are very glad to receive 'Sarvodaya'. We are sending you a 'Sampathidan' of \$20 —towards your work.

We have great hopes for the success of the work of this wonderful man Vinobaji and his helpers. We are thankful indeed to be able to be informed regularly about the progress of your movement in India. We are praying to the same God; and we pray that He may bless your endeavours!

Elvira and Chris Lathmann

* * *

57, MEDU VILLAGE,
MARSHAN,
TANGIER, MOROCCO.

I send you inside this letter a postal Order of 20 shillings as subscription for Narayan Kamalakar for the year '58. I send my best wishes for the 'Gramdan' and the work you are doing for this and in thought we are with Vinoba the great Acharya and also with Mahatma Gandhi.

Gerard D. Watcher.

Gramdan work in Kerala

K. Kelappan

Kurumbaranad is now split into two Taluks, Quilandy and Badagara. Out of 227 Gramdans 220 are in Quilandy.

Gram Sabhas, Panchayats and Sarvodaya co-operative societies are being formed. Spinning is being organised. The State Khadi Board and Khadi Commission have offered all assistance. There is vast scope for improvement in agriculture, dairy and poultry.

The chronic indebtedness of the villagers is a problem confronting us. In many cases possession of land is given to creditors who hold the usufructory rights with no obligations to maintain the land. The large class of fishermen depend on the middlemen. Those have to be saved from the previous indebtedness and cheap credit facility has to be provided.

There are 4 N.E.S. Blocks in this area. The local occupation is coir industry on cottage basis. Capital and marketing organisation are the urgent needs of this industry. It is proposed to take up all these activities in the Gramdan area.

* * * *

Two Sarvodaya camps, one at Purameri and another at Thodanur were organised and efficiently conducted in the months of April and May, '58. The camp at Purameri (N. Malabar) was run for women workers in particular and it was inaugurated by Srimathi Kadathanad Madhavi Ammal, the famous poetess and social worker of Kerala. The workers visited the neighbouring villages, addressed meetings and organised Sarvodaya committees.

In the camp at Thodanur over 70 members attended. Their main activities were cleaning of tanks and wells, preparing compost pits, constructing trench latrines and bath rooms and repairing public roads in the villages around. Sale of Sarvodaya literature was actively done.

(Condensed from reports)

Gramdan Work in Tamilnad

INTENSIVE work has been going on in the Madura district in making the whole of Batlagundu Firka the Gramdan Zone. So far 220 villages have become Gramdan villages in the Madura district. The Government of Madras allotted last year Rs. 20 lakhs as *taccavi* loans for these villages. But owing to legal difficulties and other reasons about Rs. 4 lakhs alone could be availed of by them.

The State Government have passed the Bhoodan Act recently. But it may take sometime to come into effect. In the meanwhile the Co-operative Societies' Act has been modified to facilitate the formation of Sarvodaya Co-operative Societies in Gramdan villages. All Gramdan land will be vested in these societies. Government will give enough funds to be issued as loans to these societies to continue the agricultural operations without financial difficulties. Ten Sarvodaya Co-operatives have been immediately formed. The Government have set apart Rs. 7,79,490 to be issued as loans to them; besides a subsidy of Rs. 2,37,000 is set apart for cleaning 139 of the existing wells and for sinking 79 new wells. One-third of this amount is given as subsidy and two-thirds of it is repayable in five annual instalments. Further loans and subsidies are sanctioned for the rearing of sheep, poultry and handlooms. The loans are repayable in easy instalments. Necessary experienced organisers have been posted by the Government.

There was a joint meeting of Gramdanis, workers and the Government officers at Batlagundu on the 24th June. The meeting was held in an enchanting mango-grove. Sri G. Venkatachalapathy, the Joint Development Commissioner was present. Representatives of the fourteen of Gramdan villages spoke out their mind with frankness and courage. They gave a picture of the population, acreage of land, number of cattle and sheep, the number of wells and also a plan of work for the future to meet the needs of the people. Their capacity for collective planning for the whole community was marvellously exhibited and strengthened Vinobaji's call to the State to leave the planning to the villages themselves. Planning by the Government at Delhi or Madras, however clever it may be can never serve the purpose for which the villagers would plan for their own villages.

The Batlagundu meeting is an indication of the keen interest evinced by the Madras Government and their alertness in implementing the decisions of the conference of the Ministry of Planning and the Sarva Seva Sangh at Delhi.



Sarva Seva Sangh's Appeal

The Sarvodaya Samaj embraces the whole universe and the Annual Sarvodaya Sammelan (Conference) is an occasion when devotees of Sarvodaya ideal of Mahatma Gandhi meet to live together in fellowship and for free exchange of thought and experience. No formal resolution is passed but the Sarva Seva Sangh which convenes the Sammelan gives expression to the experience and urges of the devotees of Sarvodaya ideal in the form of a resolution and an appeal. This is the free rendering of the original Hindi resolution of the Sangh presented at the end of the Pandharpur Sammelan.

Gramdan

THE Gramdan movement has taken some definite strides this year. The offering of Gramdans on their own initiative by the villagers, the distribution of the gift-lands by themselves, the taking up of the reconstruction work without outside prompting and the inspiration that all these in combination have provided to the other villages — are steps heralding new hopes. But all the same we have to take surer steps to attain our goal of Gram Swaraj.

Expansion of Sarva Seva Sangh

The need is felt all over the country for the Sarva Seva Sangh to expand itself. The various political parties also have given expression to this feeling. This is as it should be and is indicative of the evolution of * *Lok-niti* in the right direction. We had a glimpse of this indication at the Yelwal Conference. Therefore a more and more favourable climate will make it possible to expand the sphere of Sarva Seva Sangh approximating to Gandhiji's conception of *Lok-Sevak Sangh*. It is now therefore necessary to go ahead in this direction.

Gramdan and Community Development

The Government have come to recognise that Gramdan can well serve as the basis of their Community Development Projects and have accordingly re-enunciated the objectives of their scheme. The Sangh welcomes this change.

* *LOK-NITI* is a new nomenclature meaning the Universal Law governing humanity, independent of politics and power or in other words Rule of Moral Law superior to party and power politics as understood today.

Shanti-Sena

If the reaction of all the leaders to Gramdan had been most favourable, their attitude to the concept of *Shanti-Sena* is still more so. An army of workers is a desideratum for giving a concrete shape to the idea of Gramdan. It needs no saying that such an army of peace will in truth be an army of service and its members will be wedded to bodily labour, because we are out to lay the foundation of a society free from exploitation of any kind.

Sarvodaya Patra

At the same time it is necessary for the worker to win the confidence of the people among whom he works; he should be able to gain the support of the people as a sanction for his service which can best be symbolised by the *sarvodaya patra*. It is hoped that *sarvodaya patra* will find a place in every home in the country.

Woman's Contribution

The special merit of the non-violent movement lies in its recognition of the power potential inherent in womanhood and it affords opportunities for its development. The women, the minorities and the individual citizen can be sure of their rights and privileges being preserved under a *shanti-sena* dispensation as they can under no other. It provides opportunities for the cultivation of fearlessness and heroism all round.

The world veering round to Non-violence

Even those who were not convinced of the moral power of non-violence are now coming round to adopt peaceful means compelled by the pressure of contemporary events. This is as much the result of a world-wide yearning for peace as of the non-violent methods adopted by India in its struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership.

Towards a Universal Faith

Religious and sectarian differences have been at the root of conflicts and discords the world over. From this point of view, the admission of devotees professing various religions into the Holy of Holies at Pandharpur is a propitious advance in the direction of a Universal Faith. It is hoped that this trend will gain more and more momentum.

(Continued in Page 48)

Pandharpur Sarvodaya Sammelan

THE Tenth Sarvodaya Sammelan was the biggest sammelan. It attracted the largest number of over 17,000 sarvodaya sevaks from all parts of India. Unlike the previous sammelans those who came were distributed in about 120 lodgings provided by the dharmashalas and temple buildings. There were arrangements for boarding at about five places. There was no reception committee as such as in the previous sammelans. The Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh welcomed the Sarvodaya Sevaks. It was the hottest part of the summer when the Sammelan met for three days on 30th, 31st May and 1st June. As Vinobaji desired it proved to be a real *sneha* sammelan of love and fellowship as the sevaks never felt the terrible heat and various inconveniences that they had to face at Pandharpur. The sammelan naturally evolved itself into a *Mela* as at pilgrim centres where devotees gather in lakhs, make their own arrangements for boarding and lodging and quietly disperse after their worship of the deity and bath in the holy water. Pandharpur has thus given a new turn to the form of Sarvodaya Sammelan and has made it assume the ideal character of a *Mela*. The previous Sammelan at Kaladi in Kerala was held under a heavy downpour of rain while Pandharpur presented a striking contrast of burning heat.

The Sammelan began on the afternoon of the 30th May with the sacrificial spinning. Sri Ramadevi was chosen for the place of honour of presiding over the Sammelan. No greater homage can be paid to the womanhood of India and to the late Gopabandhu Chowdhry. Messages of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were read. Shrimati Ramadevi in her inaugural speech said that Sarvodaya ideals would show the right path to the troubled world. Shri Vaidyanath Babu of Bihar gave a review of the progress of the work in Bihar. Shri Viyogi Hari, Secretary of Harijan Sevak Sangh spoke how the Bhoodan movement helped in the economic uplift of the Harijans. Sri Narayan Desai reviewed the progress of the movement in the cities. Smt. Rajamma described how the Sarvodaya patra caught the imagination of the children in the South. Shri Vallabhaswami gave a report of the progress of the collection of yarn offering and its importance in our movement. He said that 7,32,00 hanks of yarn were received during the last year.

The highlights of the Sammelan were the darshan of Vitoba at Pandharpur with a German Christian sister and a Muslim sister. The admission of persons of other faiths in Hindu temples at Pandharpur is an event of tremendous significance in the history of Hinduism. Though this is not the direct outcome of the Sammelan it has thrown a flood of light on our advance towards Sarvodaya.

The programme of *Shanti-Sena* and *Sarvodaya patra* were discussed at Pandharpur and these were integrated with Gramdan.

Vinobaji paid a glowing tribute to Pyarelalji on his two monumental volumes of "Mahatma—the Last Phase" and invited him to address the Sammelan on Gandhiji's doctrine of Trusteeship.

Vinobaji's morning speech while inaugurating the Sarvodaya Literature Exhibition and the speech at the Sammelan in the evening were of great importance. On the 31st the Sammelan divided itself into six groups for discussing the following subjects: Village Swaraj, Satyagraha, Future Programme, Shanti Sena, Organisational matters and Maintenance of workers.

On the third day of the Sammelan the reports of the various group discussions were presented by the respective conveners. Pyarelalji's speech was a distinct contribution on Gandhiji's trusteeship doctrine and its extension to Bhoodan-Gramdan movement. Dada Dharmadhikari's speech on Satyagraha was an intellectual treat of the highest order. The Sarva Seva Sangh's resolution was presented by Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar with a brief speech. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India addressed the Sammelan in the evening. Generally Vinobaji's concluding speech used to inspire the Sarvodaya workers with a new message. But they were greatly disappointed when Vinobaji had to stop abruptly. However, his concluding words, "word is a better means than deed and silence is better than the word. This is my faith and it is getting stronger and stronger day by day" are themselves a message for us all of profound import.

Sarva Seva Sanghs' Appeal

(Contd. from page 46)

Positive Aspect of Non-violence

Our hearts are naturally filled with hope, enthusiasm and encouragement when in the atmosphere in India and abroad we see such propitious trends. But we will gain the requisite qualification to harness them to good only when we devote more attention to the positive aspect of non-violence than to its negative aspect. Viewed in this light the basic concept of *shanti-sena* instead of its application being confined to a particular area or community can be used as an instrument for forging the Universal Man.

Appeal to other countries

This idea and programme can well be adopted by all countries in the world. Though our sphere of service is limited to the borders of India, the Sarva Seva Sangh is not fettered by frontiers with regard to its ideal as its very name indicates and the Sarvodaya Samaj embraces the whole universe. Therefore we appeal to our fellow-pilgrims all the world over, who think as we do and are acting as we are doing, to try to create model units of *shanti-sena* in their countries and thus contribute to the task of making every man secure his self-protection.

531 SARVODAYA

531
Vot
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
AUGUST 1958
No. 2



SARVODAYA
PRACHURALAYA,
TANJORE. (S.I.)

Annual Sub.
India Rs. 4.50
12 Sh. or \$ 2.00

Single
Copy
0.37 nP.

TO READERS

The pages of "Sarvodaya" have been increased from the 8th volume commencing from July 1958 and we are compelled to increase the annual subscription to Rs. 4.50 for India and Ceylon. The increasing cost of paper and printing has not been taken into consideration in the revised subscription.

The balance of subscription as on 1st July '58 will be adjusted at the enhanced rate and the subscribers will be duly informed before renewal.

Subscription for other countries is 12 sh. or 2 Dollars.

Subscribers in England and Europe can remit the subscription through

Ms. Housmans Bookshop,
Peace News,
3, Blackstock Road,
London N. 4.

Agencies in Foreign
countries are invited.

For terms etc. write to

'SARVODAYA', TANJORE
MADRAS STATE, INDIA.

—o—

TO SUBSCRIBERS

"SARVODAYA" is despatched regularly about the 5th of every month, unless previously announced. If it is not received before the 15th, please inform us quoting your subscription number mentioned on the wrapper.

Editor, "SARVODAYA"

Sarvodaya

Vol. VIII

No. 2

EIGHTY-SIXTH ISSUE

CONTENTS

The Call of Pandharpur	49
The House of Truthful Learning— <i>Mahadev Desai</i>	50
Thoreau and Gandhiji—A Parallelism— <i>Pyarelal</i>	52
Jayaprakash in Europe— <i>Siddharaj Dhadha</i>	53
Bhoodan As a Cementing Force— <i>Vinobaji</i>	57
Tell-Tale Figures	58
The Peasant as an Engineer of Solar Power— <i>Richard Gregg</i>	59
Jayaprakash's Tour in Europe— <i>Wilfred Wellock</i>	63
Gramraj-Nai Talim & Shanti Sena— <i>Marjorie Sykes</i>	65
The Quest for Satyagraha Shakti— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	69
Shanti Sena—Our Brahmastra— <i>Kaka Kalelkar</i>	75
When Ba became mother to Bapu	76
Evolution of War through the Ages— <i>Dr. M. Aramvalathan</i>	77
Harold Elwin's Interview with Vinobaji	77
L' Arche, Non violent Community in France	84
The Urchin who Conquered	88
Jai Jagat—Victory to the World— <i>John Nelson</i>	89
Bhoodan Movement in Andhra— <i>Prabhakar</i>	91
French Satyagraha against Atom Plant	94
News and Notes	95

The Call of Pandharpur

173

THE resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh at Pandharpur Sarvodaya conference reflects the discoveries of the non-violent social dynamics of Satyagraha made during Gandhiji's life and in our own Sarvodaya pilgrimage of ten years under Vinobaji. Bhoodan and Gramdan are only the means to realise the Sarvodaya Social order. They have taken us now to the threshold of *Gram Swaraj* or village Republic. By Gandhian conception, it is both independent and inter-dependent for the essential needs of existence.

Gram Swaraj has led us to Shanti Sena and *Sarvodaya Patra* (a vessel in every home in which a child's handful of grain is daily offered) for the up-keep of Shanti Sena. The Sarvodaya Patra is the token of continuous and ever flowing popular sanction for the Shanti-Sena and conscious acceptance of the Sarvodaya ideal.

We hear of demonstrations of non-violent Satyagraha by men, women and children in many parts of the West against nuclear bombs to safeguard freedom of man and protect the sanctity of all life. Gandhian technique is now becoming more and more acceptable to the world which is on the brink of War.

Simultaneously, on the positive side, there is an irresistible urge all over the West to diagnose the deeper causes of the present crisis, and to resolve to adopt a new way of life as the only lasting means of freedom, peace and joy. Decentralised small communities under common ownership like the Bruderhof Society, and L'Arche, of Shantidas in France are springing up as an answer to the present challenge. In other words, they are trying to create the small community republics on the model of our Gramdan villages for peace of the World. Leading thinkers like Wilfred Wellock and Arthur Morgan have been advocating a new way of life based on decentralised village communities.

We, in India have now only to retain the five lakhs of villages and revive them as the old republics which can look after themselves as independent units. Thus the Gram-Swaraj will pave the way for the peace of the world as Gandhiji saw clearly a free world and a free village go together. Let us strive to fulfill the Pandharpur resolution with all its implications.

Jai Jagat!

The House of Truthful Learning

Mahadev Desai

The anniversary day of Mahadev Desai falls on 15th August. Mahatma Gandhi paid him the greatest tribute that Mahadevbhai reduced himself to a zero to serve the great master. How we wish that he were alive today to interpret the master! This is the last treasure of the articles written by him in the Aga Khan Palace in August 1942.

WONDER if the above is the right name for the institution, opened by Gandhiji on the eve of his departure for Bombay, for the training of Basic Education teachers. Literally translated the name would be *The House of New Education*. But I am tempted to give it the name at the top because of the spirit in which it has been conceived. For, Shrimati Ashadevi in requesting Gandhiji to declare it open not only recited verses from the Upanishads glorifying Truth, but said that the institution would have for its foundation nothing but that Truth. The verse specially containing the pledge so to say means: "I will utter (do?) the right, I will utter the truth. May it protect me."

That was enough to provide Gandhiji with a text for his speech that day, which became of a solemn religious character. This put me in mind of a speech Gandhiji gave in Switzerland in December 1931 before an audience of devout pacifists. It was in reply to the question, 'why do you regard God as Truth?' He said:

"In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as the one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many names as there are creatures and, therefore, we also say that God is nameless, and since God has many forms, we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks through many tongues, we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And so, when I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names of God.

"I would say with those who say 'God is Love!' But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest

description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that, 'God is Truth' and 'Truth is God'. I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language (at least) and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing (also?). I found too that love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connection with Truth and (not?) even atheists had not demurred to the necessity or power of Truth. But in their passion for discovering Truth, the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth, I should say that Truth is God.... Add to this the great difficulty, that millions have taken the name of God X and in His name committed nameless atrocities. Not that scientists very often do not commit atrocities in the name of Truth. Then there is another thing in Hindu philosophy, viz. God alone is and nothing else exists, and the same truth you find emphasized and exemplified in the *Kalema* of Islam. There you find it clearly stated that God alone is and nothing else exists. In fact the Sanskrit word for Truth is a word which literally means that which exists—*Sat*. For these and several other reasons that I can give you, I have come to the conclusion that the definition—Truth... is God—gives me the greatest satisfaction. And when you want to find Truth as God, the only inevitable means is Love, i.e. non-violence, and since I believe that ultimately means and ends are convertible terms, I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

"Truth is what the voice within tells you. Those who would make individual search after truth as God, must go through several vows...If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth, you must reduce yourself to a zero."

From 'Harijan', August 18, 1946.

Thoreau and Gandhiji—A Parallelism

By Pyarelal

Thoreau

1. To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts but to so love wisdom as to live according to its dictates.

★

2. Under a Government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison.

★

3. The question is... whether you will not now, for once and at last, serve God... by obeying that eternal and only just Constitution, which He, and not any Jefferson or Adams, has written in your being.

★

4. They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the Government breaks it.

★

5. If the tax-gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me as one has done, 'But what shall I do?'—my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign your office."

★

Gandhiji

Abstract truth has no value, unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by proving their readiness to die for it.

★

A Government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons.

★

Disobedience to the law of the State becomes a peremptory duty when it comes in conflict with the law of God.

★

A Satyagrahi sometimes appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority only to prove in the end his regard for both.

★

(To Judge Broomfield who sentenced him to six years' imprisonment in 1922): The only course open to you, the Judge, is either to resign your post and thus dissociate yourself from evil, if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent: or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the people of this country."

★

From the booklet "Thoreau, Tolstoy and Gandhiji."

— Jayaprakash in Europe —

Siddharaj Dhadda

WE rested for a week in Switzerland in a small quiet Sanatorium at Daiger Siem. Daiger Seim is a small town in North Switzerland, with a population of about 3,500 and it has fine streets, decent houses and electricity. The general standard of cleanliness is very high. The annual municipal budget of this town is Rs. 6,50,000. Before leaving this place we called upon the Mayor.

These towns of Switzerland have evolved a form of self-government as we envisage under Gram-swaraj. All the adults gather together in the Electric-Power house Square to elect the town Council. The women do not have franchise and they do not seem eager for this right. A smaller committee is elected to look after the routine management for a year. The Mayor said that 800 men possess franchise and about half of them attend the meetings of the Council. There is an interesting rule here that anyone absenting himself from the meetings is liable to some fine, but very often it is not levied.



In this small nation of 16,000 sq miles and a population of about 48 millions there are 22 States. In the beginning a few of these States formed a Federation to protect themselves from their powerful neighbours. This process continued and culminated in the present Federation. The State or Cantons preserved their autonomy and today, these Cantons control and manage most of the affairs of public life. They have their own legislative assemblies and executive departments. Behind the power of the Federation and of the Cantons stands the sovereign power of the people which they exercise in a simple and direct way.

Every legislation adopted in the Federal Assembly is submitted for the sanction of the people. Failing to obtain it, in a given time, the legislation is deemed to have lapsed. Moreover, the people can take initiative in introducing any legislation. What is important here is that these rights are being exercised. Every two or three months, we find that some question or other is being submitted to a general referendum. During our fortnight's stay we have witnessed one such referendum. There are above 20 million voters and 7½ million voters out of them voted at this particular referendum. And the whole thing was such a quiet orderly affair that we came to know of it the next day when people told us about it.

While in Germany we were privileged to attend and be welcomed as guests at the Brinmal Conference of the West German social Democratic Party at Stuttgart. Here and later on in Brussels (Belgium) during the meeting of the Council of the Socialist International to which also we were invited, we met prominent Socialists from all over West Europe. Our tour in Germany included a visit to Berlin, the great and beautiful pre-war Capital of undivided Germany which to-day presents a sad and no less strange spectacle of a city divided into two almost street by street, one part being under Communist rule and the other while formally under the joint military command of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, virtually forming part of West Germany. Those unnatural and meaningless compartments into which nations and peoples find themselves split to-day in many places are the sad and disastrous consequences of the strifes which politicians in charge of the destinies of people in various countries have been carrying on. The division of Korea, the partition of India, strife-ridden Kashmir virtually divided into two sectors, the various unnatural political divisions in the Arab region, the breaking up of Germany into two separate states and the dismemberment of Berlin—all tell the same tale.

Almost everywhere that we have gone J. P. had to address one or two public gatherings or meetings. In London of course we had many more and varied engagements. Indian Students and residents in every place have naturally wanted J. P. in their midst and we have been among them almost everywhere. There have also been individual and group discussions and exchange of views with the intelligentsia mostly on the dynamics of social change. The unique

experiment now being carried on in India through the *Bhoodan* or *Sarvodaya* movement has naturally occupied a prominent place during these discussions. Knowing J. P. as one of the foremost political figures of India and the main source of inspiration behind the Socialist movement in our country, people have naturally been very much interested to know and understand the nature of the appeal which led him to renounce politics. It has puzzled people to find that one who has been widely and persistently talked of both inside and outside India as the possible successor to Nehru should thus, as it were, voluntarily put himself out of the arena altogether and concentrate all his energies on a movement which appears to be only calculated to bring about certain minor land or agrarian reform. This has invariably provided J. P. with an opportunity to expound the underlying philosophy of the *Bhoodan* movement and its great potentialities for bringing about fundamental political, economic and social changes.

"*Bhoodan* is a political movement in a very real and deep sense," Jaiprakashji has explained at more than one gathering. "It aims at changing the whole social and political structure. We want to create a new order which will revolutionize all social, political and economic organisation. India is a land where many new things happen. India attained its freedom by a unique method. Now there is a political movement growing in the country which is not concerned with capturing power or with a partisan attitude towards problems. Power has proved to be powerless in changing the world. Through Power you can only change institutions, not men! But the experience of history and of the various Revolutions in recent times teaches us that unless man himself changes, no amount of change in the environment or institutions alone is going to create a new society which all Socialists and idealists have been dreaming of during the ages."

"We are already trying to create a partyless live and functioning democracy in the four thousand villages that have so far joined the *Gramdan* movement. We hope that these villages and others which follow would become the self-governing village Republics of Gandhiji's dream. Do you think that with such real and fundamental changes in the body-politic of India, politics as we

understand it to-day will remain the same? Delhi may or may not be able to decide the fate and mould the destiny of the country, but I am sure that if this movement succeeds it will decide the fate of Delhi, in as much as it will bring about fundamental changes in the present political organisation and in social relationships."

Could there be a better and more forceful answer to those who think that J. P. has deserted his political followers? It is, on the contrary, a challenge to them to re-examine their own position in the light of the objectives and the ideals that they profess.

BIRMINGHAM, }
23-6-'58. }

The Test of Wisdom

Vyasa said to Suka, "Suka, my son, you have no doubt attained wisdom, but no *guru* has yet his seal on you. Go therefore to Janaka." Sukadeva went. Janaka was sitting on the third floor of his great palace. Suka was a forest-dweller. His eyes drank in the sights of the city as he went along.

Janaka asked him, "Why have you come here?"

Suka answered, "To get knowledge."

"Who sent you?"

"Vyasadeva."

"Where do you come from?"

"From the ashram."

"What did you see in the market on the way?"

"I saw rows upon rows of sweets piled up on all sides."

"And what else did you see?"

"I saw sugar dolls walking and talking."

"And what else?"

"For my coming up here, there were solid sugar steps."

"What else did you find?"

"Here too, I see sugar pictures everywhere."

"What do you see now?"

"One sugar doll talking to another."

Then Janaka said, "Now you may go. You have attained all wisdom."

— From Vinobaji's "Talks on the Gita".

Bhoodan—a Cementing Force

Acharya Vinoba

PANDIT NEHRU once said, that it is only the Congress that can serve as the cementing force in the country and hence its continuance is necessary. This might have been the role that the Congress was playing once, but it has long since ceased to function in this capacity. On the contrary, it has to be counted as one of the disruptive forces working in the country.

If the Government were not, as now, attached to a particular Party, it could serve as the cementing force. It would then be necessary for the Ministers, on whatever party ticket they might have been elected, on taking up the ministerial responsibility, to get free of all party-affiliations and serve as the nation's servants. At the end of the five years' period, when the General Election comes, on the Cabinet's resigning, they will be at liberty to join the lists and fight the election battle.

Supposing, in the present-day election, that 51 out of the total of 100 voters voted for me to become their servant, it would mean that 49 were opposed to me. But having come to power, I would use my authority on the 49 as well. It means, that I have become the servant of all the 100 and not of the 51 alone. This is the practice in Democracy. Such being the position, why not those who form the Government, serve the whole country in the role of 'National Servants'? There is already the convention of the President and the Speaker, elected though they might be on party tickets, functioning as if belonging to no party. Similarly are the judges of the Courts considered to be above party, though they are Government servants. Likewise, when Committees of experts are formed they are expected to function without party prejudices. It then comes to this, that good things are kept above or away from party pulls. Are the parties, then, only for evil, undesirable purposes? That the parties are formed for moulding public opinion is all right. But having been elected once, why not the ministers function on a non-party basis, and the members of the legislatures also vote the Bills on their merits, forgetting the parties to which

they belong? This would mean, that on their entering the Government all their party connections will cease; and when this comes into vogue, the Government will become a cementing force. It is not so now, nor is the Congress working on any such basis.

Nor can religion or language serve as a cementing force. Then, what or who else can? It is the poets and the men of letters alone, who encompass in their thoughts, not only India but the whole world, who can play this difficult role; but they are individuals. A Tagore or a Schweitzer is certainly a cementing force, but they are great souls. Yet, is a group of people, a platform which can unite the whole of India necessary or not? Is a common centre where people can, forgetting their mutual differences, meet together and joining shoulder to shoulder work for keeping this country, so full of varieties and differences, strong and united required or not? When one thinks from this point of view, one will realise the value of Bhoodan all the more. ★

TELL-TALE FIGURES

By 1951 the whole cultivable area represented only 1·4 acres per head of India's population, and the net sown area 0·8 acre. Over the whole Indian union the average size of holding was 7·5 acres, though in some places—notably West Bengal (4·7) and Bihar (4·1), it was much smaller. The difference between the average holding and the pitiful “possible holding” of 1·4 acres per head tells the tales of the millions of landless peasants throughout India. An analysis of the holdings makes the story grimmer. “Large cultivators” (those owning more than 30 acres, numbering 30% of all Indian cultivators) farm 58% of the total sown area. “Medium cultivators” (owning slightly over 6 acres; 40% of all cultivators) hold less than 33% of the sown area, while “small cultivators” (owning less than 3 acres; 30% of all cultivators) work only a tenth of the land. The smaller the size of the farm, the more the farmer has to depend on family labour, and the greater the unemployment of the hired labour in the village.

—From R. P. Masani's “The Five Gifts.”

The Peasant as an Engineer of Solar Power

Richard B. Gregg

DO the Indian peasants deserve respect as well as pity? I believe they do. Let me tell you some reasons why.

One of the greatest sources of wealth is physical power. The nations can be classified as to wealth partly by their consumption of power. A noted American engineer in 1953 estimated that in the effective use of physical power from all sources, the great nations of the world stood approximately in these proportions:

U.S.A. 15; U.K. 13; U.S.S.R. 8; West Germany 8.

All physical energy comes or came originally from the sun. Coal was made ages ago from vegetation which absorbed its energy from many centuries of sunshine. Petroleum oil is also another form of stored-up solar energy from bygone ages. The heat energy from burning wood also came from the sun. Water power is created by the sunshine which evaporates water from the oceans, transports it in warm clouds to the land, deposits it there as rain or snow, and the resulting rivers turn the water wheels or turbines and give us electricity or other power.

The amount of energy that comes to us thus every day is stupendous. By the use of precise modern instruments, the astronomers and physicists tell us that in the latitude of the United States, the solar energy reaching the ground averages six tenths (0·6) of a horse-power* for each square yard of the earth's surface.

Nearer the equator, in the latitude of India, there would be seven-tenths (0·7) of a horse-power per square yard. This is reliably estimated to be equivalent to about one thousand (1,000) tons of coal per acre per year, or about 2·75 tons of coal per acre per day. An astronomer at Harvard University, D.H. Menzell, wrote in 1949 in a book on the sun: “An area some 200 miles square re-

* Horse-power is the amount of power by definition which will lift 33,000 pounds to a height of one foot in one minute.

ceives enough solar energy to supply the entire world with the equivalent of fuel at the present rate of consumption. The sun is our greatest natural resource."

The green colouring matter in leaves, called chlorophyll, converts this solar energy into plant tissue, some of which, such as wood, cotton, jute, hay, wheat, rice, gram, is useful to man. In the laboratory the efficiency of this conversion of energy runs as high as 46 per cent. But in field conditions there are many great losses due to reflection, dissipation as heat, sunshine falling on bare ground, and so on. In the field the rate of energy conversion is less than one per cent. The results of researches vary, but six-tenths of one per cent. seems a fair average for this efficiency rate.

Now let's do a little arithmetic and then discuss the results. In one acre there are 4,840 square yards. Since each Indian acre receives 0.7 Horse-power per square yard, let us multiply these two numbers. The result of that multiplication is 3,388. That is the number of horse power of energy received on an acre. Remember that only six-tenths (0.6) of one per cent. i.e. 0.006 of this energy gets actually converted into plant tissue in a field of growing plants under conditions of adequate moisture. Six-tenths of one per cent of 3,388 is a little over twenty (20.328 to be exact) horse-power of solar energy per acre actually convertible by plants into food or fibre. Physical power may be measured either in horse-power or in the electrical unit called a kilowatt. One horse-power equals 0.746 kilowatts. The 20.328 horse-power of energy per acre is equivalent to 15.16 kilowatts per acre.

The size of the average Indian farm is two acres. Multiplying the last two above figures by two, we learn that the average Indian farm receives 40 656 horse-power or 32 32 kilowatts of energy from the sun. Remembering that the horse-power and kilowatt are amounts of energy per minute, and assuming that there are ten hours of sunshine per day, and in India about 260 days of sunshine per year, we find that the average Indian farm receives 4,726,320 kilowatt hours of solar energy per year actually convertible into food or fibre if conditions of water are adequate. If you have electric lights in your home, kilowatt hours are what you pay for when the bill comes each month. Somewhat over four million

kilowatt hours is certainly a very respectable power house. From this point of view the Indian peasant is an engineer of solar power in considerable amount.

If it does not bore you, let us carry the calculations a little further. One could fairly estimate that the land of an average Indian village might be represented by a circle, whose radius is one and a half miles. If so, the total village lands would amount to about seven square miles. Each square mile contains 640 acres. Seven square miles would be 4480 acres. At the rate of 20 horse-power or 15 kilowatts of solar energy per acre, we find that the lands of the village receive about 89 600 horse-power or 67,200 kilowatts. Again a very respectable power house.

According to the Outline of the Second Five-Year Plan, there were in India in 1954-55 cultivated, sown lands to the extent of 343 million acres. If you multiply this large number by 15.16, the number of kilowatts of convertible solar energy per acre, you get 4,856 million kilowatts. This is about 709 times all the energy proposed to be generated in all of India by all sources of energy in 1960-61 under the Second Five-Year Plan.

If you are doubtful or sceptical of these results, please check all the foregoing figures, both as to original quantities and the multiplications.

It appears, then, that the wealth available from sunshine in India is astonishingly vast. The Indian peasants are the ones who can create this wealth, if they are given help. They are the engineers of solar power. They are to be respected and helped in every way. Anything that can be done for them by way of promoting soil conservation, soil enrichment by composting, adequate water supply by irrigation and tube wells, better seed selection, rotation of crops, more education, will help make them more efficient engineers and protect India from disaster.

But remember, they are human beings with minds and feelings and memories. They have been dreadfully exploited and impoverished for centuries. Naturally they have become suspicious of outsiders, who try to tell them other ways. They are, many of them, distrustful of Government. They are discouraged, weakened by disease, apathetic and lacking in initiative.

Mahatmaji they trusted, because he showed his devotion to them for years and really helped them in ways they understood. They will trust others who come to them in similar fashion, living simply, helping them steadily along their own village ways, really devoted to them. Only by such means can they be persuaded to change. Only the peasants can produce the necessary food for India's life. Is it not worth while to woo them as Mahatmaji did, and make sacrifices of comforts to do so? (From 'Vigil', Calcutta.)

A PEN PICTURE OF GANDHIJI AT 38 (1907)

The office, at the corner of Rissik and Anderson Streets, I found to be like other offices. It was intended for work and not for show. The windows and door were adorned with the name of the occupant with the denomination of Attorney attached to it. The first room was given up to a lady-typist: the second into which I was ushered, was the SANCTUM SANCTORUM. It was meagrely furnished and dusty. A few pictures were scattered along the walls. They were chiefly photographs of no great merit. The Indian stretcher-bearer corps was in evidence—photographs of Mrs. Besant, Sir William Wilson Hunter, and Justice Ranade—several separate Indian portraits—and a beautiful picture of Jesus Christ. Some indifferent chairs, and shelves filled with law books completed the inventory.

All this I confess to have noted afterwards. Just then, my whole attention was centred in the man who greeted me, and in an effort to readjust my ideas to unexpected experiences. Having travelled in India, I had almost unconsciously selected some typical face and form as likely to confront me, probably a tall and stately figure, and bold, masterful face, in harmony with the influence which he seemed to exert in Johannesburg, perhaps a bearing haughty and aggressive. Instead of this, to my surprise, a small, lithe, spare figure stood before me, and a refined, earnest face looked into mine. The skin was dark, the eyes dark, but the smile which lighted up the face and that direct fearless glance, simply took one's heart by storm. I judged him to be of some thirty-eight years of age, which proved correct. But the strain of his work showed its traces in the sprinkling of silver hairs on his head. He spoke English perfectly, and was evidently a man of great culture.

—From "An Indian Patriot in South Africa" by J. J. Doka.

Jayaprakash's Tour in Europe

Wilfred Wellock
PRESTON, ENGLAND

(This is from a recent letter from Mr. Wellock giving his observations on Shri Jayaprakash's tour. Mr. Wellock will meet him again at London.)

THE differences in the way of life, the social and industrial organisation, tradition and outlook between the East and the West are so profound that their reactions to ideas and policies such as Vinoba Bhawe is now so successfully presenting to the people of India, must of necessity differ profoundly.

Materialistic trends are so marked a feature of Western life today, that the spiritual appeals which drew large audiences everywhere fifty years ago have almost no effect now. Then, politics were vital, for they concerned fundamental issues like liberty and justice.

Today money rather than liberty is the major concern, while as to justice, it is now a question of which section of industry or of the community can outwit the others in securing a bigger share of the national cake.

In this situation, it was useless to send Jayaprakash Narayan among people who had no interest in a spiritual message, but only in how to get higher living standards which they are accustomed to acquire either by Trade Union power pressures including, possibly, strike action, or by political action backed by votes.

So it was necessary to send J. P. to small audiences composed of people who recognise that Western civilisation is moving towards a major crisis, either an economic and financial impasse or possibly a nuclear world war.

These meetings were composed of minority groups among say, the Society of Friends, various pacifist organisations and individuals and small groups of people who were rapidly losing faith in Party politics and even hope of strong leadership in the various Christian Churches, whose founder was, of course, a social revolutionary as indeed was Mahatma Gandhi.

In these circles J. P.'s presentation of the message which Vinoba Bhawe is carrying through India, and of the thrilling facts of his progress, made a powerful impression. They asked many questions,

and although they were baffled by the immense problems which would arise, were such a course of action to be suggested for this country, they recognised the high spiritual quality of the principle; and also that it might become the only hope of salvation of the West in due course.

Farther than this, it is not possible to go at present, in Britain or the United States, and indeed in most Western countries. That the challenge offered by the Bhoodan movement must be carefully studied and pondered, was accepted by many.

Easterners can scarcely realise the extent to which Western life is organised and centralised. Industry, finance and investment, trade Unionism, party politics, education and religion are all so highly organised, and their control centralised, that the ordinary citizen is largely powerless and helpless, whence he tends to leave the job of fighting for liberty and the right of conscience to others. This is, of course, the high road to the totalitarian state.

Where, then, lies salvation for the West? Jayaprakash and I discussed this question, and we agreed that the aim should be to increase the minority of people who see the dangers that loom ahead and the goal towards which we ought to move, and further that all these people should break away from the existing order of things, as far as possible, draw the lines, as it were, at conformity in many directions, and so offer to the public a challenge to the commonly accepted codes of conduct. That is, they should live more and more in accordance with spiritual values and less and less by material and conventional values.

We also agreed that those of us who had studied carefully modern trends and perceived their ultimate consequences should endeavour to make these things clear to as many people as possible. Today few people see the connection between their demands for ever-rising levels of material consumption, and the international struggle for world markets and supplies, and the fear of economic breakdown and of communism, and an ideological war with nuclear weapons. Nor do they see the folly of doing what so many pacifists are doing today in Britain, namely, agitating against nuclear warfare while accepting a way of life that is at root aggressive. To these problems the West must look for solutions in a better way of life.



Gramraj, Nai Talim and Shanti Sena

Marjorie Sykes

THE idea of Shanti Sena originated with Gandhiji some twenty years ago. He conceived Shanti Sena as a highly disciplined, non-violent army ready at all times for work of service and of reconciliation, prepared to enter areas of tension and potential violence as an unarmed force for peace. During the last few months Vinobaji has been challenging us to make a fresh approach to this idea, and to prepare ourselves for this non-violent discipline. He has made it clear, that he regards the discipline of the Shanti Sena as an essential part of the training of the nation for Swaraj (gram-swaraj) and therefore as a responsibility of the teacher. "A society freed from the yoke of authority means a society yoked to education.....In non-violence, education and defence are one and the same."

Vinobaji has also said that "a good and pure resolve, wherever it is formed, is in its essence a world resolve; it has a universal meaning." This is true, and always has been true, of the ideal of Gram-swaraj; Gandhiji himself insisted on the universal significance of his vision of the village republic:

"We want to bring in the day when a citizen of any country may go where he wills in the world without let or hindrance, may give wherever he wills his loving service, or carry on his trade. The whole world is becoming one, and the whole world is being made into one realm.....This is the world republic, *and this is also the village republic.*"

To this picture of a free world-wide human realm, drawn by Gandhiji, there is a world-wide spontaneous response. The ordinary men and women of every country are longing to be set free from the fears and anxieties which harass the divided and suspicious nations of today. The desire of humanity is for peace, for friendship, for a world which may hold for their children the reasonable hope of a full and happy life. Mankind is weary of war, and no statesman in the world would dare to stand up and repudiate publicly this desire for peace.

The Four Impulses behind War

Why is it, then, that there has never been a time when war seemed so near, and when the preparation for war swallowed up so large a part of the human energy and economic wealth of the nations? Why is it that Governments which have been raised to power by the votes of their fellow-countrymen are piling up armaments which have no meaning except for a war which nobody wants? Why do not the peoples rise up in a body and compel their Governments to make and keep the peace?

It seems to me that there are four main reasons why men of real good-will acquiesce in the retention of war as an instrument of national policy, and why in certain circumstances, often in great agony of mind, they consent to become parts of a war machine. Two of these reasons do credit to human nature; the other two are not so creditable, but are impulses which we should meet with understanding rather than with condemnation, because they are alive still in all of us, and we need to be constantly on our guard against them.

(1) The Urge to Resist Evil

The first and best of the impulses which push good and peace-loving men into war is the urge to resist evil. They cannot bear that injustice, cruelty and tyranny shall go unchallenged. They cannot sit still and see the weak trampled down and the innocent outraged. Bewildered and unhappy, they can find no other weapon with which to resist the tyranny that *must* be resisted, except the weapon of war. If only they could see, however dimly, a real hope of resisting evil with *good*, the flower of mankind would follow that hope.

(2) Appeal of Heroic Adventure

The second noble quality in mankind to which the tradition of warfare appeals is the conviction that life should offer to youth the possibility of adventure, of heroism, of danger, toil and endurance, of self-sacrifice for great and unselfish ends. Our imaginations have been fired and our better natures stirred by the ancient heroic tales of the *Kshatriyas* and knights who did battle with the giants of evil for the rescue of suffering mankind. The sword, the pure, strong, well-tempered steel, dedicated in the temple of God to His service, has become the symbol of the selfless, disciplined, heroic human life.

By contrast, the advocates of peace often seem to have nothing better to offer than a tame dull future in a universal spoon-fed welfare state. We quote the saying that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war", but these victories often seem to youth to be easy victories over "Phoney" dragons. Until the non-violent war on wrong is seen for what it should be, a glorious and heroic adventure, it will not win the generous devotion of the young.

The Individual's helplessness

The third reason for mankind's resigned acquiescence is the manufacture of bigger and better bombs, is the widespread conviction that protest is useless and that the individual can do nothing to stop it. It is one of the evil results of the centralised and the remote impersonal Government that people feel less and less personal responsibility for what their Governments do. "We don't like it, but what can we do to stop it?" they ask helplessly. That they are not really helpless to "stop it" was demonstrated a year ago by the spontaneous outburst of public indignation which forced the British Government to withdraw its troops from Egypt is now widely admitted that the Nazi tyranny in Germany was greatly helped on its road to power by the failure of freedom-loving individual Germans to stand up alone against it. One man's protest seemed so useless against the might of the State.

There was and is also another factor in this failure to make individual protest against evil. Useless though it seemed, many good and brave men would have made their protest, if they had not known that the consequences would be suffering not only for themselves but for their families and friends. They would have been prepared for imprisonment, torture and death for themselves, but they were not able to endure the thought that their dear ones might be tortured also. It is one of the most evil aspects of tyranny that it deliberately uses these natural affections of men to perpetuate its power. The citizen's conscience is torn by an intolerable conflict between one more intimate and the larger loyalties.

Loyalty to smaller Community

This, then, is the fourth main reason for our human acquiescence in wrong-doing and war. In the last resort our loyalty to the smaller community to which we belong takes precedence over our loyalty to the larger interests of humanity.

There are many kinds of partial loyalties rampant in the world today—loyalties of class, religion, language, political belief; it is not difficult for most of us here to recognize their ugly potentialities, while at the same time, if we are honest, we shall admit that the natural affections which give them their strength are alive in us also. The love of family and friends is the most natural and most innocent of these partial loyalties. Yet the greatest of the teachers of mankind have seen and proclaimed the hard truth that *all* partial loyalties, however dear and deep-seated, must give way before the universal claims of Right. They have also seen that it is only by obedience to the universal Right and Truth, at whatever cost, that the real welfare of the smaller community can be secured. "Seek ye *first* the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.....There is no one who has left house or brothers or sisters or father or mother or children or lands, for my sake and the gospel's who will not receive a hundred-fold now in this time, houses and brothers and sisters and mother and children and lands, with *persecutions*." The way is not easy, but it is the only way of hope.

"*Wars have their origin in the minds of men*", says the constitution of U.N.E.S.C.O. "It is therefore in the minds of men that the seeds of peace must be sown." The four impulses described, which now support the habit of war, are impulses, energies, and loyalties of men. The re-direction of the minds of men, the re-direction of these impulses, energies and loyalties into the paths of peace is a task for education. "Education and defence are one and the same." If we are to preserve society from violence and destruction men's whole thinking has to be re-directed into new channels. The title of the first programme of work published by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh is "*Non-violent Revolution in Education*". Those of us who work for Nai Talim have perhaps not always kept clearly enough before our eyes this revolutionary nature of our programme; in the light of the world's desperate need, we must look at it afresh and see it for what it is—nothing less than a programme of educational revolution for the whole world. Nai Talim is part and parcel of a non-violent *Gram-raj*, it is also part and parcel of a non-violent *Vishva-raj*. For as Gandhiji saw clearly, a free world and a free village go together; and our work for the children of India is a work for all mankind.

(Continued on page 93)

The Quest for Satyagraha Shakti

Acharya Vinoba

I HAVE lately been reading Pyarelalji's book 'Mahatma Gandhi—the Last Phase'. In it I read that Bapu used to say humbly, that we have known but a very small part of Satyagraha; that the science of Satyagraha is vast and a lot of research remains yet to be done in it. He had said this not out of modesty, but because it is the very truth. All our attempts at practising Satyagraha so far, had been like so many fumbings in the dark. We had no clear knowledge then, and went ahead with what light we were able to come by. I have already said something about the place of Satyagraha in a democracy; but I do not propose to speak with reference to democracy now. After all democracy is a small affair. This age is not simply an age of democracy but of science. I had recently said that three factors give shape to life and they are spirituality, science and letters.

To many it appears, that the world has been influenced the most by its conquerors. It is said that Babar's advent had left an impress on India and Asia; hence the mention of his name in the history not only of India but of the world. Similarly Alexander, Clive and others who had proved their prowess in the battle-field had greatly influenced the world. But all this is mere surmise and has no foundation in fact. Even in the age in which they were born, there were some facilities provided by science. England had sea-worthy ships, which India had not. Even Shivaji had to look to the Portuguese for the supply of swords to his army; hence the Portuguese term 'Phirangee' has come to be used in Marathi for the sword. So whether the exploits were of conquerors like Alexander and Babar or of explorers like Marco Polo and Columbus, they became possible only because of the aid of science. It is therefore, science that has influenced the world.

The Influence of Spirituality and Letters

The second factor to influence the world is spirituality. Spirituality indicates the direction which science is to take. So the people of each age were utilising the power of science commensu-

rate with the power of the spirit that they then possessed. Mutton was available; it was cheap also; but the Jains had abjured animal food. This self-denial came to be respected and adopted in Hinduism also. There are many communities among the Hindus who have given up taking flesh. What was behind these was not the urge of science, but of the spirit. Men all over the world are now thinking about abolishing capital punishment. It is not science but only spirituality that has prompted it. The literary man, the Poet, who knows the power of the word, standing in between spirituality and science meditates and pours out his heart.

The Shape of Satyagraha in the Scientific Age

Talking about Satyagraha I had said that there was no democracy during Bapu's time, even though during his last days Swaraj had come. But still Bharat did not then enjoy the measure of democracy that she does today. So there is a difference in the circumstances. But I shall leave that alone now, and say a few words about the form that Satyagraha should take in an age of science. If a man coming to attack with a lathi is confronted with a man or woman full of pity and compassion, probably, he might be moved to contrition and shame. A classical instance in point is that of Valmiki of his unregenerate days, when he found his wild nature having suddenly left him, as he with the axe in hand faced Narada. But what can one say for the bomb hurled from the sky or while sitting at home? What will Satyagraha do in this case? Of what avail will the pity of the Satyagrahi's eyes and the honey of his voice be?

The Depths of Spirituality

So, faced as we are with the power of science, we have to dive deep into spirituality also. We should go deeper than the ancients had done. As, thanks to science, the power has come to some to devastate the whole world by merely pressing a button in their house, so should we develop a power which will influence the world without our stirring from our place. Otherwise, Satyagraha will lose all effectiveness.

I do not consider this to be mysticism. The various experiences of Reality that the mystics or the devotees are said to have had in

the course of their meditation are only so-called; they are not real experiences. The devotee had a certain desire by fulfilling which God satisfied him. If one took it for a revelation and was satisfied, one would lose the occasion to make a deeper search and have genuine revelation. Mysticism is not a thing to be thought lightly of; nor is the capacity to have direct personal contact with the unmanifest world to be slighted. But these are not enough for our purpose. Such a power can, and should be invented now, which can cross swords with and effectively oppose the atomic weapons. We cannot come by that power so long as we remain lost within the mind. So, when I think in this strain, all discussions and disputes about national frontiers, linguistic regions, religions and sects lose all their significance.

A mile-stone on the road to Universal peace

A newspaper had asked the other day, 'What after all is the special merit in Vinoba's taking the people of other persuasions into the Hindu temple? We have always conceded a higher status to the followers of other faiths than to the Harijans. When the Harijans themselves have gained entry into temples what is it that Vinoba has specially achieved?' The critic has missed completely the real significance of the event. Our aim is to convert every place of worship into a world temple. Every place of worship has come to signify narrowness of mind now; owing allegiance to the Bible or the Koran or lodging an idol within, does not make any difference. The rule is, that only those professing particular faiths can gain admittance into particular places of worship. Of course, nobody belonging to an inimical faith will enter it. But can those whose faiths are only different and not inimical gain admission? No. The Muslims alone can enter mosques and pray, as the Christians the churches and the Hindus the temples. This is the procedure. But to build a place of worship where the people of all faiths can go without let or hindrance, would be another procedure. A still different procedure is that of allowing all in all places of worship; our following a different method of worship in our homes should not make any difference in the matter of allowing all there. If we can only muster as much faith and fervour while worshipping as they do, they will become places of universal worship. I have had the experience of going to the

mosque and the church in the company of people of alien faiths. I had been moved to tears while reading the Bible and the Koran as I had been while reading Gita; because they all contain fundamentals. So it was not mere rhetoric when I said at Pandharpur that the process of uniting the entire world has begun here, and an instrument of universal peace has come to our hands. Among the factors contributory to universal peace awaiting exploration, this is one.

I was responsible for Sane Guruji's launching Satyagraha for securing entry for Harijans into the Pandharpur temples. Because, on my coming out from gaol in 1945, the expression of dissatisfaction on certain matters by me in the course of a speech had moved him to undertake the fast. Prior to that, he toured for 6 months throughout Maharashtra and created public opinion. When at that time he came to Paunar, he asked me for my opinion. I said, 'My Satyagraha is going on. Lord Vittal is enshrined in my heart as much as He could be in the heart of any of His ancient or modern devotees. I have digested all the hymns and songs that these have sung in glorification of their favourite deity. Since they are all in my mother tongue, Marathi, I can lose myself in them as I can in no other. In spite of all this, I won't invoke the sanction of a fast for gaining entry into the temple. So long as the Harijans are refused entry, I also would not enter. This is my Satyagraha.' Then on his querying, if his proposed fast was also wrong I said, 'Not at all. You can fast.' In the course of his fast, I appealed to him not to drag it on for too long. So it has never been my wont to follow Sane Guruji in the matter of practising Satyagraha.

The transformation of mind is possible only by rising about it

When even in those days mine had been a different line, now when science is taking great strides, we should realise, that we cannot hope to see the process of mental transformation begin while remaining in the mind. If leaving the mind below we go up, it will be finished. Then there will be no question of its transformation at all. What happens when we speak of a change of heart? There is before us a sturdy man with many faults and we try to change him. But in my present mode of thinking, we proceed to act, utterly forgetting the existence of an entity called mind,

Old Modes of Action have no value now

In this age of science the old modes of action have no value. So it is, that some people are saying that Vinoba has now come to adopt Sri Aurobindo's line. But it is nothing new to me, having been in it since a very long time. Only, thanks to science it is becoming plain now. So long as we will be working on the mental plane, in this age of science, we would remain entangled in the will-o'-the-wisp of mental transformation, will be going round and round in it and will find no way out. So in this age, the old political Economy and the old Literature will have no value. The rules of conduct also will be modified anew.

Saying these things as I do, I am treading on dangerous ground. A co-worker said that I should now be prepared for martyrdom; because I had said that dharma has not so far been established; that it has not yet evolved; because there was no science, those vital elements on which Dharma should be based were absent; that the Rishis stated certain things as seen in their trance, and people adopted them on faith. So certain beliefs have come to be adopted but no Law has yet been evolved out of them; that the world has not yet come to the stage when it will be taken as authority. The same is the fate of Satya, Ahimsa etc. People say that Truth is good, but would not say that it is good under all conditions and circumstances. The mason who builds the house knows that the wall should stand at an elevation of 90° to the floor. A belief similar to the mason's has not yet come to the human kind that truth is always good. That is, since truth has not become Law, Dharma has not yet taken shape. Science will form the basis of Dharma and Dharma will rest on Science. The things that are current now on the mental plane in the name of Dharma are very minor ones. Dharma will appear when we rise above them. Then all conflict between Dharma and Science will cease, and there will be perfect amity.

How I am thinking Nowadays

It is this that is occupying my thoughts these days. So the verve, the push that was in me three years back is not there now. This, my present mood, I call 'Nivriti', non-action. This is not the

opposite of 'Pravritti', action. That also is a tendency. Anger is opposed to desire, as desire is opposed to anger. Both are contradictory tendencies. Walking is followed by sleep and *vice versa*. Both are tendencies. I am not speaking in this sense. It is in a different sense that I am going towards non-action. It is a quest after Power which to me is the quest after Satyagraha.

A Query from a friend in Rajasthan

A friend from Rajasthan asked for my opinion regarding a problem in Satyagraha. There, in a village he is agitating on behalf of the Harijans for the right of drawing water in the village well. Some one has launched on a fast also in this connection. Upon this, the villagers have come forward with an offer to dig a separate well for the use of the Harijans. Now, the friend has asked, whether to close up with the offer or to continue the fast.

My Firm Advice

If I were to follow the line of thought current up till now, I should have said, 'Let the fast go on; by agreeing to the new well we will lose our right.' But I am not going to give him any such advice. What I am going to write to him is, 'You better agree to the proposal of their digging a new well.' What sense is there in one's going on knocking one's head even after knowing that there is obstruction? Any action taken after conceding the existence of caste differences will only serve to strengthen those differences. At the new well the Harijans will draw water, and the others also. When all, in this manner, come together, a community of thought will develop which will slowly take on the hue of love.

Mine would be stigmatised as a weak, defeatist advice in terms of the present-day thought. But this is not a weak, but a strong advice. Because this finishes the mind itself. Instead of making minds clash with one another, we should rise above it and think. Then, the reasonableness of allowing the new well to be dug, and love to develop will be realised. Then, all these differences would seem to have disappeared as do the night's mirage on day-dawn.

(Translated from a speech delivered on 12-6-'58)

Shanti-sena—our Brahmastra

Kaka Kalelkar

THERE are discussions about Brahmastras in Puranas, but my doubt is whether the venerable name had not been misused by the Puranic authors. It was given to me to see Brahmastra in action when I went to Naokali to meet Mahatma Gandhi. I then wrote about it in detail, but now with the organisation of Shanti Sena on hand a recapitulation of the same will be useful.

There had been wars between Gods and Rakshasas, war between Rama and Ravana and the great battle of Mahabharata. These have been elaborately described by great authors. *Asstras* were used in them with propitiations of mantras.

Once a warrior let out *agni astra* with mantric propitiation and there was hell-fire surrounding the enemy army immediately. One on the other side letting fly a rain astra, thick clouds began to pour in torrents. The whole of the battlefield was flooded, and *agni astra* became ineffective.

His opponent threw *vayu-astra* which dispersed the clouds. But the terrible winds made no distinction between friend and foe and uprooted both the armies. To counteract *Vayu-astra parvata* astra was used. A thousand mountains rose up and the winds were blocked. Then the enemy to pulverise the mountains sent out *Vajra* astra with its thousand lightnings. Then came the infallible but terrible *Brahmastra*. With the other weapons poetic flights rise, but with the mention of Brahmastra the authors begin shrivelling. Such was that terrible weapon; for it spared none in the three worlds.

Brahmastra is both a weapon of death, and a desirable one with spiritual might and unbounded benevolence. It causes total destruction and once for all stops war. It changes a war of hatred into a reign of peace and love. It drives away selfishness and establishes common good. Cowards flee away and peace becomes permanent. Such is Brahmastra. Gandhiji laid bare his mental agony and surrendered himself to God.

SARVODAYA

This total surrender helped him to climb to the summit of friendship. He spelled the mantra of love and let go the Brahmastra. Immediately, the goondas and rowdies gave up their hatred. Brahmastra did its work on them.

Whatever the type of battle, weapons for self-protection and the destruction of the enemy are used. Both the sides are moved by the same motives. Modern atomic weapons are most impartial in their destruction. One cannot make oneself immune to it, and throw it to destroy the enemy. Now the world is shaking with fear, and the only way to save itself is to surrender to God. It is for this reason that the organisation of Shanti Sena has become inevitable now. Shanti Sena has no friend or foe. It is out to destroy the hatred of the enemy and not the enemy.

It is time that Shanti Sena armed with Brahmastra takes the field. Then the fear of total destruction will disappear, and universal peace and happiness will usher in. That the Shanti warriors will establish peace which will lead to prosperity, need not be doubted.

When Ba became Mother to Bapu

One of the men at one place wished to know if Kasturba was Gandhiji's mother, and an old European lady who walked along by their car had the same impression. With amused joy Gandhiji said, "Yes, she is my mother." The next morning at the public meeting which she did not attend, people missed her and inquired why "mother" had not come. Gandhiji said, "A gentleman did last night mistake her for my mother, and for me as for her it is not a pardonable mistake but a welcome mistake. For years past she has ceased to be my wife by mutual consent. Now nearly 40 years ago, I became an orphan and for nearly 30 years she has filled the place of my mother. She has been my mother, friend, nurse, cook, bottle-washer and all these things."

From 'Mahatma Gandhi in Ceylon'

By S. Durai Raja Singam, Kauntan, Malaya.

Evolution of War through the Ages

Dr. M. Aramvalarthan, Ph.D. (Ohio)

Principal, Sri Ramakrishna Vidyalaya

NUMEROUS wars have occurred in the course of human history. It seems that wars fall into three categories.

(1)

In 334 B.C. the great conquest of Alexander began. This extraordinary monarch who was barely twenty-two years old at that time was inflamed with an ambition to conquer all of the world that was then known. In a brief span of six years, he laid low Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and the vast kingdom of Persia. Then he stormed the North Western gates of India. The famous battle at Jhelum, Alexander's encounter with gallant Porus and the capture of a part of North India are facts familiar to students of history. Alexander's objective was to establish a world empire. He had a relentless passion to achieve this objective.

Greece declined, Rome arose. Julius Ceasar, born in 102 B.C., strode around the Mediterranean as a great conquering hero. Like Alexander he too was inflamed to establish a vast empire. Countries fell at his feet one after another.

To the fraternity of Alexander and Caesar belong a number of military heroes who sprang and flourished in different parts of the world, in different periods of history. Chengiz Khan, Clive, and Napoleon are only a few outstanding names.

India has had her share of this military tradition. Though there be no instance of an Indian monarch marching across the frontiers of the country to conquer foreign territories and establish empires, it has always been considered the 'proper' thing for a king to fight the neighbouring monarch and enlarge his kingdom. Thus there was continuous warfare amongst the various kings of North India and amongst the Cheras, Cholas and Pandyas of the South. To these typical warring monarchs, however, King Asoka was a shining exception. He started in the traditional way, but experienced a unique spiritual crisis, emerged out of it a better man, and abjured for ever the way of violent warfare.

Wars of conquest are not always occasioned by some hero's ambition to build an empire. Sometimes the dominant reasons are not political, but commercial or even 'religious'. The many wars that intermittently broke out between the various vying powers of modern Europe were fought primarily for commercial reasons. The Crusade wars in Palestine and the Mohammedan wars of invasion in India were due to 'religious' reasons.

But all the wars cited above have two characteristics in common. First, the end for which they were fought was conquest. Second, the means with which they were fought were violent. We may call this category '*wars of conquest with violent means*'.

(2)

From 1775 to 1783 a major war was fought on the North American continent between the Americans and the British. The illustrious American leader, George Washington, gave the clarion call: "Let us raise a standard to which the honest and the wise may repair."

Men of good will, men of learning and wisdom, and ordinary folk rallied to the standard raised by Washington. The tillers of the soil flung their implements aside, picked up guns and marched to the battlefield. They knew they were fighting against injustice and for a righteous cause. They fought the war of independence to victory.

The American War of Independence was unlike the wars mentioned earlier. It was not a war of conquest, but a war against political injustice. Similar wars have been fought in several other countries. As a matter of fact, a war of conquest is usually succeeded sooner or later by a war of independence. Jhansi Rani and Shivaji are, in the case of India, examples of heroes who fought such wars.

On the soil of the North American continent again there took place a major war, this time, against social injustice. This was the Civil War between the South and the North on the slavery issue. Abraham Lincoln, who presided over this unhappy conflict between Americans and Americans, looked upon it as a retribution from God for the sins committed against the Negro brethren. Lincoln had an enormous sense of moral rectitude.

In 1789 France witnessed a major revolution. The people rose against the unjust social system prevailing in the country. They stormed the citadels of power and prestige. The watch-words of the French Revolution were Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Later came Karl Marx who wrote against the economic injustice of the capitalist order. He analysed the historic process, gave an economic interpretation to it and predicted the inevitable downfall of the capitalist order and the triumphant rise of the proletariat. He and Engels issued the Communist Manifesto and declared, 'We have nothing to lose but our chains, Workers of the world, unite.'! Lenin in Russia acted on the Marxian thesis and in 1917 the Communist revolution there scored a resounding triumph.

The French and the Russian revolutions were both wars against socio-economic injustice. These wars as well as those mentioned earlier have two characteristics in common. First the end for which they were fought is redressal of injustice—political, social or economic. Second, the means with which they were fought were violent. We may call this category '*wars against injustice with violent means*'.

There have been a few wars, however, that do not fall in this category. They were fought with means other than the military.

(3)

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Hungarian people had to put up a fight against the Austrian Emperor. Contrary to the terms of the old treaty, the Emperor tried to subordinate Hungary to the Austrian power. Francis Deak, a land-owner, organized the people and offered non-violent resistance. He admonished the people not to be betrayed into acts of violence, nor to abandon the ground of legality. 'This is the safe ground,' he said 'on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force. If suffering must be necessary, suffer with dignity. This advice was obeyed throughout Hungary.* Calmly but firmly, the people defied the Emperor's tax collectors, his police and even his army. Finally the Emperor capitulated and the Hungarian people triumphed. As Gregg says, 'though this campaign seems to have been defective because of some violence of inner attitude on the part of the Hungarians, it does provide a remarkable example of the power of non-violence.'

* Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Non-violence*, p. 3—4.

The story of Gandhiji's campaign in South Africa is well known to us. It was a clear vindication of the efficacy of non-violent resistance or *Satyagraha*, the new word coined by him to denote the new type of warfare. Later in India one witnessed a series of such *Satyagraha* campaign—Champaran, Vykom, Bardoli, Kheda, etc. Then the entire national movement for independence assumed the form of a *Satyagraha* on a magnificent scale. That it was crowned with glorious success is known to one and all of the present generation.

The end for which the Hungarian campaign as well as the other *Satyagraha* campaigns were conducted is redressal of injustice, political or social. But the distinguishing characteristic about them is that the means adopted were non-violent. We may call this category of wars as *wars against injustice with non-violent means*.

The Growing Science of Warfare

A consideration of the three types of wars, dealt with so far, seems to reveal that there is a definite, progressive evolution in the nature of warfare as it has come down the centuries.

Between the first type of warfare and the second, there is a similarity as well as a dissimilarity. The similarity is that the means adopted were violent. The dissimilarity is that the end in the first case was conquest, but it is redressal of injustice in the case of the second. The second type is surely an improvement over the first.

Again, between the second type of warfare and the third, there is a similarity as well as a dissimilarity. The similarity is that the end of the warfare in both cases is redressal of injustice. The dissimilarity is that the means adopted in the second type is violent, whereas they are non-violent in the case of the third. The third is surely an improvement over the second.

Thus we see three distinct phases in the evolution of warfare. It is intriguing to think about the next phase in this evolving science. Shanti Sena, which adopts non-violent means and whose end is substituting the police and the military for maintenance of law and order and defence, seems like the fourth and a fascinating phase. Vinobaji has already been speaking a lot about Shanti Sena. He has even proposed himself to the responsibility of the Supreme Commander. God willing, it may be given to India to usher in the new era.

★

Harold Elwin's Interview with Vinobaji

(Mr. Harold Elwin is from England and he put some interesting questions when he met Vinobaji on the 20th May, 1958, before he visited the Pandharpur temples with the friends belonging to other religions.)

Q 1. Might I ask you the oldest English question, "How are you?"

Ans: Far better than when I began this pilgrimage seven years ago and I am so glad to meet you again.

Q 2. While cycling with a Hindu friend I saw a Jain saint, quite naked. My friend said, "He is nearly as pure as anyone can be. He denies himself this and denies himself that and touches only that food that is given him and that only three times a week. He lives alone in the jungles. I asked, "Does he help any other, does he do good to any other man?" My friend answered, "Why should he? His duty is to purify himself and to gain internal peace. What would you have said to my friend and to the Jain?"

Ans: Do you know of a Jain friend of mine, who is on a fast for the last 40 days for world peace? (Here H. E. said, yes) This kind of extreme individualism, which you mention, is not understandable to the modern mind, but I still appreciate, not the method, but the attitude behind such action. The scientist does his experiments first in the laboratory in his own individual way and later turns the results to social use. Similarly, all discoveries in the spiritual sphere are first based on individual experience. If a man retires for mystic and religious experience for 10 or 20 years and then makes no use of it, we would say that all this had been in vain. The man who practises meditation and undergoes hardships can learn something which other men cannot and he can give the fruits of these for the benefit of mankind.

Q 3. This question is from 'a Western way of thinking' but I don't think you will mind that.

Many Western peoples' fear of death seems to amount to a fear of separation from their own ego. Do you think we get separated from our own ego after death? Is this as selfish a question as it sounds?

Ans: I don't think there is any such thing as a Western or an Eastern way of thinking. There are all sorts of thinking in all parts of the world.

Here H. E. interjected, "I meant only that Indians generally believe in rebirth more than we do" and Vinobaji continued:

Yes, I understand. By saying "separation from their own ego" I think you mean "from their kith and kin" as well. (H. E. Yes) No, this question is not at all selfish. It is a very pertinent and good question and should be asked and pondered over by everyone who has to face death. And each one of us has to. What happens after death is shrouded in mystery and we can only surmise it. One can get some clue, as personally I do, from the experience of deep meditation and also deep sleep. From there we proceed on the wings of speculation, sometimes unending speculation. I think, we do not lose our own ego after death, as long as we want to hang on to it. There will come a state where one does not want an individual ego but would like to lose oneself and get to the broader view of permeating one's ego in the entire universe and in that case one may lose one's ego by God's grace. So long as we have attachment for our ego, death will not separate us from it. But we will lose it by wanting to lose it and then only by God's grace.

Q. 4. Are you satisfied with the results forthcoming from the land distributed by Bhoodan?

Ans.: We have received some 4 million acres of land out of which 1 million have been distributed. Perhaps, half of the 3 millions remaining will not be worth distributing because it is fallow or barren and efforts will have to be made for the reclamation of this land. Distribution is difficult, because it involves many people besides the donors and recipients and many other factors. Work is therefore proceeding slowly. The land so far distributed has given very good results. People who received land have put in their efforts and are making good use of the land as I hear mainly through reports from Bihar, because it is mainly there

that land has been distributed. But land distribution is not the greatest result; in fact, it is of the least importance. This is a spiritual and moral movement for changing values. When one gives out of the fullness of one's heart to a poor person, one gets elevated and to that extent society is elevated. Of course, the results from the land are important and we do not overlook that. Your question is pertinent and we must pay more attention to it. Therefore, I have advised my people to prepare reports of the work done and they are trying to get the figures.

Q. 5. The last time I was with you in Deoghat, you were attacked while trying to enter a temple with Harijans. Do you think that could happen now? Do you think the caste question has begun to dissolve?

Ans: I am happy to say that this could not happen now. But I have now gone one step further. First, I took only Harijans with me, but now I also want people of other religions to be admitted in our temples. I have failed twice and succeeded once. I failed in Jagannath Puri and Guruvayoor where I tried to take Christian friends. They explained, "We can allow Harijans but with other religions it is different; and at present we cannot allow them to enter, although we appreciate your view-point."

In Karnatak at Gokarna Mahabaleshwar, which is also a famous centre of pilgrimage, I went with a Muslim friend and he was admitted. But the caste question is rather wider than that. Of course caste distinction is gradually being extinguished. However, the modern method of election is bringing much evil into this question. It rather gives encouragement to the caste distinctions. At election times one party will announce its candidate, then the other party, so as not to lose caste votes, will nominate a man of that same caste. I have asked Parliament if there is not some way to do away with that.

BHOODAN A WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT <i>Annual Sub. Rs. 6.</i> <i>Write to:</i> BHOODAN 374, SHANIVARPETH, POONA.	SARVODAYA ANNUAL BOUND VOLUMES-VI & VII <i>are available at Rs. 5 per copy</i> <i>(Postage Extra)</i> <i>Write to:</i> SARVODAYA TANJORE, (India)
--	--

L'Arche, Non-violent Community In France

James Berry

THE Gandhian ashram, started by one of Gandhi's European disciples, Lanza del Vasto, lies at the foot of the French Alps. There in the Midi of France, where 1,500 years ago Roman troops fought the barbarian invasions, Lanza del Vasto has started the first ashram in the Occident. It is hoped that this community, based on Christian principles of non-violence as practised by Gandhi, will be able to spread by means of a secular order whose name is "The Working Order of L'Arche." This order is not another religion or sect and carries no pretention to any new revelation as to final ends. It is neither a religious nor a chivalrous order but contains the characteristics of the two. It has for a mission, work. By the Order the esthetic, poetic and mystical values of war are transferred to work. One who wishes peace must renounce rest.

The following paragraphs are taken from the L'Arche community publication and were written by Lanza del Vasto himself.

".....The Order's purpose is to effect a human reconciliation, a purification of the means of existence, an orientation towards the spiritual life. The Order is no attempt to attack, criticize, reform or replace any established church and does not recommend any new method of adoration. The rule of the Order invites each man to convert himself to his proper religion to intensify his study of texts and to observe, alone or by groups, his cult. All religions are tolerated by the Order; *only intolerance and irreligion are not accepted.*

"The aim of the Order is to create, in the heart of nations islands of perfect social life, turning men away from the current philosophic follies—to teach not with theories but with example, to reform men instead of laws. In entering into the Order the members, play no part in the actions which lead to bloody

revolutions. They play no part in the works or excitations which lead to war. *It is strictly forbidden to teach political opinions, occupy official posts or to seize power.*

"The Laborious order leads two types of labour: interior, and exterior. The second is the extension of the first. This aim is realized by work in shops and fields, quiet work and forceful work, prayers, rites, feasts, games, songs and studies, spiritual exercises and musical applications. The periods of instruction and confinement are alternated with periods of wandering and prediction. All these things fill the day of a man at L'Arche.

"The only revolution where one can expect something valuable is the Gandhian revolution which is only efficient in transforming the world in the degree that the revolutionary transforms and purifies himself. *Without a constant and interior care, liberty is impossible. Without liberty, works and charity are worth nothing.*

The Order's internal life is regulated by several rules which are designed to fulfill the conditions of a non-violent society. The 'companions' or members of the community make 7 promises. They are:—

1. Work on oneself, on others, on the land, on things.
2. Obedience to the rule, to the chiefs and fathers who are the guarantee and the testimony.
3. Responsibility and co-responsibility.
4. Purification.
5. Poverty. Each one renounces his belongings, his possessions, his ambitions. The Order itself doesn't own anything and only rented lands are used.
6. Truth in acts and in attitude.
7. Non-violence.

"It isn't transgression to break the Rule by weakness or blindness since to sin is human. It is a transgression to break the promises without accepting an appropriate penance.

"The Order is a family of free men. No free man possesses the right to punish another. A free man is one, who recognizes the Law, recognizes his fault and punishes himself. Whoever is witness of his brother is held to advise him in secret, in the name of the rule, and to decide with his spiritual father an appropriate penance. If the guilty one resists, the witness must assume the penance himself. *It is in this way that he exercises at the same time the practice of co-responsibility and non-violence. In this way the police, the spy, the judge, the hangman and the executioner will disappear.*

"The communities are to be as self-sufficient as possible and without recourse to machines or outside products. The object is to simplify the work so as to reduce the complexity of it, and to detach oneself from machines and outside aid in order to acquire liberty..."

At the community there are many hand crafts including weaving and all the clothes the *compagnons* wear are spun and woven by themselves. There is a carpenter's shop and a shoemaker's shop where the sandals for the community are made. The spoons and forks are handcarved wood and the designs are both intricate and beautiful. Everyone at L'Arche has a handicraft and in addition to weaving, carpentry, sandal making, forging, baking and wood-carving, there is book-binding and type setting. The community journal '*Nouvelles de L'Arche*' is published from their own press. Just recently the *compagnons* opened up a paper mill and now they print the journal on the thick paper they make themselves.

The food is simple and adequate, consisting of a base of cereals. The whole community is vegetarian. Their home-baked bread must be enough to live on, without the help of the soup and other cereal and vegetable foods. Small amounts of cheese and eggs with some fruit are eaten as well. The soil in this corner of France is poor and water is rare, but despite these handicaps the community hopes to have enough food this year so as to be completely independent of outside sources.

At L'Arche we rose early to avoid the hot Midi sun when working in the fields. If we were near enough to the house we returned for the morning prayer at 7-30. After the prayers we ate

a break-fast of milk, bread and cereal. Friday, however, is a day of total fast for the *compagnons* as well as a day of silence. I was willing enough to be silent, but ate with some other visitors who couldn't take a day's work without food. After breakfast we resumed work till 10-30 and then returned to the house to wash and await lunch. I understand that in the mornings, after the work, the community often practises songs, chants and dances in preparation for various feasts. In the afternoon, after the siesta, there is work at crafts. It is at this time that the chairs are repaired, wool embroidered, types set, sandals made, wood carved, etc. There are some professional crafts as well, including two doctors at the community.

There are several families living at L'Arche and the community has opened its own school for the several children who live there. This school follows the Montessori method and is in session during the summer. *The distinction between work and play is replaced by the idea of fast and feast.* The children find it quite normal to attend school during the summer and the idea that work is doing something you don't like and play is doing something you do like doesn't occur to them.

One must assist at a feast day at L'Arche to really understand the depth of their mode of life. The shoddy popular love songs and dances are replaced by spirited folk dances and old folk songs. At a feast at L'Arche there is always folk dancing and everybody joins in the almost forgotten folk dances of France. Many old folk songs are revived and the original harmony is restored, so that they are sung at L'Arche just as the troubadours sang them so many hundreds of years ago, when folk singing was an art and an occupation.

In addition to working on the land and on things, the members of the community work on themselves too. Each morning there is a period of meditation and with every hour of the day there is a minute or two of silent recollection. Evening prayers are held for everybody together and then each religious disciple prays separately. The community is mostly Catholic but all traditional religions are welcome.

The community is an effort to return to a "depth" of living and to base one's life in a sane and natural routine. Each person is aided by a natural way of life to expand in the direction of his natural aptitudes and inherent talents.

The depth of the life that the compagnons lead comes from their refusal to secularize, their personal and community life. "Secularization", says Allen Tate, "is simply a substitution of the means for the ends". *The people in the community at L'Arche reduce to the possible minimum, the poisonous attachment to means. To avoid that attachment is the purpose of the "Travail sursoi".* *

(Italics is our's—Editor.)

THE URCHIN WHO CONQUERED

At Gandhigram, Juhu, Sarojini Naidu, who had been a co-detenu with Gandhiji in the detention camp at Poona and like him had been released on grounds of health some time earlier, planted herself as his gate-keeper and watchdog to protect him from the curiosity of the crowds, importunate visitors and intruders. Hers was a difficult and delicate task. But she did justice to it as she alone could have done. Unmindful of her own frail health and need for rest, she stood guard over him like a mother-tiger over her cub, vindicating the affectionate nickname of Ammajan (mother dear) which Gandhiji had given her.

Many came, many had to be turned away. But one who came and saw and conquered was a poorly-clad urchin of about ten or twelve. He had waited the whole morning to have Gandhiji's *darshan*. He placed before him fruit worth two or three rupees. One of Gandhiji's party took him for a beggar boy and said something to that effect. The youngster's pride was hurt. "No, Mahatmaji, I am not a beggar. Ever since I heard of your release, I have been working as a coolie and have earned the money to make my humble offering." Gandhiji was deeply moved. "Come and eat yourself the fruit of your labour", he said to him, and offered him the fruit that he had brought. But the boy would not touch it. "If you eat it, Mahatmaji, it will fill my stomach," he answered, and triumphantly walked away with a beaming countenance.

—From "Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase"

Jai Jagat—Victory to the World!

This is a letter received by Sri Donald G. Groom, Sarvodaya International Centre, Bangalore.

192, Chamberwell Grove,
London, S.E. 5.

Dated 17, July 1958.

Dear Friend,

I have been asked to write to you by a small group of pacifists who have been inspired by the work of VINOBA BHAVE and who wish to seek your advice.

We feel very strongly that, in face of the terrible twin problems of war and want, the time of compromise and toleration with these evils is over. The only answer to the increasingly urgent threat of a nuclear holocaust, and the prevalence of starvation and poverty throughout the world, is an equally urgent and determined attempt to spend every effort helping to feed the hungry and offering in the place of fear and hate, love. We want to try to show, not by preaching, but by practical action how a truthful morality and responsibility for the suffering of others can help here and now to bring the only rightful peace.

It is difficult when one feels something intensely to put clearly the emotions which each of us feel. I only know at last that the only real action is that action which is centred on one's fellows in need and distress. It is little use speaking of the power of non-violence, faith and love when every day one participates actively in a system in which violence of man against man and coercion through lack of love is practised ruthlessly. To believe that to remain in this atmosphere beside one's fellows in order to try to show a different way is fallacious—for all the progressive movements have taken place on these lines, and still violence is practised at an increasing rate.

We believe that we must create first one settlement, working land organically and using the fruit where it is most needed. We shall work as hard and as long as it is necessary so as to create as self-sufficient and simple a basis of life as possible, thus ensuring that the benefit of the greatest part of our labour will be available

for relief of suffering. We shall collectively renounce any form of war and violence and practise our belief that peace can only come through fellowship and fulfilment in constructive work.

Our leaders will show their leadership in the dirtiest and hardest work. We shall refuse the granting or accepting of privileges, since that way brings exploitation and self-seeking.

We shall work hard, in faith, believing that our Father will help us, if we are doing right. And that as a result there will be more and more land forthcoming to work and more and more volunteers who wish to join our army of peace-makers.

We shall not become isolated, inside our own crankish communities, but will affect others widely and stress our social action. In the face of adult logic and sophisticated criticism we shall try to do as Christ enjoined us—'Unless you accept the Kingdom of Heaven as a little child, you shall in no wise enter therein.' He also said, 'Sell what you have, give to the poor, and follow me.'

How can we refuse to follow His instructions any longer? For, if it was necessary to sacrifice for others two thousand years ago, even more is it urgent that we do so now.

We are not united in a faith in God—some would speak of spirit of goodness, of humanity. But Gandhi said that God speaks even in the atheism of the atheist. We are united in believing that the only joy and peace and sanity possible is in working for those millions who do not benefit from power or politics, but who suffer continually without our Father's ministry.

We have been offered the use of 30 acres of land in Wales, and hope to establish our first base there. Vinoba spoke recently of the need for voices in other lands speaking of peace and expressed his faith that such voices would be heard. We hope similarly to be able to hear of others who are trying to find a new way as we are—and who will be able to join with us in building an international movement. 'VICTORY TO THE WORLD' does express it best.

—John Nelson.

Bhoodan Movement in Andhra Pradesh

Prabhakar, Hyderabad

WE present this report from a province where the Bhoodan movement had its origin. In these 7 years—from 18th April, 1958 to this day—the movement has grown by leaps and bounds. Though we could not progress with such a speed as the other provinces did till three years back, we are now able to declare, as result of our efforts during the last three years, 458 gramdams from our State and we hope that we would be able to declare in the near future a Talukdan from Cuddapah District.

After Vinobaji toured in the Telangana region for the first time in 1951, we entered Andhra Pradesh again on the 1st October, 1957. He walked in Andhra Pradesh for 7½ months before setting his foot in Madras State.

Even from the inception of the Bhoodan movement the Telangana region has been very active with regard to collection and distribution of Bhoodan land; whereas the rest of Andhra Pradesh could become so active only during and after Vinobaji's tour in 1955-56. There are now more than 200 workers who are engaged in Bhoodan and Gramdan work in the various districts of Andhra Pradesh.

From 1953 to 1956 a weekly in Telugu by name *Daridra Narayana* was published on behalf of the Andhra Bhoodan Samithi. In 1956 a separate publications division started functioning. A fortnightly in Telugu called *Bhoodan* has been started. Recently it has been made a Weekly and is published from Tenali.

Since the last 2½ years a separate wing of Bhoodan is bringing out publications relating to Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and propagating them. It has published more than 30 volumes till now. More than 2½ lakhs of copies of them have been sold away.

Besides the foot marches conducted by the workers of the Andhra Pradesh region, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Acharya Bhansali, Sri Krishnadas Jaju, Vallabha Swami, Dada Dharmadhikari, Vimala

Thakkar, Dr. Susila Nayyar, Anna Saheb Sahasra Budhe helped to build the movement in Andhra Pradesh by sparing much of their time and efforts, touring in the regions, lecturing on Bhoodan and participating in Workers' Training Camps.

During the last two years Gramraj and Gramdan Training Camps were held in almost all the districts, and training was given to hundreds of workers with regard to the history, philosophy and methods of the Bhoodan movement.

Sarvodaya Patra has been started in Pochampalli on 18th April of this year and the programme is now spreading to the other parts of the State. Efforts are being made to organise Santi Sena in Tenali, a town in Guntur District.

The important statistics up-to-date with regard to the collection and distribution of Bhoodan Land and Gramdans in Andhra Pradesh are given below.

In the whole of Andhra Pradesh 2,41,950 acres of land have been collected and 86,399 acres of land have been distributed. 1,55,551 acres of land have yet to be distributed. Arrangements are being made to start constructive work in the Gramdan villages of Cuddapah and Mahboobnagar districts. Danapatras amounting to Rs. 59,492 were received towards Sampathidan. A sum of Rs. 19,000/- in cash has been received as 'Sadhan Dan'. This amount is being utilised for digging wells in the districts. Four houses worth about Rs. 50,000/- have been received as 'Grihadan.'

In January, 1958, the Andhra Pradesh Gramdan Seminar, the first of its kind, was held in Hyderabad. The Seminar discussed the co-ordination between Gramdan and Community Development Administration.

These achievements, like the declaration of more than 400 Gramdans, the training of workers, spreading of Bhoodan and Gramdan ideologies and educating the masses, show that Andhra Pradesh is not lagging behind in the Bhoodan movement. ★

Gramraj—Nai Talim]

The knights of peace

[Contd. from p. 68]

Far too little is heard in our schools and colleges, of the heroes and knights of peace. I would like to tell you the story of the French doctor of the Franco-German war, whose hospital, close behind the firing line, received and ended the wounded of both armies alike. Up to the door marched a threatening detachment of French troops. "How many Germans have you got in here?" demanded their leader roughly. The unarmed doctor faced him without wavering. "I have no one here," he answered quietly, "expect wounded men."

Is it really useless for one man alone to speak out against wrong? In 1955 the Vice-Councillor of a German University resigned from his post in protest against the appointment as minister of Education of a man known to be a Nazi. It seemed to him the only protest he could make, and he believed himself to be alone. But his courageous stand called forth the united support of his whole university staff, public opinion was aroused, and the unworthy Minister was forced to resign.

The story of the early Quakers in the days of King Charles II of England provides many examples of pure and open *Satyagraha*. The free worship of God in any other form than that used by the Established Church was forbidden by law. The Quaker groups defied the law, not in secret, but openly and publicly, and continued to meet and worship according to their conscience in their accustomed places. In some towns the whole adult congregation was carried off to jail. One can imagine the parents' feeling at leaving their young children alone, but they did not hesitate. Older children took charge of the younger, cooked and cared for the homes and animals; kindly neighbours helped. On the following Sunday there was a Quaker Meeting in the usual place, a meeting of children, led by boys and girls of twelve and fourteen years of age. The King's soldiers retired baffled; the "illegal" worship went on.

The world is full of such stories of the triumphant resistance offered to armed wrong-doing by the methods of non-violent *satyagraha*; stories of heroic endurance of hardship in the service of some great human cause; stories of men and women who gave their first loyalty to God and humanity, who recognized that selfishness is selfishness even when it is the selfishness of a group, and that this selfishness is the greatest danger that mankind has to overcome. ★

French Satyagraha against Atom Plant

Shantidas—Lanzo del Vasto

Sri Shantidas is the well-known French author of "Gandhi to Vinoba". He is running a Gandhian ashram in France, which is the only one of its kind in Europe. Shri Shantidas has sent us a descriptive article of its objects and programme which appeared in an American weekly for publication in Sarvodaya. Readers will find the article elsewhere in this issue.

Shri Shantidas and his 82 followers climbed over the barriers to stage a non-violent demonstration in the heart of the French atomic plant at Marcoule (in the Gard) in April '58. Armed guards refused to fire on these French men, women and children.

Sri Shantidas has recently written a letter to Vinobaji in which he has referred to this and the Satyagraha of fast in Geneva in front of the Palace of Nations. As suggested in his letter to us we are publishing his letter to Vinobaji below:

"Beloved Babaji,

Here we are opposing by Fast to Bomb, ten of us here in Geneva in front of the Palace of Nations where they are discussing about the life or death of mankind, and it is but a joke. Eight others of our Ashram in front of the Factory of Marcoule where they are hastily preparing the first French atomic bomb. We are fasting for 15 days and this is the tenth.

In Geneva we are as it were in paradise, nature is magnificent and people most kindly. In France it has been harder for our little ones. Police broke in their camp, pulled away fences, tents, and men. But another group came to take the place, so a few non-violent fighters held up two hundred policemen for a few days. And, as everybody knew what it was about, one could say that police contributed better than we in our manifestation.

God will do what He pleases of our sacrifice. We feel, we can do little. The world is so blind and sleepy. It is nearly impossible to shake them even in front of death.

Oh pray for us and for them, Great Soul. Peace to you and yours.

Geneva,
9th July, 1958.

Shantidas.

P.S.—I do not know if you received my last letter: It was about Easter; With 82 of our followers we intruded in the factory of Marcoule. We literally guarded and refused to go until they dragged us out by the shoulders or by the feet. That was the beginning of the present action".

News and Notes

Sadhu Subramaniam's Fast

Ever since the programme of Shanti-Sena came to be stressed by Vinobaji, Sri R. T. Subramaniam, Lok-Sevak of Ramnad district in Tamilnad has been giving all his time and energy for this. As soon as communal clashes broke in Ramnad district he went there to restore amity between the communities. A few months ago he started the Shanti Ashram at Mudukulathur to make it a nucleus for Shanti-Sena activity. By personal approach and persuasion he could avert some communal frictions. With a view to purify himself to become a fitter instrument for service and in prayer to God to save us from the class and caste feelings he undertook a fast for 21 days from 3rd July. Though he was weak he could successfully go through the fast which he broke on 24th July. Vinobaji sent him a message saying "Hope your fast will help Peace mission". Sri Subramaniam feels a sense of peace and joy and stronger faith in the Shanti-Sena ideal and programme after the fast.

Bhoo dan of two British Friends

Mr. A. G. Hugh and his sister Mrs. William Hugh, two British residents in Madhya Pradesh, have donated 3 acres of land and dedicated their lives for Vinobaji's Sarvodaya Movement. The land was offered to Sri P. R. Malaviya, a Sarvodaya worker in Hoshangabad. In a letter they say "It is our hope that the philosophy of Sarvodaya and striving after world peace will spread rapidly throughout India and abroad. The two ideals are closely linked and must inevitably contribute to peace, welfare and prosperity of mankind. We gladly donate our lives towards such great ideals."

Andhra Sarvodaya Workers' Conference

The Conference was held at Sivarampalli on 13th, 14th and 15th July near Hyderabad. About 150 workers from all over Andhra State attended. All aspects of our programme were discussed. Shri Vallabhsamy was present. The workers seemed to have left the Conference inspired by a resolve to implement all the programme.

Sarvodaya Patra

Rajendra Babu inaugurating 'The Sarvodaya Patra' at Hyderabad eulogised the virtues of the same and said that it was not a new thing and referred to his old experiences of 'Sarvodaya Patra' while as a boy and as a political worker and wished it every success.

The Sarvodaya Patra programme is making progress in Bangalore city. The *Sarvodaya Nagar* fortnightly says that 157 seers of rice were collected from 102 homes in Gandhinagar. This would support eight workers. Sri S. Jagannathan and his wife Smt. Krishnamma are concentrating on Gramdan in Batlagundu Firka in Tamilnad. Sri Jagannathan says that there is good response for Sarvodaya Patra which is sufficient to support the workers there.

A Letter from U. S. A.

A friend from Kansas, U.S.A., while desiring to subscribe for "Sarvodaya" says that he would like to get in contact with some of our subscribers in India in order to exchange ideas. He introduces himself as follows :

"I am a college professor. I teach biology, chemistry, astronomy, geology, but I read many things in other fields, and I am at present writing a textbook of General Education in hope it may be a contribution to WORLD PEACE. Also, I have read writings of or accounts about Vinoba Bhave, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mohandas Gandhi, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Nehru etc."

Vinobaji's Yatra Programme in Gujrat

Vinobaji is coming from Marathwada to Gujerat on 23rd Sept. He will spend 110 days in Gujerat, Saurashtra and Kutch. 10th January 1959 he will visit Baroda where he had spent his childhood. From Kaira he will proceed to Saurashtra. From Cambay to Bhavnagar he will sail in the sea by steamlaunch. On the way he will stop at Kandla Gandhidam. He will visit Ahmedabad on 17th Dec. and the Sabarmati Harijan Ashram on 18th December.

Shahibagh, Ahmedabad.

Ramesh Vyas.

An Error in Sarvodaya, June

While glancing through the June number of 'Sarvodaya' at Pandharpur a serious mistake on page 426 caught Vinobaji's eagle eyes. In the 3rd line of para 3 the "Gramdan movement" must be read as "Community Development movement", for the change in the objectives were made by it in the light of those of the Gramdan movement. We regret for this serious mistake.

Acknowledgement

Thoreau, Tolstoy and Gandhiji, By Pyarelal, Pages: 20; Price 75 nP. Published by Benson's, Calcutta; Distributors, Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street, Calcutta.

Religion and Society: A Christian Approach to Sarvodaya: Conference Findings. Edited by P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas: Price Rs. 2; Published by Christian Institute for the Study of Religions and Society, 17, Miller's Road, Bangalore.

The War Resister—Second Quarter 1958; Lansbury House, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

What is Pacifism? A Declaration of Policy and Principles. General Secretary, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London.

The Story of Koinonia Community: R. T. 2, Americus, Georgia. Sanatorio Primavera, Alto, Paraguay, Newsletter—Society of Brothers or Bruderhof Movement, Oak Lake, Farmington, Pennsylvania

The Plough: The bulletin of the Bruderhof Communities Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England.

* *

SARVODAYA

1054

Vol. VIII || SEPTEMBER 1958 || No. 3



C. Subrahmanya Bharathi

The greatest of modern Tamil Poets who had the prophetic vision to anticipate the non-violent land revolution of Vinobaji forty years ago.

Annual Sub.
India Rs. 4.50
12 Sh. or \$ 2.00

Single
Copy
0.37 nP.

SARVODAYA
PACHURALAYA,
TANJORE. (S.I.)

SARVODAYA LITERATURE

	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.
Swaraj Shastra—		Higher Education	
The Principles of a Non-violent Political Order (Vinoba Bhawe)	— 1 00	in Rural India — 1 50	
Lessons from Europe (J. C. Kumarappa)	— 0 50	Hindustani Talimi Sangh (6th Annual Report) — 1 50	
Why Go-Seva? („)	— 1 00	Card-board Modelling — 1 25	
Bee-keeping	— 1 50	Basic National Education — (Revised syllabus for the training of Teachers) 1 00	
„	— 1 75	Seven Years of Work—	
The Cow in our Economy (J. C. Kumarappa)	— 0 75	— A Review — 0 50	
Planning and Sarvodaya (J. B. Kripalani)	— 0 50	Report of the 6th All-India Basic Educational Conference — 1 50	
Human Values and Technological Change (Rajkrishna)	— 0 37	Pre-Basic Education — Syllabus for the training of teachers — 0 50	
Swaraj for the Masses (J. C. Kumarappa)	— 1 00	Rice — 0 50	
Why Gramraj? (Gora)	— 0 50	Compost Latrines — 0 31	
Planning for Sarvodaya—	1 00	Nai Talim at Sevagram — 0 25	
Economy of Permanence (J. C. Kumarappa)	— 3 00	Thoughts on National Language — 2 00	
Hindustani Talimi Sangh Publications:		Gandhiana — A Bibliography of Gandhian Literature — 3 00	
A Picture and Programme of Adult Education (Santha Narulekar and Marjorie Sykes)	— 0 75	Letters to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel — 2 50	
“BOIMANDAU”—		Economic and Industrial Life and Relations—	
A French Community of Work (Clarie Huchet Bishop)	— 1 50	Vol. I — 2 50	
The Story of Twelve Years (E. W. Ariyanayakam)	0 25	Vol. II — 3 00	
Plan and Practice (Santha Narulekar)	— 1 50	Vol. III — 2 50	
Basic Education — the need of the Day (Pattabi Sitaramayya)	— 0 25	Christian Missions — their Place in India — 2 00	
Educational Reconstruction — 2 00		By Pyarelal:	
Two Years of Work — 2 50		Mahatma— Gandhi the Last Phase Vol. I — 20	
Basic National Education (Complete syllabus for Grades I to VIII)	— 1 50	Vol. II — 20 ples.	
		Pilgrimage for Peace — 10 ples.	
		Gandhian Techniques — 10 ples.	
		By Rajendra Prasad:	
		Constructive Programme (Some Suggestions) — 0 50	
		Satyagraha in Champaran 2 25	

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE.

— TO READERS —

The pages of “Sarvodaya” have been increased from the 8th volume commencing from July 1958 and we are compelled to increase the annual subscription to Rs. 4.50 for India and Ceylon. The increasing cost of paper and printing has not been taken into consideration in the revised subscription.

Subscription for other countries is 12 sh. or 2 Dollars.

The balance of subscription as on 1st July '58 will be adjusted at the enhanced rate and the subscribers will be duly informed before renewal.

Subscribers in England and Europe can remit the subscription through

Ms. Housmans Bookshop,
Peace News,
3, Blackstock Road,
London N. 4.

Some of the back numbers are available at 37 nP. per copy inclusive of postage.

Annual Bound volumes are available at Rs. 6 per copy inclusive of postage.

Agencies for

enrolling subscribers and sale of monthly issues are requested to

Write to

Managing Editor,
“Sarvodaya”,
Srinivasapuram, Tanjore,
India.



September 1958

EIGHTY-SEVENTH ISSUE

CONTENTS

A Revolutionary Step	98
Lok Sevak Sangh	
— Mahatma Gandhi	99
The Coming Age	
— Subrahmanya Bharati	101
The Challenge before Sarva Seva Sangh	
— Donald G. Groom	103
Decisions of The Chalisgaon Conference	105
Some Questions on Basic Education	
— Acharya Vinobaji	107
The Boon that proved a Curse	
— C. Rajagopalachari	110
Ahimsa gains Ground the World Over	
— Richard B. Gregg	113
One Month in England	
— Siddharaj Dhadda	117
Sarvodaya Approach to Industry, Trade and Labour (2)	120
Sarvodaya Agricultural Policy	
— Jayaprakash Narayan	125
The Invincible Chariot	128
Karma-Vikrama-Akarma	
— Acharya Vinobaji	129
Jayaprakash Narayan at the Scott Bader Commonwealth	
— Ernest Bader	133
The Tyranny of Scientific Materialism	
— Esme Wynne-Tyson	135
Sarvodaya in Britain	
— Wilfred Wellock	137
Sarvodaya Prachuralaya	141
News and Notes	143



A Revolutionary Step



Two years ago in Palani the Sarva Seva Sangh took a revolutionary step in liberating the Bhoodan movement from the shackles of organisation and the subsidy from centralised funds. This step inspired thousands of workers to make the movement the people's own and we see its marvellous progress as a Gramdan movement today.

Time has now come for the Sarva Seva Sangh to apply the same test to itself and make it a peoples' organisation. The Sarva Seva Sangh under the inspiring guidance of Vinobaji has taken one more revolutionary step at Chalisgaon on 9th August "that all its activities excluding its work of village reconstruction and including its office and publications etc., should depend for the recurring expenses only on the people's support. The restriction would not apply to non-recurring items of capital expenditure."

The essential basis of a non-violent revolution is the acceptance of the ideology by the people and the popular sanction expressed in concrete form of hearty labour and love. The Sarva Seva Sangh has decided therefore on the four forms of popular sanction. They are (1) *Sutranjali*, the offering of one hank of yarn by each on 12th February in memory of Mahatma Gandhi; (2) *Sutra-dana*, gifts of self-spun yarn hanks; (3) *Sharam-dan*, contribution of labour and (4) the *Sarvodaya Patra*.

The last has become now the chief programme. Vinobaji is emphasising the importance of this in his prayer speeches.

It behoves now thousands of Sarvodaya workers to forge the peoples' sanction through their spontaneous acceptance of this token of Sarvodaya patra in every home and justify the revolutionary step taken by the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Vinobaji's Yatra.

Vinobaji will enter Gujarat on 23rd September. He will conclude his 110 days' yatra in Gujarat and Saurashtra on 10th January 1959, when he would begin yatra in Rajasthan. The next Sarvodaya Sammelan is expected to be held in Ajmere in Rajasthan in February 1959.

Lok Sevak Sangh

Mahatma Gandhi

We are republishing the following well-known article of Gandhiji better known as the 'Last Will and Testament', since it has relevance to the decisions of the Chalisgaon Conference published elsewhere in this issue.

THOUGH split into two, India having attained the political independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress, in its present shape and form, a propaganda vehicle and a parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of India's seven hundred thousand villages, as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendancy of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. The Congress must be kept out of unhealthy competition with the political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons, the All-India Congress Committee resolves to disband the existing Congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with the power to alter them, as occasion may demand:

"Every panchayat of five adult men or women being villagers or village-minded, shall form a unit.

"Two such contiguous panchayats shall form the working party, under a leader elected from among themselves.

"When there are a hundred such panchayats, the fifty first grade leaders shall elect, from among themselves, one second grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders, in the meanwhile, working under the second grade leader. Parallel groups of two hundred panchayats shall continue to be formed, till they cover the whole of India, each succeeding group of panchayats electing a second grade leader, after the manner of the first. All the second grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India, and severally for their respective areas. The second grade leaders may elect, whenever they deem necessary, from among themselves a chief who will during pleasure, regulate and command all the groups.

(As the final formation of provinces or districts is still in a state of flux, no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into provincial or district councils, and jurisdiction over

the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed, at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master, the whole of India.)

"1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of khadi made from self-spun yarn or certified by the A.I.S.A., and he must be a teetotaler. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability, in any shape or form, in his own person or in his family and must be a believer in the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, creed or sex.

"2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

"3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

"4. He shall keep a record of his work from day to day.

"5. He shall organise the villages, so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.

"6. He shall educate villagers in sanitation and hygiene, and take all measures for prevention of ill-health and disease among them.

"7. He shall organise the education of the village folk from birth to death along the lines of the Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

"8. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters' roll, are duly entered therein.

"9. He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification, to acquire it for getting the right of franchise.

"10. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

"The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies: All-India Spinners' Association, All-India Village Industries Association, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh and Goseva Sangh.

"The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man's pice."

* *

The Coming Age

C. Subrahmanya Bharati

[Vinobaji in a recent speech in Marathwada referred to Tiruvalluvar and Bharati as his authorities for Bhoodan. The following is probably what he had in mind with reference to Bharati. To many it may be news that the great poet of Tamil Nadu had not a few prose and poetical pieces in English to his credit. We publish the following as our humble homage to his hallowed memory on the occasion of his death anniversary day which happens to be the birth day of Vinobaji too.]

FROM the beginning of history, the higher human will has been consistently striving to bring about perfect fellowship, or at least mutual harmlessness, among human beings. The poets of the race have sung of it, prophets have preached it, and even legisla-



tors have often pretended to work for it. But the construction of human society could only appeal to the intellects and emotions of a few classes, who had to be content with regarding the higher teachings as ideal counsels which yet could not be made practical in ordinary human life. So the will of Man, aspiring towards the heights, has ever been defeated by the old animal custom of treating human life as a theatre of "competition"—that is to say, mutual injury and endless strife for securing physical necessities and luxuries. Competition is said to be the declared rule of life among animals, but human "civilisation" has aggravated that evil principle into such terrible forms that we are worse than the lower animals in certain respects. There are plenty of crows in the town where I am living. But I find that the crows do not fight each other a thousandth part so badly as men have ever been and are doing, for food and shelter.

What the Westerners call socialism is not clearly understood here. But still for the West as well as the East, there is only one decent way of living, viz., to make the earth common property and live on it as fellow-workers and co-partners. We have a tradition

that in the *Krita-yuga*, men lived like that in this country. That may or may not be true. But human will shall yet succeed in bringing about that *Krita-yuga* in all countries and in not a far-off, future. The higher will of man has been baulked till now because for some reason or other it could not direct the main part of its energy towards rectifying the root of all our social ills. Justice must be made to triumph in the very formation of human society. And then she will naturally triumph in all human affairs and relations. *So long as the principle of competition holds sway over the structure of human associations, so long as land and water do not belong commonly to all human beings, men are bound to behave worse than brutes in their "economic" relations at any rate.* They are fools who think that the sages had no knowledge of political economy. The Rishis were wise not merely in their teachings about the other world, as certain people imagine, they were equally wise in their teachings about this world. When the majority of men realise this fact fully, we shall have taken the next step in our upward evolution.

(Italics ours)

TURN JOY AND GRIEF INTO GOOD

Joy and grief are not within our command. But the endeavour to turn into good whatever may be in store for us, by the very strength of our own souls, lies within our scope. I wish all of you to be happy; but for some, the fulfilment of this prayer is hard to attain. This alone is my prayer for you that you may at all times succeed in the endeavour to bear grief with magnanimity and to transcend it by the strength of your spirit. This life is not the ultimate truth and to be too much attached to it is an illusion. If you can free your mind from such attachment, if you can regard your everyday self as something outside your eternal self, if, instead of permitting the world to grind down your soul, you can keep your mind in a detached state, above worldly things, then surely you will walk in the ways of truth and be free from all sorrow and indignity.

—Rabindranath Tagore

(From a letter to his daughter—
Visvabharati Quarterly 1957)

The Challenge Before Sarva Seva Sangh

Donald G. Groom

Mr. Groom who attended the Conference at Chalisgaon is giving his reactions to the momentous decision of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

I think that many realised that the organisation that was set up in 1949 to carry on the work of the institutions founded by Mahatma Gandhi had not found its final shape. The original purpose of those institutions was obviously for ushering in the Sarvodaya order of society in India, yet there was an obvious conflict inherent in the idea that such a society could ever be brought about through organisation. At the same time the need for some organisation and co-ordination for the institutions was obvious. We passed over the difficulty by establishing two bodies: the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh which would carry on and co-ordinate the institutional work, and the Sarvodaya Samaj—in reality a fellowship, not an organisation, to be a means through which Sarvodaya would, as it were, creep over Indian society.

Vinobaji belonged to neither body though he was clearly acknowledged as 'friend and guide'. It so happened that because of his purposeful non-involvement in these bodies he was free to accept the call to solve the problem of inequalities that seven years or so ago seemed to threaten the country with a major adventure of violence. But it soon became clear that the movement that Vinobaji had started—now the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement—was to become the all-encompassing, dynamic movement which would surely lead India to the haven of Sarvodaya. Within it the Gandhian institutions would find the true avenue through which they could serve to fulfil the goal of Sarvodaya and would find their setting in a philosophy of life which was personal and universal, material and spiritual. No longer was there any need for two bodies—the conflict had been resolved unconsciously, a uniting movement was afoot. But the adjustment—mental and organisational, had still to be made.

To Vinobaji it was axiomatic that revolution could not be brought about by organisation. So the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement was divested of most organisational facets. The people shall be made strong. The people shall rule in fact, through the expres-

sion of responsibility to themselves and to their nearest neighbours. The new society shall come through individual and universal affirmation.

Still the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh remained a registered organisation and had taken upon itself the task of fulfilling the purposes of the new movement and ushering in the Sarvodaya order. Then, if this is the body which has this revolutionary purpose, it can no longer lay claim to its existence because of the backing of a few specially concerned people and inherited funds. Its function is even greater than that of a Government or of an army, its purposes touch every person at every point in his life and involuntarily may involve him in suffering. Its purposes are not only to carry on the functions of society or to destroy an enemy, they are to transform the society and win over all present and potential enemies. Such an organisation must have the assent and backing of the people—not the majority, but all the people.

Thus, at Chalisgaon on the 8th and 9th August, Vinobaji placed a challenge before the Sarva Seva Sangh. The way of gaining the assent of the people is not through voting—that only provides for assent once every few years—and where is the educational value to children? It is through the SARVODAYA PATRA by the daily offering of a child's handful of grain, that assent is assured and an educative atmosphere is created for the whole family. Through this offering and through contributions of things gained by direct labour—handspun yarn as a gift or sacrificial offering, proportion of harvest etc., the work of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is to be carried on from the new year. How people at all levels can participate in the responsibility for its work, is still to be decided. That the functional pattern of the Sarva Seva Sangh which we wish to create, should approximate to that of the Sarvodaya Samaj is clear.

We are moving forward, but there are still new adventures before us—why not join us? The building of the non-violent society calls for still more creative thinking. Vinobaji is with us.

—o—

Decisions of the Chalisgaon Conference

(Press-note on the Chalisgaon Conference, issued by the office of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, on August 10, 1958.)

The three day conference of the representatives of the organisations engaged in Khadi, Village Industries, Basic Education, Harijan Seva, Nature Cure and other Gandhian constructive activities and the members of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh and special invitees concluded today after having five sittings in all. The conference was held under the auspices of the Sarva Seva Sangh. The venue was chosen with a view to availing of the presence and guidance of Acharya Vinoba Bhave who has been trekking the country on foot for the last seven years on Bhoodan and Gramdan mission and camped here for two days.

The main objectives of the conference were three : (1) co-ordination of the various constructive activities, (2) re-orientation and future programme of the Sarva Seva Sangh and (3) strengthening of mutual relationship and a sense of collaboration between the Sangh and other constructive organisations in the country. As a result of the atmosphere created by the revolutionary Gramdan movement and the far-reaching decisions of Nidhi Mukti and Tantra Mukti (non-dependence on centralised funds and organisation) taken and implemented by the Sarva Seva Sangh in the beginning of 1957, all the agencies devoted to Gandhiji's ideal of a non-violent social order felt the need of coming nearer and concentrating their efforts on an integrated programme.

The conference was attended by about 300 workers from all over the country and included, among others, veteran leaders like Shri Acharya Kripalani, Shri Viyogi Hari of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Shri Shriman Narayan, member, Planning Commission, Shri Shankar Rao Deo, Shri Dada Dharmadhikari, the famous Gandhian writer, thinker and scholar, and Shri Balkobaji Bhave of the All India Nature Cure Parishad. Acharya Vinoba was present during the first two days of the conference and took part in its deliberations.

After listening to the views of the various organisations on the first day, the conference met in eight sections, viz., the Nai Talim, Nature-Cure, Harijan and Adivasi Seva, Agriculture and Cow-keeping Khadi and Village Industries, Shanti Sena, Hindustani Prachar and Women Section, each of them charged with preparing their plans to re-orientate their work so as to lead to the consummation of the Gram Swaraj ideal.

The conference suggested that constructive workers in the various spheres and at all levels should meet more often to take stock of their achievements and difficulties and adjust their programme in the light of these consultations.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has decided hereafter to depend on the resources of the Sarvodaya Patra (daily offering of a handful of grain or one Naya Paisa by a child of the family), Sutranjali (annual offering by each person of a hank of hand-spun yarn on 12th February), Sutradan (offering of hand-spun yarn) and shramdan only for their recurring expenses in departments including the Publication and Office and excepting the Department of Village Reconstruction. No such restriction will for the present apply to items of capital expenditure. Schemes which upto now were financed out of public donations and centralised funds, will henceforth depend on the direct and willing support and consent of the people.

The executive of the Sarva Seva Sangh met daily to consider, the draft Gramdan Act, the itinerary of the Rajasthan Padyatra and the dates for holding the All India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Ajmer in the last week of February.

The conference ended with an optimistic note of enthusiasm, confidence and determination.

FOR
SARVODAYA MAGAZINES &
GANDHIAN-SARVODAYA LITERATURE
Write to:
SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE
MADRAS STATE (S. INDIA)

Some Questions on Basic Education

Acharya Vinobaji

(This is in continuation of Vinobaji's speech at the Basic Education Seminar at Hansabhavi, Mysore, published in our July issue. Here, Vinobaji answers some specific questions relating to Basic Education.)

Q 1: It is not enough that new education be simply good. It should also be essentially less costly than the old education. What is your view?

Answer: New education should essentially be more rather than less costly. According to the present-day point of view, the better a thing, the costlier it is. But from my point of view, the better a thing, the freer should its supply be. I am happy that it is quite in keeping with God's own scheme of things. The child learns its mother-tongue in the natural course at home through its own mother. The State has nothing to spend for it. The education is thus made not only free but also compulsory, because everybody is hungry. Therefore, if in our scheme of education we are careful to desist from heavy expenditure on unnecessary pomp and show and try to utilise the most easily available materials, then much of the useless expenditure that is incurred at present on education may be avoided. We may, for example, construct simply designed houses, instead of big buildings for our schools. The activities of the State are not wholly absorbed in education. We have divided them in different departments, education being only one amongst them. But the authorities concerned with all these departments should get together and think over it. The different departments, as for instance, agriculture, village industry, etc., should contribute their share in promoting the interests of education.

Once we have decided to import foodgrains from abroad, it becomes imperative to decide whether the cost incurred on it should fall on the Education Department or on the Food Department or on the Health Department. But if it falls on the Basic Scheme, it would certainly harm its interests. The basic idea behind Basic Education is that while the children going in for it should be ignorant, the

teachers should be very well-informed and wise. If education is confined to the study of books alone, then the parents will have to incur at least some expenditure on buying books. As regards Basic Education, it can very well do without books. This is not a defect but a great merit. For, every incident in life, such as the birth of a child, marriage, etc., is a means through which we can learn something new. I, however, personally feel that the Education Department should not be in official hands. It should be handed over to the people.

A Government scheme would mechanise all minds. It would change its colour. The communists have their own pattern, while the other parties have theirs. If we like, we may in future entrust the village with the responsibility of selecting teachers. The people should meet the expenses of the teachers. They may contribute a portion of foodgrains for their food, and some cotton for their clothing. Over and above that, the Government should contribute a small amount, say, Rs. 10 to 12 towards their pocket expenses.

The teachers should be responsible to the village people. This is a scheme which may suitably be implemented all over India. If education is made the responsibility of the villages themselves, then incapable teachers would not be allowed to stay. The teacher would also enjoy greater freedom than at present. The villagers would take greater interest in education. It is, however, the responsibility of the State to meet the expense of education. To the extent expenditure on education is increased, it would reduce the allocation for other departments proportionately. At present the State is there. If the State exists and we are yet required to bear the burden of expenditure, it would be wrong. If, however, the State does not exist, then it would be quite a different matter. The State has the responsibility of providing full and free education to the children up to the age of 16.

Q 2: How can we strengthen the production aspect of New Education without lowering the academic standard?

Answer: The quality, instead of the quantity of production should be regarded as important. If it is so, it would not affect the sense of beauty. Let us write only 4 letters, but they should be written in fair and legible hand. Let us write little, but write better. Let us produce little, but without any flaw. What should be the value of

such a thing when produced? This poor country of ours can offer no proper reply to it. You may ask this question of the rich people of America. What will be the value of commodities manufactured by children? They would fetch fancy prices there. The son of Mr. Donald Groom has sent a paper cutter prepared by himself. He has used eight pieces in it. What would be the proper valuation of the gift sent to me out of affection? It would be enough if the children produce certain things and the parents and the family members use them. Instead of charging fees from the children for providing them education, they should be offered such things. This would increase their interest in studies and they would join schools in large numbers, a feature which is conspicuous by its absence in the present day compulsory education.

Q 3: The All India Secondary Education Commission, comprising both of official and non-official members, has after long and intensive survey recommended multi-purpose schools for the secondary stage of education. The evolution of Senior basic schools leads to their natural culmination in Post-basic schools. In consequence, both these schemes are inclined towards encouraging a dual system. But the right thing to do would be to evolve a method of education suitable to that stage. How to do it?

Answer: We are always faced with the problem of finding out a way of reaching a particular goal even after we have come to understand that the goal is good. The multi-purpose scheme presents a similar problem. If the post-basic scheme is to be introduced in future, then the scheme that you have in hand is quite good. I would only like to suggest that we should, as far as possible, try to introduce two compulsory crafts. One among these two compulsory crafts should be agriculture. *To me, agriculture is akin to worship of humanity.* As regards the choice of other optional subjects, I am in complete agreement with you. I, however, feel that the whole human society is at present divided in different classes and groups. There is no common tie binding them together. The importance of agriculture is so far-reaching that not only the economists but also the *Upanishads* have to say,

“Produce more grain, that is the vow”.

Therefore it is in the fitness of things that agriculture should receive the proper attention of everybody. Everybody must exercise his mind on the development of agriculture; that is why I stand for agriculture for everybody. ★

The Boon that proved a Curse

(Translated from Tamil by Prof. K. Swaminathan)

A POOR peasant worshipped Krishna and prayed with great devotion. The Lord appearing before him said, "What do you wish to have? Ask and it shall be given. But whatever I give you, I shall give to every one else also. There is nothing that I would give exclusively to you."

"O Divine Cowherd" said the peasant, "It is enough if you give me what I want. Why should I object if you give the same to others as well? I am not such a wicked fellow. I envy nobody, no, not I."

"You are a very good man, I know. Ask for what you want. Consult your wife and then make your request. Once made, it cannot be altered."

"Very well, then, I shall take counsel with my wife and let you know. Seeing you thus face to face has quite upset me. May I make my request tomorrow?"

"Certainly," said the Lord.

That night the peasant discussed the matter with his wife. She was pleased with the boon which the Lord had promised. After long considering this, that, and the other thing, they came to a decision at last. Next day the peasant meditated on the Lord and He appeared smiling before him.

"Well, my son, what have you decided to ask?" "Oh, Lord of Grace," the peasant began, "Be not angry with me. I am a poor peasant and by no means clever. Hence, as advised by you, I took counsel with my wife."

"You may ask for anything you want and get it. Only remember that everybody in this and neighbouring villages will get it too."

"Lord, my box must be filled to the top with silver rupees. No matter how much is taken, it must remain full. This is my prayer."

The Lord hesitated a little. "Why this love of money, my child?"

The peasant humbly, but obstinately pleaded for the boon he had asked for.

"So be it, then" said the Lord as He vanished out of sight.

His wife had told the peasant that with money one could buy anything at any time and hence money was the thing most worth having. He had agreed and secured this boon.

And true enough, the box was filled with silver coins. The peasant took a handful and went to a cloth shop in the neighbouring town. He wanted to buy two good saris for his wife.

On the way, he found all the people he met in great excitement. He had forgotten at first but soon recalled, that the boon he had secured from Sri Krishna benefited others too. He was happy that all the people in the town were also happy. He entered the cloth shop and asked for two good saris. The shopman enquired, "And what could you give in return?"

"I shall pay any price that you may demand."

"Price! Is it? I want no money. Nobody now cares for money. Everybody has plenty of it. How many bags of rice would you give?"

"Why, has the rupee lost value? What has happened to it?" asked the peasant. He thought that the shopkeeper was joking.

"Why don't you know it?" asked the shopman. "Every one has an inexhaustible supply of rupees now. Nobody cares for money."

The peasant could not understand. He went to the next shop. They said, "If you have rice or gram or lentil or any other useful thing, bring it and you will have cloth. But we have no use for money. We have all that we need of money."

The peasant was sad. Wherever he went and whatever he wanted, the same thing happened. His rupees were worthless. The husband and wife were sunk in sorrow. "Lord! you have deceived me," he cried.

Sri Krishna appeared and said, "You have deceived yourself."

"I and my family will die of starvation!"

"Will you then give back my boon?" asked Krishna.

"Yes, yes, take back your boon," cried the peasant, "I shall work hard as before and make my living. It is enough if you help me to do it."

"That is right", said the Lord, "You shall live by your labour. And so too shall everyone else work and live."

Courtesy 'Swarajya', Madras.

JAYAPRAKASH IN ENGLAND



Mr. Earnest Bader in the Centre introducing Shri Jayaprakash seated on his left, his wife seated on his right and Shri Siddharaj Dhadda seated next to her at the Scott Bader Commonwealth in Wollaston.

[See Page 133.]

Ahimsa Gains Ground the World Over

Richard B. Gregg

It is fascinating to consider how the idea of *Ahimsa* has travelled and developed in the world. It seems to have originated among the old forest sages of India some time before the Upanishads were written, may be 1,500 to 2,000 years B. C.

Buddha took it up and elaborated and emphasised it, around 500 B. C. With the other Buddhist ideas it travelled to Ceylon, Nepal, China, Japan, Tibet and Indonesia. Of its adventures in those lands I do not know much, but we do know something about its more recent travels.

In the late 1700s or early 1800s some of the Hindu and Buddhist scriptures were translated into English and were published. Some of these books were taken to the United States, a full 10,000 miles away from India.

In the late 1900s, a Professor Carpenter, then teaching English at Harvard University, was writing a book on the influence of Oriental thought on the two famous American writers, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Professor Carpenter told me that after he had tracked down all the specific references to Hindu or Buddhist ideas in the writings of these two men, it occurred to him that possibly, by a slender chance, there might still be a record in the Library of Harvard University of what books, if any, Thoreau or Emerson had borrowed from that library nearly 100 years previously.

The town of Concord, Massachusetts, where they lived is about twenty miles from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where that library is situated. With but faint hope he inquired as to this at the Harvard University Library, and found to his great surprise and satisfaction that the record of the book borrowings of those two men was still preserved.

He found that they had both borrowed, and kept for several weeks at a time, translations into English of the Bhagavad Gita, some of the Upanishads and some of the Puranas.

Thus he conclusively showed a definite, direct connection between the readings of those two men and their subsequent writings. I have been told that later some of those translations became the property of Emerson and may be of Thoreau.

They not only read such books; they digested and mentally assimilated the ideas contained in them. Later Thoreau wrote and spoke against the iniquity of the United States Government making war on Mexico. He refused to pay taxes levied by such a government, and was put in jail for his principles. Then he wrote a famous essay entitled "The Virtue of Civil Disobedience."

Some decades later someone in America or England sent a copy of that essay to Tolstoy who, as everyone knows, had written powerfully on the idea of non-violence in his essays on the real meaning of Christ's teachings. Thus the idea of *ahimsa* made another journey, back across the Atlantic Ocean and across Europe to Russia.

* * *

At that time Tolstoy was in correspondence with Gandhiji then in South Africa, and sent him Thoreau's essay on 'The Virtue of Civil Disobedience.' Gandhiji was delighted with it. His mind and heart, steeped in Hindu and Jain ideas, were fertile ground for the new form of the idea of *ahimsa*.

He Adopted the phrase "Civil Disobedience" and used it in both his South African and Indian struggles against injustice. Thus the idea of AHIMSA in a new form made another journey across space and time to South Africa and thence back to India, the land of its birth.

It is interesting to note that each time the idea has leaped over space and time it has become developed, elaborated and more fully organised. It has become more practical. Gandhiji took what had formerly been an idea for use only by individuals and organised it and made it capable of use by large numbers of people together, provided they had voluntarily been disciplined in its preconditions.

The story of Gandhiji's great success with it has now gone all over the world. The detailed description of how and why it works both between individuals and on a mass scale, is now in all the continents. Many tens of thousands of people have read and pondered on them.

The Prime Minister of Ghana, Nkrumah, learned about Gandhiji's use of this idea when he studied at Lincoln University in the United States. He used it in his country's struggle against British political control. As you know, that struggle was successful. He is eager to have the idea used by many other African people to help them to win their freedom.

In the United States, several thousand Negroes in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, a Negro, have been successful in a prolonged, non-violent boycott to end racial discrimination against passengers on a local bus line. They knew of Gandhiji's ideas, and consciously and deliberately applied them. Among Negroes in the Southern States of the U.S.A there are now many groups studying Gandhiji's method of *Satyagraha*.

The ideas of *ahimsa* and *Satyagraha* have now gone all over the world and have been or will be tried out in all the continents. It will be tested and experimented within many different conditions and surroundings, with fresh implications, results and discoveries. I think, it is highly inspiring and hopeful to realise all this.

After the death of Jesus Christ, who also taught this idea for individual use, it was many decades before the idea was applied by members of the Christian community in their struggle against the Roman Government and then only by individuals. But now, only eight years after Gandhiji's death, the idea is being put to work successfully.

* * *

In the book called "Adventures of Ideas" by the famous English philosopher, A. N. Whitehead, there are several pages telling how long often, it takes for an idea to be accepted, organised and made effective and useful to society. Some mathematical ideas, for example, took from a thousand to fifteen hundred years to become effective and to come into common use.

Perhaps the greater the idea, the longer it took to mature and become fruitful. But now-a-days, as a result of the tremendous increase in the speed of transport and communications of all kinds and the whole-sale printing and distribution of books, all social processes have speeded up enormously.

In my own life time, for example, I have seen six Empires disappear or crumble—the old Chinese Empire, the Russian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German Empire, the British Empire, the French Empire and the Dutch Empire.

At the time of the Roman Empire so many changes of that sort would have required two thousand years. This increased speed of social processes means that this great idea of *ahimsa*, non-violent resistance to evil and injustice will become widely effective sooner than many people realise. So if an atomic war can be avoided, there is great hope for the world. Let no one be discouraged about this idea of *ahimsa* and *Satyagraha*. —From 'The Sunday Standard.'

ON VEGETARIANISM

"Not long ago there used to be restrictions on wanton destruction of human life even in war and between warriors of opposing sides. But that idea is now out of date, and to-day, with the weapons of mass destruction at man's disposal, the human race itself is in imminent danger of being destroyed. It is a far cry from vegetarianism to atomic or hydrogen bomb, but if you look at it, there is no escape from vegetarianism ultimately if we want to escape from the hydrogen bomb. Any integrated view of life as a whole will reveal to us the connection between the individual's food and his behaviour towards others; and through a process of ratiocination which is not fantastic, we cannot but arrive at the conclusion that the only means of escaping the hydrogen bomb is to escape the mentality which has produced it, and the only way to escape that mentality is to cultivate respect for all life, life in all forms, under all conditions. It is only another name for vegetarianism."

—Dr. Rajendra Prasad

"Only that man is truly ethical who feels the necessity of assisting all life that he is able to help, and who shrinks from inflicting harm upon any living creature. He does not enquire to what degree this or that life merits our sympathy as worthy, nor whether and to what degree it is as yet capable of feeling. Life as such is sacred to him."

—Dr. Schweitzer

One Month in England

Siddharaj Dhadha

IT was a mixed and quite a large gathering of Indians and Europeans which had assembled at the Caxton Hall on the eve of our departure from London after a full month's busy programme. Mr. Sorensen, M.P., who presided recalled his first meeting with J.P. as a prisoner in 1946 when Sorensen went to India at the time of the Cabinet Mission. "Not only am I meeting J.P. now as a free man but more important still, as the citizen of a free country" said Sorensen with justifiable pride for people like him. Fenner Brockway, Reginald Reynolds and scores of other freedom-loving individuals in and outside the British Parliament, whom we had the privilege and pleasure of meeting personally during this tour, had played in those days a not inconsiderable part in bringing about the final peaceful transfer of power. We have been so near the event and have witnessed it taking place are apt not to realise in full measure the extraordinary nature of this great happening. The achievement of freedom by a vast country like India was in itself an event of far-reaching significance in World History; but, as J.P. emphasised at more than one meeting, the method and the manner of this consummation was of still greater significance and importance.

"The emphasis which Gandhiji laid on non-violence and on differentiating between the wrong and the wrong-doer and the final act of wisdom on the part of the then Labour Government in Britain did not leave any ill-will behind, as was the case in America where even decades after Independence, the very word "Tory" was anathema. Hardly ten years after our Independence the visiting Tory Prime Minister of Britain was received with genuine warmth and affection not only by the official world but by the people of India to which he himself has testified." It must be said to the credit of the British also that during our one month's stay in this country we did not find the slightest trace of any overbearing or condescending attitude on their part. Indeed, when I remembered that Britain had ruled India for 200 years and more, that we were engaged in a prolonged struggle with that country for our freedom and that it was less than eleven years ago that we were still a subject

nation, I wondered at the almost unconcerned and normal bearing of the British. Perhaps it would not have been possible for any other people, as we know it has not been, to take things in such a spirit.

Utilising the occasion to stress his now unflinching faith in non-violence, J. P. continued—"During the life-time of Mahatma Gandhi, I was a critic of many of his actions and ideas. We spent many nights in the jail debating and arguing about the efficacy of non-violence as a political weapon. I believed at that time that while the offering of civil disobedience and filling of jails might be a good tactics to arouse a slumbering nation to action, the final act of liberation would not be achieved without resort to violence. Not only did the events falsify this view but I am now convinced that had we used violent methods to overthrow the British rule not only the suffering and the sacrifice required would have been greater, but perhaps we would still have been under British domination and I would not have been speaking to you tonight as a free citizen of a free country."

Our one month's stay in England was rewarding in many respects. Not only were contacts established with many individuals and groups interested in the common ideals of peace, equality and brotherhood, but as Dr. Rita Hinden, the able secretary of the Socialist Union, one of the three inviting organisations in Great Britain, had hoped for while speaking at the very first public welcome accorded to Jayaprakashji in London, the visit was most useful as an opportunity for "intellectual cross-fertilization of each other." The spirit of give and take on both sides made it possible. While we had not come to Europe to sermonise or to show any 'new-path' but to learn, as J. P. made clear on many occasions, we found here a ready recognition of the fact that they in the West too had come to a stage when a re-examination of their whole position and a reiteration of the moral and ethical values had become imperative. The West has no doubt made great material progress although the factors contributing to it may not always have been such as may be normally open to all countries who wish to reach these standards. Poverty, as we know it, has been eliminated to a large extent, inequalities of incomes and of opportunities considerably reduced, and social services and security developed appreciably. But there is a growing realisation that despite all this

achievement there is something lacking and that something is the absence of any moral urges or values at the basis of all this advancement. Life has indeed become increasingly full in the material sense, but at the same time increasingly empty in the spiritual sense. In the words of Dr. Rita Hinden again, "socialism must have an ethical basis, a sense of moral values. We cannot bring about a change in society and achieve true socialistic ideals of equality and brotherhood by merely changing institutions. We do not have all the answers to this problem—we are groping to find them out."

But more of this in my next.

Paris,
2—8—1958.



Jayaprakash Narayan addressing the meeting
at the Scott Bader Commonwealth.

Sarvodaya Approach to Industry, Trade and Labour (2)

This is the supplement to the proceedings of the two Seminars held at Rajghat (Varanasi) and at Bombay, with extracts from Gandhiji's writings. The main part appeared in the July number of 'Sarvodaya.'

THE idea of trusteeship means that all wealth belongs to the community and must, therefore, be used for the welfare of the community. Wealth does not really belong to the possessor. What belongs to him is the right to an honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others.

A man accumulates wealth only through the help or co-operation of other members of society. He has, therefore, no moral right to use any of it mainly for personal advantage.

But there is a deeper and higher reason too. In reality, everything belonged to God and was from God. Therefore, it (wealth) was for His people as a whole, not for a particular individual. When an individual happened to have more than his proportionate share, he should act as a trustee of the surplus for God's people. He would retain the stewardship of his possession of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument, honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

It must be remembered that God never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment. Therefore, whoever appropriates more than the minimum that is really necessary for him, deprives another of his legitimate share, in other words, he is guilty of theft. Conversely, it is also true that Nature (or God) produces enough for our wants from day-to-day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world. Hence, we may neither take nor keep a superfluous thing. The seeker will deliberately and voluntarily reduce his wants and cultivate progressively simple habits.

"Today the rich have a superfluous store of things which they do not need, and which are therefore neglected and wasted, while millions are starved to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want, and all would live in contentment. As it is, the rich are discontented, no less than the poor. The poor man would fain become a millionaire, and the millionaire a multi-millionaire. The rich should take the initiative in voluntary dispossession with a view to a universal diffusion of the spirit of contentment. If only they keep their own property within moderate limits, the starving will be easily fed, and will learn the lesson of contentment along with the rich.

"There must be a definite recognition on the part of the moneyed class, that a poor man possesses the same soul that they do and that their wealth gives them no superiority over the poor. They must regard themselves as trustees holding their wealth for the good of their wards, the poor. Then they would take no more than a reasonable amount for themselves. At present there is no proportion between the wholly unnecessary pomp and extravagance of the moneyed class and the squalid surroundings and the grinding pauperism of the poor in whose midst the former are living.

"If only the capitalist class will read the signs of the times, revise their notions of God-given right to all they possess, in an incredibly short space of time, the 7 lac dung heaps which to-day pass muster as villages can be turned into abodes of peace, health and comfort. I am convinced that the capitalist has nothing really to lose and everything to gain."

"There is no choice between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play, can avert. I have hoped that India will successfully avert the disaster."

But if all wealth belongs to the community and the possessor has only to use it for its welfare, "why not have state-ownership with the state under the control of the masses?" Gandhiji replied

"that the doctrine of trusteeship retained for the society the ability of the original owner in his own right. He did not want to do away with the people of the 'privileged classes.' He only wanted them to outgrow their greed and sense of possession and to use their talent to increase the wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and therefore, without exploitation." "Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, not for personal aggrandizement only but for the good of all? We do not want to produce dead equality where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish."

But this was not all. "With me the ultimate test is non-violence. We have always to remember that even we were one day in the same position as the wealthy man. It has not been an easy process with us and as we bore with ourselves, even so should we bear with others.....75% voluntarily given is better than 100% surrendered at the point of a bayonet." "It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the evils of violence itself and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul but as the State is a soul-less machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of trusteeship."

It may be argued that a man who surrenders by compulsion to-day will voluntarily accept the position, tomorrow. "That to my mind is a remote possibility on which I should not care to build much. What is certain is that if I use violence to-day, I shall be doubtless faced with greater violence. With non-violence as the rule, life will no doubt be a series of compromises. But it is better than an endless series of clashes."

Reiterating his complete faith in the method of non-violence, Gandhiji said, "In the application of the method of non-violence one must believe in the possibility of every person, however depraved, being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in the human being and expect response. The problem of unjust and unlawful possessions need not appeal to the votary of non-violence. He has at his disposal the non-violent weapon of Satyagraha and non-co-operation which hitherto has

been found to be a complete substitute of violence, whenever it has been applied honestly in sufficient measure." "In a free India," prophesied Gandhiji, "the capitalists will have an opportunity of becoming statutory trustees." But such a statute will not be imposed from above. It will have to come from below. When the people understand the implication of trusteeship and the atmosphere is ripe for it, the people themselves, beginning with Gram-panchayats will begin to introduce such statutes. Such a thing coming from below is easy to swallow. Coming from above it is liable to prove a dead weight.

The theory of trusteeship does not relate to material possessions only. It applies equally to talents. Even if economic equality is attained and equality of opportunity secured, differing talents will still be there. Gandhiji, therefore, wished all talented persons to hold their talents in trust for society. "Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talents consistently with equal use by neighbours, but no one is entitled to the arbitrary use of the gains from the talents. He is part of the social structure surrounding him. Therefore he can use his talents not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but part and on whose sufferance he lives." Trusteeship in fact denotes a mental attitude and is not merely a formula for the holding of possessions. It has, therefore, a permanent value in society.

Sometimes an erroneous interpretation is put on the theory of trusteeship. It is assumed that under it the rich and the poor, the owners and the workers as classes will remain, and the trustee was to be no more than a benevolent philanthropist. This is, however, far from what Gandhiji meant. On the contrary, he made it clear that "if the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear." As Vinoba says, the trustee should consider himself to be in the position of a father to his wards namely the poor. This would mean firstly, that he would care more for them than for himself as the father does for his children. Is the care which a father bestows upon his children philanthropy? Secondly, the father wishes his children not only to grow and become like him but to surpass him in all respects. The theory of trusteeship, therefore, has got a deeper significance. The final aim of this Gandhian theory is not class collaboration, but class liquidation. This liquidation, however, will not be effected by the exploited, but by a change of heart among the rich themselves.

The final draft of the 'Practical Trusteeship Formula' referred to above as having been approved by Gandhiji reads as follows:—

(1) Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism but gives the present owning class a chance for reforming itself. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemption.

(2) It does not recognise any right of private ownership in property except in as much as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.

(3) It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.

(4) Under state-regulated trusteeship, an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of society.

(5) Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society; difference between such minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time, so much so that the tendency would be towards obliteration of the difference.

(6) Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed. ★

LATEST BOOKS

Bal Gangadhar Tilak— <i>T. V. Parvate</i>	Rs. 7.00
Gandhi in Champaran— <i>D. G. Tendulkar</i>	Rs. 1.50
Community of the Future and Future of the Community — <i>S. E. Morgan</i>	Rs. 2.50
Mahatma Gandhi—the Last Phase, Vol. II— <i>Pyarelal</i>	Rs. 20.00
Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary (Revised edition) — <i>Wilfred Wellock</i>	Rs. 0.75
(POSTAGE EXTRA)	

Available at :

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE

Sarvodaya Agricultural Policy

Jayaprakash Narayan

SARVODAYA agricultural policy is based on three basic principles : village ownership of land, co-operative services and family farming.

Private ownership of land would be inconsistent with the Sarvodaya social order. Nationalisation of land in the hands of the State on the other hand, could have very little effective meaning for the cultivating peasants. Therefore, it is proposed that the ownership of land should vest in the village community which should be responsible for its proper maintenance and improvement and for its fair distribution and periodical redistribution amongst the cultivating families of the village.

Caution

But it should be clearly recognised that ownership would be transferred to the village community only after the growth of the Sarvodaya movement has succeeded in making the rural masses accept the notion of village ownership. Legislation should follow and not precede such general acceptance. Until then the aim should be to collect and redistribute the available land equitably amongst all rural families whose main source of livelihood is agriculture. During this transition, ownership would vest in the individual recipients of redistributed land subject to necessary social control. Land should be available to those who live by actually labouring on it.

Land Levy

In order to secure early distribution of land, not only should the Bhoodan movement be accelerated but a land levy might be imposed in addition to ceilings. In one State, it has been suggested that the levy might be as follows :

1/20th of the land held by those holding 5-10 acres.

1/10th of the land held by those holding 10-20 acres.

1/6th of the land held by those holding 20-30 acres.

Alternatively, the ceiling itself might be lowered to about 10 or 15 acres.

As regards the basis of land distribution, it has been estimated on the basis of the experience of Bhoodan workers that every cultivating family should receive at least half an acre per adult and one-fourth of an acre per child.

Joint Cultivation

As regards cultivation, Sarvodaya planners do not propose to insist on joint cultivation. Experience has shown that under joint farming arrangements individual farmers lose initiative. Interminable quarrels arise amongst the workers about the distribution of work and produce, and bureaucratism begins to flourish. In a country like India where the man-land ratio does not permit the extensive mechanisation of agriculture large-scale agriculture is, in any case, unnecessary even from the strictly economic point of view. But the handicaps of small scale family farming need to be removed through the organisation of supply, credit and marketing co-operatives.

Moral Right

The policy of trying to give land to every rural family that wanted it was based on vital moral considerations. In the first place, as children of the soil, all men had a moral right to have some land. It would be impossible in practice for the community to refuse to give land, when it is redistributed, to any rural family wanting it except on the ground that it does not actually cultivate it by its own labour. Secondly, it is believed that close contact with mother earth is essential for the balanced development of the human personality. There are certain vital values which would be lost if man is completely divorced from the earth.

Multi-Craft Family

It is recognised that land cannot provide all the material needs of man. Industrial employment is necessary. But there is no reason why men should be divided into mere agriculturists and mere industrial workers. The Sarvodaya conception is, that all villagers should become self-employed peasants-cum-craftsmen. Economic activity should be diversified not only in the country as a whole, not only as between towns and villages, but in every family.

Every family should become a multi-craft family so that every person finds a variety of modes of self-expression and social service.

This, however, is the ideal picture. In practice a great deal of specialisation, which already exists and which will always be necessary will have to be accepted. That is why land is proposed to be given only to those who cannot have an alternative means of livelihood. But an attempt must be made to prevent excessive urbanisation and specialisation and make it possible for as many people as possible to live and work close to the earth, to cultivate the soil as well as to practise some craft.

Soil erosion is a serious problem which has to be specially dealt with. The Bhoodan movement by itself cannot undertake to solve it. But the Bhoodan movement is trying more effectively than any other agency to reintegrate and revitalise the disintegrating village community, to help the people take the initiative for improving their life in their own hands. The Bhoodan movement may indeed be regarded as the one and the only integrating force in rural India today. Already, as a result of the movement, villagers in many areas are beginning to reconstruct rural society by their own efforts. In hundreds of villages large tracts of uncultivated land received as Bhoodan have begun to be reclaimed and cultivated.

Thus even in the field of land reclamation and land improvement the contribution of the Bhoodan movement, in spite of the paucity of resources, is very significant. In some places new villages are rising on what was hitherto waste land. By their own efforts people are building their schools, their godowns and workshops.

Caste System

The Bhoodan movement, again, is the most powerful attack yet made on the caste system. For, it seeks to unite hearts estranged by caste divisions. In every village where landlords of the higher castes willingly give all or a part of their land and share in the joy of the low-caste landless who receive it, new bonds of harmony are created. Different castes are united into one community. And a new psychological atmosphere is generated in which the community can undertake creative effort as a community by itself and for itself.

As regards the vesting of the ownership of land in the village community it is clearly understood that it is to take place only in stages.

— from 'Vigil' ★

THE INVINCIBLE CHARIOT

[The following from "Thulasidas Ramayana" is quoted by Vinobaji as a basis for the Shanti Sena.]

Ravana was riding in a chariot, whilst Ramachandra had none ;
 Vibhishan seeing this, he was troubled and perplexed.
 Having great love for Rama, he was concerned, and
 Falling at his feet, asked with deep affection :
 'O Lord, you have neither a chariot nor are your feet shod.
 How then can you conquer him, such a foe ?'
 Thereupon Ramachandra graciously replied : 'Listen O Companion,
 That chariot which brings victory is not one such as this.
 The wheels of that chariot are *Valour* and *Fortitude*.
Truth and *Kindness* its banner and emblem,
Strength, *Discretion*, *Forbearance* and *Benevolence* are its horses
 Held with ropes of *Forgiveness*, *Compassion* and *Equal Consideration*
 for all.
Devotion to the Lord, the skilled charioteer,
 The shield of *Non-Attachment*, *Contentment* the sword,
Generosity the mace, *Intelligence* a mighty force,
Supreme knowledge the infallible bow.
 The quiver, *Humility* and *Firmness of Character*,
Tranquillity, *Restraint*, *Perseverance*, the arrows innumerable.
 The impenetrable helmet of the charioteer are
Reverence for Holy Elders, *the teachers of knowledge*.
 None other path to victory is there equal to this.
 O Friend, *He who has a Chariot of such eternal purpose*
Has no Adversaries he cannot overcome.



Karma – Vikarma – Akarma

—Acharya Vinobaji—

The recently published Vinobaji's book, 'Talks on the Gita' seems to be making history in that, it is fast selling out and the Publishers are going in for a second edition. The book is hailed as a great contribution worthy to be placed by the side of the classical commentaries and unique in its original interpretation of many knotty points. A few pages of the book dealing with one such we reproduce below.

THE mind must stand united with the action; this application of the mind, the Gita calls "*Vikarma*". There is the common action, which is outwardly one's *Svadharmā*, and there is the special inward action. This special action varies with the needs of each individual mind. Many kinds of *Vikarma*, with typical examples, are given in the Fourth Chapter. These, the Gita develops from the Sixth Chapter onwards. Only when we perform this special *Karma*, when we unite the mind with outward action, does the light of desirelessness shine in it. When *Vikarma*, the action of the mind and heart enters into *Karma* — the outward action, desirelessness grows within us, little by little. As long as the body and the mind remain separate, each has its own distinct means of growth. When we bring them together the goal is within our reach. Lest the body and the mind should go different ways, the great moralists have shown a two-fold path in *Bhakti-yoga* (the way of devotion); they mention penance (*tapas*) without and meditation (*japa*) within. When inwardly, the mind does not meditate, outward forms of penance, like fasting, are entirely wasted. While doing penance, the inward flame, the *bhavana*, should constantly burn and shine. The very meaning of the word "*Upa-vasa*" (fasting) is "to dwell close to God." It is in order that our minds and hearts may stay near God that we have to close the door against the pleasures of the senses. But if we give up the pleasures of the senses and do not think of God, of what value is the physical act of fasting? If, instead of thinking of God, we think of things to eat and drink, the fast would be more fearful than a feast! There is nothing as terrible as this mental feasting, as thinking about pleasures. *Tantra* must

be accompanied by *mantra*, action by meditation. Action as such has no value, nor mere meditation without action. The hand and the heart must work together to render true service.

If the outward action is not moistened by the heart's affection, the performance of *svadharma* would remain barren; it would not bear the flower and the fruit of desirelessness. Suppose we are nursing a sick man. If in such service to the sick, there is no compassion, it would become dull and disgusting to us, and a burden instead of a relief to the patient. Moreover, where the heart is not engaged, egoism too would show its head. We would entertain expectations like this: "I serve him to-day, he should serve me at my need; he should admire and praise me." Or else, we would be fed up and say, "I do so much for him, and yet he keeps complaining." Sick men are usually peevish—and those who nurse them without the true spirit of service will only be disgusted by this.

When the inner feeling goes with the action, the latter is transformed into something unique. When the flame is applied to the wick in the oil, light is born. When *vikarma* is applied to *karma*, desirelessness comes into being. When a spark touches the gunpowder, it explodes - a power is released from the gunpowder. The mere act, the *karma*, is like power, which has to be activated by the fire of feeling, *vikarma*. The power that *karma* develops at the touch of *vikarma* is indescribable. A pinch of lifeless powder in one's pocket blows up a whole body when a spark lights it. In the same way, the infinite power of the practice of *svadharma* lies latent. Touch it with *vikarma*, and see what work it can do! In the resulting explosion desire and anger are destroyed, and the way made clear for the attainment of supreme wisdom.

Action (*karma*) is thus the wick of the lamp of knowledge (*jnana*). There is a log of wood lying somewhere; when you set fire to it, it becomes a mass of glowing embers. What a difference between that wood and this fire! But it is the wood that has become this fire. When you apply *vikarma* to *karma*, the latter begins to acquire divine radiance. The mother strokes her child's back. A hand moves up and down a back, and no more. But who can describe the feelings arising in the hearts of the mother and the child from this commonplace action? But if you frame an equation

that if, on a back of such length and such breadth, a hand of such weight and such softness is moved, so much joy will result, it would be absurdly comic. The action of the moving hand is quite insignificant—but the mother has poured her heart into it, she has added *vikarma* to it. It is this that causes the thrill of joy. There is a situation in Tulasi's *Ramayana*. The monkeys were returning from a battle with the *rakshasas*, with their bodies wounded and bleeding. But when Rama's loving look rested on them for a moment all their pain vanished. Now, if someone else had taken a photograph of Rama's eyes and look at that moment, and carefully opened out his own eyes in the same way, could this have the same power? The very attempt would be ridiculous.

When *vikarma* is combined with *karma*, a power is released which results in *akarma* (inaction in action). The huge log of wood burns and becomes a handful of ashes, with which we can joyfully smear our bodies. In the same way, the fire of *vikarma* reduces *karma* to the ashes of *akarma*. What is the relation between the wood and the ash? "*Kahkena Sambandhah?*" (What is the relation, and with what?) They have no common properties, and yet there is no doubt that the ash came from the wood.

Now, what do we mean by saying that by pouring *vikarma* into *karma*, it becomes *akarma*? We mean that while acting, we seem not to act, we do not feel the burden of action. Though we act, we are not the doer. The Gita says, that though you have slain, you are not the slayer. The mother beats her child; if you try doing the same, the child will not stand it. But when the mother beats her child, he still goes back to her and hides his face in her lap—for there is *chitta-suddhi*, purity of heart, behind the mother's outwardly harsh action. Her punishment of the child was disinterested. It had no selfish motive. By *vikarma*, by inner purity *karma* ceases to be *karma*. That look of Rama's, because of inward *vikarma*, had become a mighty ocean of the healing love; but the action costed Rama no effort. An action performed with pure heart does not attach itself to us. It leaves no residue of sin or merit *punya* or *papa*; else, what a heavy pressure of action would our heart and minds have to bear! If the news gets abroad at 2 o'clock today, that all political prisoners are to be released tomorrow, people gather together from all sides, and what confusion, what

tumult! The problem of morality, the goodness and badness of actions, distracts us. We feel that action crowds in on us from all sides, we feel that it has caught us by the throat. Just as the waves of the sea dash with force against the land and make channels into it, the complexity of action (*karma*) enters the mind and agitates it. The quality of pleasure and pain, *sukha* and *duhkha*, develops; all peace is lost. The action takes place, and is over, but its force remains behind. Action corrupts the mind, and destroys sleep.

But if, with *karma*, we combine *vikarma*, then, however much work you do, you will not feel its strain. The mind becomes still steady and radiant, like the pole-star. When you put *vikarma* into *karma*, it becomes *akarma*; it is as if you wrote *karma* on a slate and then rubbed it out.

—from 'Talks on the Gita.'

EVERY MAN—A BRIDGE

In the slums of London once a man had the privilege of allowing his body itself to be a bridge over which human beings passed from death into life. It was in the days before our modern methods of ensuring safety had come into vogue. The lower floors of a tenement were burning. Trapped in it on the fourth storey was a father with three children. There was no way of running downstairs. The only escape was, somehow to get across the street into another building. The distance was about five feet. Inspired, the father took hold of the ledge of the window, dangled his feet till some rescuers across the street could grab and hold them. Making himself as stiff as possible, like a plank, he urged his children to crawl across his body into safety. They were small and frightened. But one after the other, they passed. He was tired then and in his effort to get a better hold, slipped and fell down to his instant death below.

—From 'Arunodayam'.

Jayaprakash Narayan At the Scott Bader Commonwealth

Ernest Bader

WEDNESDAY, the 25th of June 1958 was a great day for us at Wollaston. It was the day of the long awaited visit of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan with his wife and Mr. Siddharaj Dhadda. Our honoured guests were brought to Wollaston by special car under the auspices of our Regional Government Office at Nottingham and on their arrival at 10-30 a.m. no time was lost in showing them round our offices, laboratories, factory and gardens. During this tour there was ample opportunity for discussion with our plant operators and factory members affording much inside information on the more personal and human relations with each other in our self-governing working community.

Fortunately the sun was shining, almost a miracle in this rainy English summer and our friends seemed to enjoy the refreshing surroundings of "a factory in a garden". After lunch most of the members in managerial positions assembled in the Hall Conference Room to hear Mr. Narayan's speech. As it was given during working hours it was not possible to gather together more than about 40 of our members consisting of a cross section of the Executive, Community Council, General Council and Management Committee. Mr. Narayan's address of about one hour and a half was closely followed by everyone. The meeting was too deeply moved for a lively discussion to take place, but several questions were exhaustively answered by the speaker adding greatly to the understanding of his message. Many felt deeply challenged by the wonderful example of Narayan's humility and by his realistic approach to our industrial and social problems. Most of us sensed the supreme power of his message and came away from the meeting with the conviction that his speech could not fail to exert a lasting influence upon us all.

Mrs. Narayan was presented with a beautiful English blue-eyed doll as an expression of the Commonwealth's good wishes. Fashioned of indestructable plastic, for the making of which products supplied by Scott Bader's were used, it is hoped that this modest

gift would always recall happy memories to our Indian friends on their visit to Wollaston. On their side, the Scott Bader Commonwealth acknowledge most gratefully the gift of several valuable books from Shri Jayaprakash Narayan on behalf of Kadam Kuan and Shri Siddharaj Dhadda of Sarva Seva Sangh. This happy exchange of gifts should augur well for a mutually profitable co-operation during the coming years and Mr. Ernest Bader particularly looks forward to the exceptional opportunities he will have on his forthcoming visit to India for renewing his personal friendships and of learning first-hand of the Bhoodan and Gramdan movements. He is particularly grateful to Jayaprakash for his hoped-for personal introduction to and privilege of meeting Vinoba Bhave himself.

The Scott Bader Community based on the principle of common ownership in industry starting with the giving of shares, expresses a similar movement for new life to that of Bhoodan and Gramdan in the giving of land in India. Or in other words the giving of shares in our case demonstrates how the spirit of the great land gift movement in India can be applied to the industrialised West.

Perhaps it is not without significance that the two organisations, Bhoodan and the Scott Bader Commonwealth, were started in the same year namely 1951; and during the intervening years, like the Bhoodan movement, the Scott Bader organisation has gone through various steps of expanding growth. Not the least of these developments resulted in establishing "Deminty", short name for "The Society for Democratic Integration in Industry". Donald Groom in a recent edition of "Sarvodaya" has contributed an article setting out the aims of this society and our members feel greatly indebted to his support and heartily reciprocate his good wishes.

It is hoped that the common bond now firmly established between us will bear abundant fruit during the coming years. ॐ

TO SUBSCRIBERS

Sarvodaya is posted before the 10th of every month. Complaints about non-receipt of any number should reach us before the end of the month mentioning the number of Subscriber which is given along with the address on the wrapper.

— Editor

The Tyranny of Scientific Materialism

Esme Wynne—Tyson (Sussex, England)

The recently published United Nations Report on radiation hazards brings to mind a prophecy made in the last century by the famous statesman, Disraeli, when he warned us that "without God education would produce a nation of clever devils." For this Report calmly announces that the scientific materialists, with their irresponsible and callous experimentations have already condemned hundreds and thousands of the human race to the lingering death of an agonising disease, as well as ensuring that vast numbers of babies will be born maimed, blind and otherwise contaminated. In what way is this, without even the urgency of war to excuse it, less immoral and devilish than the atrocities committed in wartime concentration camps that so shocked the world in the last decade?

The fantastic part of this Report is the information that it is the well-developed 'privileged' countries, with the best medical facilities, that are most liable to contamination and disease, owing to the fact that the dangers of radio-therapy are now found to outweigh those of any other kind of man-made radiation. The most chilling feature of the situation is that there is no indication that plans for abandoning experimentation with radiation for commercial, medical, or other purposes are being made, which means that our 'Health' Service will continue to induce rather than cure disease, and that our air, water and food will be more and more fatally contaminated by the scientific hierarchy which insists that there must be no limitation of or check upon the scientific curiosity that has brought humanity to this appalling state. Science, ostensibly designed to serve man is inexorably destroying him.

The one possible ray of hope in this horrifying Report is that it may make the younger generation of India less liable to admire and emulate Western civilization, and see that Gandhiji was never wiser than in his condemnation of industrialism, and the scientific materialism inevitably involved in it. They have already probably taken note of the sinister passage which says that "most strontium

is eaten by people relying on rice and not milk for their normal intake of calcium." Is it not truly the work of devils that the air and food of people not experimenting themselves with nuclear fission, or taking part in the arms race should be contaminated by those who *are*? What right has any earthly power to make the world uninhabitable for those outside its jurisdiction? It is the supreme violation of what is surely an unwritten international law; as much an act of aggression as bacteriological warfare, and no less aggressive for being perpetrated in days of nominal peace. Cannot India and other non-committed countries protest by every means, and through every channel available to them, against this reign of terror, this tyranny of scientific materialism, which threatens to become universal, unless mankind unites against the rule of Disraeli's clever devils, with their insatiable and irresponsible lust for materialistic knowledge?

The earth is the home of humanity, and no government or scientific hierarchy has any moral right to contaminate that home and make it untenable for its inhabitants. To claim that right is to act like demented tyrants, or devils; and this is the pass to which the Western world has come through substituting science for God.

The women of East and West can, and should act at once in this matter. The truly compassionate woman on realizing the implications of this Report can refrain from bringing another generation of human beings into this scientifically contaminated and menaced world, and can, instead as Tolstoi argued long ago, when the earth was a much safer and better place to live in, adopt one of many children who are in such urgent need of parental love and care to enable them to endure the hazards and sufferings of the present age.

THE ANATOMY OF FEAR

The worst enemy is fear. The terrorist as well as the terrorised are equally its victims. It eats into their vitals. The former fears something in his victim, it may be the latter's religion, which is different from his own, or the latter's riches. The second kind of fear is otherwise known as greed or love of material possessions. If you search deeply enough, you will find that greed is a variety of fear. But there has never been and never will be a man who can intimidate one who has cast out fear from his heart, because God is always by the side of the fearless. If we make God our sole refuge, all our fears will vanish.

—from 'Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase'

Sarvodaya in Britain

Wilfred Wellock

DURING recent weeks I have had the pleasure and the unique experience of attending several meetings along with Jayaprakash Narayan, who has expounded the philosophy and work of Vinoba Bhave. They were unique meetings in that they were composed of people who are immersed in a way of life that daily becomes more materialistic, more complex, and more centralised.

In India as in most Eastern countries the majority of people are under-fed, whereas in Britain and America they are over-fed or badly fed. Moreover in India the pattern of life is simple, whereas in the West giant organisations move with the clock and control the life and labour of millions of people as if by a hidden hand.

In these conditions it was a unique experience to listen to a description of Vinoba Bhave journeying through India's villages proclaiming and expounding the gospel of Sarvodaya and inducing thousands of people to share at least some portion of their land with the landless, and thousands of villages to put all their land into a common pool in order that all might dedicate their lives to the welfare of the village as a whole.

The immense contrasts between life and conditions in India and in Britain are so staggering that these audiences were at a loss even to ask questions. Vinoba's mission seemed to have no relevance whatever to life in the West.

Yet it had a relevance, but much thought was required in order to reveal it. Many, probably the majority in these audiences were themselves in revolt against the prison-house of a materialistic way of life that has its foundation in a gigantic industrial, financial, economic, political and military system in which vast private interests are interlocked with municipal and national interests. This tremendous concentration of power and authority has the effect of emphasising the impotence which everyone feels who desires to revolutionise the social and industrial system and their own way of life. This sense of impotence intensifies the unrest.

However, the major conflicts of our time are of a different order, being mainly concerned with the distribution of the national income. There is the old conflict between capital and labour over the just distribution of the fruits of industry. It is rife in every section of industry, be it private, municipal or State. This agitation for increased income is quite as pronounced in the professions—medical, legal, managerial, administrative and cultural, as in industry.

Money has become the key to life, and an increasing percentage of the population expects to satisfy all its needs by means of cash. Luxuries are passing into necessities every day.

To some extent the old class distinctions are breaking down, mainly because many industrial workers are so well-paid that they can afford to buy or mortgage a house in suburbia, and or buy a motor car, either outright or on hire purchase. Indeed large numbers of the Middle Classes also buy motor cars on H. P.

To own a car has become a sign of success, prosperity and social status, and H. P. has made the road to it so easy that the temptation to rise in the social scale is resulting in many people carrying rather heavier loads of debt than is compatible with their peace of mind, and thus their well-being.

Accordingly this way of life increases worry, anxiety and unrest in getting an extra (evening) job, or in the wife going out to work.

But none of these avenues accomplish their purpose, since they increase the pressures on family life, also tension within the family, and lower the standard of health often of the entire family. This process is intensified by the fact that improved living standards all too often result in self-indulgences, such as excessive cigarette smoking, alcohol taking, expensive, synthetic sugary concoctions, and "refined" foods so-called which, like the flour are robbed of all their finer ingredients from the sale of which the producers make handsome profits.

The result is physical and mental debility, nervous breakdowns, mental aberrations, drug taking and crowded hospitals. Britain boasts of her Welfare State and her National Health Scheme. Yet the cost of the National Health Service is £ 740 millions a year, of

which £ 70 millions goes in the dispensing of doctors' prescriptions. The number of mental patients rises annually and the call for more hospitals is unceasing.

On the other hand, the rapid multiplication of cars and other motor vehicles is sending up the rate of accidents; the total of death on our roads is beyond all reasonable endurance, but when all those in authority, all the well-to-do and even most of the moderately well-off have cars, and thousands of others are hoping to procure a car, this accident problem fails to get the attention it deserves.

Yet in many respects the car is played out. It is becoming increasingly impossible to get in or out of our larger towns and cities with a vehicle, while queues and hold-ups are so frequent and so nerve-racking, that many are finding other means of reaching their places of work or business. For the same reasons week-ending with a car is rapidly losing its attractions, and many are finding a quiet week-end at home a much better proposition.

The above descriptions are but a few of the many that might be given. They serve to throw sidelights on the fantastic maze that life in the West is now assuming. But they also reveal the dimensions of the problem which faces all those who are trying to find a way towards a more sane and satisfying way of life, and explain why most of the people who hear men like Jayaprakash Narayan describing the philosophy of Gandhi and Vinoba, and the nature and success of the Bhoodan Movement, are non-plussed when they ask themselves how any such Movement could take shape here?

Narayan's last meetings in England consisted of a week-end Conference which was held in a very quiet village surrounded by beautiful woodlands, forty miles South of London in the County of Surrey. It was a lovely and profitable week-end in every respect including the physical surroundings, the sunshine, the most amiable of Conference gatherings, open-minded searching for Truth, and most important of all, unity of purpose and the achievement of a high degree of common agreement and understanding, and findings of substance that are to be the basis of a further conference.

The Conference consisted of fifteen persons comprising University Professors, and businessmen who have already taken bold steps towards the financial and organisational democratisation of their businesses, and independent thinkers who by deed and word are pioneering on behalf of a new social revolution, the inauguration of a new creative era.

Every member of the group held the view that Western civilisation is in a period of decline, and that this is largely due to the fact that the course taken by the Industrial Revolution has had the effect of depriving work of all interest over a very wide area of production; it had made man the mere servant of the machine and deprived him of one of his most valuable rights, that of responsibility and self-expression. All work should be creative in nature and purpose, and performing it should therefore be regarded as a form of culture, as important and indeed more important than book culture.

This basic evil was the product of a materialistic outlook caused by the pursuit of profit for opulence, social status, and power. Its fruits were a thousand social evils which were producing havoc from end to end of Western civilisation. The problem was how to by-pass them, how to make the transition from a materialistic, devouring civilisation to a spiritual, creative, self-expressive or self-giving one.

The Conference heard and pondered over Mr. Narayan's message of Sarvodaya, and probably something of its spirit will find its way into our final conclusions in due course.

In the meantime, what of India? Is she to follow the way of the West or the way of Gandhi and Vinoba? Indians in Britain and America are often captured by the glamour of Western prosperity, and unfortunately many of them see little of the other, and darker side. Penetration and meditation are essential. May I be pardoned for saying so?



The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya

THOUGH Tamil Nad was leading in Khadi production there was meagre literature on khadi and charkha in Tamil. A small attempt was made in 1946 to bring out a series of books on the various crafts and the techniques connected with khadi. The re-orientation programme in Khadi work and the growth of Basic Education in Tamil Nad created the urgent need for exhaustive literature on the economics and philosophy of the Charkha as the basis of total reconstruction of villages. Publication on a small scale was carried on by the Tamil Nad Branch of the All India Spinners' Association. It was from 1949 that the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya could function as a publication branch under the managing editorship of a whole-time worker who was just then relieved from the secretaryship of the A. I. S. A., Tamilnad.

The Prachuralaya also took up the publication of some of the latest books on Gandhiji and by Gandhiji with the permission of the Navajivan Karyalaya at considerably low prices. As the work was expanding the Prachuralaya was transferred as a branch under the direct control of the A. I. S. A., at Sevagram in July 1951. Again in May 1952 it was taken over by the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh as the nature of publications was going beyond the limited scope of the A. I. S. A. Since then the Prachuralaya has been functioning as the Southern Branch of the Publication Department of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Kashi.

The Prachuralaya had already started its Tamil Monthly 'Khaddar Malar' earlier in 1947 (now 'Sarvodayam') and the English Monthly 'Khadi World' (now 'Sarvodaya') in 1951 to supplement its activities.

Since the Sarva Seva Sangh has recently decided to transfer its activities to a local organisation in each State, the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya may become an integral part of the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh, a new Trust that has been started to take over the Khadi work in Madras State.

During these recent years we have been publishing also small and cheap Bhoodan booklets in Tamil besides a few in English to meet the needs of the workers on Bhoodan Yatra in the villages.

During the last ten years of its active work the Prachuralaya has published 116 titles mostly in Tamil and some in English, a few of which have run to several editions.

Over eight lakhs of copies were published in all, worth over Rs. 3,50,000. The total sales amount to 2,64,000, of rupees as per the detailed statement of publications given below.

We are indebted to the Tamil Nad Gandhi Nidhi for the timely financial help with permission to publish four of our publications in their name.

This pioneering attempt made by the Prachuralaya in the field of Gandhian-Sarvodaya literature and the progress it could make with the limited financial resources and various difficulties only indicate the congenial atmosphere for such literature. There is immense possibility of expansion if sufficient funds and workers are available. The time is ripe now for spreading among the masses Gandhian literature for which there is a crying need.

Statement of our Publications and Sales till 30-4-1958

Serial No.	Subject	Books Published			Sales	
		No. of Titles & editions	Total Copies No.	Value Rs.	Total Copies No.	Value Rs.
1.	Khadi	46	80,800	57,352	68,380	46,747
2.	Grama Seva	24	56,600	30,950	51,150	27,600
3.	By & on Gandhiji	21	75,000	42,750	67,550	40,437
4.	Gita Pravachan	10	1,03,700	1,12,200	83,950	91,475
5.	Sikshan Vichar	1	5000	7,500	3,800	5,700
6.	Bhoodan Books Tamil	88	4,17,230	59,835	2,99,030	35,010
7.	„ English	30	79,000	24,000	59,600	17,069
Total...		220	8,17,330	3,34,587	6,33,460	2,64,038

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE

News and Notes

Philippine's Tribute to Vinoba

The Ramon Magsaysay Foundation of Philippine has awarded one of the five prizes of 10,000 dollars to Vinobaji for his outstanding service "in arousing the majority of his countrymen toward solving one of the causes of social injustice and economic equality." The Foundation was established last year to honour the ideals cherished by the late Philippine President. A sum of 5,00,000 dollars was endowed by the Rockefeller Fund of New York. The Board of Trustees has seven Philippine leaders. They award five prizes each year to eminent persons in Asia who distinguish themselves in five fields, viz., Community service, Government service, Public service, International understanding and Journalism and Literature.

The Board while making the award to Vinoba pays a tribute to him thus:—

"Acharya Vinoba, like the late President Magsaysay, is a humble man who has abiding faith in the basic goodness of human character and the tempering effect of the human conscience. This frail, retiring disciple of Gandhi, who works in the non-political sphere, now is in his seventh year of walking through India asking those who have land to share it with those who do not. He has sought nothing for himself, least of all recognition for his achievements, and has won the high respect of his countrymen."

Sarvodaya Patra in Bangalore

The programme of Sarvodaya Patra has made good progress in the city of Bangalore. About 300 houses have offered to keep the patra in their homes. About 200 are in Gandhinagar area around the Sarvodaya International Centre and Karyalaya. The workers in the Karyalaya go round periodically collecting the grains. The collected rice is used in the Sarvodaya kitchen which feeds the workers of the city and the visiting workers. About 60 patras are in the cantonment area and the rest are spread over other parts of the city.

The fortnightly bulletin "Sarvodaya Nagar" is freely distributed to every home keeping the Sarvodaya patra. About 2000 copies are printed every fortnight and are sent freely without any subscription. A few have sent lump sums as gifts towards the cost of publishing the bulletin. Further particulars can be obtained from Mr. Donald G. Groom, Sarvodaya International Centre, 4th Cross Road, Gandhinagar, Bangalore-9.

War Resisters' International

The Tenth Triennial Conference will be held in India in 1960. Sri G. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Gandhi Memorial Trust, and a Founder of Gandhigram has agreed to share in the responsibility of organising the conference to be held in Gandhigram in Christmas 1960. There will be two phases of the Conference. The first will be confined to W. R. I. members and the second will be open to all pacifists and near-pacifists by invitation.

Henry George School of Social Science

We have received some interesting literature on the Henry George School of Social Science and the Public Revenue Education Council of New York. It is chartered by the University of the State of New York. Its object is to spread the light of economic science on an educational basis and to stir up public opinion from its apathy about unjust and oppressive tax burdens. Inquiries may be addressed to Public Revenue Education Council, Oregon Distributing Office, P. O. Box 9103, Portland 15, Oregon, U. S. A.

Sarvodaya Literature Sales Campaign

Literature and Journals are the two wings of any ideological movement and they are the twin lungs of the Bhoodan, a non-violent revolution based on persuasion by reason and love. A continuous flow of literature for all classes should be an integral function of this ideological movement. It is equally necessary to confirm and retain the faith in those who would have momentarily responded to the call of the movement as well as to all those to whom the message of Sarvodaya is yet to reach. The progress of the movement depends largely on the quality and quantity of literature.

The Tamilad Sarvodaya Mandal has rightly appealed to celebrate a fortnight from 11th September to 25th September as Sarvodaya Literature Fortnight as the fittest honour to the greatest modern Tamil Poet Subrahmanya Bharathi and Vinoba, the maker of Sarvodaya Samaj and Sarvodaya Social Order. The eleventh of September happens to be the Anniversary of Bharathi and the birthday of Vinobaji. We appeal to all constructive workers in the non-official and official spheres to put in combined efforts for making the literature fortnight a tremendous success by buying and selling Sarvodaya literature, running Exhibitions and Organising Sarvodaya Study Clubs to stimulate interest in the Gandhian Sarvodaya ideology.

A correction.

In 'Sarvodaya' for August 58 on page 93, first para, 4th line please read 'ended the wounded' as 'tended the wounded'. A friend drew our attention to this serious mistake which we deeply regret.

134

SARVODAYA

Vol. VIII | OCTOBER 1958 | No. 4



**SARVODAYA
PRACHURALAYA,
TANJORE. (S.I.)**



89th CHARKHA JAYANTHI

Annual Sub.:
Rs. 4-50, 12 Sh. or \$ 2

Single Copy :
0-37 nP.

★
To Subscribers

The annual subscription of "Sarvodaya" has been increased to Rs. 4 50 for India and Ceylon since July 1958 owing to increase of pages.

Subscription for other countries is 12 sh. or 2 Dollars.

The balance of subscription as on 1st July will be adjusted at the new rate at the time of renewal of each subscriber.

Gift subscriptions for overseas can be accepted in India at Rs. 6 per annum.

Subscribers in England and Europe can remit the subscription through M/s. Housmans Bookshop, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, London N. 4.

Some of the back numbers of Sarvodaya prior to July 1958 are available at 25 nP. per copy and at 37 nP. from July 1958.

Annual bound Volumes for previous years are available at Rs. 6 per copy.

Agencies for enrolling subscribers and for sale of monthly issues are requested to write to

Editor, SARVODAYA,
SRINIVASAPURAM, TANJORE,
INDIA.



October - 1958

EIGHTY-EIGHTH ISSUE

CONTENTS

89th Charkha Jayanthi	145
Charkha—The Symbol of Non-violence— <i>Mahatma Gandhi</i>	146
The Goal is Clear, but not the Way— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	148
Truth, Love and Compassion— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	151
Double Revolution of Gandhiji— <i>Jayaprakash Narayan</i>	155
Our Experience in Europe— <i>Siddharaj Dhadda</i>	157
More Questions on Basic Education— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	161
Sarvodaya and World Peace— <i>Marjorie Sykes</i>	165
Gandhi-Vinoba-Buchman— <i>Rajmohan Gandhi</i>	169
The Twentieth Century and Gandhian way— <i>Thakurdas Bang</i>	173
Create a New Mind— <i>Swami Ayyaktananda</i>	180
Philosophy of Indian Economic Development— <i>Richard B. Gregg</i>	181
Towards a Science of Peace— <i>A Review of a book</i>	183
The Failure of Violence— <i>Dr. Martin Nimollier</i>	185
Appeal for Sutranjali and Sarvodaya Patra— <i>Vaikunth Mehta</i>	186
Vayaloor—The First Gramdan of Tamilnad— <i>Bandopadhyaya</i>	189
News and Notes	191

Complimentary Congrat

89th Charkha Jayanthi

The eightyninth birthday of Mahatma Gandhi is being celebrated as the Charkha Jayanthi, all over the Country as the charkha represents all that the Mahatma lived for and preached.

During the last few years the charkha has been spread more rapidly especially because of the improved Ambar charkha. The annual production and sale of khadi which was about a crore of rupees in value has now gone up to about six times. This striking expansion of khadi activity is due to the drive given by the Government of India through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and some of the States like Madras.

While there is enough reason to feel exultant by this quantitative progress of khadi as a means of relief for unemployment, a problem which any State is bound to solve at the State level, our mind goes back to the words of Mahatma Gandhi which he poured from his heart shortly after his release from Aga Khan Palace in 1944. His talk to the colleagues in the Charkha Sangh and the seven days' discussion are fortunately embodied in the book "Khadi—Why and How?" under the caption "Conference" (pages 163-210.) Extracts from the same are published in this number.

While the charkha, whether traditional or of the improved Ambar variety serves as the means of giving relief for unemployment in the hands of the State, the same Charkha becomes the instrument of non-violence for bringing about the non-violent social revolution in the hands of the constructive workers. Richard Gregg goes further and considers it "not as a fantastic aberration of an Indian dreamer, but as a part of world-wide change affecting the methods, organisation and purposes of industrialism" in his latest book "A Philosophy of the Economic Development of India." Thus the message of the charkha has a larger appeal to the world as a corrective to the Industrial revolution itself.

Let us contemplate on the revolutionary import of the charkha with a heart-search and assess the progress we have made in the use and propagation of the charkha as the means for the social revolution in this sacred *Jayanthi* of the charkha which was nothing but a symbol of *Ahimsa* to Mahatma Gandhi.

Charkha—the Symbol of Non-Violence

Mahatma Gandhi

OUR work had a very humble beginning. When I started Khadi I had with me, apart from Maganlalbhai and others who had elected to live and die with me, Vithaldasbhai and a few sisters. We have travelled a long way since then and today about two crores of people have come under the influence of the *charkha*. By its help we have been able to provide the village people with a large amount of money. But can we still hold, as we have always maintained, that Swaraj is impossible without the *charkha*? So long as we do not substantiate this claim the *charkha* is really no more than a measure of relief, to which we turn because we can do nothing else about it. It would not then be the means of our salvation.

Secondly, we have failed to carry our message to the crores of our people. They have neither any knowledge of what the *charkha* can do for them nor even the necessary curiosity for it.

The Congress did accept the *charkha*. But did it do so willingly? No, it tolerates the *charkha* simply for my sake. The Socialists ridicule it outright. They have spoken and written



much against it. We have no clear or convincing reply to offer to them. How I wish I could convince them that the *charkha* is the key to Swaraj! I have not been able to justify the claim all these years.

I have presented the *charkha* to you as a symbol of non-violence. If I did not make it clear to you so far, it was my mistake. You know I am among the maimed and can move but slowly. Yet I do believe that the work done so far has not been a waste.

The task of proving the superiority of non-violence is a difficult one. We have to fathom its depths if we are to realize its truth. The world is going to put me to the test. It may declare

me a fool for my tall talk about the *charkha*. The task of making the *charkha*, which for centuries had been a symbol of poverty, helplessness, injustice and forced labour, the symbol now of mighty non-violent strength, of the new social order and of the new economy, has fallen on our shoulders. We have to change history. And I want to do it through you.

I hope you follow what I am saying. But if in spite of it you do not believe that the *charkha* has the power to achieve Swaraj, I will ask you to leave me. Here you are at the cross roads. If you continue with me without faith you will be deceiving me and doing a great wrong to the country. I beg of you not to deceive me in the evening of my life

Now we have the tri-colour flag. What is it but a piece of Khadi of specific length and breadth? You can well have another piece in its place. But behind that Khadi cloth lie encased your feelings. It is a symbol of Swaraj, a symbol of national emancipation. We cannot forget it. We will not remove it. We are prepared to die for it. So also the *charkha* should be an emblem of non-violence.

What does the *charkha*, as an emblem of non-violence, signify in the economic sphere? Call it self-sufficiency or what you like. In the name of national reconstruction and self-sufficiency millions are being bled white in Western countries, as also in other countries for their sake. Ours is not a self-sufficiency of that pattern. The *Charkha* is the way to get rid of exploitation and domination. I am not so much concerned with words as with the thing itself.

So, if non-violence is to be pursued as an ideal, the *charkha* must be acknowledged as its true form and emblem, and kept ever before view. Whenever I think of non-violence the picture of the *charkha* comes before me. We cannot visualise non-violence in the abstract. So we choose an object which can symbolize for us the formless. That is what the *charkha* does for me and that is why I worship it. Unless you understand and imbibe this spirit behind my worship of the *charkha* you will not gain an understanding of non-violence even for a hundred years.

From "Khadi—Why and How"
a Navajivan Publication.

The Goal is Clear, but not the Way

Acharya Vinobaji

(Address delivered on the 8th August, 1958 at the first day's session of the Chalisgaon Conference)

[I]t pleases me immensely to find myself in your midst today. I have been after a Shakti for the last 7½ years as an humble representative of you all. Bapu's picture is facing me now. I cannot say how far I have been successful in following his life and assimilating his character. I do certainly wish and earnestly try to walk in his footsteps. But it is not for me to say how far I am succeeding; perhaps, the time for such evaluation is not yet, it will be only after I am dead and gone. But I can say, in a sense, that I am following the picture standing before me. Bapu has been caught in a walking pose in it and by similarly treading along, God only knows for how long, I am literally following him.

Necessity for your co-operation

The time has now come when I am in urgent need of help of you all; it is possible that without it I may be lost. Some 3 or 4 years ago I said that I have raised around myself a bastion. Abhimanyu sitting safely within the *chakra-vyuha* very badly needed assistance; so do I. I am in a worse plight still, for which neither you nor I am responsible. If anything, it is the present situation that has thrown responsibilities on us and expects certain things of us.

Let the Sangh expand

Just now the discussion is afoot as to how Sarva Seva Sangh is to be expanded, how to coalesce and combine into one unit the different groups engaged in constructive work. As the Prophet has said in the Koran, it is right and proper that you devotees unite and become one'. We are faced with these two questionings. In my view both, in fact, constitute a single question. The termination of the Sarva Seva Sangh as such, and the coalescence of the constructive organisations into a combine for the purpose of work, constitute a single question. This is now being raised because of the

desire among the public for the expansion of the Sangh. We do not want to expand ourselves on our own initiative and impose ourselves on the people. We cannot do so, nor is there warrant for it. I felt it at Yelwal. Accordingly in my comments on the resolution, I said that the Sarva Seva Sangh should so expand as to become co-extensive with the Government Community Projects and other services as they are, or hope to become. They want to cover the whole of India; so it is incumbent on us to do likewise.

Our approach different

It is true that the method of our expansion is different from theirs. What they mean by expansion may not be the same that we do. When the other political parties think in this strain, they seek only to strengthen their organisations. The Congress, the P. S. P. or any other party is worried only as to how to strengthen their organisations. Sometimes they discuss the method of purification also when they suspect the entry of some rot within. But this never becomes important, importance being always given to the question of strengthening the organisation. But ours is quite the contrary approach. In almost all the districts of India, barring some inaccessible forest and hilly tracts, there were Bhoodan Samitis functioning. But one day a fine idea struck me and I said, I would disband all these Samitis; and so it was soon done. I believe this is a momentous happening in contemporary Indian history. It is no small thing to abolish an all-India organisation. For an individual to repair to the forest renouncing his all, on a change of mind to take to sannyasa is a small thing. But to break up an institution which was fast developing, with ambitions to cover the entire country and thereby to hope to get stronger should either be sheer madness or divination. I claim that a profound vision is inherent in this. It is on its basis, on its strength that we have achieved something.

All this did not happen in a single day. Thinking on these lines went on for a year or so. I had fears that this step might result in the whole movement tumbling down, all activities coming to a stop. Consultations continued. At last it seemed that we should act. Risking has always been a condition of progress. I had prepared my mind for the eventuality of failure of the movement itself, if that were to be the result; what was more probable was that this

will throw up heroes who would expand the movement. There was no denying the danger, but we embarked upon the step with eyes fully open.

Resolve to die for the ideal

What I wanted to say was that the process, the technique of our expansion of getting strong is such, that it can never occur in the other organisations. We saw, that as a result of abolishing the Bhoodan Samitis we gained in spiritual strength. Not only this, those who were always suspicious of our intentions began to see that we are people who concern ourselves always with vital principles and never with concrete results; that we will do anything for the sake of principle. As a result, all the parties became interested, sympathetic and friendly towards us; which I clearly saw especially in Malabar.

I cannot ignore the communists

I met many a communist in Malabar. I never expected that I would have such hearty discussions with them. We had many intimate talks. I saw their questions and queries also were sufficiently intelligent. As a result, we found ourselves to be close to each other. This gave rise to some criticisms also, that these are dangerous contacts. But I look upon no man as dangerous to my ideas. My humanity will not tolerate my avoiding contact with any man, as my citizenship will not with any Indian. I look upon all men as images of God, hence worthy of worship. So there is no question of my avoiding them at all. I query myself why should not I develop a magnetism so as to embrace them all as Chaitanya Mahaprabhu used to do. All became assured that I have no aggressive intentions. I want only to enter hearts; that mine is the method of the sour curd which silently enters and converts all the milk into butter-milk; that the army that I am going to organise might prove a blessing after all. [To be continued]

LATEST PUBLICATION
 ** GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY **
 By Wilfred Wellock
 Revised Edition: Price 12 Annas.
 Available at: SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE.

Truth, Love and Compassion

Acharya Vinobaji

THE Indian Society is hoary in age and experience. The people of this country have from their experience concluded that truth is the noblest of virtues. Truth is required for mutual understanding as well as for carrying on trade and commerce. We are familiar with the stories of King Harischandra and others who were devoted to truth, as also with the first commandment of the Vedas 'Satyam Vada, Dharmam Chara' (Speak the Truth and act according to Dharma). The entire edifice of our history stands on truth. Bhagvan Ramachandra is considered an incarnation of Truth. Many are the sayings like 'Satyannasti paro dharmah' (No higher virtue there is than truth) prevalent among us.

Untruth has sway everywhere today: With all this, we rarely practise truth nowadays. The merchant who observes truth in his vocation is a rarity, as the father negotiating the marriage of his girl. In diplomacy falsehood has full play. Thus we see untruth having full sway everywhere.

Money—the prop of Untruth: The question, then arises: do all people really like falsehood? No, none likes it at all. Would we hug anybody for imposing upon us, for deceiving us? Why, even the merchant, a stranger to scruples, is very particular on his son being taught veracity in school. He would fall out with the teacher who teaches the boy prevarication. How to reconcile then, the people's unashamed practising of untruth in all their transactions with their vaunted devotion to truth? The explanation for this intriguing state is to be found in our economy, in our whole social structure being based on money. So long as bodily labour retained its prestige and position and was not ousted by money, truth was safe and sound; ever since we began basing our social structure on money, disorder set in. The currency is really the most unreliable vagabond. The same rupee fetches 4 seers of *jwar* one day, 2 another day and 5 some other day. That is, if we use money in our transactions, it is sure to land us in falsehood. We are living in deceitful times. We forget that it takes very little time to print notes while a good deal of time and labour go into the production of commodities.

As a matter of fact, it is easiest to observe truth and most difficult to practise falsehood. What is required for the observance of truth is simplicity or straightness of mind which we find even in children in ample measure. Strangely enough, with its simplicity and its need being felt by one and all, its observance has become rare nowadays. Unless we re-establish its practice, our country and religion will have no future.

The need for changing the present economy : In order to reform the present state of affairs, we have to change our entire economic structure. We should base our economy on physical labour instead of on money. Our life should be such, that a thief entering the village intent upon laying hands on coins and currency notes, misses them and finds instead milk and honey, fruits and grains in plenty wherever he prys. It is easy for him to disappear shoving in his pocket a bunch of currency notes worth ten thousand rupees, but to remove grains of the same value, he would require 50 carts. In a word, there should be plenty, but very little money in the village. The village community should be co-operative; everything should be at everybody's service.

Dissolution of personal ownership—the only solution : While welcoming me today you were singing the devotional song which had for its burden, 'Our problems have been solved today.' But your problems, neither I nor the Five Year Plans can solve. Only when you make over all that you own to the village and each of you shares in the happiness and sorrow of all the others, will your problems be solved. But today individual ownership impedes its solution. If an individual residing in Galgaon owns 100 acres of land in this village how will he collect the proceeds? It is clear that he will have the grain sold and take the money. That is, the value of the grains will have to be converted into money. But this problem will get easily solved when you look upon the entire village as a family and make over to it all that you own.

Let each village plan for itself : In a word, money has no steady value; hence it is wrong to evaluate grain in its terms. Further, money is at the root of all falsehood in society. So it becomes necessary to keep the value of money steady. During the Great War, currency was devalued in all countries except England. Only when the value of money is steady, will people not be able to

pile up wealth by improper means. But it is no easy job to keep its value steady. Therefore, instead of formulating national plans, we would do well to plan for each village individually. We will produce enough food-grains, cloth, oils, sugar etc. for each village in itself and thus work out the entire plan of Gram-swaraj. This cannot be done at Delhi. It is true that they should help, but it is the villagers themselves who will make their plans.

If they wish, the villagers can keep the prices of commodities steady. I wear Khadi; the price of cloth in the market may rise or fall but the value of this is always the same. Because all the processes beginning from the growing of cotton up to weaving we perform in our Ashram and make use of the Khadi produced. When we take our cotton to the market for sale, we lose our hold on it, and become dependent on others. Then we have to be satisfied with the prices dictated by America and England. How will this situation arise if we never take our produce to the market at all? In short, if we convert the raw materials we produce in the village into finished articles and use them ourselves, the fluctuations of the market will not at all affect us. If community ownership prevails in the village, everyone will feel that 'This is very village, I am its maker, we have to run our Gramraj'. So, dispense with individual ownership first, and then formulate the plan of Gramraj. Then only will you be able to practise the virtue of Truth.

Rama and Krishna—the incarnations of Truth and Love : Our experienced ancients attached the greatest value to truth; they looked upon Rama as the incarnation of Truth. Next in worth, according to them, is Love. Sri Krishna was the incarnation of Love. Love has now dried up, thanks to the prevalence of the feelings of party, caste, religion etc. amongst us. The devil of differences is advancing and we should settle our accounts with him at once.

While Krishna lived, Gokul was overflowing with love. Even today his exploits are sung throughout India. He used to distribute pure butter, (not the stuff sold in the market) among his mates and eat his full. Mother Yasoda insisted on selling it at the city market of Mathura with a view to getting money from there. Krishna instructing her in modern economics told her "If you want money, you will have to accept the tutelage of uncle Kamsa ruling there. No, we ourselves, the villagers dwelling in Gokul

will eat it." Similarly, if instead of giving milk and butter to your children, you sell it in cities, the children will get weak. There will be no love in the village and in its place money will have sway. Therefore, if we want to establish love in India we should shake off the hold that money has over us and establish Gramraj in every village.

Bhagavan Buddha — the incarnation of Compassion: I have from experience assigned the third place in the scale of values to the quality of compassion. Bhagavan Buddha was an incarnation of compassion. Rarely do we come across a hard-hearted man in India; but hard-heartedness is prevalent everywhere here. It is certainly present in action though not in the heart. The reason for this also is the value we attach to money. It is the cause of the drying up of compassion. For reinstating pity and compassion in our acts we will have to wash our hands of all ownership of property. When even the English and the Indian Princes could not hold on to their possessions, how can others? If material possessions had the least basis in justice, it would surely have stood its ground.

Gramraj—the only way: In a word, Truth, Love and Compassion are the three invaluable gems of our country. It is to exemplify their value that the incarnations came one after the other. If we are to preserve those values we have no other go but to adopt Gramraj. To me nothing else seems to be of any worth but these three values. Except Gramraj no other idea seems apposite to this. Otherwise, there is any amount of Vedantic discussion going on in India. Tukaram Maharaj has complained that *Brahmagnan*, knowledge of the Supreme has become so much adulterated that it has become difficult to get at the genuine stuff. My own view is that unless truth, love and compassion are established, society can never advance spiritually; nor can it achieve material progress. Hence, the restlessness in my mind; that is why I have been roving without a break for the last 7 years. Except when driven by compassion it is impossible to be thus going from door to door. Because I clearly see that society cannot have happiness except through the establishment of Gramraj, I am so anxious and restless in mind.



Gandhiji's Double Revolution

Jayaprakash Narayan

[This is from a speech at Woodbroke College, Birmingham on 23—6—1958 as reported in 'Peace News', London.]

After the freedom of India, Mahatma Gandhi did not live long to put his ideas into practice.

He never for a moment said or believed that after the achievement of Indian freedom his task had been done, that there was



nothing else for him to do but retire perhaps to the Himalayas to meditate or to pursue other spiritual interests he had. All the time, even after freedom, he kept on saying that he wanted to live for 125 years.

To do what? To create this new India based on the foundations of love and truth. He wanted this social order of Sarvodaya, the good of all. All the time he wanted to give a demonstration of how this could be done.

Unfortunately, to the great misfortune of India, and I should say also of other countries, Mahatma Gandhi didn't live long. After a few months he was assassinated. But during those few months he gave some indications of what he wanted to do, how his mind was working, and it is of great interest to us to understand that.

In my country, today at least, politics dominates everything else. Everyone thinks that nothing can happen without the State, the Government, doing it. That is the mood of the people—this kind of helplessness.

Now Mahatma Gandhi's mind was working in entirely a contrary direction. He was, as you know, the undisputed leader, the undisputed *Political* leader, if you please, of my country. He is called the Father of the Indian nation.

Not through the State

Now is it not remarkable that the greatest leader of India, after his great success, should refuse to take power in his own hands in order to create this India of his dreams?

Everywhere in all previous revolutions, this is what was done by the leaders of the revolutions. George Washington became the first President of the United States, and Nikolai Lenin became the first Prime Minister of Soviet Russia.

But this didn't happen in the case of Gandhi. He was not thinking in terms of power at all—he was not concerned with that.

Why? Because he knew that it was not through political power, through the agency of the State, through Parliamentary enactments and through Government orders that this new society of his could be created.

Mahatma Gandhi was a great revolutionary, and a moral revolutionary. He always emphasised that his revolution was going to be different from all others. He said that all other revolutions had been single revolutions, and his would be a double revolution.

All other revolutionaries had tried to change only the externals, the outward forms of society. He also changed these, not in the manner that the others had done it.

He said that the whole social order must be changed from its roots, but before changing the institutions of society, the social organisation, it is man who has to be changed. If man is not changed, social change will not be able to bring the results which all the revolutionary idealists had always dreamed of.

And that is what is happening today: the results of nationalisation, whether it is in India or Great Britain or anywhere else prove it. I have been talking to my Socialist friends in Great Britain, and they do not know how the vacuum can be filled. How this whole great movement is becoming lifeless, is losing the drive and the idealism that at one time inspired it!

Mahatma Gandhi said that the root was man, and therefore if society had to be changed, man had to be changed first—his values, his outlook, his heart, his mind. Without changing that, we will not be able at least to create the Sarvodaya society—the ideal society based on love. This was fundamental to his thinking. ★

Our Experience in Europe

Siddharaj Dhadha

FROM England we went first to Holland for a couple of days. Besides meeting the Dutch Prime Minister Dr. Drees and members of the Executive of the ruling socialist party we visited the International Institute of Social History at Amsterdam which possesses a very large and rare collection of material on the socialist movements in different countries including many original writings and correspondence of Marx, Engels and Lenin. We had already been introduced to the Institute by a common friend. Bhoodan publications and reports are being sent to the Institute. This time during our visit we have also made arrangements with the kind assistance of our ambassador in Holland, Shri John Thivy, for one of the assistants from the Embassy to go there and help in cataloguing the Indian languages material.

On the 10th July we reached Copenhagen (Denmark) and spent four days there visiting some of their farming establishments and folk-schools. The visit to the International People's College of Elsmore was particularly interesting. J. P. spoke to the young boys and girls about the Bhoodan movement and they showed very lively interest in it. We also met in Copenhagen some Ministers and members of the Socialist party and were received by the Lord Mayor at the ancient Town Hall.

In Norway and Sweden

The next five days we spent in Norway and Sweden. By this time the holiday season had begun which is still in full swing all over Europe. Hence during these past weeks we have found everywhere many important people on holidays and have not been able to meet them. While at Oslo (Norway) we learnt that Professor Arne Naess of the University of Oslo is very much interested in Gandhiji's ideas and has written a book in Norwegian on Gandhian Ethics and Politics in collaboration with another colleague. Another Research Institute has undertaken a study project on non-violence in relation to resistance against aggression. Norway and Sweden have been away from the last two world wars and have

achieved a phenomenal prosperity. Both the countries have been under socialist rule for many years and coupled with their geographical location and non-involvement in wars, poverty, unemployment and the various social disabilities and injustices to which the working class is subjected have practically been eliminated. Thus socialism has achieved in these countries most of the material objectives it had set before itself but the ethical and social values of brotherhood, equality and freedom seem to be as far away to-day, if not more, as when modern socialism started its journey. Indeed in Sweden itself which is the acme of socialist countries to-day, people are feeling a certain void, a certain lack of purpose and meaningfulness in life while material security has been gained as a result of advanced social services, insurances etc. There is already a questioning of the present and a harkening back to the old ethical and moral basis with which socialism in fact started, and due to which it gained its momentum and world-wide appeal.

An interesting and exhilarating experience in Norway was a visit to a Youth Camp. About 400 young men and women had gathered together in a camp for ten days in one of the loveliest natural settings on a lake-island near Oslo. The evening shadows were falling as we reached the camp in the company of Mr. Hakon Lie, Secretary General of the Socialist Party of Norway and Mrs. Lie. The hall where the campers had gathered was full of mirth and song. They sang in chorus of the ideals of brotherhood and of their resolve to continue the fight for social justice. There was a loud, spontaneous and prolonged applause when Mr. Hakon Lie introduced J. P. as one of the foremost fighters not only for Indian Independence, since achieved, but also against all kinds of social oppression and exploitation on the lines laid down by Mahatma Gandhi.

In Poland

From the Scandinavian countries we went to Poland. It was our first visit to a Communist-ruled country. Since then, we have been to Yugoslavia also. While both Poland and Yugoslavia belong to the group of countries in Eastern Europe which were first overrun during the last world war by the German armies and where later

on when the tide turned and the local communist parties were helped to power with the backing of Russian army, they seem to be taking a different line than other countries of this group. Yugoslavia under the leadership of Marshal Tito has consistently refused to toe the Moscow line and is now in open conflict with the Big Brother. In Poland also following the uprising by the people in October 1956, liberties of thought, discussion and speech have been allowed to some extent, though Gomulke and the Polish Government have not been able to take a more independent line from that of Moscow like Tito. It was perhaps a symbol of these two countries following each in its own way, a different path than the traditional communist one, that invitations were extended to Jayaprakashji to visit them. As a result we were able to spend a week in each of these countries and gather valuable experience. In Yugoslavia particularly, interesting experiments are being carried on in "decentralisation" of authority, of course within the framework of "democratic centralism" as they call it in communist phraseology. We had the opportunity in Yugoslavia to discuss the working of these experiments with persons from the Central Minister of Economic Affairs down to the members of a village council. We got the impression that they are consciously trying the experiment of gradually transferring authority both administrative and economic to elected bodies of the people, at least from the village upto the district level. They had introduced workers' councils long ago in Industries which managed them. Now the device is being extended to all possible spheres and levels from large social insurance services and Railways to small enterprises. The whole experiment is worth making a close study of, particularly by those of us in India who are labouring for the establishment of direct decentralised democracy and for the gradual withering away of the authority, power and functions of a centralised state.

While in Poland we visited the birth-place of Chopin, the celebrated composer, in Yugoslavia we could visit the birth-place of Marshal Tito. The latter is situated in a beautiful valley surrounded by green low hills. Throughout our travels in Yugoslavia we noticed the ruins and remnants of feudal castles built on hill-tops like our forts in Rajasthan and Maharashtra. Equally prominent and more numerous were the churches similarly built on hills with their tall

spires pointing towards the vast blue sky. The whole panorama was fascinating, particularly in the Province of Slovenia which abounds in hilly terrain.

In Yugoslavia and Hungary

While coming to Yugoslavia we spent two days in the beautiful city of Vienna, the capital once of the mighty Hapsburg Empire extending practically over the whole of Eastern and Central Europe and now of the pruned little Republic of Austria with a total population of 7 million inhabitants. Austria has the distinction of being the only country where even the presence of Russian troops for almost ten years after the ending of the War could not succeed in imposing a communist Government as in other satellite countries. The Russian army had ultimately to withdraw towards the end of 1955 leaving the Austrians to manage their affairs in their own democratic way. The City of Vienna has the oldest socialist administration in the world dating back to 1918.

An interesting experience during the Austrian tour was a visit to the Hungarian border. Here we had the most vivid demonstration of how the ruling juntas suspicious of losing their grip on the people divide and separate them. Throughout the border across land, water and hills there is a barbed wire fencing, at important places double fencing, with steel watch-towers and land mines. It appears, the whole country of Hungary has been turned into a vast concentration camp from which none can escape and which none from outside can enter. It is obviously the aftermath of the great but unsuccessful and tragic Hungarian mass uprising in October-November 1956 against Russian domination. That such measures are unable to crush the spirit of the people was amply demonstrated at the meeting of Hungarian youth and freedom-fighters which J. P. was called upon to address in Vienna. This was indeed one of the very precious experiences of our tour and deserves a separate despatch.

In between our visits to Poland and Yugoslavia we spent about ten days in France. Our stay here was interesting in many ways. There was a meeting with all noted French writers and literateurs

ntinued on page 179

More Questions on Basic Education

Acharya Vinoba

(This is in continuation of the discussion at the Basic Education Seminar at Hamsabhavi, Mysore, published in the previous issue.)

Basic Education in Urban Areas

Question 4. What should be the form of Basic Education in the urban areas ?

Answer : On the last occasion, I suggested to you that if I were asked to prepare a scheme of education for the blind, I would be faced with a difficult task. The people in the cities are deprived of the pleasures of agriculture. They would for ever remain ignorant of the fulness and pleasures of education through agriculture. At present, we do not appreciate the importance of physical labour. This is a mistake.

We are faced with two-sided dangers. I do not want to say anything about the *Varna* scheme. But I would certainly like to refer to the class differences. The classes and the castes that labour most were supposed to be holding the higher position in our society. Manu says : "The hand that works in the soil need not be washed. It is already clean." John, the Baptist, was also asked a similar question. His humble reply was that not only their hands but also their abdomen is clean. But in course of time our attitude changed. The educated person in the society was given more respect than those doing physical labour. Gibbon has written that the Romans had their fall only because they began to hate productive labour. Therefore, nobody should ever entertain hatred for physical labour. I would like to suggest that it would be quite reasonable to introduce in the schools sweeping and cleaning the buildings as a basic craft. The sweeper throughout this life remains illiterate, although he performs his work very sincerely. Nothing could be more shameful than to allow our domestic servants to remain illiterate, even after having served us for more than 20 years.

Correlation Method

Ques. 5: Correlation is a recognised method of education. The average teacher feels difficulty in practising it perfectly and well. We are also faced with the problem of shortage of ideal teachers. Under such limitations, how can we follow in practice correlation methods? What special facilities would you suggest so that capable and good teachers could be drawn towards education?

Ans.: The method of education prevalent in India is the result of our own research and investigation. It is evolved out of our own practical experiences through the ages. Correlation theory presents the Western definition of education. We have to get rid of this education. It is not our responsibility to translate this word into our language. In our own language there is a similar term, *Samavaya*. Correlation is the mutual relationship between father and mother. But the term used in Indian pedagogy is *Samavaya*. The only illustration of *Samavaya* that is given in our Shastras is the relationship between mud and the jug, or between wood and the blade of knife. The propounder of this theory after pointing to the knife asks, "If you think that wood and blade of knife are two different things, then take away your blade and return my wood to me. If I take away my wood, where would your blade go?" He further says: "If, however, you think that the wood and the blade are one and the same thing, then take another piece of wood and use it as blade. Do you think that the wood would serve as the blade of knife?" Thus, if there are two things which stand in such a relationship with each other that it is difficult to separate them, and the only possibility is that they would ever remain one, it would be called *Samavaya*. Therefore, the children should not feel that education is a burden. The ideal of education would be one under which the child feels that it is working with its own parents. Once I saw a farmer who was plying a leveller in his field. But while doing so, he was required to keep something heavier on the leveller. Instead of putting a stone over it, he asked his four year old son to sit on it. If he had put a stone over it, he himself would have had to remove the grass each time by turning the leveller. But when his son sat on it, he removed the grass then and there. That way, the work became economical as well as a natural means

of education. This is New Education which I saw with my own eyes. The child was quite unaware of the fact he was getting education. But the fact remained that he was getting education, all the time. Therefore, when schooling is carried on separately from work, learning disappears. It remains a task. Therefore, under the *Samavaya* method, the teachers assume the role of children and perform different tasks. Now, the question is, whether it is difficult for the average teacher to follow this method. If it is so, it is a thing to feel sorrow for. Why at all does this question arise? Is it because we have employed weak and incapable teachers, whereas we desire to get the best out of education?

Qualification of Teachers

It is painful to find ill-qualified teachers in places where there should be the best, in order to give the best education. I find it difficult to understand why better teachers are provided at higher stages of education. As a matter of fact, we require the best qualified teachers for the youngest children. The best teachers should always be employed in places where children have strong aptitude for imitating things. Whenever I had been a teacher I had always preferred to teach small children. It is a matter of regret that we are unsuccessful in getting the best persons for teaching them.

In fact, the problem of providing good and qualified teachers is a difficult one. It is easy to talk of paying high salaries to the teachers, but it is certainly not right.

In ancient days, the scheme of education prevalent in the country was such, that those who entered *Vanaprastha*, that is, those who were between 45 and 55 years of age, were given the task of educating children. If the same scheme were introduced today, we might get experienced men like Rajaji for educating children. A basic scheme, on the other hand, has no problem of teachers. I wonder why big men do not give up politics and take to teaching.

In this connection I would like to say one thing more. It is reasonable to talk of increasing the salary of the teacher. But we must also improve his status. At present, he carries no respect in the society. A petty political leader demolishes all that the teacher

has been able to build during ten years. On the one hand, he has to face these leaders and, on the other, he has to deal with the parents. The teacher is, thus sandwiched between the two forces. He commands no respect in the society. He has no rightful place in it. We have thus lost a great advisor in the teacher. The teacher at present is no more *Guru*, no more master; he has rather become the servant. We are inclined to take advice from every body else, but not from the teacher. We have degraded him. He is no more considered to possess fine intellect. He is not allowed to make any change in the methods of education or even in his registers. Therefore, as long as we do not elevate his position in the society, we can never hope of getting good teachers. But, after all, how can we get good teachers? If all the teachers are paid equal salaries, then every teacher would assume the same role as the other. Even the students have formed their own opinions about different teachers. Under such conditions how can we expect that the teachers would command respect. Secondly, the political leaders should never interfere in the sphere of the activities of teachers.

Under the *Samavaya* method, one problem that suggests itself is that of books. But if the experienced teacher keeps a record of his own lessons, then naturally, it should serve as a good text-book. I, for example, had taught for 15 days. If I had kept a record of those lessons, it might have served as a very good book. I do not refer only to the basic education. Any good book cannot compare with the teachings evolved from the experience of old teachers. In my own case, I have often to deliver speeches during my Bhoodan tours. But if Bhoodan work was not before us, my speeches would not be so effective and full of consciousness. It is a teacher who does not teach in reference to some practical objective that cannot teach well. The education that is given in relation to some objective alone is fruitful and everlasting. We can prepare a guide book out of such speeches. It would be meaningless to argue that because no such book has not been prepared as yet, it could not be prepared now.

The Revolutionary Aspect of Basic Education

Ques: 6: There are a number of misunderstandings prevailing in the minds of the people, especially the educated people;

Continued in page 177.

Sarvodaya and World Peace

Marjorie Sykes

I have just been living for a few days in a "tribal" village in the forests of the Eastern Ghats. The motor road, the post office, the police station, the nearest little shop are all twelve miles away. The only line of communication is a narrow footpath by which one climbs through dense forest and descends to wade through rivers; in times of heavy rain there are no communications at all. The forest people are, as they must be, self-reliant and self-contained; they are, on the whole, healthy and contented. The "blessings" of newspapers and radio have passed them by, so they know nothing of wars hot or cold, of atom bombs or nuclear radiation and very little of the Government of India under which they live.

Many such villages have become *gramduni* villages. That is to say, they have decided to give up private ownership of the land and its resources, pool the village property, and plan their work so as to ensure that everyone in the village has an equitable share of the needs of life. They have accepted the idea of *Sarvodaya*, the idea that a human community ought to care for all its members from the strongest down to the weakest, so that all have a chance to develop to full capacity and make their full contribution to the life of society.

The *Sarvodaya* idea has been accepted also by other villages which are not at all isolated, but are in close touch with the traffic of the national life. It is, in fact, an idea which has no class limits or national boundaries; it is universal in its scope. It is relevant to the needs and problems of the whole world.

And yet, ever since Gandhiji first formulated his constructive *Sarvodaya* programme, this universal validity has been challenged. Non-violence and *Swadeshi* were for him fundamental principles of *Sarvodaya*, yet very few even among his closest followers really accepted them as basic and universal guides to human welfare. "It may work in the villages, but it won't work in the towns"... "This is all right, perhaps, for a primitive society, but progress demands something different"... "Yes, non-violent civil disobedience was a good technique for gaining India's freedom, because it suited the special circumstances of Indo-British relationship. But it would be useless against a really ruthless dictator, or in the international

field today"... "Of what use is *Satyagraha* in the nuclear age?"... "The world's life is being swept more and more swiftly into large-scale, centralised forms of economic and political organisation; it is as useless for us to try to check the current as for King Canute to forbid the flowing tide". "Sarvodaya" and "World Peace" in the title of this article seem to be brought together in as whimsical a fashion as Lewis Carroll's 'Cabbages and Kings'; each idea may or may not be good in itself, but it appears to have little connection with the other.

Gramrajya and Visvarajya

Gandhiji insisted that there was a connection, a vital connection, between *gramrajya* and *visvarajya*, between *swadeshi* and international friendship, between *ahimsa* and world peace. Vinoba insists with equal emphasis that his mission is a world mission, and that peace is a seamless garment whose texture is the same for the tribal village and the halls of the United Nations. No one can accuse either Gandhi or Vinoba of being ignorant, stupid, or out of touch with the currents of human life. These currents seem to be sweeping the human race into ever greater depths of misery, frustration and fear. Our modern "progress", it has been said, is much like the "progress" of a car that is out of control, and running full speed towards a precipice. Would it not be sensible to look afresh at what Gandhi and Vinoba have to say? Instead of making easy criticisms of their "primitive" conceptions of society and closing our ears to the uncomfortable questions they have raised about our own values and standards of life, it would be commonsense to give them a fair objective hearing. Perhaps they can show us how to regain control of the car.

Sarvodaya Literature Campaign in Tamilnad

The chief objective of Sarvodaya literature celebrations (such as were being held in Tamilnad) should be to stimulate men and women to fresh thought about the relevance of the whole concept of *Sarvodaya* to the human situation. The destiny of India is bound up with that of the rest of mankind, and we cannot, even if we would, remain aloof. A sarvodaya literature campaign is an opportunity to re-read and re-think what Gandhi and Vinoba have written about the connection between non-violent social revolution

and man's ancient longing for "peace on earth, goodwill among men." This is not the place to try to summarise what they have said. No summary could do them justice and their own books are to be had. Get them, read them, discuss them with two or three like-minded, argue about them, face the difficulties, get hold of the facts. There is no need to waste printer's ink in telling you that the world is in a mess; you know it only too well already. *Sarvodaya* provides a pioneers' sketch map of a possible way out of the mess; it deserves the serious attention of intelligent people.

Moreover, India is not the only place where ideas of this kind are being tried out. We ought to be much encouraged and helped by the parallel lines of study and experiment that are being followed in other countries. The September issue of the monthly 'Sarvodaya' contains several articles which describe the adventures of these ideas in Europe, in Africa, in the Americas. Those who are working to make the principles of justice, goodwill and peace a social reality in the life of a village, a township, or in national life and international relationships, may be strengthened in their faith by the knowledge that they have fellow-workers in many parts of the world.

Some of these peace workers are chiefly occupied in demonstrating in practice that a peaceful, just, non-aggressive community life is both possible and desirable, and that it provides a rich and varied field for the development of persons. Some communities hold land and farm it in common; others are communities of craftsmen, co-operating in production and sale of their commodities and using the proceeds for the benefit of all. The communities are of many kinds and are to be found, here and there, in many different countries, but in general they plan and carry on their daily life and work in much the same way that the *gramdani* village adopts in India. The basic difference between them and the *gramdani* village is that these communities are artificial ones formed by people who have deliberately come together for that purpose, whereas, the *gramdani* village is a natural community which has deliberately decided to change the basis of its life. Nevertheless the social, economic and psychological problems which a co-operative community has to face are basically similar throughout the world, and we in India can learn much from the experience that has been gained elsewhere.

Our Fellow-workers in the West

Another kind of contribution to the basic knowledge of the nature of peace is being made by groups of social psychologists. Vinoba said, some little time ago, that we should look forward to the union of science with *ahimsa* as offering the true hope for human welfare. These social scientists are bringing their scientific integrity, with its qualities of objectivity and precision, into the service of peace. They have set themselves to study and understand what factors in man's mental make-up, and in his relationships with others, are involved in the phenomena of tension, bitterness, disputes and the resort to violence; and what life-energies are involved in the achievement of satisfying and lasting peace. Number of institutions of University standing in the United States are engaged in such work. There are groups deliberately working "towards a science of peace"—the words form the title of one of their books. There is the Institute of Creative Altruism, led by Dr. P. Sorokin, engaged in the analysis of the ways in which love and compassion are released in society and the methods by which their most effective work is done. There are sociologists who are studying the growing evidence of a sinister connection between large-scale, highly centralised social and industrial units, and the increase of the symptoms of neurosis—of insecurity and aggressiveness—in the individual and in society. This kind of scientific investigation and research is still on a very small scale, and its resources in men and money are only a fraction of what goes into various kinds of scientific preparation for war. Nevertheless, these groups exist, and they are our fellow-workers.

Finally, among the pacifist groups of the West, who have maintained a steady witness against the moral evils of war and have refused, sometimes at great personal cost, to become involved in their nations' wars, there is a great and growing realisation that the positive search for a basically just and peaceful social order is an essential part of their duty. It is no longer true that their witness is *merely* negative. These groups owe a great deal to Gandhiji; and we in India, who also owe so much to him, can learn a great deal from the ways in which these workers have struggled to apply the principles of *Sarvodaya* to the complexities of the industrial civilisation which characterises their own countries and which are increasingly present in our own. ★

Gandhi—Vinoba—Buchman

Rajmohan Gandhi

IN 1915, two men—one a Westerner, the other an Indian—walked together on a beach in Madras and formed a lasting friendship based on mutual respect and a common love for people.

During the next thirty years each of them became world famous; each became the confidant of statesmen, and a figure of tremendous influence on millions of ordinary people.

The Indian was my grandfather, Mahatma Gandhi, who died by a fanatic's bullet ten years ago. The Westerner was Dr. Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament, who recently celebrated his eightieth birthday.

I was only a boy of thirteen when Mahatma Gandhi was murdered. But I knew that nearly four hundred million Indians mourned for him, feeling they had lost their greatest friend. In later years I realised that in almost every country of the world his passing had caused a shock—one of the great figures of the twentieth century had gone.

Now, more than ever, India needs the spirit he brought. In the ten years since Independence we have learned at great cost that the best of plans are doomed to failure without the inner qualities of discipline and selfless sacrifice for which my grandfather stood. It is to this fundamental task of building human character that Frank Buchman has dedicated his life; and it is for this reason that people in Asia and Africa are turning with hope to him and the people associated with him.

Mahatma Gandhi said of Moral Re-Armament that it was "the greatest thing that has come out of the West."

If he were alive today I believe he would rejoice to see this new life coming at least as much from Asia and Africa as from the West. Perhaps the heart of the matter was expressed by a trade union leader from Calcutta who said, "M. R. A. comes not from West to East or from East to West, but from man to man."

With Vinoba

Since the death last year of my father, Devadas Gandhi, for many years editor of the "Hindustan Times", Dr. Buchman has become father and grandfather to me. Like the Mahatma before him, my father valued the friendship of Frank Buchman. A year before he died, he said, "If Moral Re-Armament fails, the world fails".

A few weeks ago I was with U Nu, Burma's Premier, who is conspicuous among many Asian leaders who are publicly proclaiming the need for a moral answer to the pressing problems they face. He told me, "More than anything else the world needs to rearm morally. To survive, the world must be built on moral strength. A world built on military strength alone is doomed. I am confident that the work of Moral Re-Armament will, under the inspired and dedicated leadership of Dr. Buchman, continue to make progress."

I have just completed a journey through several Asian countries. Everywhere the ordinary man longs for peace, but he finds himself more and more confused by the conflicting politics and ideologies presented to him. That is why the simple and basic truths which Frank Buchman has shown evoke a ready response.

Recently, I was with the great Indian patriot and loved colleague of my grandfather, Vinoba Bhave, on his walking tour through the villages of India where 300 million of the 360 million Indians live. In the last seven years he has collected four million acres of land for the landless. It was an experience for me to be with him one morning when ten thousand villagers assembled to hear him.

Vinoba asked some of us to speak to them. When Dr. Buchman's words, "There is enough land in this world for everyone's needs but not enough for everyone's greed", and "Everybody wants to see the other fellow changed, but everybody is waiting for the other fellow to begin" were translated to them, there was a spontaneous burst of applause.

It was to the workers in the paddy fields of India that Frank Buchman said, "Before a God-led unity every last problem will be

solved. Empty hands will be filled with work, empty stomachs with food and empty heads with an idea that really satisfies."

Think of Frank Buchman, and you must think of countless ordinary people of Asia, Africa, America and Europe, of every colour, culture, creed and background, who count him as their true friend. His secret has always been his intense care for people and for nations and his ability to see what under God they can become.

To be with him is an experience—you know that for him you are the only person that matters. So it is with nations.

Change in Life

While others protest, criticise or are cynical, he has always had the faith, born of experience in his own life, that the most difficult man or the most divided nation can change and demonstrate an answer.

Frank Buchman has not founded an organisation, but he has brought an experience of personal change to innumerable men and women all over the world who all fight with him to implement the programme "New men, New nations, A new world."

It was fifty years ago in Keswick that he experienced a change in his own life. "The truth which I knew as a boy", he has said, "which my faith had always taught me, became that day a great reality to me."

I could see the fruits of his work at the recent Assembly of Nations held at Baguio in the Philippines. Within the old city walls of Manila, where thousands of Filipinos were killed at Japanese hands during the last war, I heard the Japanese speak in Japanese for the first time there since those terrible events. Their simple apology was met at first with a tense silence and then with a wave of amazed applause. Filipinos who had lost their families in those tragic days greeted the Japanese and said, "We are no longer enemies now, we will be your friends."

The future of democracy in Asia and Africa hangs in the balance. It may depend particularly on which road the youth of these nations decide to take. When Moscow was bidding last year

for the youth of Asia for their Youth Festival, Dr. Buchman had the foresight to invite a hundred of the top leaders of the youth of Japan and Formosa to an Assembly of Nations at Mackinac Island. I met and talked with them there.

One Goal

The fact that these men have chosen to be trained in Moral Re-Armament, rather than in Communism, is of tremendous importance for my generation in Asia.

Through a change of heart in people, and the healing of hates and hurts, I have seen new relationships born between men and nations. Cannot the hate and hurts between Asian nations and the West be healed in the same way? Otherwise materialist ideologies, exploiting these divisions, will ruthlessly ride to power.

We can be grateful to Dr. Buchman because he has given his long life to create an ideology in which the age-old culture of the East and the greatness of the West can find their common destiny in the building of a new world.

Courtesy — "Sunday Standard".

THE WAY OUT OF THE CRISIS

"For societies, the shortest, the most efficient, and the only practical way of really alleviating and shortening the crisis is by reintegrating its religious, moral, scientific, philosophical and other values. This reintegration must be effected in such a way that the new system of values is rooted not only in the noblest values of this sensory world, but primarily in the values of moral duty and the kingdom of God....Without a reintegrated system of sensory and transcendental values, other measures are not helpful, and they may even be harmful, serving the Dark Angel of Destruction."

Pitrim. A. Sorokin

In "Man and Society in Calamity"

The Twentieth Century and the Gandhian Way

Thakurdas Bang

WE are in the second half of the twentieth century to-day, with all its fascinating discoveries and baffling problems. Science has advanced by leaps and bounds and has alleviated human suffering to a considerable extent. In contrast to this, atomic and nuclear weapons are also fast becoming the order of the day. Not a month passes without some corner of the globe resounding to the explosions of the hydrogen bomb. Weapons such as were beyond human comprehension exist today. And yet (perhaps, because of it) man is seized with fear. He is timid in the era of atomic warfare, and our planet is faced with such a contradiction for the first time in history.

Along with this, thanks to science, an age of plenty has set in. Many commodities, a bewildering variety of commodities, a host of comforts and luxuries have appeared on the scene. For the first time in history all human beings can live comfortably, owing to the tremendous advance of technology—and yet where do we stand? The masses are living in great scarcity even as regards the bare necessities of life. Many people are leading a life of semi-starvation. Unemployment stalks the face of the earth in most countries. Scarcity amidst plenty—this is our second contradiction.

On the other hand, we are witnessing an all-round centralisation. We are faced with the concentration of wealth and power in a few hands. The Industrial Revolution, which began in the eighteenth century, started the process of concentration of wealth. But the concentration of power, in the name of State Socialism, Welfare state, Dictatorship of the proletariat, belongs verily to this century. Every war has extended the sphere of governmental activities and has concentrated power in fewer and fewer hands. To the extent to which power is getting concentrated, the citizen is becoming more and more dependent on the State. The instrument that was created to protect people from internal thieves and external aggression is now devouring the freedom of the individual. This is the third contradiction.

These three contradictions, namely, armed timidity, scarcity amidst plenty, and misery from the Welfare State—how are these to be resolved? Has humanity discovered a new way out? The almost blind faith of mankind in violence as an ultimate solution of all problems is now nearing its end. The deterioration of communism in the Soviet Union and other East European countries and the resultant international squabbles have finished the faith of people in ideologies and 'isms' bearing any label. Law may assist in bringing about a favourable atmosphere for solving a problem, but it cannot stand on its own feet. In our own country the legislation on prohibition and on the removal of untouchability tell the same tale. In sheer desperation one asks these questions: Is humanity fast approaching its destined end? Is there no way out?

The beginning of this century saw the emergence of Gandhi in public life, first in South Africa and then in India. He saw with his own eyes two terrible world wars, the grinding poverty and the enforced idleness of millions in Orissa and other parts of India, the sickening luxury of New Delhi, Bombay and other cities and the ever-increasing centralisation of State power. As a solution to all these problems he placed before the people, not any rigid doctrinaire 'ism' as was the fashion of the day, but the truthful and non-violent way of life. His whole life was a series of experiments with Truth. Through these various experiments in personal and public life he showed that a new society could be founded wherein all these problems would be solved and the inner contradictions resolved. He invented the matchless weapon of *satyagraha* to free humanity from all kinds of injustice.

Vinoba is illuminating this new path with his own genius by starting the *Bhoodan* movement which has now culminated in *gramdan* and *gramraj*. *Gramraj* puts an end to all the contradictions of our present civilisation. Man will extend his concept of the family to the whole village, and by thus restraining his greed, will climb one step upward. Hence it is that Vinoba calls the whole process an ascent instead of a movement.

One may naturally ask, "Village republics were there from the days of yore. Then why is it that the world has come to such a plight and no trace of any village republic is visible?". The

answer is simple. The difference between today's *gramraj* and yesterday's village republics (or the City states of ancient Athens) is as much as the difference between Bapu's *Charkha* and the spinning wheel in the hands of a widow. The old village republics were there out of sheer helplessness. There was no other go. Today *gramraj* stands in the face of ever-increasing centralisation, as an emblem of revolt against all injustice. The spinning wheel of the widow could not prevent the emergence of the British power in India. It was the *Charkha* in the hands of the Mahatma which stood for the elimination of imperialism. Where the old village republics failed *gramraj* will not, and it will succeed in creating a society of the free and the equal.

The establishment of *gramraj* all over India and the world and the self-reliant *sarvodaya* society that will result from it, will usher in an era which will be singularly free from exploitation by the capitalist and coercion by the State. In the past, all wars owed their origin to the lust for money and power. When all the springs of exploitation and coercion shall have dried up, as in *gramraj*, why will any nation or village republic have aggressive designs over another? As production and distribution will operate simultaneously in *gramraj*, the contradiction of poverty amidst plenty will be done away with. There will be work for all and the resultant production will be equitably distributed. All power in *gramraj* will vest in the village. The units above the village level will have only as much power as is delegated to them by the sovereign unit of the village. Ultimately a world government like the U. N. O. will have only moral power. In such a state of affairs, the society will be almost free from all government. The Marxian postulate of the withering away of the State will come true in a totally novel way for the first time in history. Thus all the three contradictions of the present century will find their resolution in *gramraj*.

Today mankind is in a pitiable condition. On the one hand, it has lost its faith in violence and all current ideologies; the old confidence in legislation is considerably shaken. On the other hand, it has not been possible to have full belief in the Gandhian way. The heart feels that Gandhi was the man of the present age and that ultimately there is no other way for humanity; but the head dissents. Sometimes the logic of the situation leads us to this one

conclusion; and yet we are not courageous enough to tread the path, to experiment in unilateral love. This state of indecision is fatal. Very soon people will have to choose the path and walk upon it. This will have to be done soon enough as the dark clouds of a third world war are gathering in the heavens.

So in this atomic age, which any day may lead to a deluge, some persons must keep their heads absolutely cool and must consume themselves in treading the path illumined by the Mahatma. India is the only hope of the world today. And in India the *Bhoodan-gramdan* movement has become the pivot of all constructive activities. All political parties, religious bodies, other interests and the people at large support this great effort. All lovers of Gandhi will have to spend all their energies in making this steep ascent. This will lead to a great socio-economic revolution. Once it is successful in India, the experiment can be tried in the international sphere.

The *Bhoodan Yajna* began in 1951. It has entered its eighth fateful year. In this scientific age tasks should be finished in a scientifically correct way. The atomic age demands a quick culmination. Quickness and correctness are not mutually exclusive. If non-violence is unable to offer a quick solution for today's riddles, this planet of ours will march along the long path. And one wrong step ahead can mean the deluge.

Let us search ourselves. Where do we stand? What is our duty? These questions merit serious consideration. Never in history was the time so propitious for non-violence. Nor did so much sympathy for it ever exist. We have to think quickly and act quickly. In the inimitable words of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, "the auspicious moment is being lost. Tomorrow it may be too late."

Courtesy:
"Gandhi Marg"—July '58.

★ **GANDHI MARG** ★

A Quarterly Journal
of
Gandhian Thought

Edited by
G. Ramachandran

Published in January, April,
July & October

Ann. Sub. : Rs. 5
Foreign : 2 Dollars : 10 Sh.

Write to :
GANDHI SMARAK NIDHI
Rajghat, : : New Delhi

Continued from page 164

regarding New Education. This also has its effect upon the rural population. What should, therefore, be done at various stages to prove that the New education is the best system?

Ans. : There is a saying in Sanskrit which says that the people follow the example of the good and the great. Gandhiji desired that every citizen in the country should ply Charkha and prepare yarn. That was why he spun yarn till the last day of his life. He was sure that it is not the speech but the work which is effective. God enjoined us to work first and to speak afterwards. If even those who are recognised as leaders do not send their children to basic schools, or if the teachers in the basic schools do not take their children to their schools, how can we expect this scheme to be implemented and become successful? The scheme that was evolved by Rajaji had a number of good points as well as some defects. The defects could easily have been rectified, but the greatest defect was that it discriminated between the rural and urban areas. The people of the modern age will tolerate anything but not discrimination. Those who have faith in this scheme, can take the responsibility of implementing it.

Whether Basic Education is successful or not, the students attending basic classes would surely become self-dependent. At present, those who are educated under the prevailing system of education, are devoid of self-confidence, even after passing M.A. Let us look back on the pages of our own history. Baji Rao Peshwa became a leader when he was only 18 years old. People attaining the age of 20 are known to have become Prime Ministers elsewhere. The best book in Maharashtrian language was written by a boy of 16 years. And, when we are 16 years old, we are taught Gulliver's Travels, which is perhaps taught to children of 8 in England. We have read enough about the Great Moghul Emperor, Akbar. When he was 13 years old, he was restless to do something great. He, therefore, sent his teacher to jail, and took the reins of administration in his own hands. How can we compare a commodity with its picture?

Those who have faith in this sort of education, are free to make their children avail of it. Gandhiji and Nehruji were not educated under the basic system of education. They were

educated under the other method. Bapuji considered even the greatest men of our generation to be pigmies when compared with Nanak and Chaitanya. Therefore, we should prepare a scheme under which 2 or 3 such schools may be established in every State where basic education may be provided with the help of the available resources. The result of such education in the Gramdan villages would certainly be satisfactory, because in those villages they have decided to take up our scheme. The revolutionary aspect of basic education would be revealed in those villages. People in those villages would through basic education become generals in the army, poets, writers, etc. We have great faith in the masses, but the masses have no faith in the present-day system of education. They are, however, helpless, because they have no better model before them. Who is there who does not speak ill of the prevailing system? Of course, there are a few, picked few, who support the present education. But most of the leaders, administrators, lawyers are against this education. People would be attracted towards the New Education only when its implications are clearly explained to them and model schemes are implemented. We have to see that much money is not spent on basic education; for when it becomes costlier, it would defeat its own purpose. During British rule, we had our private schools, which were run on the gifts of the people. The Government did not give them enough grant. But today, even though we have our own Government we are in the habit of asking for more aid. Thus, in spite of the fact that we are free, we have in the matter of education become dependent. That is why free experiments are not conducted. Of course, I am in favour of providing facilities to the teachers. But I am also for some difficulties for them. I am naturally much attracted by the difficulties because I feel that where there are no difficulties, there is no idealism. Whether people are actuated to sacrifice or not, they at least, come to listen to my talks about sacrifice. Therefore, we must put upon the teachers the responsibility of establishing real autonomy in the villages. If the teachers help in establishing village autonomy the Ministers would visit those villages. It is, of course, a difficult task. But if teachers are given responsibility people of ability would be attracted. The teachers in the basic schools should not be expected only to teach. They should also be given the responsibility of establishing village autonomy. *

Continued from page 160

including Monsieur Comus, one of the most outstanding figures to-day in French literary world and winner of Nobel Prize. Although we could not meet Abbe Pierre, who has given up comfort and also his membership of Parliament to devote himself fully to the service of the down-trodden and the destitute, we could see some of the work inspired by him and being conducted under his guidance in the city of Paris. Not far from the fashionable and dazzling centre of Paris we were taken to a poor colony where about 50 young men, some of whom ex-convicts and all of that class which is just thrown out on the streets by the inexorable forces of modern civilization, are now leading a life made brighter and more meaningful by mutual help and fellow-feeling. A little touch of love and sympathy has made useful and self-supporting citizens of these persons who were formerly considered the scum of society. In Paris we also saw two other communitarian experiments of small industrial enterprises owned in common by the workers. The account of our stay in France would be incomplete without a mention of the visits we made to the Louvre, once the famous residence of the king of France and now an equally famous gallery of modern art, the Palace of Versailles and some of the medieval cathedrals like the Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Chartre which are exquisite examples of Gothic art and architecture. We were indeed fortunate in having as our "guide" Mr. Nicolas Nabokov who is the Secretary of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and a man of versatile talent and accomplishments. There is no doubt that without the historical and comparative background and explanations which he furnished, most of these visits would have been a mere 'sight-seeing'.

We travelled about 500 miles from Paris to Southern France to visit the 'Ashram' of Lanza Del Vasto with whose name, many of the Gandhian workers would be familiar in India. It was the first time in Europe that we received an exactly Indian welcome. It was already dark when we reached the 'Ashram'. All the inmates about 25 in number including men, women and children had come out and greeted us with folded hands at the gate. Mr. Del Vasto and many of his associates were dressed in white Khadi—home spun and home woven linen. The whole atmosphere was like one of our constructive-work Institutions in India.

There were common prayers in the courtyard, and a squat-on-the-floor dinner. Even the weather and the flies reminded us of India. Mr. Del Vasto has been twice to India, once when Gandhiji was alive and again about four years back with Vinoba. He was present at the Bodh-Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan and is the author of the book "Gandhi to Vinoba" and some other works on Gandhian thought and practice. He has also translated in French Kishorelalbhai's book "Gandhi and Marx". Our visit to France was thus very rewarding and useful.

We are now almost on the last lap of our tour in Europe. After a week in Italy and a short visit to Athens we shall be bidding good-bye to Europe, although it will still be about a month before we reach India, for we are visiting Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq and Pakistan before returning home on September 20.

★

CREATE A NEW MIND

★

Contemplation as suggested below can be profitably pursued by any person, be he a theist, atheist, agnostic, sceptic or humanist. In order to create an international and universal mind one should,

- (1) observe calmly and fearlessly, without judging and in a detached manner, all ideas and images in the mind;
- (2) feel inner freedom and tranquillity through such observation and gain power of understanding and control of the mind;
- (3) reject identification with any class, race, nation or creed, and feel free and human;
- (4) feel unity with all races and nations, with all forms of life and with all forms of existence, and find immortality in the unity; and,
- (5) give love to all, wish for the welfare of all beings, and resolve to lead a life without exploitation and oppression.

The nuclear age demands a new mind for the peace and security of the world. This mind has to be created by spiritual means. No escapist faith can create it. Neither can it be created by merely political or national idealism.

Swami Avyaktanand.

In *The Common Life*—A News Letter, England.

Philosophy Of Indian Economic Development

Richard B. Gregg

Richard Gregg's greatest contribution to Gandhian Economics is his recent book "Philosophy of Indian Economic Development", published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. His concluding words in the rich volume running to 240 pages makes an irresistible appeal to India and it will be appropriate to share them here with our readers on the occasion of 89th Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.*

AS has been seen, I consider the khadi movement as only one part of a world-wide change affecting the methods, organization and purposes of industrialism. It is not a fantastic aberration of an Indian dreamer, nor an attempted reversion to obsolete and wasteful economic processes, nor any less "realistic" than other economic movements now in progress in Russia, Japan, Turkey, China, Afghanistan and other parts of Asia. It is a mode of increasing the use of solar power, from the current source of supply instead of from the stored sources of coal and petroleum. In this respect it is similar to the industrial movement in the West. For reasons given, I believe that the supporters of the movement may be confident that they are in step with the spirit of the age, despite the appearances which so readily confuse the western eye.

Mr. Bertrand Russell indicated his belief that industrialism has begun to remove the weight of terrible fears which have oppressed mankind since the dawn of history, and is giving man a new sense of mastery over his environment and life and therewith a new conception of knowledge and a new attitude toward life itself. But the latest development of the hydrogen bomb has created deeper and more widespread fears than ever existed before. In so far as the charkha is a method of utilizing more solar energy and of distributing the resulting wealth more equably, it may in its own way bring about some great benefits.

Each country, for reasons of climate, geographical features, history, customs, etc., has its own peculiar and perhaps best (for it)

* Price Rs. 2.50—Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

ways of utilizing solar power (coal, oil, wood, water-power, wind, animal and human-power) and its own balance between utilizations of stored and current forms of such energy, and between fixed and mobile tools and equipment and materials for living. Each scheme has its own advantages and disadvantages. Interchanges and improvements have of course taken place and will continue to do so. Nevertheless, none of these differences are to be ridiculed or condemned, but all are entitled to respect and should be, if possible understood.

If, as Fairgrieve asserts, each civilization in history has been or is, from one aspect, the result of its own peculiar method of utilizing and saving solar energy, the self-conscious revival and expansion of a special form of that utilization in India, as exemplified in the charkha movement, may have an important influence on the whole question of the Indian renaissance.

The discussion in this book bears in a small way upon a number of such larger problems. In addition to being a consideration of the social and economic validity of Gandhiji's programme, and of one aspect of the Indian renaissance, it may be regarded as a discussion of a special instance of the economic validity of all handicraft *versus* power-machine industry, or as a discussion of a special method of unemployment prevention and relief; or as a new attack on the problem of poverty; or as an indigenous Indian form of co-operation; or as a fragmentary and tentative investigation of part of the problem of the limitation or balance of use of power and machinery in order to secure a fine and enduring civilization, or as a discussion of an effective way to end exploitation and greatly reduce violence; or a partial discussion of the beginning of a development of a sounder organization of human life.

In conclusion, if India will develop her three great resources: (i) the inherited manual sensitiveness and skill of her people, (ii) the wasted time of her millions of unemployed, (iii) a larger portion of the radiant energy of the sun, if she will distribute the resulting wealth equally among all her people, by the wide use of the charkha and handloom, and if she can reduce and control the numbers of her population, she can win to her economic goal and salvage one of the greatest and most fruitful cultures the world has ever known.

★

"Towards a Science of Peace"

(A Review of a book)

THE Sarvodaya movement rightly understood is not a return to the primitive: On the contrary those who best understand its implications place a high value on the contribution that science has to make to human welfare. Vinobaji lays great emphasis on the power of science in the lives of men and the part it has to play in the establishment of the moral and spiritual values of human life. "Spirit, science and word are," he says, "the three great powers that rule the modern world; the union of science and Ahimsa can bring in an earthly paradise."

The purpose of this article is to draw the attention of peace workers in India to a book which has only now come to my notice although it was published (in USA and Britain) in 1955. The book is called "Towards a science of peace" and the author is Dr. Theo F. Lentz of the University of Washington. "There are many humanists and idealists" writes Julian Huxley in his Foreword to the book, "who are opposed to the extension of science to human affairs, because they are afraid that human values will be 'denatured' by what they regard as the cold and impersonal methods of science. Such fears are, I am sure, groundless: in the long run nothing but good can come from the marriage of scientific method with human values and ideals" (italics mine)

Dr. Lentz's thesis is that we humans *have* the brains and resources to find our way out of the mess into which we have been led by partisan politics combined with the partisans to wield. we *have* in the world "un-tapped resources for co-operation and good will". We also have the wonderful tool of scientific method. Why not apply this tool to finding out the know-how for living together in harmony? Why not "combine into one spirit" a clear-sighted, objective scientific technique and the warm, loving, humanistic purpose to save our peoples from the suffering and danger which threaten the whole world today? "the positive opportunity is to ascertain *What can cause peace....* what processes are, or can become the unifying processes in world-wide human relations... Any contribution to a science of peace is a contribution to a science of human happiness."

The author contends that we the human race as a whole are basically ignorant of the art and science of human relationships, and that because we are ignorant, our goodwill and good intentions run to waste. However true it may be that wars are caused by human greed, that truth cannot become effective in action on a world scale unless we *know* much more than we do at present about the cause and cure of greed. It is of no use to deplore partisan spirit unless we can offer a social technique for eliminating it from our affairs, or at least, for reducing it to harmless proportions.

The plan of the book is that we should first recognize the large and serious gaps in our knowledge of ourselves as individuals and as a race and having recognized our ignorance, set to work to overcome it with patience, determination and single mindedness at least equal to that which has been lavished on discovering the dangerous secrets of the physical universe.

One of the merits of the book is that it combines a clear view of the global, supra-national, far-reaching scope and demands of peace research with an equally clear conviction that any dynamic movement must be based upon responsible individual action. "If anything is accomplished it will only be accomplished through the personal decision and commitment of individuals. He who has the courage and the concern must make up his own mind to invest, and to advertise both modestly and courageously his investment and his concern." He suggests that men and women should tax themselves with a definite regular sum and pool their contributions, group by group, in order to support out of their giving those who will devote themselves to full time work in the Science of peace.

The book concludes with an invitation to readers to communicate with the author in the common cause of making peace a reality. I propose to write to him to establish links with our Shanti Sena movement. If any reader of this article wishes to obtain a copy of the book itself for personal use or a local Sarvodaya library the Shanti Sena office at Sevagram would be glad to arrange for this. The price is 3 dollars, between Rs. 14 and Rs. 15.

Marjorie Sykes.

The Failure of Violence

Dr. Martin Niemoller

HERE it becomes evident and urgent that we have to rethink and to adapt our understanding of pacifism to this situation.

It will not do just to spread the knowledge, that war and violence will never succeed, will never change anything in this world for the better, that actually violence has outgrown itself and can no longer be used without endangering the physical existence of the human race and of the globe.

We shall have to acknowledge the fact that even the "cold war" and its methods have grown to such an efficacy that even a "non-violent" violence, used against the human mind and soul may and will become detrimental and ruinous for mankind and its future existence, and that we are called upon to stop this basically inhuman way of "fighting it out."

In fact, it is this sort of violence against the human character of men that is the main and real problem which we have to face today. Human beings are being turned into automatons, obeying a tyrant, and still believing that they are they; not different from what we blame the Bolsheviks for.

Pacifism in our day must dig deeper than hitherto and must lay its foundation on solid ground. We actually are challenged to save humanity! For humanity is in danger, in real and deadly danger!

Everything for which pacifism stands, we shall have to stand for also. There is temptation just to do nothing, since people take it for granted that there will be no war and that the existence of A—and H—and cobalt bombs in the two main military camps will take care of that. But peace is not something which will come by itself. It has to be created and to be nourished and to be maintained.

The aim of peace is the existence of mankind in a human society, worthy of its name and dedicated to its task that men as sons of God may learn to serve each other rather than to destroy each other in a ruthless struggle for survival.

We call it a "law of Nature", but the law and will of God are different.

Power and violence have laid the foundations of white man's supremacy; power and violence have reached their climax and are approaching their final end. The time of the "white man" is nearing its end; in a few decades to come the "coloured people" will outnumber the white people by three or four times. They will have to take over and to accept responsibility. It is our task to see that this happens in peace, goodwill and friendship.

From a 'Peace News' pamphlet.

BHOODAN RECEIVED AND DISTRIBUTED TILL JUNE 1958

States	Land Received Acres	Distributed Acres
1. BIHAR	21,68,857	2,94,448
2. UTTAR PRADESH	5,87,630	77,768
3. ORISSA	4,24,635	1,11,785
4. RAJASTHAN	4,22,245	50,902
5. ANDHRA	2,41,950	83,090
6. MADHYA PRADESH	1,78,816	62,453
7. VIDARBHA PRADESH	85,265	38,220
8. MAHARASHTRA	64,360	10,561
9. GUJARAT	47,468	11,527
10. SAURASHTRA	31,237	8,185
11. TAMILNAD	70,823	2,349
12. KERALA	29,021	2,126
13. ASSAM	23,196	225
14. PUNJAB-PEPSU	19,929	5,653
15. MYSORE	14,164	1,152
16. BENGAL	12,681	3,460
17. HIMACHAL PRADESH	1,568	21
18. DELHI	396	157
TOTAL	44,24,241	7,64,082

Appeal for Sutranjali and Sarvodaya Patra

Vaikunth L. Mehta

NINE years ago, on the 12th February, 1949, on the bed of the sacred river Paunar near Wardha, Acharya Vinobaji first gave us the message of *Sutranjali*. He desired every one of those who paid homage to the sacred memory of Gandhiji to offer one hank of good self-spun yarn every year on that memorable day. Ever since, he has been reiterating this message. He has now given it a new interpretation and a high value. He considers it as a vote for the Sarvodaya order of society, the realisation of which was Gandhiji's dream.

Gandhiji had expressed himself in clear and unambiguous terms on more than one occasion that the charkha is the symbol of non-violence and he believed that spinning on the charkha would take us nearer to the goal of true Swaraj. To him the charkha was the symbol of his faith. We, who claim to walk and work in his footsteps have a duty to perform. This duty lies in our own adherence to the cult of hand spinning and as a token offer one hank of yarn once a year to the nation.

The Sarva Seva Sangh is now pledged not to accept contributions of money to carry on its activities and is dependent on the goodwill of all workers and institutions who believe in and are engaged in the promotion of Gandhiji's constructive programme for support in such ways as are not in conflict with its principles. If money gifts are not accepted, voluntary contribution of one's labour offered with love and faith say, in the form of self-spun yarn is indeed welcome. The Sarva Seva Sangh has, therefore, decided to meet its expenses out of collections from *sutranjali*.

The Sarva Seva Sangh is a voluntary association of those who are dedicated to promoting the constructive programme adumbrated by Gandhiji. It is an organisation brought about by the fusion of organisations promoted and directed by Gandhiji for implementing his constructive programmes in the country. The Sangh, hence serves to us as a beacon light in our endeavours and efforts at rural development and welfare.

To *Sutranjali*, Acharya Vinobaji has added another noble idea which has kindled in us the embers of an old Order of service. This is the *Sarvodaya patra*. Vinobaji has given it new values—both spiritual and material. As an act of self-purification and also as a daily act of self-dedication, the idea deserves to be put into practice. It is a daily reminder to us of the eternal adjuration, "Love thy neighbour as thyself".

The youngest member of the family will put in the *patras* handful of grain which we eat or a small coin. The proceeds from the collections in the *Sarvodaya patras* will be utilised to maintain the *Shanti sainiks* of the place. They, too, are dedicated to the service of humanity. The collections will also be utilized to promote and maintain other activities of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Sutranjali and the *Sarvodaya patra* are, therefore, living manifestations of the new spirit which animates us to work for the attainment of the objectives that Gandhiji had placed before the nation. All those who are associated with the work of the khadi and Village Industries Commission, no matter in what capacity, should consider it their duty to render all possible assistance on making this part of the Sarvodaya programme successful. Institutions and workers connected with the Commission, its offices at the centre and in the field will take steps on the auspicious occasion of *Charkha Jayanti*—October 2—to impress upon their members and employees to make a start with *Sutranjali* and *Sarvodaya patra*.

Note: *Sutranjali* is Offering of yarn

From "Jagriti"

The Problem of Hunger

For the vast majority of mankind the most urgent problem is not war, or Communism, or the cost of living, or taxation. It is hunger. Over 1,500,000,000 people, something like two-thirds of the world's population, are living in conditions of acute hunger, defined in terms of identifiable nutritional disease. This hunger is at the same time the effect and the cause of the poverty, squalor, and misery in which they live.

Harold Wilson
in "The War on World Poverty"

Vayaloor--the Pioneer of the Gramadani Village of Tamilnad

Silesh Kumar Bandopadhyaya

Accompanied by the Loka Sevak of Madras city, I visited Vayaloor in the district of Chinglepet on 10-5-1958. As is well known, this was the first village which declared Gramdan (on the Gandhi Jayanti day of the year 1955) in Tamilnad.

Here out of a total of 200 acres 60% have been donated to Gramdan by 22 families. The land is of good quality with irrigation facility. One of the prominent Bhoodan workers of this district, who had a good amount of landed property in this village, was the first to give up his ownership and thus enthruse others to follow suit. Land has been redistributed here and the method of cultivation at present is group farming. There are six farms and out of these the yield of one farm is utilised for community purposes and the produce of the rest is distributed among the villagers. The village is self-sufficient in food. 35 families of this village have joined Gramdan and 19 are staying out. But these 19 families far from being hostile to Gramdan are observing the progress of Gramdan keenly. There are 32 Harijan families. Sixteen families were totally landless before Gramdan. There is no dearth of labour.

The workers-in-charge of reconstruction work have been constantly experimenting with the various methods of farming, and a model system is still in the process of evolution. Collective farming was tried first. But, as this system did not rouse the sense of responsibility in the villagers and was hampering production, it had to be given up. The present phase is of group farming. 35 families have been divided into 5 groups and each group has been allotted 6 acres of wet and one acre of dry land. Each family is expected to send two adults, one male and one female to work in the farms. The produce of the farm is divided equally among the constituent families. In this system families having a large number of dependents suffer. The sick who cannot work, are granted leave. Any one who absents from work for any other reason, is to replace his

labour or accept a cut of As. 10 for each day of absence. But, it seems that this system is also not working properly. The same problem of lack of initiative was marked in the constituent members of the units and it was an arduous task for the village leaders to drag the unwilling partners of the group to work. Hence, the village people have made a fresh resolve to take to farming on individual family basis. For the purpose of redistribution, it has been decided to allot 20 cents of wet and 40 cents of dry land for each adult member of the family.

Vayaloor is a model practising school for the students who desire to learn about the most suitable system of farming for the Gramdani villages—nay, for the entire rural India. The psychological and the sociological impacts under different methods of farming and the life of the village are matters which need deeper and closer study. Moreover, workers deputed to shoulder the responsibility of 'Nirman' work in other Gramdani villages can very well take a lesson from the experiment of this village.

Sri M. Manikkam, an experienced teacher of Nayee Talim is the worker in charge of this village. He has settled here with his entire family and is identifying himself with the villagers with missionary zeal. He is assisted by two other workers, one of whom is maintained by the Gandhi Nidhi and the other by the villagers themselves from their Community fund. This fact is a living testimony of the active interest of the villagers in building up a new-social order. The villagers gather regularly in prayer and all other community assemblies.

Summarising my impressions of Vayaloor, I have to state that I have marked a definite sign of rejuvenation in the life of this village. The people though poor, looked happy and they were found cheerful even when engaged in hard toil. Even the women folk were found actively interested in this novel experiment and all concerned were giving their unqualified support to work out this plan. Occasional pit-falls there have been. The workers do not have a beaten track to tread upon; theirs is a voyage in an uncharted sea. But, the fact remains that here in Vayaloor the people are also with the workers, actively and consciously sharing the main burden of such a novel experiment with joy and determination. I have seen that the workers have gained the confidence of the people and therein lies the key to their success and hope for the future. ★

•••• News and Notes ••••

A District Judge accepts Sarvodaya Patra

Vinobaji's birthday was celebrated at Kozhikode (Kerala) on 11-9-'58, under the presidentship of Smt. Anna Chandi, Dt. Judge, Kozhikode. She was somewhat ignorant about Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sarvodaya Patra etc., when we approached her to invite for this function. She asked for some literature on these subjects and read them.

She said, "Now I feel I can also partake in this movement. Self-purification is the most essential thing. If the worker is self-purified, he or she can change the system of this society. If I do not sacrifice for the society, how could the society learn the lesson of sacrifice? The basis of Sarvodaya ideology is love and compassion. Mothers and sisters can teach this to the society because they not only feed their children but also develop their mind by giving them the nectar of love. So I heartily accept the Sarvodaya Patra and hope I can help the movement according to my capacity with my intellect, wealth and devotion." —S. V. Govindan.

Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan's Return

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Shri. Siddharaj Dhadda returned on 20th September after their European tour for 4½ months. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan met Dr. Rajendra Prasad at New Delhi. He came to Bombay on 28th September on his way to meet Vinobaji in Gujarat. He will visit Madras on 20th October.

Vinobaji's Yatra

Vinobaji walked for 185 days in ten districts of Maharashtra covering 1441 miles and he visited 173 villages. 432 villages were offered as Gramdans; 31 Lok Sevakas and 23 Shanti Sainiks were registered. Ten thousand Sarvodaya Patras were offered and the value of literature sold is Rs. 42,000.

Vinobaji entered Gujarat on 22nd Sept. at Sonagardh Fort. He was received by the Congress President and the Ministers of Bombay State.

Vinobaji said as he entered "I have come to my home to the land of Gandhiji to propagate Gandhiji's work as I have understood. I have learnt a lot from Gujarat and I shall try to serve you to the best of my ability".

Non-Violent Resistance in the West

The Peace News, London dated 22nd August reports the following interesting news:

Kenneth and Ellenor Calkins, were among the picketers at the American Inter-continental ballistic missile base under construction near Cheyenne, Wyoming. They were dragged from the construction site after entering with leaflets which urged the workers to leave their jobs. Air police did not intervene as the couple were

hauled off the road and kicked by workers while trying to block equipment.

Kenneth made a statement :—

"I have become convinced that direct action is the only way to reach the minds of men who have been morally benumbed by too many years of propaganda, fear and horror. With Gandhiji, I believe that such an act undertaken in the proper attitude and manner, releases a moral force capable of touching the hearts of men more effectively than any other means."

Symposium on Democracy Party-politics and Sarvodaya

The inaugural function of the symposium was held at Allahabad on September 7th. Shri J. B. Kripalani delivered the inaugural address. Dada Dharmadhikari presided over the deliberations.

Sarvodaya Literature Campaign

As suggested by Acharya Vinobaji a Sarvodaya Literature sales Sarvodaya campaign was run from 11th to 25th September throughout Tamilnad. Literature exhibitions, study clubs, meetings, contests, and house to house sales formed the main features of the campaign. All constructive workers and the staff of the community Development Blocks worked together in the celebration of the campaign. Eminent Educationists and others participated in the public meetings. In the city of Madras the U. S. I. S. Information Office arranged to exhibit the Sarvodaya literature for a fortnight. The Khadi and Village Industries Bhavan conducted an exhibition in their show rooms. Gandhi Kalachar Kazhagam of Tirunelveli had a full programme of daily meetings addressed by eminent persons. Thus an atmosphere was created in all the districts focussing public attention on the vast literature on Sarvodaya ideology. The target of sales of literature was Rs. 50,000. Detailed reports of actual sales are awaited.

Sarvodaya Nagar Work in Bangalore

Sampattidan collection has made some progress since the visit of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in August. He made a special appeal for a fund for the Bangalore Ashrams—centre. A sum of Rs. 6,507 was received from 10 donors for this special fund. The total Sampattidan received since 16th August alone is Rs. 8,185.74.

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya : Madras Branch

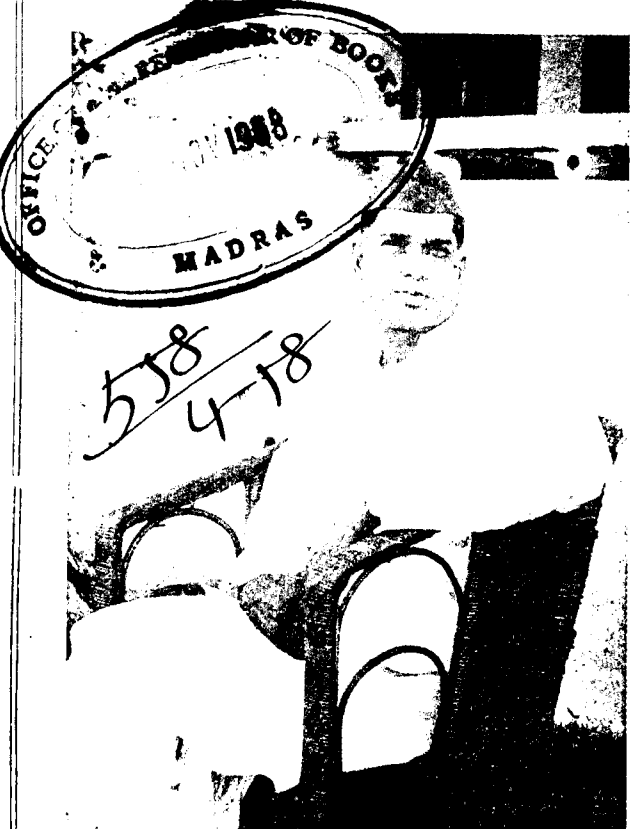
The Sarvodaya Prachuralaya has opened its Branch Office at 27/28 Armenian Street, Madras-1 in the premises occupied by Gram-Rajyam Tamil Weekly. A free Sarvodaya Reading room and Reference Library will be opened for public use in the office of Sarvodaya Prachuralaya.

558

SARVODAYA

Vol. VIII
NOVEMBER 1958
No. 5



JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

SARVODAYA
PRACHURALAYA,
TANJORE. (S.I.)

Annual Subscription Rs. 4.50 ; 12 Sh. ; S 2	★	Single Copy 0 — 37 nP.
--	---	-----------------------------------

"SARVODAYA" is the title that Gandhiji gave to his paraphrase of Ruskin's "Unto this Last" in 1906.

"Sarvodaya" means the welfare of all to the exclusion of none.

The utilitarian doctrine of economics is 'greatest good of largest number.' What about the rest? Sarvodaya gives an answer even "unto this Last". All progress ought to begin with the up-liftment of the most down-trodden instead of raising the standard of life of the few.

Democracy in politics is the rule by the majority. What about the minority? Sarvodaya meets this challenge and offers *Lok-Niti*, politics of the people without parties.

TO SUBSCRIBERS

The annual subscription of "Sarvodaya" has been increased to Rs. 4.50 or 12 sh. or 2 Dollars.

The balance of subscription as on 1st July will be adjusted at the new rate at the time of renewal of each subscriber.

Gift subscriptions for overseas can be accepted in India at Rs. 6 per annum.

Subscribers in England and Europe can remit the subscription through M/s. Housmans Bookshop, Peace News, 3, Blackstock Road, London N. 4.

Agencies for sale of monthly issues are requested to write to

SARVODAYA,
TANJORE, INDIA.

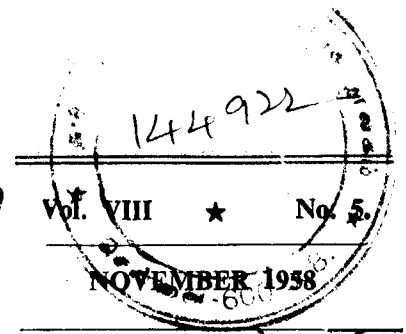
SARVODAYA

November 1958

EIGHTY-NINTH ISSUE

CONTENTS

The Call of Non-Violence	193
Treatise on	
Ahimsa— <i>Mahatma Gandhi</i>	194
The Five Factors of Village	
Industries— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	195
Jayaprakash on Israel's	
Kibbutz	196
Government based on	
Gandhiji's Principles—	
<i>Dr. S. Radhakrishnan</i>	197
Impressions of My	
European Tour—	
<i>Jayaprakash Narayan</i>	199
The Symbol of Popular	
Sanction— <i>Dhirendra</i>	
<i>Mazumdar</i>	201
Politics of the People— <i>Manas</i>	203
A Review of Jayaprakashji's	
Tour Abroad— <i>Siddharaj</i>	
<i>Dhadda</i>	205
Shanti-Sena Sub-committee	
— <i>Marjorie Sykes</i>	209
The Goal is Clear, But not the	
Way— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	211
"Love for those who murdered	
us"— <i>Siddharaj Dhadda</i>	217
The Saint on The March—	
A Review.— <i>Amrutha</i>	
<i>Ramasubramaniam</i>	219
More Questions on Basic	
Education— <i>Acharya Vinoba</i>	221
Sarvodaya and World Peace	
— <i>Donald Groom</i>	224
Shri Ramana—the Great Non-	
Possessor— <i>C. V. Yogi</i>	225
The Working of Sarvodaya	
Patra— <i>Swami Ramnad</i>	
<i>Thirth</i>	227
The Shanti-Sena Camp at	
Sevagram— <i>Suresh Ram</i>	230



The Call of Non-Violence

VINOBAJI visited Baroda on 30th October 1958 where he had spent his boyhood. In a reminiscent mood he recalled how the statue of Buddha inspired him to renounce his home in his teens and go out in search of knowledge. It was Buddha's teachings, he said, that set him on his yatra for propagating love and *ahimsa*. He predicted that in the course of a few years non-violence will come to prevail in the world.

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan in his recent European tour found deep interest of the West in the Sarvodaya philosophy of non-violence.

There are sufficient indications of the defeat of violence. There is a hunger for peace all over the world and a struggle for the "re-construction of humanity." Some of the movements and thoughts under different nomenclatures in different parts of the world have been published in the recent issues of Sarvodaya.

Sarvodaya is not a cult or a creed of Indian genius but it truly represents the universal hunger for peace and an adventure for a new civilization which would assure the sovereignty of the individual and sanctity of life which can blossom in a new social order. Be it Sarvodaya, or "creative altruism" of Dr. Sorokin, the content of the ideal seems to be almost identical.

The redemption of man lies in the negative, abdication of violence by man in all forms at all levels of life and a realisation of the positivity of *ahimsa* by perfecting the technique and evolving a methodology for its application in life. Vinobaji's prediction is bound to be realised soon!

★
IL
YZM 21, NSD 21
NSD. 2. 1-5

Treatise on Ahimsa

Mahatma Gandhi

There is no need at present for the treatise in question. Any such during my lifetime would necessarily be incomplete. If at all, it could be written after my death. And even so, let me give the warning that it would fail to give a complete exposition of ahimsa. No man has ever been able to describe God fully. The same holds true of ahimsa. I can give no guarantee that I will do or believe tomorrow what I do or hold to be true today. God alone is omniscient. Man in the flesh is essentially imperfect. He may be described as being made in the image of God, but he is far from being God. God is invisible, beyond the reach of the human eye. All that we can do, therefore, is to try to understand the words and actions of those whom we regard as men of God. Let them soak into our being and let us endeavour to translate them into action but, only so far as they appeal to the heart. Could any scientific treatise do more for us?

—“*Hartian*”—March 3, 1946.

The Five Factors in Village Industries

Acharya Vinoba

GRAMODYOG consists of five factors. The first one is the class of Research workers. For without them there can be no progress. They must ever grow in number.

The second one is the class of Sevaks. There is already this class which has been serving our country in some way or other since 1940. But the number is not sufficient and I want at least one lakh of Sevaks. Their hearts should be full of the milk of human kindness and they must be content to live on whatever they get as long as the standard of living in the whole country is not raised.

The third one is the class of Propagandists. If the line of thought underlying khadi is propagated well, it will increase the demand for khadi. There is non-violence and peace in khadi. If the country wants peace and hates war, khadi and Gramodyog will be naturally preferred. Gramodyog is highly essential if India wants to safeguard herself against war and to save the villages. There must be a large band of workers to spread this message among the people.

The fourth is the ruling power or the Government which should implement effectively the programme of khadi and Gramodyog.

The fifth factor is the people, which is the most important. It is not proper that khadi should be produced in villages to be sold in cities. Khadi should be used in the villages where it is produced. It must have the protection from the public. No industry could progress without protection either by law or by voluntary support of the people. Khadi and Gramodyog should have the popular sanction behind them. This is the basis of Gramdan.

A village must ultimately possess the right to plan and control the export and import trade within its area. This is the fundamental birth-right and the duty of the villagers.

(Condensed from ‘*Bhoodan*’)

Jayaprakash on Israel's Kibbutz

SHRI. JAYAPRAKASH said that he saw in the people of Israel, "an unconquerable spirit which refused to take defeat whether it was in reclaiming sandy deserts and rocky lands, or converting them into smiling gardens." He said that "for us here in India, who are engaged in building up our country almost from the bottom, the story of the building up of Israel is of not only of deep interest, but of great instructive and educative value and I believe we have a great deal to learn from Israel."

"Every individual in the Kibbutz worked not for himself but for the community. There was a little pocket-money given to the members but for the rest, it was a common sharing of the wealth produced. The food, the housing, the medical aid, education, was on common basis. The distribution of the produce of the Kibbutz to the members was not according to the work done, but according to needs as the whole basis of the economic life was "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his needs." For many years this seemed to him to be a slogan for the free and the just, yet in the hundreds of Kibbutzim which exist in Israel today, this ideal is the basis on which economic aspects of life are arranged."

Talking at length about the Kibbutz movement, Shri Jayaprakash said that socialism never meant so much to him as an institution, it meant more a way of life, and in Israel what interested him most was this—"The State was only ten years old but the Kibbutz was already 48 years old."

"The Kibbutz represents all that is the finest in Israel and it is not for no reason that the Prime Minister, Ben-Gurion, is a member of the Kibbutz and that all the important members of the Government are members of the movement as well," said Shri. Narayan.

Shri. Narayan told the gathering that among other leaders of Israel he was much privileged to meet Mr. Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, who was interested most of all in the Sarvodaya movement in India and in India's spiritual life and philosophy as it was lived in India today.

(Adapted from "News from Israel," published by the Consulate of Israel, Bombay.)

Government based on Gandhiji's Principles

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan

False Self-Approbation

"WHEN we look at the happenings in other countries, we find that it is necessary to stand up for our ideals, put out corruption, wherever it breeds, eliminate dishonesty so that we can say that our Government, based on Gandhiji's principles, is a Government of righteousness and justice." Gandhiji's ideal was 'Rama Rajya' a kingdom of fair-play, truth and righteousness. If we violate these principles in daily life, we utter his name in vain. Then we are not following the principles for which he lived and died. It is essential for us to remember this day, to be a little less selfish and a little more altruistic and see that the people have a better deal so far as mental and spiritual sustenance was concerned."

The Vice-President explained the difference between a Pharisee and an authentically religious man, described in the Christian scriptures. A Pharisee was an observer of all ceremonies and he acted justly. He had the idea that he was doing something, which was agreeable to God. There was self-approbation and complacency. But the truly religious man had visions of the Divine. He considered himself to be an imperfect man and subjected himself to self-criticism. "To-day we are also suffering from some kind of self-approbation and a feeling that everything is all right. It is an attitude of Pharisaism. We must get over it, look and search within ourselves, whether we are conforming to our great ideals."

The Great Reconciler

"Gandhiji has introduced the two principles of truth and non-violence in our politics. When transfer of power took place, he was away in a distant part of the country. He was not happy with the way in which the country was being divided and broken up. He admitted a sense of failure and he ultimately died to bring about communal unity. Gandhiji felt that partition was an admission of failure. So disillusion entered his heart, before the bullet entered his body. He brought them freedom, but he died a disappointed and

disillusioned man. He did not fight for power, as politicians did, but to help them escape the shackles of bondage. He wanted people to enjoy the fruits of freedom.

Gandhiji was a "great reconciler", between the rich and poor and the different communities. He wanted to bring about unity in the world. The Mahatma had said at the Asian Relations Conference, "I would not care to live, if I did not believe in the oneness of mankind. If God is one mankind is one. His patriotism was only an expression of that humanity. Therefore, he fought for their freedom, so that if necessary India could die for the human race. He believed that "we must live first, before we die". If they were to live, they must live nobly. They must question themselves, whether what they were doing everyday was in consonance with truth and love.

Vinoba the Greatest Follower of Gandhiji

Dr. Radhakrishnan referred to the mission of Acharya Vinoba Bhave and said that Vinoba was going about from place to place without any "trappings" and making people consider that everybody should do his best to help others in India. From the beginning of history, they were taught to suffer for the benefit of others and if necessary through a series of births. The kind of idea which should get hold of them was that mankind was one and whole was a product of one source. Sarvodaya meant awakening of all sides of their nature and of all men in the world. Vinoba, he said, was the "greatest follower" of Gandhiji.

Courtesy 'The Hindu'

OUR NEW PUBLICATIONS

SHANTI SENA—Vinoba	...	...	0 50
Collection by Donald Groom & Janaki.			
SARVODAYA AND BUSINESS COMMUNITY			
	—Donald Groom	...	0 12
SARVODAYA IN CITIES	—Donald Groom	...	0 15

SARVODAYA, SRINIVASAPURAM, TANJORE, INDIA.

Impressions of My European Tour

Jayaprakash Narayan

THEY are aware that while in the field of material values, they have made tremendous progress they have not been able to achieve the spiritual values of socialism. From the earliest times every socialist thinker talked of socialism as a new civilisation, as a set of human values and as a way of life. Now socialists in Europe are quite aware that these ideals remained far behind almost forgotten. The ambition of the worker, his outlook on life, has not changed and he is still ruled by the competitive values of civilisation. There is no participation by the workers in the affairs of the society, there is no "participating democracy." There is a mood amongst the workers to withdraw from the problems of life and leave those problems to a few select leaders.

In my tour of Europe and in the places I visited I spoke about Sarvodaya and of what we have been doing in the Sarvodaya movement. The elements in the life of the European people of somewhat fundamental nature pre-disposed them towards the ideas I placed before them.

The first is that of Christianity. The philosophy of Sarvodaya is the philosophy of love and that is also the philosophy of Christianity. Modern Western philosophy is not based on the principle of 'love thy neighbour as thyself,' it is not based on a co-operative society, but on a competitive society. Therefore, as I spoke of Sarvodaya, it evoked a response in the hearts of my audiences. The other element which pre-disposed them to listen to the history of Sarvodaya movement is their 'hunger' for peace. European people are fed up with wars and live in fear of war. And any effort to further the cause of peace and establish the basis of a peaceful civilisation greatly interests them.

Trusteeship

I found in Europe many organisations, movements and individuals who by and large are following ideas which touched the Sarvodaya ideas at some point or other. I must refer in this

connection to the Pacifists, Quakers, War Registers and Citizens of the World movement. Sarvodaya, conceives an 'oceanic society' with the individual as the centre and concentric circles around him reaching the oceanic circle which is the world community. There are many people in Europe who have faith in such a concept.

I found in Europe many instances where the principle of 'Trusteeship' is being adhered to, where businessman, owners of factories, etc., have surrendered their proprietary rights either to their employees or the community. Private enterprise obviously has its faults and the public enterprise also has its faults. The kind of enterprise run on a trusteeship basis, which is both private and public and combines the best of the two systems and eliminates the faults of both is the type for the future.

The Cold War

My earlier remarks about the political situation in Yugoslavia have been misunderstood. Some people think that I have said that Yugoslavia had established ideal democracy and India should copy it. I have not said any such thing. There is dictatorship in Yugoslavia and Tito is the undisputed dictator. The dictatorship is at the top; below, they are creating a new form of democracy. I have to mention about the management of the industries in Yugoslavia and the system of local Government as now the prevailing there. The third element which contributes to the building up a new form of democracy there is the partyless system of election. India can learn a great deal from them. India is in a position to establish democracy under democratic conditions

I come back from the tour with the strong impression that there is not going to be any world war now. There will be small wars and the cold war would continue. It is for countries like India to stop this cold war. America and Russia are each trying to win over to its side neutral, uncommitted nations and if the neutral nations decide once for all that they will not join any camp whatever, then the cold war will end.

(From a Speech in Madras)

Symbol of Popular Sanction

Dhirendra Mazumdar

(President, Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh)

THE ideal of social reconstruction based on Sarvodaya ideology and its present basic programme based on Gramdan have been accepted by different political parties, institutions and the public in our country. But it is imperative now that every village, every household and all sections of the people consider it necessary and fruitful to have Gramdan and Shanti Sena in every village. This popular consent will be concretely manifested by the Sarvodaya Patra. It is equivalent to the vote cast in the most overt manner. We ask for a vote from every one of our countrymen in the form of the Sarvodaya Patra. One who adopts the Patra in his home, thus performs a triple duty; he gives his consent to the ideal of the Sarvodaya Samaj; he advances himself towards the ideal of a non-violent way of personal life, and finally he imparts, in a natural way, to the child a sense of value and training in the spirit of donating something to society.

Vinobaji urges upon our workers to give precedence to the task of popularising the Sarvodaya Patra over all other work. Let us, then, give all our energy to it. It is the very foundation of all other things. It will nourish our workers both in the physical as well as in the spiritual sense; because, through it, they will be taking their sustenance not from any individual but from the people and this alone will bring purity to their whole life.

As one looks around and surveys our contemporary public life, one may doubt the feasibility of thus achieving the goal of expansion of the Sarva Seva Sangh, which is an all-India organisation. Can this be done by adopting an economic basis of such people's support and of contributions of one's own labour? Can the Sangh lead a revolutionary programme if it accepts such a basis? Can the Sangh, then, fulfil those expectations and hopes which our countrymen cherish? We say in all humility that the Sangh is that type of organisation which naturally goes on diffusing itself in the very process of its expansion: in the final consummation, it will cease to be a Sangh and subsist as "service to all" (Sarva Seva).

We are seeking the support of every single section of the people for Gramdan, Shanti Sena and for the Sarvodaya form of society. To secure this support, we must obtain the participation of all in this work. We should get lakhs of persons as contributors to *Sutranjali*. Sarvodaya Patra must come to lakhs of households. A village or group of villages, wherein we have one to two thousand Patras, will be constituted into an area to be served by one committee, which will pool together the contributions, in grain and coins, from the Patras. The same committee will conduct and supervise the constructive activities in that area. Every month, the grain in the Patras may either be taken by the house-holders to the office of the committee or the latter may make some arrangement for the collection. The grain pooled with the committee should be bought over, within a specified period, by the residents of the area.

One-sixth of the proceeds should be sent to the office of the Sarva Seva Sangh. This one-sixth of the proceeds, received from lakhs of Patras and from *Sutranjali* from all over the country, will be utilised by the Sangh to carry on its office-work, publications and such other activities. It is in this concrete way that the country and the people will offer their support to the work of the Sangh. In this sense alone can we say that its work will have the basis of popular support (*Jana-adhara*). The Sangh can then claim to possess the sanction for undertaking a revolutionary programme; the youth of the country, enthused with the ideal of a social transformation, will then be attracted towards the Sangh and it will place before the nation the wholesome model of a public institution.

In consonance with the values of a new age in human history, the Sarva Seva Sangh has taken this revolutionary step in the context of a new type of economic basis (free from centralisation or *nidhi-mukti*). It is my earnest appeal to my countrymen, therefore, to offer their heartiest support to this task by keeping the Patras in ever-increasing number of households, and also by widely participating in the programme of *Sutranjali*, *Sutradan* and *Shramdan*.

Politics of the People

This is the lead article in the "Manas", the American Weekly published from Los Angeles, California in its issue dated August 27, 1958. "Manas" has been keenly following the trend of Sarvodaya ideal and has often referred to Gandhiji and Vinabaji in its various articles.

WE are beginning to get some new definitions of politics and some new conceptions of political action. But, as a matter of fact, some of the thinking along these lines probably ought not to be called "political" at all, since it has so little relation to conventional political thought.

One source of this political "new thought" is Jayaprakash Narayan, the Indian socialist leader who some years ago renounced his twenty-year role as leader of the Socialist Party of India to join the Bhoodan (land-gift) movement headed by Vinoba Bhave. "The faith and hope that the people seem to repose in politics", Jayaprakash said, "appear pitiable to me."

Jayaprakash Narayan decided to devote his energies to what he calls *Lok-niti* (the politics of the people) as distinguished from *Raj-niti* (the politics of the State). He finds that the party system perpetuates centralized power, "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." Recalling Gandhi's statement that the *panchayat* "government" (patriarchal community rule) *can function only under a law of its own making*, J. P. explained his alliance with Vinoba's Bhoodan movement by saying:

"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. . .

"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...."

These statements appear in a long letter by J. P., serialized in several recent issues of *Sarvodaya*, a magazine devoted to Vinoba's work. The politics of the people, carried on in the spirit of Sarvodaya, J. P. concludes, "can have no party and no concern with power. Rather its aim will be to see that all centres of power are abolished. The more this new politics grows, the more the old politics shrinks—a real withering away of the State."

How might these tendencies find expression in an industrial and technological society? A partial answer to this question is to be found in a new paper back, *Facing Reality*, just published by the Correspondence Publishing Co., 2121 Gratiot Ave., Detroit 7, Mich., at S. I. This book, while not "Gandhian" in temper, is filled with illustrations of the capacity of workers' councils to operate industrial plants and to assume the practical responsibilities of government. This was especially evident in Hungary before the invasion of the Soviet troops put an end to the Hungarian Revolution. The authors of *Facing Reality* observe: "One of the greatest achievements of the Hungarian Revolution was to destroy once and for all the legend that the working class cannot act successfully except under the leadership of a political party."

These are only a few of the signs that the social order of the future may come into being only as the politics of power and centralized control is abandoned as a futility belonging with other social and moral evils left in the past.

SARVODAYA Bound Volumes

Annual Bound Volumes of "Sarvodaya" of the previous years are available at Rs. 6 per Volume. Postage Extra.

Write to:—

Mg. Editor,

"SARVODAYA," TANJORE, INDIA.

A Review of Jayaprakashji's Tour Abroad

Siddharaj Dhadra

SHRI Jayaprakashji and Prabhavati Behn have returned to India after 4½ months' tour abroad. I also had the privilege of accompanying Jayaprakashji on this tour on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh. A friend of ours, Shri Pardiwala of Bombay was the fourth member of the party. Jayaprakashji and Prabhavati had left India on May 2, 1958 and returned on September 20. The tour thus lasted for 141 days or 20 weeks. Mr. Pardiwala and myself had preceded them to Europe by 4 days.

During the course of this tour we visited in the order of time the following 21 countries of Europe, West Asia and North Africa—Switzerland 16 days, West Germany 14, England 36, France 13, Belgium 3, Holland 2, Denmark 4, Norway 2, Sweden 3, Poland 7, Austria 2, Yugoslavia 8, Italy 5, Greece 3, Egypt 5, Syria 1, Lebanon 3, Israel 8, Cyprus 1, Iraq 2, and Pakistan 3.

As Jayaprakashji mentioned at the Press Club meeting in Karachi, "We have collected so many impressions of such a complex variety" that it would take sometime before it is possible to assimilate and co-ordinate them to present a synchronized picture. The present is only an attempt to give a very brief factual account of the trip.

Since his return in 1929 from the United States of America after a seven year stay there for studies, Jayaprakashji had not gone out of India except once to Rangoon in 1953 to attend the First Asian Socialist Conference. It was, therefore, his first visit to Europe and West Asian countries. Pressing invitations were being received since long to visit Europe, but being preoccupied with work at home it had not been possible for him to move out. The invitations were renewed by European Socialist friends at the time of the Second Asian Socialist Conference in Bombay towards the end of 1956, when Jayaprakashji promised to consider a visit

after 1957, the year during which Vinoba had called for a special all-out effort being put forth by all in the Bhoodan movement. Meanwhile the five-month sojourn in England of our well-known colleague in the Bhoodan movement, Mr. Donald Groom had aroused considerable interest there among lovers of peace and non-violence in this new Gandhian experiment being carried on in India.

In the beginning of 1958, therefore, the moment was ripe for Jayaprakashji to go abroad. Invitations were received jointly on behalf of three organisations in Great Britain viz., the Socialist Union, a body of socialist thinkers and intellectuals, the British Asian Overseas Fellowship, an affiliate of the British Labour Party and the Society of Friends' Peace Committee. They also offered to bear the expenses of the trip to England. The Congress for Cultural Freedom, an international voluntary organisation of intellectuals concerned with human freedom, of which Shri Jayaprakashji is one of the Hon. Presidents along with several other noted international figures, sponsored the rest of the tour.

Shri Jayaprakashji and party were guests of the following in the respective countries :—

West Germany	— Government of West Germany
West Berlin	— Government of the City of West Berlin
Austria	— Socialist Party of Austria
Poland	— 1. Union of Agricultural Circles & Organisations, and 2. National Council of Production Co-operatives
Yugoslavia	— Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia
Greece	— Government of Greece
Egypt	— National Union
Syria	— Government
Israel	— The Histadrut—General Federation of Labour.

One of the principle objectives of this tour was to establish contacts and exchange views with thinkers in the West regarding Socialist ideals and achievements and to acquaint them with what

was being done in India in the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement by way of a non-violent and voluntary social change. In most of the places which he visited, group meetings and discussions were held with this end in view. In all, about 40 such group meetings took place during the tour, in addition to about 45 public meetings at which Jayaprakashji spoke to audiences varying in number from 50 to 1000 and more.

Individual thinkers and writers whom he met included Prof. Neils Bohr, the famous Nuclear Scientist, Prof. Oppenheimer, Mr. Alfred Camus, noted French writer and Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Isiah Berlin, Mr. Wilfred Wellock, Dr. Oscar Lange, Julius Braunthal, Hallam Tennyson, Louis Fischer, Malraux, Salva de Madariaga, Denis De Rougemont, Nicholas Nobokov, Donilo Dolci, Ignazio Silone, and Michel Aflaq. We also visited the Friendship House at Buckeburg, West Germany, the Community Centre of the Society of Brothers at Bromdon, England, Abbe Pierre's Community of Rag-pickers in Paris and Lanza del Vasto's (who is known by the name of Shantidas, a name given by Gandhiji) Ashram in Southern France—institutions which are inspired in one way or the other by the ideals of non-violence and peace and where groups of men and women are trying to live these ideals in practice. We also visited certain Industrial concerns being run on trusteeship or common-ownership ideals like the Carl Zeis Factory at Obercochen in West Germany, the Scott Bader Commonwealth in England and two Work Communities in Paris.

During the course of his tour, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan met various important personalities including political leaders like Mr. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, Dr. Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany, President Nasser, Mr. Hugh Gait-skil and Mr. Bevan, leaders of the British Labour Party, Mr. Heathcot Amory, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Lord Hume, Mr. Ollenhauer, Chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party, Sir Vincent Tewson, Secretary-General of the British Trade Union Congress, Mr. Henry Spaak, Secretary-General of N. A. T. O., President Iskander Mirza and Prime Minister Sir Firozkhan Noon of Pakistan, Mr. Abdul Khalek Hasouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League, President Ben-Zvi and Prime Minister Ben Gurion of Israel, Prince Bernard of

Holland, President-elect General Chebab of Lebanon, Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus, Mr. Kamal Jumlat of Lebanon, Mr. Abdel Karim Hassein, the Prime Minister of Iraq and the Prime Ministers of Sweden, Holland, Greece and various other political and national leaders in the different countries. He also met old friends and sympathizers of India like Lord Pethick Lawrence, Lord Attlee, Lord and Lady Mountbatten, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Lady Cripps, Mr. Sorensen, and Mr. Reginald Reynolds etc.

During the stay in London, a meeting was held at which the idea of extending the principle of trusteeship to Industry was discussed. The meeting was attended by certain industrialists and businessmen, as also a representative of the nationalised sector of Industry and friends from the Labour and the Co-operative Parties. As per decision of this preliminary meeting, a two-day seminar was convened to which Jayaprakashji was specially invited. It has been decided to pursue the matter further.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan attended as a guest the Biennial Conference of the West German Social Democratic Party at Stuttgart as also the Council of the Socialist International held at Brussels in June which he was asked also to address. In Rome, Jayaprakash Narayan visited the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations and addressed a largely attended meeting of the officers of that organisation. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also met the Press in almost all the countries which he visited. ★

Balm of Constructive Work

The technique of constructive work always proves most effective when the forces of violence are uppermost. It consists in clothing the spirit of non-violence in simple acts of courage, of service and of love which everybody can understand and appreciate. Reduced to its essentials and expressed in a spirit not of bluster or bravado, but of utmost humility, with antagonism towards none, non-violence practised in this form becomes like the healing process of nature, imperceptible but extremely active—elemental, all-pervasive and irresistible.

—from 'Mahatma Gandhi - The Last Phase'

Shanti Sena Sub-committee

Marjorie Sykes

THE Sarva Seva Sangh appointed a Shanti Sena Sub-committee after the Pandharpur Sarvodaya Sammelan in May 1958. In his speeches and interviews at the Sammelan, Vinobaji emphasized the responsibility of women in the work for peace, and challenged the women who were present to take the initiative in Shanti Sena. He also suggested that Gandhiji's Ashram at Sevagram may form the headquarters of the Shanti Sena, which would derive inspiration from association with the Ashram, while the ashram may draw new life and meaning from the work and fellowship of the Shanti Sena.

The eight women who at present form the sub-committee were selected with Vinobaji's approval. This committee works as a part of the Sarva Seva Sangh and its work, like all the work of the Sangh, is for men and women alike. There is no idea of any separation of the sexes either in the membership of the Shanti Sena or in its organisation. As the work expands it is probable that the committee also should be expanded, and men will be added to its membership equally with women.

The committee has before it for its guidance the general picture which Vinobaji has given of the task of a Shanti Sena, and the suggestions he has made at Chalisgaon for building up the work on the basis of *Lok-Sammata* expressed through Sarvodaya Patra, Sutranjali, Shramdan etc. Proposals for a training programme for Shanti Sainiks have also been made. These plans were drawn up by an *ad hoc* committee which was appointed at Hubli in January 1958, of which Smt. Ashadevi was convenor.

The committee feels that in addition to the general programme, steps must be taken, as soon as possible, to arrange for training of volunteers. The number of men and women who have volunteered for this service and submitted their names to Vinoba up to 9 August 1958 is 199. These are somewhat unevenly distributed over the country.

Training should be available on a local or regional basis throughout India for these and future volunteers. While varying in detail

it should have an agreed general shape and unity of purpose. It therefore seems desirable as a first step to select workers of experience from all over the country and bring them together to work through the draft training programme for themselves and produce an agreed basic syllabus and method of training which can be used for the preparation of volunteers. The workers who come to the first camp should therefore be men and women who will return to their own areas able and willing to guide the training of local volunteers as needed. The majority will themselves have signed the Shanti Sainik pledge. There may also be a few who have special gifts for this work, even though they may be prevented by circumstances from taking the full pledge, and regard themselves as *Shanti Sahayaks* rather than Shanti Sainiks.

The first camp will be held at Sevagram Ashram on October 12th—21st 1959, and will be limited to workers invited with the above purpose in view.

At Pandharpur Vinobaji laid great stress on the world-wide hunger for peace, and the need of a great popular world movement for peace at every level. The Shanti Sena's plans, he said, must include not only provision of a connecting link between groups of Sainiks in different parts of India, but also contact with peace movements and workers in other countries. The Sena will keep available at its headquarters at Sevagram Ashram the records, literature and information which are needed to maintain these contacts. ★

Community of the Future

"If a community with a considerable element of self-government can free itself from arbitrary bondage to tradition, will act in a spirit of goodwill and with courage, and will inform itself as to significant experiences of other communities the world over, it can find reasonable solutions for most of its problems. The very independence and resulting diversity of community efforts over the country will provide a laboratory in government, with the result that the elements of uniformity which emerge will not be the fruit of dictation, but from common judgement growing out of experience."

—Arthur E. Morgan

The Goal is Clear, but not the Way

Acharya Vinobaji

(Continued from the previous issue)

Shanti Sena had its birth in Kerala

We made a beginning of Shanti Sena also in Kerala. That was a very small unit. Some 10 or 15 more would have joined, but I did not take more. This being the initial attempt, I took only a few chosen, well-tested individuals, people would have confidence in. Among them is Shri Kelappan who in his capacity of a soldier of peace has recently taken a step of which we should all feel proud. In this sense, the Peace Army has already begun to function there. Recently in Malabar the students did something, the labourers did something and then firing took place. In that connection Shri Kelappan proved useful, because of his non-alignment with any party. Had he not been free, he could not have achieved the success he did. I can say this without fear of contradiction, because I know the situation there. I had walked for 4½ months there and I saw the minds of the Communists slowly responding. When at Amritsar they announced their intention to adopt peaceful methods, I trusted them, notwithstanding the fact that they have not changed their ways to this day which they have modelled on an unalterable Code.

Three effective forces of the scientific age

I have already said that three forces are working in this scientific age. The first is spirituality which gives shape to human life. The second is science which besides changing the externals, influences the internal life also and on whose stress man is obliged to rise above his mind. The third effective force would be trust. On an individual's offering to deal with us straightly we should take him at his word, trust and utilise him, notwithstanding the fact that his past belies his present professions. Only then can we win him over, change him and enter his heart. The Sarvodaya thought will not in any way be harmed by this procedure.

Trust—the sign of circumspection

It is an axiom of politics that the various parties should not trust one another. But Shri Krishna, the foremost politician of

all Ages has declared in the Bhagavad Gita, that 'he who suspects will be ruined'. In political parlance circumspection means suspicion; we would make fools of ourselves if we do not mix with every dose of trust a dose of suspicion. Well, I believe in the contrary and experience has fortified me in it that trust is the sign of circumspection. I had certain hopes and expectations of the Sarvodaya Samaj in Kerala, a flash of which we have seen in what Kelappanji did in his capacity of a Shanti Sainik.

Let us model life on the river

There are also people who say that the move for the expansion of the Sarva Seva Sangh is due to self-interest. It was only yesterday that Shri Kripalaniji was saying in jest, that these people want to utilise Vinoba for their purposes; that even behind this move for the Sangh's expansion there might be some motive. Dada Dharmadhikari also concurred with this view. But I say to myself: 'Ganga is flowing, rushing impatiently with the purpose of joining the sea; her sole motive is to lose herself in the ocean; to her banks comes the lion for water to digest the deer's flesh he had eaten and drinks it and quenches his thirst. Even the philanthropic tree gets nourishment from her waters for giving shade and fruits to the people. It, then, has its own motive. But Ganga flows for her own purpose—for losing herself in the seas. She doesn't care as to what others' motives are; nor do they make any difference to her purpose.' It is my wish that we also fashion our lives after Ganga. Let our life be such that all parties may feel that the Sarva Seva Sangh is their own. Their motives might be mutually conflicting, but if they say that the Sarva Seva Sangh is their own it is for good. The country and the world need this today. The reason for our talking of the expansion of the Sarva Seva Sangh is the desire of the people. But the method of our expansion differs from that of others. The question was asked yesterday, why not dissolve the Sangh. I said that in the technique of Ahimsa expansion is itself dissolution, that both expansion and dissolution mean the same thing. In that connection, I also said that in the process of expansion let the 'Sangh' disappear, and 'Sarva Seva' alone remain. How will this come about? Intelligence is required for effecting it. It is very good indeed that the people want the Sangh to expand and towards that end we want to close our shop. But it won't be so, if we want to expand, while the people want to

see the end of us. Herein lies all the merit, the safety of Ahimsa, of Sarvodaya. So it is, that I began with saying that the expansion of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the coalescence of all the constructive institutions into one unit constitute a single step. The times are such, that only by taking these two steps can something be done hereafter.

My present preoccupation

I am in search of power these days. Power is both subtle and spiritual. All revolutions are spiritual at the source. The spiritual values change first and the others follow suit slowly later. It is reasonable that they change; it is impossible that they should not. *It is possible that you do not realise that Power in all its intensity, but I do—and in such intensity that I am not able to describe it in words. If I am to make an attempt, it is possible that I might lose myself in Samadhi.*

Power of Pandharpur

I am wandering in Maharashtra these days. What happened in Pandharpur is without parallel in Indian History. People of all faiths were allowed entry into the temples there. I went there on a written invitation. The temple authorities had of course invited me, but I stuck to my claim to have a written invitation, as Bhagavan had from Rukmini. As a result they wrote to me, "You are welcome to the temple with all your companions. We feel blessed by your proposed visit." I went there with friends of all faiths. With me were members of many religions—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others. I was most cordially received which left a deep impression on me. I believe that I have come by a spiritual power. Why is it that it is not receiving as much attention as it should, I am wondering. I am directly experiencing this power in Maharashtra. Wherever I had been I had received hearty welcome from gatherings of devotees. At the place of Gnanadev Maharaj a number of devotees had collected who accorded me a welcome worthy of Namdev, Tukaram or Ekanath. When qualifications are considered, I am but a despicable being while those were great souls. I can, if at all, lay claim to be the dust of their feet; all the same, the people received me with as much love. I am witness to this change that has come over the people of Maharashtra.

But I do not understand why this has had no effect on the rest of India. Some may not believe in idols. God Himself doesn't say that we should. But this was such an event that even the atheists could not have passed over. I saw an article by Swami Anand in a recent number of 'Sanskriti' (a Marathi magazine) in which he says, "I expected the entire Hindustan to be thrilled at this event; but I am sorry it has been completely ignored." He wonders why the people taking the cue from this, do not make every temple a place of worship for the whole world. Well, for me it was a great discovery of power and I discovered it here. I want to say just this, that this doesn't deserve to be so ignored.

The second Power—Ambar charkha

The second Power the people recognise, as I also do. There are, of course, some to whom much power is not visible in it. What I mean is the invention of the Ambar charkha. On coming out from jail I had said hundreds of times that we cannot get on without science. Science is a power of Ahimsa. It is the right of Ahimsa to make use of that power. Even though it is now with the opposite camp, if it only joins hands with Ahimsa, the dream of Jesus to bring down the Kingdom of God to the Earth can be realised. If, on the other hand, it remained with the enemies, even though it was born there, it will destroy the entire world. So Ahimsa and Science badly need each other. Our implements need to be improved and our way of thinking should change. That is why when Ambar charkha was invented I hailed it with joy. Then the question arose whether the Sarva Seva Sangh would approve of it or not. I said then, "The Sarva Seva Sangh will think over it jointly and arrive at a decision; as for me, I give you my full approval." You know that I have practised at the Takli for years, have given time to the research of its possibilities. I have spent time in preparing slivers by the hand also. I am not regretting all this. Even now I say that the charkha cannot substitute the takli, nor the Ambar charkha the traditional charkha. Takli is like Ramanama; its place is like that of Ramanama in spiritual endeavour. And yet the invention of the Ambar charkha has shown to the world that we are not blind traditionalists. For, the world had till now been under the impression that we people would prefer the charkha to the Mill, and the takli to the charkha; that we would dance with joy that Sarvodya has been achieved if we

were able to spin with mere fingers. Such according to them is the mentality of our group. We cannot say that these strictures are entirely baseless. Even today there may be some among us who are of the opinion that the improvement of the implements is a retrograde step, hence it bodes danger. On the contrary, I declare that even the atomic energy is welcome. There is no objection to running cottage industries on it in every village on a decentralised basis. Therefore to me the invention of the Ambar charkha constitutes an accession of power.

The third Power—Bhoodan—Gramdan

The third Power is showing itself through Bhoodan and Gramdan. There is some *tapasya* (penance) of mine in all these three Powers. In the invention of the Ambar charkha my penance is hidden under the foundation. I have similarly laboured in the fields, have conducted experiments for getting rid of money, have dug wells and done farming with the hands. So the power created by Bhoodan and Gramdan is mine own Power. The first Power revealed at Pandharpur is also mine. Ever since my childhood I have been repeating the name of the Almighty; have been thinking, meditating and repeating the name of Panduranga without a break. I have been immersed in the thoughts of Gnanadev and other saints. That is why the management of the Pandharpur temples could not say 'No' to me. In their written invitation they had said, "Can we not imagine what great yearning would a *mahabhagavata* (super-devotee) like you would have for seeing God?" In their otherwise nice letter a false word had crept in. So I told them that I am no super-devotee; I am but an ordinary man and it is in that capacity that I have come to see Bhagavan.

Bapu's dream for rural regeneration

In the finding of these three Powers I have taken some part as you all have also done. Our entire group has contributed to the making of these powers. Shri Pyarelal has recently written the book, 'The Last Phase' which he alone could have done. It deserves to be studied and pondered. He has stated in it how Bapu visualised the future, on what lines he thought about it.

I rarely mention Bapu's name. Since others do it so frequently, it is but proper for me to desist from it. But my soul is witness to

the fact that I am a child of his. I was a mere boy when I approached him in 1916. Since then I have lived under his sole sway and none other's. I have laboured a great deal to assimilate the ideas he has given us, the wealth of thought he has bequeathed to us from the beginning to the end. I can claim to have practised thoroughly the ideas he placed before us. I am but an ordinary individual, a rustic; but even in 1916 when I first joined him, he told me, "Vinoba, we should have an Ashram in every village, should scatter ourselves in all the villages." He would draw the picture of the Sarvodaya society of his conception which was changing till the very end. But if you are inclined to see it at the source, in its nucleus, in crude words, it is there in 'Hind Swaraj'. I said 'crude' because you do not find in it the same language that he used later. But the language of 'Hind Swaraj' is crude in the sense that the language of the Upanishads sounds crude to the ears. When we see the commentary of Sankaracharya, before the clarity of expression, the method of analysis, the capacity to meet any point through argument—the language of the Upanishads looks crude. But the throb of life that one finds in the Upanishads is absent in the argumentative and scientific language. Since Sankaracharya himself was aware of this, he bowed his head before the Upanishads. Similarly, the pure heart of Gandhiji is revealed in 'Hind Swaraj'. It may not be his wish that we take what he had said in it as they are, nor would we do so. They need some modifications. But if we proceed keeping it in mind, we would be able to make use of the Power that has been found.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

Primacy of Women

"In order to awaken the people, it is the woman who has to be awakened. Once she is on the move, the household moves, the village moves and the country moves, and through the woman the children are brought into the picture and given the opportunities of a healthier life and better training. Thus, through the children of today we build the India of tomorrow."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

"Love for Those who Murdered Us"

Siddharaj Dhadda

The evening of 7th August in Vienna was an inspiring and unforgettable experience for us. Readers are familiar with the tragic events in Hungary two years ago when the armed might of the Russian Jaggernaut crushed the peoples' uprising and when thousands of young and old, men and women died in the streets of Budapest opposing literally with their bare hands, the tanks and armoured vehicles of the Russian Army.

That evening in Vienna, a fairly large number of young Hungarians, who are passing their days there hoping for the future when the tender plant of freedom irrigated by the blood of martyrs would bear fruit, had gathered together to hear J. P. who in those dark days of Hungary's trial had raised his powerful voice against the Russian Crime. The President on their behalf requested J. P. for an exposition of Mahatma Gandhi's technique of non-violent struggle for securing justice and freedom. For over an hour, one who according to himself was a critic of Mahatma Gandhi's technique during the latter's life-time, gave an inspiring address on the superiority of that technique over the age-worn method of violent revolution. The questions that followed showed an equal anxiety on the part of the audience to understand the technique and filled one with hope for the future. It was really surprising to find how Gandhiji's spirit which is also the spirit of Buddha, of Mahavir, of Christ and in fact of all great Teachers of humanity, is working in strange and unexpected quarters. A unison of mind between the speaker and the audience was all too apparent as we left the meeting.

Next morning a batch of young Hungarians came to the Hotel where we were staying and presented J. P. with a poem composed in prison by a young Hungarian Revolutionary. The young man had been thrown into prison by the Russians along with his fiancée who was later killed in his presence. He was also under a sentence of death and has probably been killed since. The poem is entitled "The Song of the Departed who Never Die" and opens with a tragic note of both lovers having been killed.

" With loosened hair we two poor corpses lie
Within our bridal bed; here in the dust,
Our bloody heads rise moon-like in the sky,
Our shriek can match the eagle's scream, we trust."

But the poet soon overcomes the grief, realises the eternal glory of Nature and sings—

" Fate rent the decent wavelets of our hair,
And fierce blows fell, that wrought our bloody death;
But the springs yonder now flows bluer there,
Where we in anguish yielded up our breath."

He then remembers the Spring when flowers blossom and die but speak only "the language of Love", and in tune with this eternal message of Nature and like a truly non-violent Satyagrahi he continues—

" When the mute iron struck our last of hours,
Our tongues invoked the language of the flowers;
We said that we believe, we pray, we sing;
Our love goes out to those who murdered us!
Only when hand to human hand shall cling
Shall Earth again grow young and all be thus."

Amidst the power-intoxicated and triumphant dance of violence in the world, does not this small but sweet and confident voice fill one with hope for the future?

While presenting the poem to Jayaprakashji the young Hungarians inscribed this note—

" We present you herewith a poem of a young Hungarian poet, probably killed—who was believing in the love of peoples inspite of his fate. You, the Apostle of Great India would certainly understand his spirit."

What faith in India, and what responsibility on us who happen to be Indians!

Cairo, 31-8-1958.

The Saint on the March—A Review

Amrutha Ramasubrahmanyam

SRI Suresh Rambhai has rendered a unique service to the country by publishing his book "Vinoba and his Mission"* in English and placing before the reading public an authentic and soul-stirring account of the Bhoodan Movement from its inception up-to-date. The book was first published in 1954 and this revised edition giving a more complete and comprehensive narration of the Campaign fulfils a long-felt need especially of the city people.

Often we come across criticisms of the Bhoodan Movement based on an inadequate appraisal of facts and the underlying philosophy that inspires the Mission. Well-informed criticism as a vital factor in strengthening a movement of this kind is warmly welcomed by all earnest Bhoodan workers. Pujya Vinobaji has often reminded us that in our country today the intelligentsia is concentrated in cities and any movement of a revolutionary character must find an echo in the hearts of the city people if it has to gather momentum. The author who is a profound scholar and an ardent worker in the Sarvodaya field has spared no pains in collecting and collating all relevant facts and figures which ought to enable any diligent student or critic to assess the achievements and possibilities of the Movement which is based on the spiritual awakening of Humanity.

All great religions the world over and men of piety have exhorted mankind not to fall a prey to the lure of wordly possessions, but seek supreme joy and contentment in service, sacrifice and self-denial. This lofty goal came to be regarded as the prerogative of the saint and the recluse and not within the reach of the average man or woman. Sri Suresh Rambhai expounds how Sarvodaya as conceived and demonstrated by Gandhiji has taught us that all human relations whether as between individuals, groups or Nations have to be based on these very high ideals. The Bhoodan Movement is an extension of this principle towards the solution of the fundamental economic and social

* Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore. Price Rs. 5.

problems facing our country today. The aim of Sarvodaya is to usher in a Society founded, not as at present on competition, greed and distrust, but on love, fellowship and mutual sharing. Where love holds sway, there can be no room for strife.

The rapid advancement of science has shrunk the globe and brought the nations of the world within elbowing distance of one another. Physical proximity without a kinship of the spirit is fraught with grave consequences. Peace-loving men and women are deeply conscious of the significance of the Bhoodan Movement in a world threatened with total annihilation by atomic and nuclear missiles.

The author keeps close to the 'saint on the march' and faithfully traces the course of the Bhoodan *Gangotri* (the source of the Ganges) which has now assumed the surging proportions of Bhoodan Ganga. The book abounds in excerpts from Vinobaj's speeches which endow the narrative with a freshness and simplicity all its own.

The illustrations and the life-sketch of Vinobaji are enlivening features which add to the value of the book.

Courtesy—'The Sunday Standard'

How much Land does a Man Need?

"It is man's duty to surrender his all to God in the first instance. There is nothing he can call his own. Having made the surrender, man is to take out of it what he may require for his legitimate needs but not a jot more. He must not covet what belongs to others...Tolstoy in an inimitable parable has answered the question, 'How much land does a man require?' The devil tempts a man by granting him a boon that all the land he can circumscribe by running around before sunset shall be his. The man runs and runs, goaded by his greed, and in the end when the sun is just sinking below the horizon, he reaches back the starting point only to drop down dead. Six feet of the earth is all that he requires for his burial!"

—Mahatma Gandhi

—from '*Gandhi Anthology, Book II*',
a Navajeevan Publication.

More Questions on Basic Education

Acharya Vinoba

This is the concluding portion of the discussion at the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction and others who met Vinobaji in Hansabhabhi in Mysore in December 1957. Probably this is the first important conference after the Wardha Educational Conference in 1937 in Gandhiji's presence.

Question 7. The experiment in New Education is mostly carried through the State Governments with the result that a sort of *Vana-rekaran* (dehumanising) in the New Education has been developed. What should the Government do to rectify this situation?

Answer: I think this term has been taken from some of my own speeches. But I am an optimist. I feel that through *Vana-rekaran*, we may reach the stage of *Nareekaran* (humanising). Whenever any good scheme is sponsored through the Government and implemented on a large scale, it certainly results in such a situation. It is not that it is so intended; rather in our anxiety to implement the scheme as quickly as possible, we are led into such a situation. It is not only true in education; it is so in any work of the Government. But it does not mean that we should on that score delay the introduction of basic education on a large scale. What is needed is that we should try to comprehend the intent and the purpose behind it. New Education aims at a complete revolution in the present social set-up. But the problem is: are we prepared to accept this definition? Only then, can we introduce New Education. If the objective behind New Education would be only to espouse the cause of discipline among the students, then there will be danger that even after getting New Education, the students would revolt against the present social frame-work. It has become so rotten today. We hear enough talk about introducing New Education among the tribal people. It is a right step in the right direction. But it does not behove well for us to profess that. The tribals may rightly ask, 'Why so much favour is done to us, why is not this scheme introduced in Delhi?' If to disown the present social set-up is indiscipline, the New Education would certainly provoke indiscipline. We talk of Sarvodaya today. In doing so, we certainly intend to bring it about in India. Therefore we must accept New Education

with determination. We will have to change the word 'wages'. We will have to remove inequalities in salaries. If we are not prepared to do that, it is useless to talk of Sarvodaya or New Education.

Ques. 8. How can we provide the resources, such as school building, land, furniture, schooling etc., for basic education, especially when we know that the villagers are so poor, that they cannot contribute much towards this?

Ans. If the people in the rural areas contribute labour, it would certainly go far towards helping the scheme. But, after all, some expenditure has to be incurred by way of establishment cost. This should be met by the State. But wherefrom will the State get funds for it? But then, I do not come into the picture.

In order to establish India's reputation in international fields and also to face Pakistan's challenge successfully it is essential that we should immediately reduce our army to half. But how to do it? We can increase our strength only when expenditure on military establishments and on importing food from outside is reduced and a strong will-power is cultivated in the people. Then the problem of increasing moral strength comes in. But who would do it? This can be done either by the teachers or by the mothers alone. There is the problem of maintaining peace and order in the country. Who would do it? If we do not maintain peace, if we do not take responsibility for defending the country, what else will we do? If we carry our education under the shelter of defence, do you think that the progress will be satisfactory? Certainly, if the expenditure on defence is increased, education would be in danger. At present, the students are given education up to B.Sc. or M.Sc. This is for the purpose of developing their genius and inherent capacities. As a matter of fact, every work is capable of giving some knowledge. Whatever we do, will teach us something. We have to root out the cause that has created stringent conditions. The Government may have some difficulties, which must be solved. We should not maintain the army in order to defend the country. This is a lesson, which New Education must provide. It is to be proved.

Ques. 9. What are the features of New Education which should immediately be introduced into the old system of education?

Ans. On this point, I feel very much provoked. I say with all emphasis at my command that no student should be passed in any examination unless he passes a course in some industry also. Unless this change is introduced in the prevailing system, it cannot be transformed into the basic system. It is also essential from the point of view of bringing about seriousness in the educational system.

Ques. 10. In your post-prayer speech you referred to rural universities. Will you like to enlighten us more on this subject?

Ans. Whatever I said on that occasion is only one aspect of my thinking. I have given enough thought to it. I also defined the term University. It certainly implies that all the students be asked to remain in villages for their schooling. Even under the prevailing system, all the subjects are not taught in the big universities. The facilities which are available in the Patna University are not available in the Lucknow University. There are various directions and opportunities for enterprise in the villages. All the materials and resources required to make life perfect are available in rural areas. Why should we not try to produce poets, writers, carpenters, iron-smiths and farmers in the village itself? The five-year old village boy certainly acquires more knowledge of words than his equal of the city. Of course, to further that knowledge we have more resources available in the cities than in the villages. Given opportunities, the village boy would certainly surpass the urban student. The conditions in the villages are highly suitable for fine arts, like music, painting, etc. It is also more favourable for science. We should try to utilise all these potentialities. Of course, there are certain characteristic features which can only be improved in the cities. At present, we have opened a number of rural schools in the rural areas. But they are not the ideal institutions of my dream. I desire to open evening and morning classes. In the evening classes, students should be taught something through speeches. Therefore, they would be listening classes. We can give all the information about the world in an easy pleasing manner. At present, we must prepare a book carrying information about various subjects prepared from the point of view of villagers. That would solve many problems. This is my dream of a rural university.

Courtesy: 'Economic Review'.

Sarvodaya and World Peace

Donald G. Groom

VINOBAJI has often said that the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement is not for India alone, it is for the whole world. It was quite a natural thing that the cry 'Jay Jagat' should emerge therefore to focus the minds of the people on the world. In fact I see Vinobaji as the prophet of the New Age when the world society will cease to follow the path of violence and accept the path of non-violence. It is in this that there is the main hope for lasting peace in the world. Consequently Sarvodaya, Bhoodan-Gramdan etc., being part of one whole attempt to reconstruct society on this non-violent basis, present the main hope for the world. But this basis of society cannot be made operative by imposition from outside, it can only come about by the assent of the people, by the people accepting new values and new attitudes. This is the great challenge before those of us who believe in Sarvodaya and its importance for world peace, or even for human survival.

Fortunately Vinobaji has made great strides during the past seven years or so in showing us not only the picture of the non-violent society in its various aspects, but also the path which we can take step by step. Perhaps, there is no other country in the world but India which could take to this path at this time, and yet there are so many in the West who are on the search for a new way by which the world might be saved from catastrophe. This is India's great task and great opportunity, which is in reality placing before the world the rich store of philosophy and religion which she has built up over the generations, but placing it at the time and in the form which can meet the world's most pressing need.

Will India respond? Will India accept in time the path which Vinobaji is placing before it so clearly? This answer has to be given not only by the Village people who instinctively respond favourably to Vinobaji's call, but by the leaders of the towns and cities, by the students, by all who can understand the writing on the wall and begin to turn their energies towards the fulfilment of his mission. The least response is a determination to study all the implications of the movement, study all that Vinobaji has to say. The people of India who are in positions of privilege must begin to take this movement seriously. ★

Shri Ramana— the Great Non-Possessor

C. V. Yogi

AS soon as Sri. Ramana reached Tiruvannamalai he surrendered his entire self at the feet of Lord Arunalachaleswara. All that he possessed then was a packet of sweets, clothes on his body and a few coins of money. Having surrendered himself entirely to God how could he have any worry for the maintenance of his body or any desire to keep anything? So he discarded the packet of sweets, the clothes on his body and the few coins he had. He then tore a long strip from his dhoti and wore it as a cod-piece, *Kaupinam*. Thus he became a complete non-possessor. Since his 17th year non-possession became a part of his nature.

Once a devotee had given Sri. Ramana a towel when he was staying in Pechiamman temple. He used it mainly to dry his body after bath. It wore out in a couple of months and had a few holes. In those days he himself prepared his food; the same towel was used for lifting the heated cooking vessels also and it assumed a smoky shade. Still Sri. Ramana was using it and he felt no need for a new one.

Lest some one might notice the torn smoky towel and replace it with a new one, he used to roll it in to a ball and hide it in the hollow of a tree. He used to go out for his bath to a solitary place. After bath he used to rub his body with it and keep it out of sight in the hollow of the tree after washing and drying it. Verily the towel became a sieve of thread.

But one day all this could not escape the notice of Sri. Gambhiram Seshaiya who went to see Bhagavan. As he was searching for something he chanced to put his hand in the hollow of the tree and found the ball of towel which was being used by Sri. Ramana. This sight moved him to his depths and he cried out, "Oh Bhagavan, deign to forgive us! We have been criminally negligent." After an outburst of repentance Sri. Gambhiram hurried to the town and brought half a dozen new towels and placed them before Sri. Ramana.

But Sri. Ramana objected, "Why so many towels? One will do," took only one and returned the rest.

All his cloth was only a *kaupinam*, the long strip of cloth for covering his private parts. There was a time when he had only one of this without another for a change. That too was partly torn. He continued to wear it for a long time. The hole in it became bigger when it became impossible to hide it. Therefore he thought of stitching it. But what to do for thread and needle? If he asked any, the story would leak out and they would bring new cloth.

He found a way to improvise a needle and thread to mend the torn *kaupinam*. He went into the adjoining jungle and picked up two thorns, one big and another small. With the small thorn he made a hole at one end of the big one. A needle was ready. He then drew out a thread from the *Kaupinam* and doubling it he made it strong enough for stitching. Thus the torn part was easily mended and was used for some time without drawing anybody's attention.

This anecdote was narrated by Shri. Bhagavan himself in the Hall where the devotees met for the darshan of Sri. Ramana.

At the end of his narration, he remarked with his usual genial smile,

"That was how those days were passed. How little does a man really need?"

—Condensed from "*The Call Divine*",

CALL TO LEADERS

THE best way of awakening the people is to build up India through their own efforts. Nowhere in the world—be it America or Germany—has a country been built up by Government efforts alone. Under dictatorship they reached their goal at the point of the pistol; but under "democratic socialism", it could be achieved only through mass voluntary effort. A state of depression, inertia and defeatism had gripped India to-day and the only way of redeeming the situation is for top leaders to free themselves of responsibilities of office in Government and mobilise mass forces. Had Mahatma Gandhi been alive now, he would have done it single-handed. But to day there was no leader of his stature. Hence my suggestion.

Jayaprakash Narayan.

The Working of Sarvodaya Patra

Swami Ramanand Thirth

FOR the last 25 years, we are conducting educational work in this city under the auspices of the Yogeswari Vidyalaya. A band of selfless workers have devoted themselves to education and social service and the Vidyalaya has earned for itself the respect of the people. This institution, with its prestige and band of workers, gave us a solid basis to undertake the new task of popularising and implementing the concept of Sarvodaya Patra.

Vinobaji was to enter the city on June 25, 1958. For two weeks, preceding the date of his arrival, we carried on an intensive propaganda of the idea of Sarvodaya Patra, in each area of the city. We could approach not only different streets but each single household and discussed the idea of Sarvodaya Patra with the members of each house. Such visits were repeated. Often during the second visit we were successful in persuading some people to accept the idea. The youngest child of the family, then, would put a handful of grain in some pot and the words 'Sarvodaya Patra' were inscribed on it. In this way we could succeed in getting our idea accepted and implemented in 73 per cent of the total households of the city by June 25, 1958.

Here I may record one important experience. There is a need to explain carefully the difference between the Sarvodaya Patra and the grain-contribution in it and the grain given as alms to the poor. We found that the grain-contribution in the Patra was continuous only in places where the elders in the families had realised this essential difference between Sarvodaya and alms-giving.

Vinobaji discussed with our workers the whole problem for over an hour. After his departure from the city, we all met again in the hall of the Vidyalaya. The problem before us all was: how to continue this work, which had such a good start?

After much deliberation, we came to the conclusion that the home-visits will have to continue. Each worker had to visit 25 homes on each Sunday, talk to the inmates and try to resolve any doubts or difficulties encountered by them. Then, it was also

decided to have general meeting of all workers on the last Sunday of each month. On this occasion, all the grain-collections were to be brought in and pooled together. We could enrol 56 workers who took up this home-visiting work.

It was almost a surprise for us to find that not even one household, of those which had kept the Patra, failed to contribute regularly in the Patra.

In our first monthly general meetings, we invited three guests, who were not committed to any ideology or programme. These persons, who enjoyed respect in the city, were entrusted with the work of evaluating the grain-contributions in money. At the rate fixed by them the grain was offered for sale and a sum of Rs. 102 was credited to the account of the institution in the name of the Sarvodaya Patra. This procedure is functioning smoothly to date.

It may be noted here that we have, as far as possible, insisted on grain-contributions in the Patra and discouraged money-contributions. After all, the spirit of making a contribution to social good is all-important. To contribute grain is to give a part of your daily food and this creates a more intimate and concrete sense of social participation than could be created by cash-contribution.

Vinobaji emphasised three essentials about the function of the Patra: (1) This will create a *lok-sammata* or people's sanction for our ideal. (2) the families, which keep the Patra, will form a brotherhood of peace and (3) in every member of such a family the sense of dedication will be awakened. If we can succeed in converting one lakh of homes for the ideal of the Patra, it would be a concrete test of the fact that the ideal of peace has really touched and conquered the hearts of the people.

It is true that this whole work is now in its initial stages. But still the experiences we acquired were important for the future of our work. I have placed them here for the benefit of workers in other places. I may finally place before the readers the following conclusions:

1. The work of Sarvodaya Patra must be done intensively. Scattered work or extensive work will not give results. One area must be fully covered. If *jawar* is the kind of grain collected,

then 500 Patras will be sufficient for the maintenance of one worker. In case of other grains 300 Patras may be sufficient. Each area must have at least 300 Patras. We have, therefore, decided to cover one Taluk with intensive work.

2. One worker should be put in charge of not more than 25 Patras. It is necessary to enrol workers who can give only some time for this work.

3. The process, starting from the establishment of the Patra and ending in the sale of its grain-collection, should be handled by the same person. Transfer of responsibility during the process should be avoided.

4. Each worker should devote two hours every week to get acquainted with the household and develop friendly relations with its members.

5. He should propagate in his area the ideal of Sarvodaya as this alone can give real stability to the work of the Patra.

6. Every month all the workers must meet together and exchange their experiences.

7. Particular attention should be given to see that women contribute to the success of this movement.

adapted from "Bhoodan" 27-8-58.

TO OVERSEAS SUBSCRIBERS OF "SARVODAYA"

Annual subscription is 2s or 12 Shillings. Subscribers are requested to send the subscription preferably for two years through Express postal Money-Orders or Bank Drafts and Cheques. Some friends send Currency which has to be returned as it violates the exchange law.

Gift subscriptions and gifts for the propagation of Sarvodaya magazine and literature will be gratefully accepted and acknowledged in "Sarvodaya".

—Editor, Sarvodaya, Tanjore, S. India.

Shanti-sena Camp at Sevagram

Suresh Ram

THE first training Camp of Shanti-sena as mentioned in the article of Sri Marjorie Sykes appearing in this number was held in Gandhiji's ashram at Sevagram from 15th to 22nd October. Its objective in the words of Marjorie Behn, the Convenor of the Camp was two-fold :

- (i) To see whether a fundamental unity of understanding could be achieved about the basis of SHANTI-SENA, the nature and scope of the pledge of the Shanti-Sainik, and the general direction and field of work ;
- (ii) To make an experiment in camp practice and experience which might serve as a model for subsequent training camps for Shanti-Sainiks in States, districts or cities.

There were 26 men and 13 women, including two great speakers (Sri Pyarelal and Sri Vimala Thakkar) and eight Shanti Sena office and local Sevagram workers in the Camp. Besides spinning for 45 minutes after morning prayer, we did physical labour for about 3 hours daily. This included floor-sweeping, latrine-cleaning and cow-shed washing. We harvested paddy crops, picked cotton and weeded the banana and sugar-cane fields. The earnings came to a little over Rs. 30, which works at 80 nP. per man per day. Two of us had permanent duty in the kitchen and we were supplemented by four new hands daily. In all we spent 31.25 hours in kitchen-work and ground about 150 lbs. of grain on the chakki.

About five hours a day were devoted to talks and discussions. Except for five lectures, it was really co-thinking and mutual consultation. The subjects and the lecturers are as under :—

- (i) Peace movements in the West—past and present by Marjorie Sykes.
- (ii) Democracy and the technique of unanimity by Marjorie Sykes.
- (iii) History of the Shanti-Sena idea by Pyarelal.
- (iv) The work of the Shanti-Sainik by Pyarelal.
- (v) The training of the Shanti-Sainik by Vimala Thakkar.

For detailed discussions we divided ourselves into three discussion-groups :

- (a) Organisation of the Shanti-Sena ;
- (b) Training of the Shanti-Sainik ;
- (c) Peace Propaganda among the people and the Sarvodaya-Patra Programme.

The main points that provoked serious thinking and took our major time were four :

- (A) Shanti-Sena—a movement or an organisation ;
- (B) Sarvodaya Patra—its house-to-house maintenance and its connection with the Shanti-Sena work ;
- (C) Immediate programme in states or districts and cities ; and
- (D) Attitude towards local problems, cases of injustice, and disturbance of law and order.

We also got a first-hand report of the notable work done by the Shanti-Sena friends in Kerala and Gujarat. On the last night, 21st October, we had a cultural-cum-entertainment programme in which the best item was contributed by that veteran constructive worker and inspiring soul of Maharashtra, Appa Saheb Patwardhan who remains young even at seventy. While we were dispersing, our indefatigable convenor, Marjorie behn uttered some memorable words: "What counts is the inward feeling. Quality is of the essence. We shall be judged not by what we do, but by what we really are."

Never before had I attended such a remarkable Camp. Productive physical labour, though so much talked about, is seldom accomplished. In this camp it was most conscientiously and fruitfully performed. Besides, we learnt how to think together and discover points of agreement. Generally camps are marked by the visits of certain influential people who come, speak and disappear. They hardly share the life of the campers. But this camp was cast in an entirely different mould. Thanks to our Marjorie behn, every camper gave vent to his or her inner-most thoughts and threw light on the problems before us.

This is the first SHANTI-SENA camp in India. The immortal spirit of Bapu guided our deliberations and activities. And straight from his tour in Gujarat, Vinoba seemed to beckon to us:

'I want every thoughtful person to understand and accept the basic principles of the SHANTI-SENA. If it could be shown that all problems could be solved peacefully, then India's moral strength would be greatly enhanced.....but the armed forces would not be abolished just by talking about it. First we must demonstrate that they are not necessary for the country. This responsibility lies with every one in India, but specially with those who are believers in Sarvodaya.'

May we rise to this call of the New Age and serve in establishing real peace in India and therethrough in the world.

Vidarbha Sarvodaya Conference

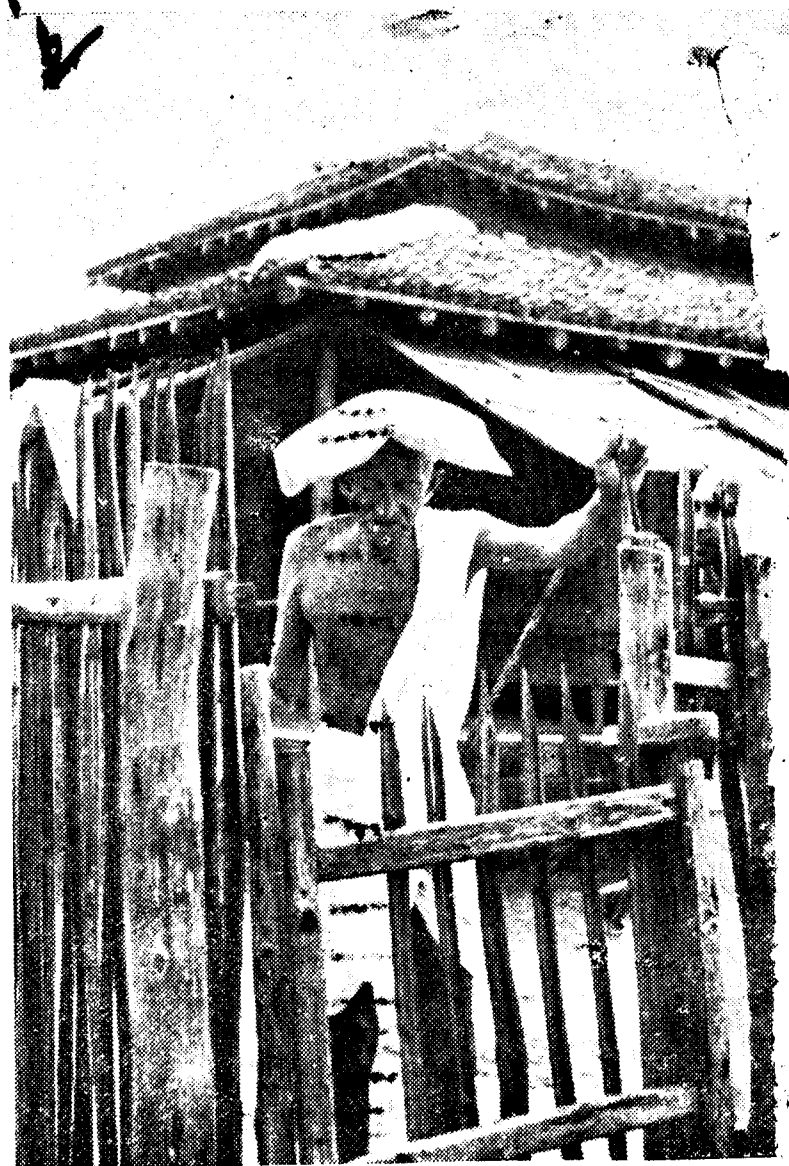
On October 25, 26 and 27 1958 was held at Bhandak (Dt. Chanda) the Vidarbha Sarvodaya Conference which attracted about 200 workers from the eight districts of Wardha, Nagpur, Chanda Bhandara, Yeotmal, Amroati, Buldana and Akola. It was presided over on the first two days by Sri Appasaheb Patwardhan of Ratnagiri and on the third day by Sri. Balubhai Mehta of West Khandesh. It may be noted that they were the Vidarbha workers who under the guidance of Prof. Thakudas Bang, discovered the technique of *Samoohtk Bhoodan Pada-yatra* in 1954 now known all over the country. This Conference was attended by Bhoodan workers and the constructive workers in general. It was marked by frank discussion on the future programme and technique of work, Shanti-Sena and Sarvodaya patra, workers' training, Gramdan Gram-Swaraj and work in cities, propagation of literature. The ringing message of the Sammelan was to take up the Sarvodaya patra programme with the message of Sarvodaya literally to every door of Vidarbha.

Suresh Ram.

SARVODAYA LITERATURE

BY MAHATMA GANDHI		
The Story of My Experiments with Truth	3-00	How to Serve the Cow 1-25
Satyagraha in South Africa	4-00	From Yeravda Mandir 0-37
Communal Unity	9-00	Unto This Last—A Paraphrase 0-37
My Religion	2-00	Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule 0-50
The Nation's Voice	3-00	Key to Health 0-50
Non-Violence in Peace and War. Vol. I	7-00	Letters to Sardar Vallabhai Patel 2-50
" " Vol. II	5-00	Nature Cure 0-75
Satyagraha	5-50	My dear Child 1-50
Hindu Dharma	4-00	Ramanama 1-00
Sarvodaya—The Welfare of All	2-50	Rebuilding our Villages 1-50
The Removal of Untouchability	3-50	Thoughts on National Language 2-00
Khadi—Why and How?	3-00	
Towards Non-Violent Socialism	1-00	BY OTHERS
Self-Restraint V. Self Indulgence	2-00	By Pyarelal:
To The Students	3-50	Mahatma Gandhi
Towards New Education	1-00	—the Last Phase Vol. I 20-00
Women and Social Injustice	3-00	Vol. I 20-00
Truth is God	1-00	Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World 1-00
Basic Education	1-00	A Nation Builder at Work 1-00
Cent per cent Swadeshi	1-50	A Pilgrimage for Peace 5-00
Bapu's Letters to Mira	4-00	The Shantiniketan Pilgrimage 0-40
Bapu's Letters to Ashram Sisters	1-50	
Ashram Observances in Action	1-00	By J. G. Kumarappa:
Christian Missions—Their Place in India	2-00	Christianity—its Economy and Way of Life 1-25
Diet and Diet Reform	2-00	Clive to Keynes 0-75
Drink, Drugs and Gambling	2-00	Practice and Precepts of Jesus 1-50
Delhi Diary	3-00	Public Finance and our Poverty 1-50
Food Shortage and Agriculture	2-50	
For Pacifists	1-25	By A. E. Morgan
Gandhiji's Correspondence with Government	2-00	Search for Purpose 3-00
Gokhale—My Political Guru	1-00	Community of the Future and the Future of the Community 2-50
Economic and Industrial Relations: 3 Volumes	8-00	

Write for full list: SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE.



MAHATMA GANDHI
COMING OUT OF HIS COTTAGE IN SEVAGRAM

32/1/41