

178

SARVODAYA

<u>VOL</u>		<u>NO</u>
VIII	APRIL 1959	10
VIII	MAY 1959	11
VIII	JUNE 1959	12



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1449-23.

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SARVODAYA



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

Vol. VIII

APRIL 1959

No. 10



Premier Nehru and Vinobaji walking
together in Gujarat

Annual Subscription
Rs. 4 50 ; 12 Sh. 5 2

Single Copy
0 — 37 nP.

★ SARVODAYA ★

is a small Monthly Digest running its eighth year and is endeavouring to present within its small compass the Sarvodaya ideology of Mahatma Gandhi—the Welfare of All, based on Ruskin's "Unto This Last", with special reference to its application in action to the socio-economic life through Bhoodan-Gramdan movement of Acharya Vinoba during the last eight years and similar trends of thought and allied movements in other parts of the world with the Sarvodaya values upholding the sanctity of life and freedom of man for full development of human personality.

The annual volume begins from July and subscription can commence from any month in advance, but not for the previous months.

Back-numbers, if available can be supplied at 7 annas or 43 nP. per copy inclusive of postage.

Bound volumes for some years are available at Rs. 6 each (Postage Extra)

Sales agencies are welcome at all places. Apply for agency terms with a minimum deposit of Rs. 5.

Annual Sub. Rs. 4-50
or 12 Sh. or 2 Dollars.

Editor :
SARVODAYA,
TANJORE, :: S. INDIA.

SARVODAYA

April NINETY-FOURTH ISSUE 1959

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Vol. VIII ★ No. 10
APRIL 1959

Gramdan and Shanti-Sena

Acharya Vinoba

Bhoodan has developed into Gramdan. In Bhoodan land was distributed to the landless. In Gramdan people share the land equally with other inhabitants of the village. So the object is "equally" fulfilled in Gramdan as in Bhoodan. I said "equally" but I should have said, 'perhaps in a better way'. In Bhoodan people give away only a part of their land but in Gramdan the whole village becomes a family and shares the whole land.

Thus the object of Bhoodan is included in Gramdan. After six or seven years of Bhoodan the social mind of India has become ready to accept the idea of renouncing the ownership of land. Shanti-sena is also the natural corollary of Gram-Swaraj which we hope to build on the basis of Gramdan. Without Shanti-sena it is not possible to create an atmosphere for Gramdan.

The idea of Shanti-sena is not a new one. Gandhiji was also talking of it all the time. But his idea did not materialise because the circumstances were quite different then. Now, people of different parties have agreed that Shanti-Sena is a necessity not only for Gramdan and Gram-Swaraj but also for the preservation of Indian Swaraj. In this way the Bhoodan movement has naturally taken the shape of Gramdan and Shanti-sena.

I have full hope that it will succeed, because on its success depends our very existence. I am absolutely sure that India won't exist without Shanti-sena and Gramdan. Not only freedom but the society itself is not going to have a solid basis without, as I always say, there coming into existence the "Kingdom of Kindness." Either there will be kingdom of kindness or there will be no society. Science has developed in such a way that it poses the question of our very existence. Either be not or be good. Either of these two alternatives has to be accepted. I have therefore full hope for the future of the movement not only so far as India is concerned but also, if I may say so, the whole world.

★

Bhoodan—A "Historical Necessity"

Acharya Vinoba

WE usually think that this movement of Bhoodan began on the 18th April 1951 in Telengana. But I may say that it is England which started the movement on the 15th August 1947. The act of renunciation on the part of England has inspired me. It is only the brave who can take such an action. I earnestly hope that if England could take this bold step of renouncing her empire she is also capable of taking another bold step of renouncing the use of arms in international realtions. It is only a brave nation like the British who can take the initiative for unilateral disarmament.

This is what I told a friend from England who came to meet me recently. He expressed the hope that India would show the way for world peace. I rejoined that I was looking up to England to do this. It was not in a conventional formality that I said this. On being asked the reason for my faith in England I told the friend that England used to consider herself to be the master of India. But she renounced this possession and I believe this has raised the moral stature of England. The Gramdan movement is also based on this spirit of voluntary relinquishment.

I do not consider this work of mine as being confined to India only. This movement is a world movement. It encompasses the entire humanity within its range. I always consider my steps in the context of world conditions. This is why we have adopted "Jai Jagat" or victory to the world as our slogan. It is not an insignificant fact that within the short period of ten or eleven years we could travel from *Jai-Hind* to *Jai-Jagat*! I strongly feel that a sub-conscious resolve is working throughout the world for the unification of the entire human race. The present sense of separateness between nation and nation is bound to disappear soon. National boundaries will then have no meaning.

The general trend of the scientific advancement is behind this urge. Science will no longer tolerate a narrow outlook. Science has indeed thrown a challenge to man. Either he must shed all this narrowness or perish. There is no alternative.

A friend from Australia came and asked me for a message, for his country. I told him that the Australians should open their door to the Japanese and Chinese. There is enough land in Australia for outsiders to settle. This message of oneness of humanity is the message of Bhoodan. The movement is working for universal brotherhood and for the emergence of the new Universal Man.

I desire to emphasise that this movement should not be viewed in a narrow national context. There is a universal outlook behind this movement. It is this sense of historical purpose and working for the whole humanity that gives me strength and inspiration. I have been walking continuously from village to village for the last eight years. I am not walking. It is the great mission that makes me walk. After all what are you and I? We are only insignificant beings. We have no separate existence of our own. We are but instruments of *His Will*. Remember, therefore that this movement after all is not my work or your work. It is the work of God, or "historical necessity" if you will.

Adapted from Bhoodan



Vinobaji visiting the Khadi & Village Industries Exhibition at Ajmer

Our Duty to Villages

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

GANDHIJI maintained that unless the teeming millions living in the village progressed, the country could not march ahead on the path of development. The prosperity of our country is vitally linked with the economic and social progress of the village population. But an important factor that has to be borne in mind in this connection is that we cannot uplift the villages sitting in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi. Those who think so, will be sadly disillusioned. For that they have to go to villages. We have to evoke enthusiasm among the villagers for their own development, and create and train workers from among them for this task.

If the educated among the villagers find that they can improve the conditions in their village, those who migrate to cities in search of better amenities of life and employment opportunities would not do so and the exodus of the rural population to the urban areas will stop. It is a matter of grave concern that the educated and experienced villagers are attracted towards the cities. But, in fact, the opportunities for obtaining gainful employment and the other facilities available there are not unlimited as they think and the high hopes of the villagers, who trek to the cities, remain unfulfilled. The villagers should, therefore, be taught to become self-reliant and self-sufficient so that the rural folk will be attracted to stay in the villages.

The cities depend on villages for vital supplies of foodgrains and raw materials. The urban population will starve if the foodgrains grown by the villagers, do not reach them. The raw materials used in urban industry are supplied by the villages. Without them cities cannot sustain themselves. Yet the villages do not get back enough benefits and they are impoverished. It is therefore necessary that the villagers themselves should take to producing things which they want and control the flow of raw materials to urban areas. The villagers should be encouraged to produce all their necessities of life and consume them. It is our bounden duty to help the villagers in this, so that they can have a better and fuller life.

(From his address at Borkhadi Village Conference on 13-1-59.)

Questions to Answer

C. Rajagopalachari

Every year we arrive at certain dates in the Julian Calendar when we all indulge, including those responsible for the governance of India, in empty oratory and ritual adulations of Gandhi, who who gave us freedom with hopes of his own.

He hoped that we would use our political freedom to build up a self-government that will take us nearer to his ideals of individual and national life.

He had in his mind a freedom wherein the individuals would govern themselves more and more, and the State would govern less. The Welfare State he had in his mind was one where the freedom of the individual was not reduced. It was not in his mind that the Leviathan should control all private life and private enterprise. He believed in restricting the controlling activities of the State and in an increasing measure of realization of the individual's duty to hold all that he holds as a trustee for all those around him.

He did not want the State to intervene in all things and tax the people to such an extent as to kill incentive and purpose. He believed in the better and fuller development of the sense of moral values. He believed in the governance of the country through *dharma*, leaving the citizen to incur moral opprobrium when he failed to play the game rather than in the methods of the veiled violence of State-compulsion which defeats its own purpose.

Instead therefore of empty adulation and ritual homage we should at each birth or death anniversary of the Mahatma suffer the pain of self-examination to see how far we have fulfilled or failed to carry out his expectations. These are points of particular importance for those who have undertaken the government of the country apart from the numerous corollaries of his well-known approach to human problems. Have we reduced administrative expenditure? Have we decentralised government and State-responsibility? Are we at least going in that direction or are we going the opposite way?

Are we making the citizen more and more self-reliant or are we doing the opposite, making him more and more hungry for

grants and subsidies, making him more and more eagerly loyal in order to get favours?

Are we reducing our military expenditure or are we falsifying our creed of non-violence by example while increasing our lip-service to that creed and its implications?

Are we less and less dependant on external help or are we getting more and more entangled in the coils of foreign assistance?

Are we making the people more and more industrious and creating incentives and facilities for it or are we losing ourselves in the idea of factory industries concentrated away from the villages? Are we really helping and increasing village industries or are we increasing bondage of man to the big machine?

Have we, as it appears, reached the maximum of open taxation and compelled to resort to taxing all routine consumption so as to conceal the demand and increase the burden on the poorer section?

These and other questions we must ask ourselves and honestly answer them. Ritual homage is no substitute for faith and truth.

Courtesy—"Swarajya". Madras.



Vinobaji addressing the Ajmer Sarvodaya Sammelan on 22-2-59.

Martin Luther King's Talk with Vinoba

Suresh Ram.

Early this month, the celebrated Negro Leader, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, accompanied by his charming wife, saw Vinoba at Kishangarh in Ajmer. They covered several topics and had a warm, cordial talk. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan was also present. In this article, the author, an eye-witness, records the main substance of this interesting interview.

IT was a meeting of two dedicated kindred spirits and heroes of action, both deriving inspiration from the same Master, Mahatma Gandhi. One of them, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, was young in age but old in spirit and his determined face assured the success of the cause he had taken up in hand. The other, Acharya Vinoba was old in age but young in spirit and his serene eyes pointed to the suffering and sacrifice ahead before coercion and exploitation could become things of the past. There was the graceful Mrs. King with her radiating smile and Dr. J. L. Reddich, Secretary to the great Negro Leader.

Satyagraha in nuclear age

"Would you kindly throw some light on the possibilities of Satyagraha", asked the youthful crusader, "in this nuclear age?"

"Nuclear age", observed Vinoba, "is an age in which we cannot afford to have conflict of mental attitudes. Otherwise nuclear weapons are sure to solve out the whole problem of humanity by doing a clean shave! So the necessity of this age is to rise, if I may use the word our philosophers have used, not only over the body but also over the mind and think on a supra-mental in place of a mental plane. The mental creates conflicts of various types; the supra-mental will save us from these. I think this supramental is also coming with this nuclear age."

Let Truth Work its way

"Satyagraha is", continued Vinoba, "to let truth take care of itself. Let us not come between truth and ourselves. We often

"Don't you agree with Jefferson," remarked Dr. King, "who said that that Government governs best which governs least."

"I agree," laughed Vinoba, "But I must mathematically add that that Government is best which does not govern at all." And we all rocked with laughter.

Dr. Reddich pursued: "We see some parallels in your views with those of Western thinkers like Locke, Rousseau, etc. Did any of them inspire you?"

"Not much. Tolstoy impressed me more than any other Western thinker or writer. I read Kant, Schopenhauer etc. But I did not find them deep."

"Has any action of some political figure of the West inspired you?"

"Politics has not such attraction in my life", observed Vinoba. "I think we have too much of politics. The less of it the better. The so-called politicians have spoiled the whole atmosphere of the world, perhaps more than the nuclear weapons have done."

In the end, referring to the morning walk he enjoyed with Vinoba, Dr. Martin Luther King said, "We appreciated very much the time you gave us. Also we were greatly inspired by the morning walk and the talks you gave."

"Yes, walks are more inspiring than talk!",

With affectionate greetings and regards, Dr. King and party took Vinoba's leave.

Before I conclude I must record the most inspiring and elevating feature of this interview. It consisted of those great songs which Mrs. King sang for us in her sublime tone. One of them was 'Lead, Kindly Light,' and the other was a Negro spiritual. The wonderful recitation of the latter transported us for a while and we felt a spiritual affinity transcending all forms and barriers. Also some voice seemed to whisper in my ear, "there is nothing like East or West, white, or coloured. We are all one family and the same spiritual light illumines us all!"

Ajmer Sarvodaya Sammelan's Appeal

This is the appeal to the people issued in the name of the Eleventh Sarvodaya Sammelan that met on 27-28 Feb. and 1st March 1959 at Ajmer.

Sarvodaya Samaj and annual Conferences

AFTER the demise of Mahatma Gandhi his co-workers and followers from all over the country met at Sevagram and a Brotherhood styled as the Sarvodaya Samaj was established there. Since then a conference of the Sarvodaya Samaj is held every year at different places in the country.

In these conferences lovers of Sarvodaya from all over the country gather together, take stock of the activities of the previous year, discuss the programme for the future and deliberate upon issues of principle and practice.

The Birth of Bhoodan

The first three years were spent in searching for the road to Sarvodaya in the context of the new situation. *Bhoodan Yajna* emerged in 1951 and constituted a step forward in this direction. The non-violent method had already been applied successfully for the achievement of political freedom. The Bhoodan programme revealed the non-violent method of achieving economic and social independence.

The attention of not only the Sarvodaya lovers but also of other thinkers all over the country was attracted towards the revolutionary aspect of Bhoodan-Yajna as it gradually progressed through successive stages under the guidance of Vinobaji. As a consequence the annual gatherings following the Sevapuri Conference in 1952 became so many milestones on the road to the country's progress towards non-violence.

From Bhoodan to Gramdan

The Bhoodan approach based on compassion gradually developed into the equalitarian ideal of Gramdan. Gramdan opened up an avenue that would lead to both the equalitarian economic progress of the villages of India and the development of the moral stature of the people. The first six years of the movement brought into view the Sarvodaya approach to the land problem. Gradually

a clearer picture of the work of land collection and distribution and of the Gramdan and of the developmental work that had to follow, emerged before us.

The last year was, in a way, a year of introspection and mobilisation of resources by the Sarvodaya workers. Consequent upon this introspection a new inspiration was found and some new items of the programme have been chalked out.

Towards Gram-swaraj

Gramdan opened up the way to Gram-swaraj. This gave us an opportunity of giving concrete shape to the dreams of Gandhiji. *Janashakti* or popular initiative generated out of voluntary renunciation and the climate of equality created due to the abolition of private property laid the foundation of Gram-swaraj. The situation that has prevailed throughout the world including India during the past few years has made it clear that the problem of peace is a challenge to the votaries of non-violence. As long as we are not able to maintain peace in our country through non-violent means neither will we be able to establish Gram-swaraj nor be able to maintain it. The programme of Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade) is an answer to this challenge.

Shanti Sena

The programmes of Shanti Sena and Gram-swaraj are complementary to each other. Though the programme of Shanti Sena is only in its early stages, still it has obtained the support of many leading thinkers of the country. This year, some concrete efforts for the restoration of peace were made in Kerala, Gujarat and some other parts of the country and this has strengthened the self-confidence of the Shanti Sainiks.

Sarvodaya Patra

Every kind of army is dependent upon the consent of the people. The programme of Sarvodaya Patra emerged out of the need for obtaining this popular consent and basis for the Shanti Sena, and this has also provided an opportunity to have a broad-based mass support for the whole movement.

Last year our contacts with Sarvodaya activities in other countries grew closer and we had also opportunities for studying and discussing the application of Gandhiji's theory of Trusteeship in the fields of trade and industry. Another notable step in the direction of Sarvodaya was the decision of prominent constructive workers of the country to re-orient their activities in the direction of Gramdan and Gram-swaraj.

The Three-fold Programme

Now we have before us the three-fold programme of Sarvodaya Patra, Gram-swaraj and Shanti Sena. Sarvodaya Patra stands for the consent of the people for peace and will be the means of infusing the ideology of Sarvodaya among the masses. It seems necessary that two kinds of efforts should be made for Gram-swaraj: (1) an effort to abolish private property in land and bring about its villagization through Gramdan; and (2) a resolve or *Sankalpa* to achieve self-sufficiency in the villages through their own efforts by Gramasankalpa. We will be able to re-orient all our constructive activities towards Gram-swaraj through these two programmes.

It is also very necessary that we should properly evaluate the work that we have done so far, distribute all the land that may be fit for cultivation and render a proper account of the remaining undistributable land. Determined efforts of reconstruction by the people are also a means of progress towards non-violent revolution.

Training for Workers

It is obvious that our workers are the mainstay of all our work. It is necessary that our workers are devoted and efficient and that they identify themselves with the masses. To this end proper provision should be made for their training. This conference requests the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh to take proper steps in this direction.

Appeal to People

Maintenance of peace is the duty of every citizen, but in the present context all the workers engaged in Gandhian constructive work have a special responsibility in this respect. Even after that, something still remains to be done for the maintenance of peace and the organisation of Shanti Sena becomes an unavoidable necessity. Shanti Sainiks will rush to places where breach of peace occurs and will be ready to lay down their lives for the restoration of peace. Under normal circumstances they will be an Army of Service engaged in constant service of the people in their respective areas. This conference humbly appeals to the men and women of India who wish this non-violent revolution to succeed to take up the various items of this programme and thus help in the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj. ★



Shanti Sena Rally at Wagwan near Ajmer on 2-3-59.

Gandhi and Martin Luther King

George Hendrick

Martin Luther King has been recently in India and addressing meetings in some cities. He walked with Vinobaji and had discussion with him on Satyagraha etc. Here is an article giving a complete history of the Bus Satyagraha by Negroes in Alabama and how Mr. King was inspired by the non-violent technique of Gandhiji and his triumph in India. We are indebted to "Gandhi Marg", Delhi, for the article.

The Origin of Bus Satyagraha

A Gandhian social revolution of epic proportions began, appropriately enough, in a quiet way on 1 December 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama. A city bus loaded with thirty-six passengers stopped in front of the Empire Theatre where six white passengers boarded. Since all seats were occupied, the driver asked the Negroes nearest the front to give their seats to the white passengers. Mrs Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress refused; 'I don't really know why I wouldn't move', she has said, 'There was no plot or plan at all. I was just tired from shopping. My feet hurt.' Mrs Parks was taken from the bus, arrested, and later fined \$10.

In a study of the barbaric custom of segregation practised in Southern United States, *Time* has noted: 'Other Negroes had suffered worse indignities, but hers was the one that the South would long remember. The Montgomery City Lines Inc. had long been a special irritant to the Negroes, who made up 70 per cent. of its patronage. At best, they had to pay their fares in front, get off and board again in the rear; sometimes after they had dropped their money in the fare box and were going around to the rear, the bus drivers drove off. At worst, the Negroes were cursed, slapped and kicked by the white drivers. By the time of the Parks case, they had all they could take without some sort of reply.'

Two days after Mrs Parks's arrest, circulars appeared in the Negro section of Montgomery requesting a one-day protest by not riding the buses on the day of Mrs Parks's trial. On 5 December, the day of the trial, at least seventy-five per cent of the Negro bus riders boycotted the transit system. The Reverend Thomas

R. Thrasher has referred to this initial incident as 'an act of passive resistance on a monumental scale, which could not be passed off as simply a product of outside interference, agitation, or intimidation. There was no widespread absenteeism from work that day; the protesters went to their jobs by Negro taxis, wagons, or by foot over long distances.

After Mrs Parks was fined \$ 10 for refusing to conform to the State Segregation laws, a mass meeting was held that night at the Holt Street Baptist Church. A resolution was adopted calling on all citizens to boycott the buses until 'some arrangement had been agreed upon. The proposals for ending the boycott included more courteous treatment of Negro passengers; seating on a first-come first-served basis, with Negroes continuing to sit from the rear of the bus and whites from front to rear; Negro bus drivers to be employed on predominantly Negro runs. The five thousand Negroes present at the meeting were requested to make their automobiles available to assist in getting others to work; an organization, the Montgomery Improvement Association, was formed to help with the work, and Dr. Martin Luther King was named the Director.

Inspired by Gandhiji's Technique

Although born in the South, Dr. King studied in integrated seminaries in the North. While at Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, Dr. King studied not only Christian theology, but also the works of Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Lock and Hegel. He also read Gandhi. 'Even now,' he has said, 'in reading Gandhi's words again, I am given inspiration. The spirit of passive resistance came to me from the Bible and the teachings of Jesus. The techniques of execution came from Gandhi.'

Dr. King's subsequent leadership, considering his philosophic backgrounds, should not have baffled even the most bigoted white Southerner. Assessing the non-violent program which was being instituted, he has said, 'Everyone must realize that in the early days of the protest there were many who questioned the effectiveness and even the manliness of non-violence. But as the protest has continued, there has been a growing commitment on the part of the entire Negro population. Those who were willing to get their guns in the beginning are coming to see the futility of such an approach.'

The influence of Gandhian thought is particularly well illustrated in Dr. King's article entitled 'Our Struggle': 'The segregation of Negroes, with its inevitable discrimination, has thrived on elements of inferiority present in the masses of both white and Negro people. Through forced separation from our African culture, through slavery, poverty, and deprivation, many black men lost self-respect. In their relations with Negroes, white people discovered that they had rejected the very centre of their own ethical professions. They could not face the triumph of their lesser instincts and simultaneously have peace within. And so, to gain it, they rationalized, insisting that the unfortunate Negro, being less than human, deserved and even enjoyed second-class status.

'In time many Negroes lost faith in themselves and came to believe that perhaps they really were what they had been told they were—something less than men. So long as they were prepared to accept this role, racial peace could be maintained. It was an uneasy peace in which the Negro was forced to accept patiently injustice, insult, injury, and exploitation.'

Dr. King continued: 'Although law is an important factor in bringing about social change, there are certain conditions in which the very effort to adhere to new legal decisions creates tension and provokes violence. We had hoped to see demonstrated a method that would enable us to continue our struggle while coping with the violence it aroused. Now we see the answer: face violence if necessary, but refuse to return violence. If we respect those who oppose us, they may achieve a new understanding of the human problem involved.

'If, in pressing for justice and equality in Montgomery, we discover that those who reject equality are prepared to use violence, we must not despair, retreat, or fear. Before they make this crucial decision, they must remember, whatever they do, we will not use violence in return. We hope, we can act in the struggle in such a way that they will see the error of their approach and will come to respect us. Then we can all live together in peace and equality.

'The basic conflict is not really over the buses. Yet we believe that if the method we use in dealing with inequality in the buses can eliminate injustice within ourselves, we shall at the same time be

attacking the basis of injustice—man's hostility to man. This can only be done when we challenge the white community to re-examine its assumptions as we are now prepared to examine ours.

'We do not wish to triumph over the white community. That would only result in transferring those now at the bottom to the top. But, if we can live up to non-violence in thought and deed, there will emerge an inter-racial society based on freedom for all.'

The statements above give dramatic proof of Dr. King's philosophic indebtedness to Gandhi: 'Prior to coming to Montgomery,' he has also said, 'I had read most of the major works on Gandhi and also Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience*. Both of these strains of thought had profound influence on my thinking. I firmly believe that the Gandhian philosophy of non-violent resistance is the only logical and moral approach to the solution of the race problem in the United States.

Some Southern whites have met non-violence with violence. Dr. King's home was bombed. To the angry Negroes who gathered at his house, King said: 'We believe in law and order. We are not advocating violence. We want to love our enemies. I want you to love our enemies. Be good to them. Love them and let them know you love them. I did not start this boycott. I was asked by you to serve as your spokesman. I want it to be known the length and breadth of this land that if I am stopped, this movement will not stop. If I am stopped, our work will not stop, for what we are doing is right. What we are doing is just—and God is with us.' Dr. King and many of his co-workers were indicted for violating a 1951 Alabama anti-boycott law. State officials sought an injunction charging the Montgomery Improvement Association with operating an illegal transit system to transport Negroes to work, but before the State could obtain an injunction, the United States Supreme Court declared bus segregation in Montgomery illegal.

The Supreme Court's Order

The *New York Times* account of the ending of segregation on the Montgomery buses noted that 'as one of the oldest race barriers in this deep South community fell this morning following a formal order from the Supreme Court to abolish segregation in local

buses, nothing happened to indicate that Montgomery's 75,000 whites and 50,000 Negroes looked upon the historic event as anything but a natural development.' The reporter also noticed that although some white passengers made sneering remarks, Dr. King's emphasis on 'love between all men has been adopted by the Negro community not only as a tenet, but also as a tactic in their struggle for racial equality.'

The Triumph of Gandhian Revolution

An indication of the widespread dissemination of the Gandhian method has been the publication of the cartoon booklet *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, obviously directed towards the Negro masses. The first frame shows Dr. King in the pulpit saying: 'Years before our walk to freedom, a country of 300,000,000 people won its independence by the same methods we used.....'

'Mahatma Gandhi started his campaign for freedom in India in 1919. It looked hopeless. The British Empire was the strongest the world had ever known. India's people were poor and powerless. The new campaign meant suffering and even death. When Gandhi called on the people to fast and pray to protest (against) a bad law, the British shot down hundreds of them at Amritsar. It raised horrified protests all over the world. Again and again they put Gandhi in prison, but that did not stop him. He would wait patiently, thinking and praying and as soon as he was out would start again.

'Millions of the poorer people in India were called "untouchables". They could not even use the public highway. Gandhi renamed them "*Harijan*—Children of God", and led them to stand on the forbidden road. It took sixteen months of standing, but then the police gave in and let them pass.

'The British put a tax on salt, and said Indians could not make their own salt. Gandhi *walked* with his followers 100 miles to the sea to break the law by gathering salt. Soon the jails were over-flowing with Indians.....and the British did away with the Salt Act.

'It became harder and harder for the British to keep control. Their jails were filled with India's best-loved leaders, including such men as Nehru, who later become Prime Minister.

Besides, the news that British soldiers were shooting unarmed men and women and putting the leaders in jail, was troubling the British at home.

'Finally the British gave in and granted India *independence*. Gandhi had made a revolution without firing a shot.

'It wasn't easy. It took years of non-violent struggle, many long hours of prayer and suffering. The Indians were shot and beaten, but never licked. They won their freedom—and something else, too. They won the friendship and respect of the British. This is the unusual thing about non-violence—*nobody* is defeated; everybody shares in the victory.

Obviously Chester Bowles's recent informative article in the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled 'What Negroes can learn from Gandhi's mistitled. Negroes have learned from Gandhi. ★



Sri KELAPPAN
President of
Ajmer
Sarvodaya
Sammelan

Sarvodaya in Industries

Ernest Bader

Founder of the Scott Bader Commonwealth Ltd., England

The outline of the Constitution of Bader Commonwealth Ltd., Wollaston in England and Democratic Integration of Industries (Demintry) was given in a supplement with "Sarvodaya" for March '59. This is a separate note by Mr. Bader drawing the attention of the readers to some special features of the Bader "Commonwealth". It is an experiment with combined application of the principles of trusteeship and co-operative democracy.

1. The Scott Bader Commonwealth experiment is of great importance. It looks small but it has immense possibilities. It is one of those things which sometimes turn the tide in human affairs.

2. The 'Commonwealth' must be distinguished from a co-operative society as understood in India or even a trust. Neither of these institutions solves the problems of property and ownership. Co-operative societies in India have in fact been functioning more or less as limited companies. Shares are owned and can be sold (under certain limitations). In a trust also property and possession are not liquidated and consequent problems remain.

3. The Industrial revolution brought about large scale machine production. Science and technology have further accentuated the trends towards gigantism. Ownership of modern machinery confers tremendous powers. Polarisation between the capitalist class owning the means of production and the large mass of wage earners is developing fast. The human society is rent by conflict which evidences itself in the struggle between the two power blocks.

At one end is profit motive, acquisitive spirit, exploitation, concentration and centralisation of wealth and production and at the other the rise of a group combining in its grip political and economic power leading to negation of freedom, self-respect and dignity of the individual and enslavement of the masses.

Commonwealth concept shows the third way. It abolishes property and ownership and profit motive as an instrument of oppression and exploitation. It leads to true democracy in industry.

4. It is in full accord with the concept of 'Sarvodaya' and demonstrates how the 'Bhoodan' (land-gift) movement can be followed in industry.

5. It emphasises decentralisation and the advantages of working in small groups. It can be practised, to start with, by any small and middle sized business with very beneficial results not only in spiritual and moral terms but also on the material plane. Industrial peace will be secured. Productivity is bound to increase.

6. It releases enormous amount of dormant potentiality for work; develops self-reliance, co-operativeness, human dignity and personality. Within a commonwealth framework a group of devoted individuals act as catalyst for contentment and self-government from within lessening dependence on things and Government from without.

7. The Commonwealth idea fits in admirably with Indian thinking. It has Gandhiji's blessings and in fact shows how his trusteeship principles can be practised and embodied in the constitution. It does predicate a change of heart which Gandhiji considered essential and it can then smoothly be woven into modern industrial law and business management.

8. It is generally regretted that Gandhiji's ideas on economic institutions have not achieved a greater hold in India. Probably, India is obliged to deviate from the strict Gandhian path in this regard on account of world forces that compel her to make use of modern technological innovations in order to attain a rapid increase in the standard of living, even ignoring the bad effects that accompany the usual methods of industrialisation. The commonwealth concept, however, aims at the same goal of improving the living conditions and making use of modern technology, but without incurring the evils that are generally associated with capitalism. It is based on mutual goodwill and sharing the sorrows and joys of life irrespective of considerations due to caste, class or colour.

9. The Commonwealth concept takes advantage of the best elements of all social systems. It brings harmony and peace into industry because the managers together with the workers themselves own and operate the business and control the disposal of profits.

10. Establishment of a "Commonwealth" in India would be more powerful than any argument. It will demonstrate to the people what can be achieved in practice by implementing this idea. ★

The Basic Ideas of Sarvodaya Commonwealth

We commend to our readers this brilliantly succinct and comprehensive 'letter from a young Englishman to a group of friends who have in common with the ideal of recreation of modern society' published in the MANAS Weekly, Los Angeles 32, California dated 17th December 1958 under the title 'Shaping of Ideas'. It looks an original thesis on the fundamentals of Sarvodaya philosophy of life addressed to the people of the West. The use of 'Commonweal' for 'Welfare' will be an appropriate word which will enrich the Sarvodaya nomenclature. We are grateful to the Editors of the "Manas" for their general permission for republishing their articles.

The books that have influenced me

SEVERAL of you have put down on paper your ideas about life, and more specifically what should be the basis of a Sarvodaya group, and I have even encouraged others to do this, so it is high time that I tried to do likewise. In any case this should help me to get my own ideas straight. Suffice to say that the main formative influence was coming across, in my early teens, the works of Edward Carpenter, especially *Towards Democracy* and *The Art of Creation*. These did not make me a pacifist, but they sowed the seeds which perhaps made my later pacifism inevitable. Their influence is probably much more pervasive than I am aware. The direct cause of deciding to leave Her Majesty's army was the reading of *The Power of Non-violence* by Richard Gregg. Huxley's *Ends and Means*, which I read soon after, consolidated and clarified my ideas. About eight years ago, while in France, I was given a booklet by Wilfred Wellock, with which I felt very much in harmony. Indeed, I find little with which to disagree in his later *Orchard Lea Papers*, which seem to me to sum up his whole philosophy. Other seminal books were Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* and Huxley's *Perennial Philosophy*. There have been plenty of other influences on my thinking, of course, including, during the last few years, the speeches and writings of Vinoba and Jayaprakash, but I think those mentioned have been the formative ones.

Gandhi's Sarvodaya or "Commonweal"

Sarvodaya for me is the word which sums up this whole approach, and before I go further I had better make another attempt at translating this into reasonable language. My reasons for suggesting "Common Welfare" earlier this year were these; "Sarvodaya," as you know, was coined by Gandhi from *Unto this Last* and is a compound of two Sanskrit words meaning "all-rising." "Common Welfare" I hit on because it is a close translation, it avoids the use of a phrase, and is also a compound and a coined word. I still feel "common" is the right rendering of "*Sarva*," as it not only means "general," "of all," "total," but has undertones of "vulgar," "bottom dog," "lowest of the low." "Welfare" I am not so happy about. Apart from your objections, it has too many connotations with "Welfare State." The other day I hit upon a similar word which may meet these objections—"Commonweal." At any rate it is the best I can do, until we come across something better.

The Basic Beliefs

It was my intention to continue by expressing what is involved in "Commonweal," but I realise that this would be trying to build the walls before there are any foundations. Before discussing the good society, I must try to explain why I am concerned about these social, economic, and political relationships, and why, unlike some fundamentalist Christians, and also, in a higher sense, some great spiritual teachers and mystics, I do not leave this nether world to its fate and concentrate on the well-being of my individual soul. The question, "What is the purpose of man?", precedes "What is the purpose of society?" and the question of life's purpose is basic to everything else. Well, I have no idea what this latter is, and doubt if it can be put into three-dimensional language (Ramana Maharshi found that silence was the only way), but I do believe with all my being that my individual life can only have meaning within the great scheme of life, whatever its purpose. Until now evolution has been mainly physical, but it seems to me that the purpose of *homo sapiens* is to forward this evolution in a spiritual direction. The good society will therefore be the one that assists, or rather does not hinder, this purpose. To quote Gandhi, "The end to be sought is human happiness combined with full mental and moral (spiritual) growth." I have little doubt that the mystics, *gnana yogis*, and other spiritual giants are the real pioneers of the race. I myself was attracted

to this path, to the exclusion of concern for others' growth. (For the blind cannot lead the blind.) However, not being a person of great spiritual depth—and perhaps from mental sloth—I felt that this way was not for me, that my particular dharma lay in working with others for the betterment of society and the elimination of those evils—poverty, hunger, lack of self-respect, narrowness and selfishness, reliance on authority and the State—which are making the very mention of religion and spiritual growth a mockery for the great majority of our kind. Indeed, I suspect that only in this field (of non-violent social revolution) lies my own spiritual growth. A few years ago I tried to formulate these basic beliefs, and I feel extremely diffident about putting down this "affirmation." Until now I have communicated it to only three people who were very close to me, but as it expresses the whole basis of my thought and feelings, I don't see how I can omit it.

Life is one coherent whole; and I am one with it; I am one with the sun and the stars, the sea and the soil, the trees and animals; I am one with all mankind. To the all-sustaining spirit of this whole I open my heart, and surrender myself completely.

I am one with the whole; knowing this I am fearless; nothing can harm the spirit within that is my real self; I remain courageous, calm, and cheerful in all circumstances.

I am one with the whole; knowing this I follow truth, regardless of the consequences. I am sincere in all my dealings. Above all I am sincere with myself.

I am one with the whole; knowing this I cannot bear ill-will to anyone nor recognise any barrier between myself and others; people everywhere, you are my brothers and sisters, and I love you all.

I am one with the whole; knowing this I am as nothing—a speck of life fulfilling some tiny aspect of the divine plan; yet in this role I am happy and content, for life is a whole and I am one with it.

(N. B. Of course I am far from being fearless, truthful, and non-violent. "Knowing this" I am so but invariably I forget.)

The authority of the individual conscience

You may think all this unnecessarily metaphysical. My apologies, but that is the way I tick. Having made an attempt, albeit sketchy, at the basis, I now feel I can have a go at the superstructure, of which Commonweal forms an integral part.

"Commonweal" involves an approach of life, Gandhian if you will, but is no blueprint for creating better men; nor is it an end in itself, but a means of providing the most favourable environment for the spiritual growth of the individual. Very many details will vary according to the particular country and environment, and the particular idiosyncrasies of the individual. (No doubt some of mine have crept into this.) It does seem to me however that there are certain essential aspects about which the members of any group based on "Commonweal" should agree. These seem to divide naturally into two sorts, those which the individual tries to implement in his own life by self-discipline, and those which should be accepted as necessary characteristics of a Commonweal society. For these personal principles, it seems to me that no leader, not even a Gandhi, can be the authority, but only the individual conscience.

The Means

They are: fearlessness; truth; non-violence; spirit of service; simplicity and the elimination of unnecessary luxuries; identification with the bottom dog, and the preparedness to do his manual work; regarding this body as an instrument of service rather than pleasure; reverence for all religions and all approaches to "God"; elimination of prejudice—social, sexual, class, national, and religious; (and may I add a sense of humour, please?)

Fearlessness I put first deliberately, because only a person with courage can be truthful, and truth next because only a truthful person can be really non-violent. Non-violence when confronted with social or other wrongs may have to express itself as non-violent resistance, with the emphasis always on the first rather than the second word. Further elaboration is perhaps unnecessary here.

Trusteeship

To my mind the characteristics which a Commonweal group would try gradually to implement in present-day society are these: trusteeship; decentralisation of economic and political power; self-

sufficiency in essentials (i. e., food and clothing); communal ownership; "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"; meaningful work; balance of industry and agriculture. *Trusteeship* is a far more revolutionary concept than might seem, far more than anything in Communism. It undermines the whole idea of individual ownership, and involves an attitude of being the steward, for society and for life itself, not only of one's material possessions, but of the body, the mind and the talents, thereof. Trusteeship obviously tends toward communal ownership as in a family. (I had better add though, that this does not imply that a Commonweal group should immediately take the plunge into communal ownership. I think this would be a mistake in the early stages.)

Decentralisation & Self-Sufficiency

Decentralization and self-sufficiency: "The economic constitution should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words, everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realised only if the means of production of the elementary necessities of life remain in control of the masses." Note that this self-sufficiency is in *essentials* (food, clothing and shelter). There are certain industries which cannot be decentralised to any extent, including those of steel, cement, ship-building, machine tools and railways. This also applies to services such as the post office. Mary and I have had some discussion on the virtues of national self-sufficiency versus national inter-dependence in essentials in promoting a peaceful world. There is no doubt in my own mind that at the present stage in man's spiritual growth the latter makes for friction and war. And even if man were a much more evolved animal than he is, there would still be a danger of natural catastrophe throwing a spanner into the complex economic works. Self-sufficiency in essentials for this country obviously means a complete economic revolution, from dependence on industry and world markets to a balance of agriculture and industry (which is not possible with our present population). Again, I have come across no better analysis than that of Wilfred Wellock. As I understand it, there can only be true democracy if political power is decentralised in such a way that the individual can feel a sense of responsibility, that his opinion matters to the community in which he lives. For

me therefore *representative* democracy is no democracy. Decentralization of power lends ideally to *an-archy*, and "the withering away of the state" of dialectical materialism. In this sense I am an anarchist. But man is not yet ready for this happy development, and in the foreseeable future there will be need for some sort of centralized state with a minimum of power (which must surely be on a world basis), for the purpose of *co-ordination*.

Work and Personality

Meaningful work: Commonweal, as I understand it, is fundamentally opposed to the modern Socialist ideal of minimum hours of work and maximum wages and leisure, regardless of how disintegrating of the personality the work may be. One's work will always have an important influence on one's personality, and it should have such interest that the distinction between work and leisure becomes blurred. Both Kropotkin and Wellock have gone into this question with great insight.

The above, then, are to my mind essential aspects of Sarvodaya, or Commonweal. In brief: truth, non-violence, trusteeship, decentralisation—for I believe the other items are implicit in these four.

Organic farming, I consider to be another vital aspect of the good society, but I do not include it separately, as I consider it an extension of the trusteeship attitude to the soil.

Other minor aspects to the West

There are other aspects of great importance, and perhaps vital in particular circumstances, but which meseems are not of universal application. I am thinking of such items of Gandhi's programme as *Khadi*, *Swadeshi*, use of Vernaculars, and celibacy of ashram members. The fight against untouchability, of such importance in India, finds its application in this country in the fight against racial prejudice. Vegetarianism is another aspect of great importance, at any rate to me, but which I cannot feel is an *essential* aspect of Commonweal. It is my belief that the members of a Commonweal society would eventually be led to adopt a vegetarian diet as being more in harmony with a non-violent life and with an attitude of trusteeship towards other species, but it is the attitude that is important here, regardless of what one eats.

Well, there you are. I have made an attempt to put down my basic ideas about Sarvodaya. At present I do not feel there is sufficient unity of approach among possible centre members: more discussion is necessary, and this is offered as a contribution to that discussion. There are plenty of other points about the life of a Commonweal group which I have not touched on: education, finance, leadership, place in the local community, worship, economic viability, study programme. But I think you will agree that this letter is quite long enough and that these points will be better left to the future. ★

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Sarvodaya and Anarchism

Giovanni Baldelli

The writer is the Secretary of the Anarchist International Commission in England. Having come to know about Vinoba as one of those contributing most to the spreading of anarchist ideas through Sir Herbert Read he wrote to us for some literature on Bhoodan a year ago. After studying them he contributed an article in the Italian anarchist Magazine "Volunta." On personal request he has kindly sent us the English translation for the readers of "Sarvodaya."

THE movement of Vinoba is certainly a religious one, but not in the sense of being bound to this or that religion, but in the sense that it wants to bind men together for the fulfilment of a common spiritual destiny. For this common spiritual destiny, the Indians use a Sanskrit word "*Dharma*". *Dharma* is the realization of a social harmony, free from constriction, while "*Adharma*" is everything which breaks or hinders this harmony, and especially constriction, because the imposition of one person's will upon that of another does not correspond to the harmonisation of, two sounds, but rather to the suppression of one of them so that the other may dominate. And here I cannot help lamenting that our language does not possess a word which, like the Sanskrit "*Dharma*" or the Chinese "*Tao*" expresses the positive element in anarchy, or a word which, like "*Adharma*" expresses the negative element in archy.

Dharma and Truth

The word "*Dharma*" expresses that order and right way, that "*ought to be*" which every human heart unmistakably recognises when it pauses to think and feel with sympathy, without allowing itself to be confused by the passions or ideas of this or that contingency, that order which the anarchist calls his ideal. We read in fact in the old *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, "*Dharma* is the highest power; above *Dharma* there is nothing." The weakest man may face a stronger one with the help of *Dharma*, as with the help of a King. This *Dharma* is what we call truth. If a man declares truth, we say that *Dharma* is expressing itself through him, and if he declares *Dharma* it is said that truth expresses itself through

him. *Dharma* and truth are therefore the same thing. And as it is truth, so '*Dharma*' is justice and charity, it is the truth of justice and the justice of truth. It is also the charity of both truth and justice, as it is testified by the following words of C. Rajagopalachariar: "It is against '*Dharma*' that some should enjoy things and that others should suffer. It is the voice of ancient '*Dharma*' in us which tells us that it is our duty to help those who suffer and to feed those who hunger."

Although Vinoba's movement is ascetic, and although the tradition which forms its background is also ascetic, it is not, however, a condemnation of life and the good things of this world. What it does condemn is the hedonistic and materialistic spirit of Western civilization, because a will to enjoyment, and a will completely set upon the acquisition of wealth and the multiplication of comforts, not only does not bring peace to the world, but also contributes very little of substance to the development of human sympathy, which is the only safe basis for a fair and progressive social organization. For a Christian "*unihm necessarium*" (only one thing is necessary) to save one's own soul. Indian religions also aim at the salvation of the soul but they intend it in another way.

Man—the Temple of God

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, presenting Bhoodan as an economic and agrarian revolution, in a speech he made on April 19th 1954 insists on this point stating that "*Nirvana*" the final or ultimate spiritual being does not mean at all freedom from one's own body. He went on then to expound the concept of '*pranaramam*' similar to that of '*endalmonia*' of the Greeks, the harmony of all the functions of an organism—the beauty and strength, the light and invulnerability of the body. When "*pranaramam*" is presented as an ideal to be cultivated, one cannot speak of contempt of the flesh. On the contrary, it is because every human body is susceptible of the embodiment of this ideal that human life is a sacred thing. The notion of sacredness is a religious notion. Human life is no longer sacred nor could it be and man becomes logically the object of all kinds of indignities, where religious feelings are ridiculed or proscribed. Certain aphorisms, like Paul's "You are the temple of God" or the Islamic "God is more intimately connected to one than the artery of one's own neck, are very

precious conquests of religious perception and among the best guarantees of ethical progress. The thought that inspired them must never be neglected or ridiculed but must be preceded yet not excluded, by this thought of Aristotle by which Vinoba has obviously and categorically been inspired: "It is necessary to think about living before thinking about living well and living means to provide for bodily needs."

Faith in Man

The greatness and originality of the Bhoodan movement does not however consist so much in its principles as it does in its methods, in its unswerving loyalty to these methods, and in its wonderful faith in their effectiveness. Vinoba believes in the fundamental goodness of man, never completely absent even in the most depraved or the most embittered; and it is to this goodness and will for good, that he appeals exclusively. We may say, without fear of contradiction that he who opposes or condemns this work of Vinoba, he who does nothing for this cause has no faith in mankind. And without faith in man, of what use is it to speak of anarchy? What purpose does it serve to protest against acts of tyranny and social injustices? A follower of Gandhi, Vinoba is against violence; but because he fights against historically different evils from that (foreign domination) against which Gandhi fought, Vinoba's strategy is different. He wishes to arrive at non-violence through the practice of giving and not vice versa; he does not preach non-violence, because out of it springs a will to give, but preaches a will to give because non-violence flows from it naturally. It is the profound conviction of those Indians who see the individual striving for perfection inseparable from the social that violence always and of necessity, produces exploitation. As one of them (Jaiprakash Narayan), says "Also in Russia, differences exist; the best paid earns forty times more than the worst paid; the standard of living of the beauracracy is very high, so that exploitation in Russia is far from being extinct. Since they take possession of power through violence they decide to share the (fruits) of labour, which they ought to distribute to everyone." The same author says "that exploitation consists in denying a man his rights" "A right" R. R. Divakar accurately states can be expressed only in regard to anyone who has the obligation to respect it, to protect it, and to assure that it may be exercised without any hindrance" And again,

"Every exploitation means availing oneself of some degree of violence in order to secure an advantage either for oneself or for one's group."

Sarvodaya, a way of living

'Sarvodaya' is a way of living. 'Sarvodaya' means the complete well-being of all without exception, not excluding anyone, but including everybody. It affirms that even the lowest and most wicked man has a right to the benefits of social life. It proposes to start and then to establish on a solid basis, a society without class and without caste with methods of truth and without violence. Its motto is not only 'live and let live' but "live and help to live". It is opposed in particular to "*Potti Udaya*" which is that western system which not only permits but praises and encourages climbing on the social ladder in a spirit of competition and conflict. Sarvodaya offers itself as a refuge for all the weak and oppressed. It asks the stronger and more fortunate members of society to give tangible proof of their respect and of their love and sympathy for the less strong and fortunate members. But if the stronger and the more fortunate refuse to give this proof, "then" say the members of Sarvodaya, "we shall prepare the poor and we shall ask them not to take part in the work of exploitation of which they are the victims."

A Warning to Western Anarchists

It is for the reader to judge whether the Sarvodaya movement, of which Bhoodan is the first practical realization on a grand scale may or may not be an anarchist movement. That which, in my opinion, distinguishes it from western anarchist movements, is above all, the importance that it gives in practice, as in theory to the purity of heart of its participants. The central point of its faith is that purity of heart is the possible destiny of all, and it asks everyone to seek to attain it. Because purity of heart cannot be obtained by laws and regulations, Sarvodaya has no confidence in any government. And it affirms a stern warning to western anarchists, (the undersigned included) that it is only the pure in heart who are fully capable of interior discipline (Samyamam) and can dedicate their own life to a noble cause. Does not the world today suffer, perhaps more than from all other things because all the noble causes have fallen into the hands of dishonest and unspiritual men? ●

Shanti-Sena Rally

Suresh Ram

A band of youthful persons assembled on the Ajmer-Jaipur road. The clock struck five. And they began their march. It included both men and women, fresh in years as well as old. But all young in spirit, ready for any sacrifice for the cause of peace and equality. They were not all equally distinguished, but penetrated alike by the noble flame of non-violence. At the head of this column walked on Vinobaji who has been ceaselessly on his feet for the last eight years and has resolved to know no rest till *Gram-Swaraj* or socio-economic freedom was realised in every village of the country.

We were 883 in all. We walked in rows of four each. Ladies were ahead and were followed by men grouped province-wise. This whole lot was composed of silent workers, unknown people. But it included some stalwarts too, e.g. Jai Prakash Narayan, K. Kelappan (Kerala), S. Jaganathan (Tamilnad), Prabhakar (Andhra), Ravi Sankar Maharaj (Gujarat), Appa Patawardhan (Maharashtra), Amalprabha Behn (Assam), Charu Chandra Bhandari (Bengal), Baidyanath Prasad Chowdhry (Bihar), Brahmadeo Bajpai (U.P.), Siddharaj Dhadda (Rajasthan) and Thakurdas Bang (Wardha) a very distinguished visitor, Dr. Martin Luther King, not only watched us marching but also walked several steps with us.

After covering nine and a half miles we reached *Gagwana* at 8-45 a.m. We rallied in a circle in the compound of the local High School and Vinoba stood in the centre. We eagerly looked forward to his speech before this rally. But he closed his lips and stood speechless for five minutes. His heart was too full to speak on this occasion. The only words he uttered were: '*Sab ko Pranam*'—My respectful greetings to all! Thereafter we repeated his new slogan thrice 'Jai Jagat (Victory to the world)! Jai Jagati! Jai Jagat !!!' Thus with a silent speech was inaugurated the first Shanti Sena or Peace-Army.

No, I am wrong. Shanti-Sena was inaugurated long ago. The very word, Shanti-Sena, is Mahatma Gandhi's. He commenced it. He was its first commander and first soldier too. And at the

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bidding of the commander, the soldier laid his life on the memorable 30th January 1948. Actually, that was the beginning of the *Shanti-Sena*.

Who is the second soldier? The same who started on 15 April 1951 from Hyderabad city for a visit of Telangana: "As a soldier of *Shanti Sena*, I shall go round Telangana and convey the message of peace to the villages." And three days after, in the Pochampalli village of Nalgonda district, burst up the new stream of Bhoodan. Within six weeks he was offered about twelve thousand acres of land. What an undreamt of conquest of *Shanti Sena*!

In August 1957 when Vinoba was in Kerala, he decided to give a broader shape to the *Shanti-Sena* idea. He formed the first unit there. With Sri K. Kelappan as the chief it consisted of eight members (including a lady). Thereafter Vinoba began to receive names for the *Shanti-sena*. Now the number has reached about a thousand. Out of it, 883 joined the march and rally of 2nd March 1958.

The rally was followed by a camp. Its proceedings began under the presidentship of Sri Vallabhaswami, with half-an-hour spinning. Then Vinoba spoke a few words:

"Now I am on my way to Kashmir," said he, "But you should not expect much from my Kashmir tour. I am going there simply to see things for myself and study the situation. But we can have a good *Shanti-sena* in Kashmir....."

"I hope this small army of men and women will succeed in relieving India's misery. Besides the young, this army included some old men as also women and some sick people too. I trust that it will endeavour to alleviate the woes of India and the world. As some work in the direction of Bhoodan and Gramdan has brought to light the implications of the land problem and cleared the way for future work, this *Shanti-sena* work will open a new field."

Thereafter some workers related their experiences and posed some questions too, throwing light on organisational and practical aspects of *Shanti-sena*. When pressed to speak, Sri Jayaprakash

★ SARVODAYA ★

is a small Monthly Digest running its eighth year and is endeavouring to present within its small compass the Sarvodaya ideology of Mahatma Gandhi—the Welfare of All, based on Ruskin's "Unto This Last", with special reference to its application in action to the socio-economic life through Bhoodan-Gramdan movement of Acharya Vinoba during the last eight years and similar trends of thought and allied movements in other parts of the world with the Sarvodaya values upholding the sanctity of life and freedom of man for full development of human personality.

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Annual Sub. Rs. 4-50
or 12 Sh. or 2 Dollars.

Editor :

SARVODAYA,
TANJORE :: S. INDIA.

SARVODAYA

May | NINETY-FIFTH ISSUE | 1959

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SARVODAYA

Vol. VIII ★ No. 11
MAY 1959

Liberate Education

Acharya Vinoba

The present system of education is of no practical utility. The educated man has no practical knowledge and he is a burden to society. The aim of education now is to get a job for maintenance. It would be well if all the educated were engaged in employment. But it is not so.

During his student days he does not experience the hardships of life. He cannot stand the seasonal changes of weather. He cannot work in the field, nor in an industrial home.

The condition of the educated today is deplorable. Education should be taken over by the people themselves. In England education was not under the Government but it is in the hands of the people. Hence Englishmen are self-reliant and they are intolerant of others differing from them. Some time ago when England attacked Egypt, Englishmen themselves rose up against their Prime Minister.

To free the mind free from regimentation the people should decide about the system of education suitable to them.

What is the necessity of degrees from a Government-controlled university? If you run such institutions free from the control of the Government you can ask the Government to keep away from interfering with education.

The conscience of the ruling party of the Government is bound to react on the mode and system of education, whether the Government is run by the Congress, the Jan Sangh, the Communists or other political parties. The mind of the students is susceptible to the influence of the machinery of Government that may run the educational system. Thus the educational system that may be decided by the Government will restrain the freedom of opinion of the individual.

Individualistic or Co-operative?

Mahatma Gandhi

The following article written in 1942 dealing with co-operative cattle farming advocates also the advantages of co-operative farming in agriculture.

Shri Jamnalal Balaj has bravely taken the burden of the great work of cow-service (in other words, cattle preservation) on his shoulders. The most important question for consideration before the recent Go-Seva Sangh Conference was whether cow farming should be in the hands of individuals or done collectively. I myself had no hesitation in saying that she could never be saved by individual farming. Her salvation, and with her, that of the buffalo, could only be brought about by collective endeavour. It is quite impossible for an individual farmer to look after the welfare of his cattle in his own home in a proper and scientific manner. Amongst other causes, lack of collective effort has been a principal cause of the deterioration of the cow and hence of cattle in general.

The world today is moving towards the ideal of collective or co-operative effort in every department of life. Much in this line has been and is being accomplished. It has come into our country also, but in such a distorted form that our poor have not been able to reap its benefits. *Pari passu* with the increase in our population, land holdings of the average farmer are daily decreasing. Moreover, what the individual possesses is often fragmentary. For such farmers, to keep cattle in their homes is a suicidal policy; and yet this is their condition today. Those who give the first place to economic and pay scant attention to religious, ethical or humanitarian considerations proclaim from the housetops that the farmer is being devoured by his cattle due to the cost of their feed which is out of all proportion to what they yield. They say it is folly not to slaughter wholesale all useless animals.

What then should be done by humanitarians is the question. The answer obviously is to find a way whereby we may not only save the lives of our cattle but also see that they do not become a burden. I am sure that co-operative effort can help us in a large measure.

The following comparison may be helpful :

1. Under the collective system no farmer can keep cattle in his house as he does today. They foul the air, and dirty the surroundings. There is neither intelligence nor humanitarianism in living with animals. Man was not meant to do so. The space taken up by the cattle today would be spared to the farmer and his family, if collective system were adopted.

2. As the number of cattle increases, life becomes impossible for the farmer in his home. Hence he is obliged to sell the calves and kill the male buffaloes or else turn them out to starve and die. This inhumanity would be averted, if the care of cattle were undertaken on a co-operative basis.

3. Collective cattle farming would ensure the supply of veterinary treatment to animals when they are ill. No ordinary farmer can afford this on his own.

4. Similarly one selected bull can be easily kept for the need of several cows under the collective system. This is impossible otherwise except for charity.

5. Common grazing ground or lane for exercising the animals will be easily available under the co-operative system whereas today generally there is nothing of the kind for individual farmers.

6. The expense on fodder will be comparatively far less under the collective system.

7. The sale of milk at good price will be greatly facilitated, and there will be no need or temptation for the farmer to adulterate it as he does as an individual.

8. It is impossible to carry out tests of the fitness of every head of cattle individually, but this could easily be done for the cattle of a whole village and would thus make it easier to improve the breed.

9. The foregoing advantages should be sufficient argument in favour of co-operative cattle farming. The strongest argument in its favour is that the individualistic system has been the means of making our own condition as well as that of our cattle pitiable. We can only save ourselves and them by making this essential change.

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to co-operative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land any how into a hundred portions? And what applies to land applies equally to cattle.

It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert people to adopt this way of life straight away. The straight and narrow road is always hard to traverse. Every step in the programme of cow service is strewn with thorny problems. But only by surmounting difficulties can we hope to make the path easier. My purpose for the time being is to show the great superiority of collective cattle farming over the individual effort. I hold further that the latter is wrong and the former only is right. In reality even the individual can only safeguard his independence through co-operation. In cattle farming the individual effort has led to selfishness and inhumanity, whereas the collective effort can abate both the evils, if it does not remove them altogether.

—Hartjan, February 15, 1942.

VINOBA ON POCHAMPALLI

Prabhakarji, the Nivedake for Andhra, said that Acharya Vinoba had recently visited Gujrat Vidayapith. He signed his name in the Visitors' Book and when it came to writing his address he thought for a while and wrote Pochampalli. When the incident was recalled to him later, Vinoba was moved and wiping off his tears, he said "Pochampalli is the place where I had *Punarjanma*, rebirth.

Flashlight from Vinobaji's Talks

Quality and Quantity

THE Ganges at its source is a small stream. There water is crystal clear and sparkling. But as it moves on it gathers more water. The river becomes mightier and mightier till it reaches the sea. But as the stream grows into a mighty river the purity and cleanliness of the water diminishes.

It is a common experience that as quantity increases in volume the quality falls down. If we insist on quality the quantity does not increase; it even comes down. I often ponder over this phenomenon.

The root of all thinking or its ultimate objective is God. When I contemplate on God I find that He is at once the purest of the pure and the most universal of the universal. There is no contradiction between quality and quantity in Him. Look at the sky and you find that its extensiveness is not lost because of its purity. It is both pure and extensive.

But we the human beings are like the Ganges. We find that contradiction often arises between quantity and quality in our affairs. How is it so? The reason as it appears to me is that when we take an one-sided and narrow view of purity it develops a contradiction with quantity. It can exist then only in exclusiveness. It is because of our one-sided thinking there is contradiction between quantity and quality. If the thinking is universal it is not necessary that the contradiction should exist.

If we take up one programme there is slackening in another. When a third one comes the first two recede to the background. When this happens it means, evidently that there is a flaw in our thinking. We should find and remove it.

Christ gave a new message and tried to spread it in Europe and Asia. His ideas had a great potentiality and his disciples were good. "Love thine enemy", "Share your possessions and good things with others" "There is one God".....all these ideas are of universal application and appeal.

But later on his disciples introduced an idea which narrowed down even this universal message of Christ. They began to say what Christ had not said that 'Christ is the one and only Son of God' and we can attain God only through him. Instead of saying this had they said that "We are only sons of God and Christ is one of the purest amongst us," nobody would have any objection.

I have given this as an example. We should not become narrow in our outlook and thinking. It is only this narrowness that creates contradictions between quality and quantity. If we have a sufficiently broad vision and view things in a universal perspective, there will be no fear of quantity overshadowing quality.★

Mass Consciousness

Consciousness among the masses is essential for the well-being of the nation. As long as the masses do not awaken to the task any government, however well-intentioned it may be, cannot achieve much. In the *Rigveda*, it is said that "God helps those who help themselves. Divine blessing is not showered on those who do not help themselves. An idle person is deprived of even the divine bliss, leave alone the service under the Government. Uplift of the masses cannot be accomplished by Government but only by the efforts of the people themselves. Hence if we entrust the entire responsibility of nation-building to Pandit Nehru it may prove illusory and disappointing. Without our own combined efforts we will not be able to accomplish the task.★

Theories of the Economists

Some economists have been critical of Bhoodan. I do not accept them as economists in the true sense. The theories of Economics as propounded by Adam Smith and developed thence by others are not applicable to this country in letter and spirit. Mathematical calculation is universally applicable but not so the economic theories. They vary in application and depend upon the factors of time and place. The economic theories applicable to India may not be so to America and Russia. Even in India their applicability may vary from time to time.

The English educated economists say that if one with ten acres gives away two acres to the landless it will lead to frag-

[Continued on Page 440]

The Basis of Democracy

J. C. Kumarappa.

This is from the Memorial Lectures delivered at Meerut College under the auspices of the Agra University in 1950. It is interesting to note the statement herein made by the famous Gandhian Economist that land should be free to all even like air, light and water much earlier than the beginning of Vinobaji's Bhoodan Yagna.

Land is a gift of nature which should be available as free as sun, light, air, and water. But in the natural state, land is generally overgrown with wild vegetation, which may not be of use to man excepting as firewood and timber. Hence, when man begins to use nature as an instrument of production, he has to shape it by clearing the forests, stopping erosion and levelling up the soil. All these meant considerable amount of personal effort. Naturally, therefore, the idea of personal possession in the toil that has preceded the utilization of land brought in its wake the conception of private property. Hence land has become more than an instrument of production and at present it has assumed the role of an object of investment. Capitalists buy land and live on the income it produces by letting land out on lease. The tenant often sweats and labours until the harvest, after which he finds little left in his hands after meeting the demands of the landlord.

Thus the development of this free gift of nature has brought along with it manifold problems connected with private property. It may be said that at the moment in our country, there is no sphere of economic activity with greater exploitation of the producer than land, as all other sectors save themselves by passing on the evil to the weakest who is the landless labourer. A democracy should guarantee equality and justice to the weakest.

Equality and justice must reign not merely in the social sector but, in fact, should prevail in the economic field, as that is of the most universal interest. We must have food, clothing and shelter. In these primary needs, as in the claims to pure air and water, all humanity must be on a level. Hence democracy cannot exist where there is starvation, nakedness and poverty alongside of glut and glamorous living, which condition indicates exploitation of the

weak by the strong. If our country aims at being a true democracy it should be made up of self-sufficient units which are capable of looking after their own primary needs.

We may start with villages. These should realize, their salvation lies in their standing together as a unit. Each village should strive to produce all the commodities needed for civilized existence—a balanced diet, adequate clothing and satisfactory shelter. Nothing should be allowed to leave the village even if one individual is in want of these. Any trade should only be in surpluses. Unless we get to this fundamental basis of democracy, we cannot be said to have any democratic Government at the top. ★

[Contd. from Page 438]

mentation and adversely affect production. They say that the Bhoodan movement is fraught with the possibility of causing economic loss though it may generate moral strength.

My reply to them is that this is not for fragmentation of land but for the unification of the hearts of the people. I move ahead with the goodwill and sympathy of the people who offer Gramdan. We got 50 lakhs of acres as voluntary land-gifts and we have now received 4,000 villages as Gramdan. There are 5 lakhs villages in the country and getting them all as Gramdan is the work before us now. ★

Dispute between workers and employers

Disputes between workers and employers are frequent in these days. So long as this labour-capital dispute persists, the need for mediators for peaceful settlement cannot be ignored. If the Shanti-Sena (Peace Bridge) can successfully play the role of restoring mutual confidence among the disputing parties they can approach the proprietors at the next stage for voluntary surrender of their ownership. Therefore I have specially stressed on the formation of Peace Brigades along with the intensification of Gramdan movement.

It is the vote of the people that decides the form of the Government and it raises the armed force on the strength of the people's verdict. Just so formation of the Santi-Sena needs the backing of the non-violent sanction of the people. This is the pre-requisite for the Shanti-sena. ★

Gandhi—the Pilgrim of Humanity

Jawaharlal Nehru

(Speech on 13-4-59 while unveiling the statue at Madras Beach)

The Prime Minister said that he had been opposed to the idea of putting up Gandhiji's statues and busts for two or three reasons. He had a feeling in his own mind that it was impossible to do justice to Mahatmaji in stone or marble. How to bring that vibrant personality and put it in a statue? His second objection was due to the fact that where such statues were put up, they were very bad without any trace of artistic merit in them and, which were something carved probably distantly resembling him and an insult to the memory of the great leader. But our people were fond of statues and idols to worship, for they symbolised an idea and they did not pay much attention to the form that idea took. In spite of his dislike, for these reasons, he had occasionally helped or assisted in unveiling such statues. On further consideration he changed his mind. He changed it subject always to the statue being a work of art and not just a lump of stone or marble. He changed because he had himself been affected and influenced by such statues or pictures that he saw. They made him feel very humble and he wondered how far those of us, of our generation, had kept to the right path since our great leader had departed. If he himself felt that way, then others too might feel that way, and it was well that many others, who had never seen him, and also the coming generation, should be reminded of him and should think about him even though they could not have heard his voice or seen his frail figure.

Therefore, Sri Nehru said, he had come to the conclusion that it was good to have his likeness in stone or marble, something symbolic of his eternally striving after truth and of his eternal journey for the Indian people. If the statue brought out the essence of the man, then it was a good thing for India to be constantly reminded of him and not to fall down by the wayside or forget the great truths for which he stood. "So, I am glad to be here to unveil the statue and I know that it is a good statue although I have not unveiled it yet, because I have seen models of it. The artist-sculptor, Sri Roy Chowdhry, was a

man of genius and he had brought into this work a glimpse of what Gandhiji was—that Eternal Pilgrim striving forward with his staff, ever walking, ever going forward, in his loin-cloth representing the millions of India.

Sri Nehru recalled an article which Mahatmaji had written by way of answering the criticisms of Poet Rabindranath Tagore in 1920, at the beginning of the non-co-operation movement, expressing doubts, which was in friendly and respectful language and that article of Mahatmaji taught them of the things he stood for. In that article he had told the world what he had always in mind and what he was working for. He was working for the freedom of India, betterment of the people of India and, above all, he was working for the millions of India for whom life was an eternal vigil and eternal trance in their poverty. He wanted to lift the people out of the trough, and, therefore, “when I think of him, many pictures come to my mind, many of his writings, sayings of his. The picture that comes most often to my mind is Gandhiji with his staff in hand walking on. I am glad that has been chosen for the statue here, so that we may remember always this great Pilgrim of Humanity and of India.”



VINOBAJI AND NEHRUJI

Voluntary workers for National Reconstruction

Jayaprakash Narayan

THE biggest asset that India has is her 38 crores of people.

In February 1957 Mao Tse-tung had described with pride the 500 millions of his countrymen as ‘our asset’ and the Chinese Communist daily, the *Jen Min Jih Pao* wrote last August: ‘Men are the most active element in the productive forces and where there are many of them, their strength is titanic’ India, too, possesses this titanic strength. But Titan, alas, is asleep and the asset is a heavy liability at present.

From the Plaster of Slavery

A stubborn inertia grips our teeming millions. The Indian people are no different from the Chinese or the German or the Japanese. But over a century of foreign rule has robbed them of all powers of initiative and made them inert and dependent. I have likened this state to the condition of a trophy from which a limb suffers when it is put into plaster by the surgeon. The cutting of the plaster when the injury has healed does not bring life and strength to the limb. It requires months of tender care and rehabilitating exercise. India’s plaster of slavery was cut on August 15, 1947. But that did not mean that the people automatically came to life and sprang into action. It will need long and loving care to develop their latent capacities and draw out their buried strength.

On two points there was complete agreement at the talk that I had last November in Delhi. It was agreed, (a) that there were wide-spread apathy and inertia in the country and (b) that unless these were removed and the energies of the people fully mobilised no significant programme of national reconstruction could succeed.

The question, however, is how to awaken and activate the masses, how to develop their hidden powers. I could get only partial agreement on this question in Delhi and nothing whatever as regards concerted action.

Let me examine the various methods in which this can be done and has been sought to be done.

Before proceeding to do this, let me point out that the methods of mobilising the people that are available to totalitarian regimes, whether Fascist or Communist, cannot be used in a democracy. The psychological climate of hysteria that is created, the overt and covert methods of coercion that are used, the lying and deceit that are shamelessly practised, would be impossible in a democratic regime. Incidentally, let me warn that the temptation to use these well-tested and facile methods in order to drive the masses into action is a standing menace to the future of democracy in all the backward countries.

The task is far more difficult in a democratic system, particularly when special historical circumstances such as a long period of foreign servitude have sapped the native strength of the masses and thwarted their powers of initiative. Let us see how this task can be, or is being tackled in our country.

The Limitation of Government

First, let us take the Government. Many people in this country feel that the only effective instrument of national reconstruction is the Government. The Prime Minister himself, I suspect, belongs to this group. Even granting for the sake of argument that this view is correct, it does not take us a single step forward towards the solution of our problem, which is, how to activate the people. The fact is undisputed that the Government has failed so far to inspire the people to action. I do not wish to be misunderstood. The Government of its own initiative has no doubt done many things,—scientific laboratories, great dams, steel works and other factories, laid the foundations of a promising oil industry and so on. But I am not speaking of the centralised initiative of the Government. I am speaking of the dispersed initiative of the people which when aroused would convert the great liability into a great asset. I am speaking of the awakening of Titan, before whom any Government is a pigmy. It is here that the Government has almost totally failed.

In the circumstances it could not have been otherwise. From the British days a gulf has divided the people from the Government.

That gulf has not appreciably narrowed. The officers of the Government, high or low, have no rapport with the people, generally no idealism to drive them forward, little moral authority (created by sacrifice and honesty) to inspire. It has been repeatedly found that even a good idea when dropped into the official world gets either completely lost or completely changed into something useless.

As for the elected members of the Government, ministers and others, they could conceivably have been able to make some impression on mass inertia, if they had not so far removed themselves from the common people. As things are to-day, even Mr. Nehru's finely worded appeals do not reach the people, or if they do, they pass over their heads.

Role of Political Parties

Next, we may consider the role of the political parties in this connection. They could have played a big role in enthusing and moving the people to constructive action. But the parties are entirely and exclusively concerned with power. They all believe, without exception, that it is only the Government that can do anything for the people, the people themselves can do nothing. Therefore, they busy themselves either with exercise or enjoyment of power or with winning of power. Some of them, no doubt, talk of constructive programmes, but, in the first place nothing much is done in practice, and in the second place, whatever is done, is with an eye to the elections. The result of all this is that the people are made more inert and dependent. Every party goes to the people to tell them, that if they only voted for them, they, that is, the parties, would do the rest for them. The people have nothing to do but to choose right persons and to put the right party in power. The rest will be done for them.

Nothing could be calculated to make the people more helpless than this sort of approach. In this sense the parties do more harm than good. No doubt the voters must be told about the right policies the Government should follow, but that does not help to conquer the general passivity and lethargy. What really needs to be done is to help the people to stand upon their own legs and to do for themselves all that they possibly can with their available resources. Only then, help from the Government could bring about

that massive development which every one looks for to-day but meets with only frustration all around.

Mass Constructive Action

Some of the opposition parties do attempt to mobilise mass action in the form of demonstrations and the like. But such things also teach the same lesson to the people that Government alone can improve their lot and therefore they must act in order to compel it to give them what they want. Some of these demonstrations and mass actions might be very well justified, but the point I am trying to make is that they too fail to solve the central problem we are dealing with here. Mass action is necessary, but of a different kind. *Mass constructive action* is what the country needs. The masses have to be mobilised, not so much for agitation as for collective action to achieve positive ends.

Now, it is easy to stir up the masses for agitational ends, but rather difficult to persuade them to learn anything new, to give up their prejudices, to work co-operatively together. In order to do this, it is necessary to go where the people are, live with them and patiently teach and tell them to do what needs to be done. It is obvious that whoever thus goes to the people must first receive himself the necessary knowledge and training. But mere training and knowledge would not do. The right spirit must be there—the spirit of service and sacrifice. Those who go with a mercenary spirit, as that of doing a job for money, will not succeed, nor those who go with a political or partisan motive. This means that they must be voluntary workers, with the zeal and fire of a mission:

Need for Voluntary Workers

India is a vast country and the task of national reconstruction cannot be delayed. For this what is needed is a vast army of voluntary workers of the type described above. Gandhiji wanted such a worker for every village—six hundred thousand *lok sevaks*. Out of a population of nearly 40 crores, it is not impossible to get six lakhs of patriotic voluntary workers to perform such a vital national service. The universal obsession with politics and power, however, thwart this channel of patriotic expression. My idea in

appealing to the top leaders of the country to come out of Government was precisely that such action would strike a blow at this obsession and create the necessary psychological revolution for a nation-wide movement of voluntary service to be launched. That, however, was not to be. But should that mean that nothing further can or should be done? Are there not enough patriotic men and women in the country to recognise the need of the hour and come forward to offer their services to the country? I refuse to believe that it is not so. To such patriots are these words particularly addressed.

Let me remove one misunderstanding that my last statement had produced. It was thought in many quarters that I wanted to weaken the Government and did not appreciate its role and importance at this moment of our history. Some went so far as to think that I denied entirely the utility of Government for the purposes of national reconstruction. Nothing could be farther from my mind. It is true that I consider that democracy to be ideal in which there is the least government. But my proposal was made not in order to reduce the functions and areas of government, because it could not be done in that negative manner, but indeed in order to help and strengthen the government. As I have said repeatedly, and as it is accepted on all sides, no government can build or has built a nation solely by its own efforts. The people, whether driven by force or self-volition, must join in a massive way before anything substantial can be achieved. Thus my appeal was aimed at making our national effort a reality.

Programme for Millions

I may be asked what will the hundreds of thousands of volunteers do. Have I a programme of action? Let us look at this question a little carefully. If millions of backward people have to be moved, the programme must be very simple and tools and skills equally so. A small number of persons might be trained to work in a steel mill or operate a machine, but not millions of people, at least not for many, many years to come. Also a programme for the millions cannot be such that it requires much capital investment per individual, because capital is scarce in our country. Therefore, in the context of a mass constructive programme we cannot think in

terms of any ambitious plans—not because of any ideological predilection but compelled by the given factors of the objective situation. The Chinese mass constructive programme is a very fine illustration. Neither Mao nor Chou is a Gandhian; yet the slogan in China is: 'Every hand to work; all local materials and even the most primitive tools and skills be put to use.'

In this light the Gandhian constructive programme, as developed and enlarged by Vinobaji, assumes particular importance. It is in the villages of India that eighty per cent of her people live and it is there that local initiative has almost completely been killed. The fact that the more enterprising elements in the villages tend constantly to gravitate to the urban areas, aggravates still further the disease. In the urban areas too, the rate of development is no doubt tardy and the levels of voluntary activity low. But the problem there is not so urgent as in the villages. In fact, if the problem of the villages were solved, that automatically would solve a major part of the urban problem. Therefore, it is first and foremost to the villages that the voluntary workers must go. Plans for village development are not difficult to prepare. There are many experiments being made and each has something to contribute. The problem is about the village workers, the activist. Unless he is driven by idealism and a sense of mission the plans are not likely to yield the expected results. Even voluntary workers, if they do not possess these qualities, are likely to be ineffective. But the voluntary worker is more likely to have the requisite spirit and attitude than the paid employee of the state or of any other organisation.

I have tried above to point out and emphasise the central problem of our national reconstruction as I see it, and have also attempted to advance a solution. I plead for a dispassionate consideration of the views expressed and for appropriate action. It is possible that the would-be volunteers might wish to get in touch with me. They may write to me at Kadam Kuan, Patna. ★

WANTED A MEDICAL GRADUATE

A medical graduate preferably below 30 years of age with experience in ophthalmology to serve on decent remuneration in a South Indian Eye Hospital run on Sarvodaya lines.

Contact:

VALLABHSWAMI, Sarva Seva Sangh, Gandhinagar, Bangalore-9

Gandhiji's Doctrine of Trusteeship

C. Rajagopalachari

"I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship in spite of the ridicule that has been poured upon it."—Mahatma Gandhi

AS the citizen's duty of non-violent disobedience enunciated by Thoreau was the basis of the Gandhian struggle against foreign rule, the basis of the Gandhian answer to the modern challenge in the Welfare State is the duty of compassion.

The fulfilment of the citizen's duty of disobedience led to freedom from foreign rule and the realisation of India's self. The fulfilment of the duty of compassion enunciated in the Upanishads and the Gita and reformulated by Gandhiji will lead to the liberty of the individual and freedom from totalitarian governance. A nation enjoying the blessings of minimum government and citizens fulfilling the law of compassion—this was Gandhiji's answer to the challenge of Marxism.

The duty of compassion is based on religion and flows from an inescapable God-given urge leading to a true oneness of all life. The identity of oneself with those around should be realised without any external compulsion, and without losing one's own identity in the process.

*"Yasthu sarvani bhuthani
atman evanupasyathi
sarva bhutheshu chaathmanam
tatho na vijugupasthe."*

As a result of the long continued impact of the baser elements of western civilization, the glamour of the new and expanding knowledge of the physical world which came as a well-intentioned gift from the West and the onslaught of proselytising propaganda, India has almost lost her religion. When faith is corrupted by doubts and undermined in the heart, the preservation of ritual does not make up for the loss. There is little of true religion left in the strata permeated by Western influence. But so far as the nation is concerned, it is not wholly lost. If the educated classes, the leaders

of society, recover their souls there is time yet to recover lost ground; and recovered life may even be stronger than the damaged previous possession. India can recover her faith in the values of spirit that her Rishis laid down for the people. It depends on whether the need is recognised by her leaders and the urgency of it realised. If this is done and the discipline of compassion becomes the way of life, we shall be enabled to present an answer to the challenge of the times so far as India is concerned and also set an example to the world.

The Religion of Compassionate Sharing

Marxism, the communists claim, is the only answer to the challenge of the times. We are not prepared to accept that claim. Not only do we consider the violence that historically preceded that way of life, wherever it has been imposed, as a great evil, but we do not want the individual to become a lifeless screw in a vast machine called the State, and that too under continuing State-compulsion. The individual is the only reality. The state is a non-living entity. The leviathan has no soul. If the individual is wiped out we reduce the nation to a soul-less existence.

It is claimed by Socialists that theirs is the alternative answer to the challenge of the times. Reject Marxism, but accept Socialism they say. But what is Socialism but pure and simple State-compulsion? In the result the individual dies in the one as in the other. Indeed it is an illusion that the two are different and that the one is an alternative to the other. That it is possible to establish Socialism without the violence that accompanied communism but through democratic process does not make it different. Whether the individual is violently made to die, or accepts death without resistance, the resulting death is the same. The individual ceases to exist whether it is murder or suicide.

If we wish to retain the individual and attain the general welfare with his fullest co-operation, the only way is what religion has from time immemorial taught—the duty and discipline of compassion. The sharing of one's goods with those around one and of their joys and sorrows, can be done without handing over your soul to a lifeless machine, and as an activity that yields joy to the giver as well as the receiver. It is not necessary for a mother to die for a child to be born. The mother lives for the child, she

has given birth to without herself losing her life. So also can the individual live and 'die' each moment for the community without losing his life, if the natural law of love and compassion were allowed to work. Compassion is a God-given endowment which makes each life feel the pain of another and find pleasure in relieving it as if it were its own pain relieved. If this urge that is in every heart is not killed but made into a way of life, it is the answer to the challenge of the times. The communists always called their way of life Socialism. The Congress's Socialist pattern and the Government's plans to achieve that pattern may not be introduced with bloodshed but carried out through parliamentary sanction. But the end is the same—a soul-less leviathan taking possession of all personal life and strangling it to death except for whatever life is needed to work as a serf. Along with this, compassion itself is killed.

The Socialism envisaged by the Government of India, if it is worked with energy and meets with no casualty by reason of corruption, mismanagement and bureaucratic wastefulness or for want of foreign aid, will lead to exactly the same nation-wide state of compulsion and serfdom as we condemn communism for. There is no Socialist country in the world which has achieved its aim without wiping out the individual and atrophying the human mind, without converting the entire community into a body of slaves, without creating a privileged class to run the machine. India's experiment even if successful will only end in that result.

The true alternative to the Marxian answer to the call of the times is not an illusory copy of it, or a preparation for surrendering to it, but something quite different in character and in its fundamental basis. The doctrine of trusteeship adumbrated by Gandhiji, namely, that rich people should hold their superfluous wealth as trustees for the poor and that this way of life should be inculcated by example as well as precept without compulsion or cruelty is the only true alternative to Marxism. It is entirely different in character from the Marxian solution. It is based on religion, the antithesis of which is the Marxian foundation.

Gandhiji's alternative to Marxism & Socialism

Gandhiji had no time to expand and illustrate the way of life which he adumbrated. But he definitely put it forward as his alternative both to Marxism and Socialism.

"Indeed at the root of this doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for superfluous wealth possessed by them. How is this to be brought about? Non-violently? Or should the wealthy be dispossessed of their possessions? To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. Therefore the non-violent way is evidently superior. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, 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.

"Those who own money now are asked to behave like the trustees holding their riches on behalf of the poor. You may say that trusteeship is a legal fiction. But, if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present. Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definition of a point, and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth than by any other method.

"Complete renunciation of one's possessions is a thing which very few even among ordinary folk are capable of. All that can legitimately be expected of the wealthy class is that they should hold their riches and talents in trust and use them for the service of society. To insist on more would be to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs."

It is not on mere authority that this solution is presented now. It is presented on its own merits for acceptance as a way of life which would be in accordance with the ancient *dharma* of our land and save the nation from chaos and oppression and loss of soul. It is a way of life, besides, that will give true happiness such as is not available otherwise.

It may seem that what is suggested is to hand over the whole problem to the sweet will and pleasure of the rich. It is not the case at all. When *dharma* is made to prevail over the land,

misconduct invites the great and powerful sanction of social obloquy and personal unhappiness. It is the only non-violent way of reaching our goal. Any other would end in soul-killing compulsion. Any form of compulsion to produce the behaviour we seek to establish is not a way of life, but just prison discipline. A way of life must be voluntary and this means we should bring about a change of heart among people in general which is the function of a revival of religion in its true and substantial sense.

A way of Life or prison discipline ?

The question is whether we want a way of life or only prison discipline. We have seen prisons and know what they are like. No argument should be necessary to prefer that which alone can produce a way of life viz., a revival of *dharma* and a re-installation of higher values, and in particular the revivification of love and compassion inherent in human nature which has only been suppressed and overwhelmed, not destroyed by the incrustation of so much that is contrary to it. The pain that one automatically feels at the sight of another's pain is an inescapable gift of God to the human soul, though the gift is in the nature of a pain and a burden. It is a natural urge that makes a person one with those around him. Out of this fundamental pain or urge issues the doctrine of holding the goods one holds as in trust for others also and not only for oneself. Such a trust is a joy and a privilege to the individual.

Compassion based on *dharma* is a noble urge different from the vulgarity of condescension. It is a way of life that forges a union. Co-operation is good, but it is only joint adventure. Compassion welds people into a single and indivisible entity. Unity with those around one, with individuated life for oneself, is the secret of healthy citizenship. The individual should live fully, eagerly and purposefully and not become just a bolt or a screw or a lifeless brick, lost in a machine or a masonry construction. If this is to be achieved, neither Socialism nor Marxism is the way but only the *dharma* re-emphasized by Gandhiji.

To revive and strengthen religion and the consciousness of pious obligation would achieve general welfare and happiness preserving the spirit of industry as well as of brotherhood, without

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damaging the value of individual human personality or the graces of life. This is better than trying to achieve our object through the deadening influence of organisational compulsion even were it granted that it could achieve the goal.

What is recommended may seem to be a long road but *shorter roads do not lead to the goal* though they may give sadist satisfaction. The long road leads to the goal and as we go along it we find and give joy and betterment all along at every stage and what we do binds the people together as no compulsion can do, be it brute force or the coercion of statutes.

No doubt, the fanaticism brought about by bloodshed and cruelty can produce a new way of life without waiting long. But if we do not like this, there is no choice. If we do not want subterfuge, wide-spread discontent and corruption, and failure, we must go through the long road. Spurious imitations and eye-washes can be achieved easily but big things cannot be reached non-violently except through the long road. We must patiently work and attain the wide-spread spiritual conviction which is the essential basis and condition for making an ancient people accept a way of life not based on compulsion. We must put forth the stamina and personal conviction and the patience required for leading a religious and spiritual revolution. Fortunately the way of life we want is not wholly dissociated from the highest tradition of the land and the revolution we desire is only a re-assertion of the principles of religion this nation has always unquestioningly accepted.

(Courtesy—Swarajya,)

DUAL REVOLUTION

By Jayaprakash Narayan

A tape-recorded speech at Coleford in England received from Mr. David Hogget

Price 25 nP.-

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India

The Hope of a New Man & New Civilization.

Wilfred Wellock.

I HAD hoped to pass my eightieth milestone in silence, for I dread the very thought of being regarded as an old man. But as I have been found out, then at least I may claim the right to speak as an octogenarian, "above the battle," as it were, with a critical eye on an age that is vainly seeking a new El Dorado in a howling wilderness.

I find it painful to reflect that in general pacifists have failed to keep pace with the times; have failed to perceive the true nature of the changes that have taken place during the last 45 years, and their deep significance for pacifism.

Why do so many pacifists hold on to the skeletons of spent ideas? As most *Peace News* readers know, I have been discarding mine during the last 15 or 20 years to the dismay, I must confess, of many of my friends.

I was one of the first in the pacifist movement to draw attention to the emergence of the industrial mass-man, and to point out the social, moral, economic and political implications of his existence and his probable multiplication.

Aldous Huxley, another pacifist, gave us a vivid and alarming picture of the '*Brave New World*' of scientifically organised mass-men. Orwell's "*1984*" carried this de-humanising process to its logical conclusion in the realm of politics.

1984 is not very far away, but the age it depicts is stealing upon us more rapidly than most people realise. Yet what many pacifists have failed to grasp is that the conditions that are hastening "*1984*" have shattered the foundations of their pristine faith.

Decline in Values.

In 1914 I believed devoutly that wars would cease when men refused to fight. Not many years later I perceived that the mass-man was on the ascendant, and that his multiplication would probably prevent my dream from coming true.

The mechanisms which gave us *mass production of commodities* gave us also *the mass-man*, and the *weapons of his ultimate destruction* unless ... Those three things hang together like Siamese triplets.

In 1914 it was still possible to speak of progress in terms of a continual all-round development of our civilisation and of its citizens. It did not happen, and it is not happening now. Phenomenal economic or material advancement has been accompanied by a serious decline in human, social and cultural values, culture having become the servant of prosperity, trade, commerce and armaments.

In 1914 there was still such a thing as piety, also numerous widely accepted and esteemed moral standards and restraints. Definite bounds were set to human behaviour in many fields, to self-indulgence, while the cultivation of happy human relationships was instinctive. These conditions were a source of personal strength, freedom, and satisfaction and of social stability and solidarity.

Collapse of Freedoms.

It is also true that in 1914 an accumulation of stuffy Victorian morals and conventions had still to be thrown over-board, but the loosening-up process was carried too far, causing much valuable treasure to be thrown out with the garbage.

In the four years of war which followed the loosening-up process ran amok. Democracy on the March, in battle array, was a new and bewildering experience. In July 1914 conscription in these islands was inconceivable, impossible. Within two years it had become an established fact. Its legacy of evil will never be tabulated. Citadel after citadel of freedom collapsed during four years of total war.

The material destruction of the war is known; its spiritual destruction we shall never know. Lost spiritual values are never wholly recovered from war's debris. In the war to end war and save democracy Russia passed from Czardom to Commissardom,

while in the peace which followed German democracy was superseded by Nazism—a product of the Peace Treaty which contained the seeds of the second World War.

Working-class Awakening.

The war was responsible for other changes also. Its fabulous demands for powerful and complex mechanical weapons called for unprecedented advances in production technology, which, later applied to peace production, led directly into the era of automation.

When, after a few years, production levels began to rise more steeply, demands for higher living standards became increasingly clamant and frequent.

At the same time the tendency towards industrial and financial centralisation became increasingly manifest, and, as if to keep in step, the centralisation of Trade Union organisation went strongly ahead. Hence all was set for a display of power politics in the field of sharing the national income.

The precise nature of that conflict was yet to be determined. The economic man was on the way, but not yet fully fledged. His evolution is of historical importance.

It was in the eighteen-nineties that the great awakening of the British working classes took place. Its chief cause was the rapid spread of socialist propaganda, which had two streams, one almost exclusively economic, the other blending economic factors with spiritual values.

It was the latter which captured the imagination of the thinking sections of the working class in the North especially the young men who were active workers in Non-conformist churches.

This propaganda was expounded by a very fine group of speakers who were the backbone of the Independent Labour Party, people like Reir Hardie, Philip Snowden, the Andersons; William Morris and Edward Carpenter were the poetic exponents of this twosided Socialism. The aims were a juster distribution of the

national wealth, and a fuller life for the worker, to include a share of responsibility in the running of industry and in giving shape to the nation's intellectual and artistic life.

Controversy in churches.

The repercussions of this propaganda swept through Lancashire like a whirlwind. The controversy over the relationship between Capitalism, Socialism and Christianity penetrated into most Non-conformist churches. It entered ours, and as a teenager I was in the thick of it. The capitalists and their supporters condemned Socialism for its materialism, expressed in demands for higher wages and a shorter working day. The Socialists replied with a wealth of figures which proclaimed that the colossal profits of capitalism bespoke a shameless materialism which transgressed every Christian principle.

Unfortunately most church ministers sided with the vested interests, whence in due course the live young men who had become Socialists or were inclined towards Socialism, either withdrew from or were cold-shouldered out of the churches. The upshot was that in the 20 years between 1900 and 1920, which included a Social upheaval and World War I, there occurred a tremendous exodus from the Non-conformist churches throughout the industrial North, from which they never recovered.

The combined effect of these momentous events upon our British way of life has been far greater than the present generation realises, and indeed has never received the attention it deserves. One effect was the almost complete fading out of a demand for spiritual values in Labour and Trade Union propaganda during the nineteen-twenties. In fact, we had entered a new world, a very strange world, and without realising its true nature and its implications. The spiritual values of the "nineties" were superseded by the "bread and butter" politics of the 1920s and thirties. Labour had taken over the money values of capitalism.

The result is that the major political concern of our time is the distribution of the national income, and thus which social section can secure the biggest share. Every year must yield its quota of new spending. Formerly there had been a growing demand for

equality of incomes. It has latterly been replaced by a universal demand for differentials. Every industry and profession struggles to maintain or raise its status in the scale of differentials, as indeed do numerous sections within each one. Thus every vocation and every job has a cash value. Even a minor increase in qualifications must be registered in the pay packet.

To such depths of degradation have politics and culture sunk that vocation, that sacred function of the aspiring soul, of upward looking youth, has quietly bowed and departed.

Mass-man mentality

The great majority of people are thus being driven by the very nature of things to work for money, and for money only, and thus to be materialists. There is no escape, for money is the only incentive to labour now recognised. Money means high living standards, or maximum consumption of goods and services. The economic mass-man expects to satisfy all his needs by means of cash; and the mass-man mentality exists at every social level.

The economic mass-man is the supreme problem of our age and the biggest obstacle to world disarmament and peace.

His era is here, although his perfection is not quite attained. The latest instruments to chisel him into perfection are advertising and hire purchase. The advertisers and the financiers are the supreme mind conditioners of today. Their professed aim is to stimulate the 'hire purchase' habit by encouraging the spending mania and the devouring propensities of an ever-widening public. They now know how to catch Mrs. Jones, and once she appears in the HP bandwagon success is assured.

Thus HP debt steadily rises, and at times becomes a source of worry. What is to be done? A bigger income becomes essential. What about a better-paid job, or a supplementary job?

Thus millions of minds are being dragged down to the mundane level, when they become impervious to all the vital issues in public, national and international life, dead to every creative, artistic or other spiritual impulse.

Where "advertisers in depth" and H.P. purveyors are given their head by the State and backed by that once boasted bulwark

of our national integrity, the Joint Stock Banks, there is no need for a Hitler or a Stalin, or a special mind-conditioning State Department.

The road is wide open. The U.S.A, with the world's highest living standards, has a per-capita H.P. indebtedness seven times greater than ours.

The significance of this situation for pacifists is immense. How do pacifists propose to win over Mrs. Jones, her friend Mrs. Brown, and the economic mass-man to the idea of unilateral disarmament?

Many years ago that proposal excited alarm. But not today! Even Governments are unmoved by it. They know they are safe. Their anchor is the economic mass-man buttressed by an expanding economy, H.P. and the Welfare State.

Era of the whole-man

The line of greatest resistance is to try to discover how to supersede the economic mass-man with the whole-man, who must be the foundation of a peaceful world.

The first condition of human wholeness is a culture, philosophy or religion which unifies material and spiritual values in vocational or social living. This might be described as self and social fulfilment through socially motivated self-giving.

Such a culture and way of life, together with a social order in which it can find full expression, is our great need today, and to its realisation pacifists should devote most of their time, energy and talents.

Aldous Huxley has recently revisited his *Brave New World*, and found it more alarming than before, while Orwell's "1984" is creeping in through unsuspected doors. The only hope is a new man and a new civilisation. Why not, and why not fix the date of their coming? What about 1994?

Peace News—London.

The Gandhi Peace Foundation

The following is the finalised Statement of the Preamble, the Objective and Explanatory Note prepared by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Acharya Kripalani for the Gandhi Peace Foundation of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

In his unique and inspiring leadership of the struggle for freedom in India, Mahatma Gandhi showed the way for a new life based on the values of *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (non-violence), with the inevitable corollary that good ends can be achieved only through good means, both in individual and group life. He applied these methods to the national struggle involving millions of people and thereby helped them to achieve freedom without hatred or armed conflict. The peaceful struggle ended in a settlement which achieved the objective aimed at and yet left no trail of bitterness behind. Although Gandhi applied these methods in India, he held that they were applicable everywhere for the solution of any kind of conflict—social, national or international. Though Gandhi's teaching and example have so far touched the mind and life of only a few, there is the faith that in course of time they will affect the thoughts and actions of millions throughout the world and usher in a new way of life for mankind.

The Gandhi Peace Foundation is being formed for the furtherance of this objective and to promote the acceptance by all peoples of the principles of truth and non-violence in the conduct of social, national and international affairs.

In order to achieve this objective, the functions of the Foundation will be, (i) to establish an international centre of study and research in the principles of non-violence as evident from the study of the history and philosophy of India and of the world; (ii) to study and report in co-operation with other agencies, where necessary, techniques for the application of non-violence in social, national and international affairs; (iii) to provide information, counsel and assistance in this field to teaching institutions in the form of research fellowships, travel grants, library equipment and act as a co-ordinating authority; (iv) to assist in developing an

informed public opinion on the principles and techniques of non-violence among all peoples; and (v) generally to take all necessary action to attain the objectives of the Foundation.

A revolution is primarily and fundamentally a change in the basic values of life. On the basis of the new values is built a new culture, a new way of life and a new phase of human civilisation. A revolution may be initiated by a great personality or arise from a sudden outburst of the repressed forces of progress or its course may be comparatively gradual, even when its nature is radical, as in the case of the Industrial Revolution. It may emerge from religious, political, economic or social causes. Whatever be the originating impulse, if it succeeds, it tends to affect the whole of life, individual and collective.

It must not however be supposed that the ideas that give birth to a revolution spring to life all of a sudden. When analysed, the causes are found to have been at work prior to the efforts of the initiating genius or the sudden outburst. Further, no revolution is complete with passing away of the person who gave it the first impulse or the outburst that heralded it. That is only the beginning. The work of the revolution is continued, extended and consolidated by generations of people who have faith in the new values and in the new way of life. But every revolution has its own rhythm and when fairly complete creates its own system of social arrangements.

Those responsible for conceiving the idea of the Gandhi Peace Foundation believe that Gandhi initiated a revolution in the life of humanity based on truth, non-violence and a strict regard for the means used to achieve worthwhile ends.

Gandhi's ideas would not be exhausted or even fully explained by merely an analysis and evaluation of the possibilities of non-violence in national and international political life. The revolution that he initiated goes much farther and deeper and manifests itself in every important aspect of life creating a new individual in a new society. It has, therefore, like other revolutions, as already stated, its own rhythm and concept of a new society.

Gandhi, not being a philosopher in the ordinary sense of the term or a theoretician, did not care to systematise his thought; much less did he formulate a rigid social system. He was first and

foremost a man of action. Explanation came afterwards and it then brought out the basic ideas and principles underlying action. Yet there can be little doubt that he brought his practical revolutionary ideas to bear upon every sphere of life and there is an underlying unity binding them. It may truly be said of him that he strove to purify the life of India from its latrines to its soul. Though his fields of activity after the germinal years in South Africa was confined to India, his ideas and his methods of action have a universal application.

It should be the task of the Gandhi Peace Foundation to systematise these ideas and methods of work and unfold their rhythm by a careful study of Gandhi's life, and the large volume of writings that he produced and the speeches he delivered in English, Hindi and Gujarati. It should also be its effort to understand the significance of the changing techniques he employed to bring about desirable ends, in consonance with his basic moral principles. Further, a comprehensive study of Gandhi's life and thought must include an examination of the practical schemes of constructive work that were organised and pioneered by him and also similar schemes devised after him but which derive their light and inspiration from his life and teachings. There is also the important task of studying the historical background in India and elsewhere of his thought and pattern of action.

Since a revolution is invariably preceded by a general ferment in society, the student must also study the stir in Indian society during the nineteenth century, before Gandhi appeared on the field of Indian public life. This upsurge of the Indian spirit was part of the Indian renaissance and even while Gandhi represented its climax he was at the same time the initiator of a new epoch in our history.

The Foundation should study the working of the institutions engaged in constructive work on the lines indicated by Gandhi. This will bring a deeper insight into Gandhi's ideas and actions and the possibility of their practical application to the solution of the problems facing the confused world of today, where old values and standards are crumbling, creating a moral vacuum, which is largely filled by the pursuit of success and power and the satisfaction of the senses.

When it is said that Gandhi's ideas need to be elucidated and systematised, it is not meant that they should be put into a rigid or inflexible system. In fact they would not lend themselves to such treatment. Nor is there any question of uncritical acceptance of everything. There should be free scope for the expression of differences of opinion, arising from sincere conviction, moral or intellectual.

It is such a plan of comprehensive study and research as outlined above that should be placed before all those who would work in the Gandhi Peace Foundation. This will be its *raison d'être*.

Gandhi Marg—January, 1959



Jawaharlalji in padayatra with
Vinobaji and party.

Jayaprakash and his Ashram

P. D. Tandon

IN a God-forsaken village, in the Gaya district of Bihar, Jayaprakash Narayan runs an Ashram which has 60-acre land to itself. It has become a place of regular political pilgrimage. Foreign correspondents, distinguished visitors from abroad, eminent Indian leaders and journalists visit the Sarvodaya Ashram at Sheokodeora to meet J.P. and ascertain his views on various matters concerning the country.

It is J.P.'s desire to make the Sarvodaya Ashram a model Ashram in artistic surroundings. He is keen that cottage industries should develop there. He believes that it is not necessary to have costly furniture and tapestry to make homes attractive and artistic. His little cottage at the Ashram is beautifully maintained and everything is spic and span. It is marked for striking simplicity. At the Sarvodaya Ashram one is invariably reminded of Wardha and Sevagram. There is a hall of prayer where Ashramites, and visitors, if they please, daily assemble at 5 a.m. and 6 p.m. for prayers. J.P. and his wife, Prabha Devi, attend the prayers regularly whenever they are there. In the early hours of the morning J.P. with a lantern in one hand and spinning wheel in the other walks to the hall of prayer. It is there that he disposes of his mail while spinning.

The Ashram

Sarvodaya Ashram was started in 1954. It is situated at the foot of hills. They provide a magnificent background to the Ashram. One of the reasons why J.P. chose this area for the Ashram was that Harijans and Adivasis there had put up a splendid fight, several years ago, against the zamindars and had scored a thundering victory. Gandhi Nidhi and such other organisations help the Ashram. Every Ashramite has to do manual labour for a few hours every day. J.P. himself participates in the digging and cleaning projects. The Ashram has a number of departments where several things are produced. The emphasis is on cottage industries. Now the place is so developed that it gives the impres-

sion of a big factory, of course, without its noise and rancour. Constructions at the Ashram are commodious and are built at a moderate cost. Utility and durability are the main considerations.

J.P. seems to enjoy the Ashram life. Every now and then he goes there in search of peace and rest. He said, 'I come here to read and write, but people despite transport difficulties, continue to come. In big cities too, they come but go away soon. Here those who arrive naturally stay for one or two days. I have to attend to them and then very little time is left for the work I want to do.' Prabha Devi looks after her husband and his guests most admirably. Several times a day she is seen serving them. One of us requested her to take a cup of tea but she declined. Intervening, J.P. said that she had never taken tea and had only served it. 'How many degrees below the freezing point should the temperature be to persuade you to take tea,' I enquired. Promptly she said that one day when she was in Badrinath, it was freezing, but tea did not attract her.

Ashrams, monasteries, and seminaries are not particularly marked for cheerfulness. A kind of solemn glumness and melancholy mournfulness often surround such places. An Ashram should provide vigorous and healthy atmosphere, so that bright and smart young men and women may be attracted to it. If rigid routine becomes a drain on Ashram life, there might be a little relaxing of daily routine too. I was happy to note that Ashramites at Sarvodaya Ashram did not appear to be so cheerless and gloomy as I had expected them to be.

Sarvodaya Ashram is gradually becoming a symbol of hope. It is a pleasure to see the inmates of the Ashram working in close co-operation for certain ideals. It is full of promise and there is a ring of challenge about it. Ashram life gives J. P. much needed respite from political tumult and shouting. It seems to give him new strength and new vision. It is there that he finds time to consider various problems with detachment. At the Ashram, he is comparatively less tormented by political puzzles than when he is in Delhi and elsewhere.

Going to J. P.'s Ashram is quite a tough job. One has to reach Navada by train and from there buses go to Kauwa Kol.

One has to walk his weary way to the Ashram Kauwa Kol if J. P.'s jeep (actually the Ashram jeep) is not available for rescue work. Some people manage to get bullock carts from villagers for going to the Ashram.

I watched J. P. for 2 days at close quarters during my stay at the Ashram and recalled about a dozen similarities that he has with Nehru. His tall and strikingly handsome figure is at once impressive. His eyes have warmth, but have a touch of sadness too. He radiates strength and courage. As a host, he is nearly perfect. His slow, soft voice has a ring of utter sincerity. He was visibly happy when he said that during his recent foreign tour he found that due to the constant fear of war, people look to India as a passionate pleader for peace. He added, 'They have respect for India because of Gandhiji and I was pleasantly surprised that amongst intellectuals, Vinobaji's work and ideas are understood and appreciated.'

Courtesy—*The Leader Weekly.*

MADRAS BHOODAN YAGNA ACT

The Act contains two interesting experiments of high social value. I. The lands collected under the Bhoodan movement have to be distributed to the landless poor. The grantee starting from poverty has to be duly equipped with plough, bulls, cart and implements along with the necessary credit for his agricultural operations and the marketing of his produce. The entire field of the cultivable Bhoodan lands in the State has to be covered in this manner. All the resources of the Bhoodan movement, human and material as well as liberal State aid have to be pooled for this purpose. The Bhoodan grantee has to be put on his legs and converted into a self-reliant peasant owner of a duly equipped and properly yielding Farm in every one of the Bhoodan lands. Concrete result in the form of a regular crop has to be shown. II. A Sarvodaya Village Panchayet is to be formed under the Act to administer and manage all the lands in every Gramadan village. The Panchayet has to take all necessary measures for increased Agricultural production by co-operative joint farming or by individual farming at its discretion. The two experiments call for dedicated leadership in an adequate measure at all levels. Generous public response and liberal state-aid are essential to secure the requisite funds and the necessary climate for the success of the experiments. A high standard of co-operative morale among one and all is the basic foundation for the entire structure. The experiments ought not to be allowed to fail.

Tinnivelly. }

A. S. Kuppuswami,
Advocate.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad at Sheokodeora Ashram

Dr. Prasad stressed the importance of constructive work and regretted the indifference of the people to such work since independence. He reminded the people of the importance that Mahatma Gandhi gave to constructive work and commended the example of those who were engaged in it today.

He also deplored the tendency among people to depend upon Government for everything. No doubt some big tasks could not be undertaken without the help of the Government. But there were a large number of other things, which the villagers themselves could do. For things they could do with their own hands, they were depending today upon Government and machines.

The President referred to the progress of science and technology in the present age and said these had no doubt provided a large number of amenities to the people but he was not sure if these had led to real happiness. He said in countries which had made considerable progress in science, a large number of people reportedly were committing suicide and were victims of new and unknown diseases.

It was very difficult, Dr. Prasad said, to state if man had achieved real happiness as a result of scientific development. On the other hand science had produced many destructive weapons, which posed a serious danger to humanity.

Earlier, welcoming Dr. Prasad, Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan regretted that social workers engaged in constructive activity in India today had no status compared to big officials or big businessmen. The latter were respected while the former, who were simple and selfless social workers were neglected. Sri Narayan maintained that cottage and village industries were essential for the development of the country.

(5-4-59)

Vinobaji in Punjab

At 8 o'clock on April 1st Acharya Vinoba Bhave walked into Punjab State at Dhani Rahimpur village, a little over 100 miles from Delhi on the Rajasthan border. The event was solemn and impressive enough to suggest that a silent agrarian revolution had begun in the State. It was a quiet, unostentatious welcome for the party of 50 Bhoodan marchers and the Acharya.

Just 12 miles from Pilani in Rajasthan, this sleepy, little town of 5,000, capital of the pre-partition, tiny principedom of Loharu, woke up today earlier than usual to the chanting of 'Ram Dhun'.

There were scores of rustic women in their Sunday best. They came singing. Also present were from the Punjab—the Governor, Sri Gadgil, the Chief Minister, Sri Kairon, Sri Rarewala, Sri Gopichand Bhargava, Sri Suraj Mal, and some legislators. The Rajasthan Chief Minister, Sri Sukhadia, had also come to see Baba off.

In a brief address on the border site, the Acharya said he was happy to be in this famous, colourful land of many communities. "I am here, as elsewhere, on a mission of unity, fellow feeling and love and my doors are open to anyone without any distinction."

Acharya Vinoba plans to reach Pathankot within six weeks. From there he would enter Kashmir. The Punjab Governor walked a few miles with him on the 2nd April up to Srigani, about eight miles.

Acharya Vinoba will cover 397 miles in Punjab covering on an average 8 miles per day. He will pass through Hissar, Sangrur, Patiala, Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Kongra and Gurdaspur districts. He will leave Punjab on May 21 from Pathankot to start a 100-day walking tour of the Jammu and Kashmir State. On return journey he will pass through the districts of Amritsar, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal and Rohtak.

During his tour of the Punjab, Acharya Bhave will speak at many special conventions and conferences at various places. At Chandigarh he addressed a conference of Government employees on April 30.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

I. 'NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE', Ahmedabad.

1. *Glances at Islam*—By Valji Govindji Desai, 72 Pages, Price 60 nP.
2. *Mohan Mala*—A Gandhian Rosary, By R. K. Prabhu, 144 Pages, Price Re 1.
3. 'In the Company of the Saints'—(The English Version of 'Sant Samagam') Compiled by Mukul Bhai Kalarthi and translated from the original in Gujarati By Gurdial Mallik, 56 Pages, Price 40nP.
4. *Gandhian Techniques in the Modern World*—By Pyarelal, 66 Pages, (2nd Edition) Price Re. 1.
5. *A Nation Builder at Work*—By Pyarelal, (2nd edition) 61 Pages, Price Re. 1.
6. *India of My Dreams*—By M. K. Gandhi, Pages 339, Price Rs. 2-50.
7. *Birth-Control—the Right Way and the Wrong Way*—By M. K. Gandhi, 58 Pages, Price 40nP.
8. *Panchayat Raj*—By M. K. Gandhi, 41 Pages, Price 30nP.

II. KHADI AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION Post Box 482, Bombay-1

1. *Guide to Village Planning*—By Jhaverbhai Patel and M. B. Dixit, Pages 160, Price Re. 1.
2. *Farselpur Village Plan*—Page 120, Price Re. 1.
3. *Hand-Book on Khadi Industrial Producers' Co-operative Society*—Pages 152, Price Re. 1
4. *The Deora Village Plan*—Pages 104, Price Re. 1.
5. *Village Oil Industry—Progress Report*—Pages 80, Price Re. 50nP.
6. *Bokhadi Village Plan at Work—an Assessment*—Pages 44, Price 50nP.

III. OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1. *Gandhian Technique and Tradition*—By R. N. Bose, Published by the Research Division, All India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta-7. Pages 228, Price Rs. 5.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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2. *Towards a New Society*—By Jayaprakash Narayan, Published by The Office for Asian Affairs, Congress for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi, Pages 170, Price (Not stated).

3. *Planning and Plain Thinking*—By K. Santhanam, Published by Sundara Prachuralayam, 193, Mount Road, Madras-2. Pages 170, Price Rs. 1-50.

4. *Krishnamoorthi—The Man in Revolt*—By Andre Neil, Published by Chetana Ltd., 39, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Pages 106, Price Rs. 3-50.

5. *The Bulletin of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society*—Theme: the Christian Approach To Renascent Hinduism, Pages 97, Single copy Rs. 3, Copies each be had from Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Post Box No. 57, 19, Miller Road, Bangalore-1.

IV. FOREIGN BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

1. *Facing Reality*—By Grace Lee, Pierre Chanlilu and J. R. Johnson, Published by Correspondence Publishing Company, 2121, Gratiot Avenue Detroit 7, Michigan. Pages 174, Price 50 cents.

2. *India's Social Revolution Led*—By Mahatma Gandhi and Now by Vinoba Bhave, by Wilfred Wellock, Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, England. Pages 32, Price 75nP.

3. 'C.I.A. Bulletin—Issued by the International Anarchist Commission, London, Pages 12, (Price not mentioned).

4. *The Plough—Bulletin of the Bruderhof Communities*—Published by The Plough Publishing House, Bromdon, Bridgenorth, Shropshire, England. Pages 16, Price 1/- (25 &) plus postage.

5. *Christus Victor—A Quarterly*—Published By The International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 185, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. 1. Pages 24, Annual subscription 4/- (1)

6. *The Anuvrat Movement for Moral Awakening—A Pamphlet Issued—* by All India Anuvrat Samiti Kathotia Bhavan, 132, Chandrawal Road, Sulzi—Mandi, Delhi—6. (India) Pages 39, Price not mentioned.

★ SARVODAYA ★

is a small Monthly Digest running its eighth year and is endeavouring to present within its small compass the Sarvodaya ideology of Mahatma Gandhi—the Welfare of All, based on Ruskin's "*Unto This Last*", with special reference to its application in action to the socio-economic life through Bhoodan-Gramdan movement of Acharya Vinoba during the last eight years and similar trends of thought and allied movements in other parts of the world with the Sarvodaya values upholding the sanctity of life and freedom of man for full development of human personality.

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Editor :

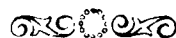
SARVODAYA,
TANJORE :: S. INDIA.

SARVODAYA

June | NINETY-SIXTH ISSUE | 1959

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Vol. VIII ★ No. 12

JUNE 1959

The Call to Constructive Workers

THERE is a new awakening among the Sarvodaya workers in Tamilnad and Kerala as a result of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's whirlwind tour during the last one month.

In all his addresses to the workers in the various fields of Gandhian constructive activity like Khadi, Village Industries, Nai Talim, Hindi Prachar, Harijan welfare etc he appealed to them for integration and to become Lok-sevaks accepting the five-fold pledge. Sri Jayaprakash Babu explained to them the implications of the radical changes in the constitution of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh under consideration. The amended constitution of the Sangh will make it approximate to the Lok Sevak Sangh as contemplated in Mahatma Gandhi's Last Testament.

According to the revised Constitution considered at the meeting of the Sangh at Madras on 3rd and 4th June the Sangh will consist of the district representatives unanimously selected by the primary units of Sarvodaya Mandals in each district. Any Lok-sevaks up to ten working in a contiguous area will constitute into a primary mandal.

Any one of over 18 years who accepts the following five general pledges will be a Lok-sevak: (1) He will endeavour to know truth, non-violence and non-possession in his life, (2) he will not participate in party politics or power politics and will strive for the establishment of Lok-Niti, (3) he will ever serve without expecting any reward or return, (4) he will not observe any differences of caste, class or creed in any form and (5) he will devote all his time and main thought for the Sarvodaya ideal through the non-violent revolution of Bhoodan based on village industries.

It is for the thousands of Gandhian constructive workers spread over the country to rise up to the occasion and respond to the appeal of Sri Jayaprakashji by dedicating themselves as Lok-sevaks and Shanti sainiks for the speedy realization of the Sarvodaya order of society.

Theory of Trusteeship

Mahatma Gandhi

Suppose I have come by a fair amount of wealth either by way of legacy or by means of trade and industry, I must know that all that wealth does not belong to me; what belongs to me is the right to an honourable livelihood, no better than that enjoyed by millions of others. The rest of my wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community. I enunciated this theory when the Socialist theory was placed before the country in respect to the possessions held by zamindars and ruling chiefs. They would do away with these privileged classes. I want them to out-grow their greed and sense of possession, and to come down in spite of their wealth to the level of those who earn their bread by labour. The labourer has to realize that the wealthy man is less owner of his wealth than the labourer is owner of *his* own, viz. the power to work.

The question how many can be real trustees according to this definition is beside the point. If the theory is true, it is immaterial whether many live up to it or only one man lives up to it. The question is of conviction; if you accept the principle of Ahimsa, you have to strive to live up to it, no matter whether you succeed or fail. There is nothing in this theory which can be said to be beyond the *sp* of intellect, though you may say it is difficult of practice.

—Harijan, 3-6-'39

You may say that trusteeship is a legal fiction. But if people meditate over it constantly and try to act up to it, then life on earth would be governed far more by love than it is at present. Absolute trusteeship is an abstraction like Euclid's definitions of a point, and is equally unattainable. But if we strive for it, we shall be able to go further in realizing a state of equality on earth than by any other method... It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence it will be caught in the coil of violence itself, and fail to develop non-violence at any time. The State represents violence in a concentrated and organized 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. The fear is always there that the State may use too much violence against those who differ from it. I would be very happy indeed if the people concerned behaved as trustees; but if they fail, I believe we shall have to deprive them of their possessions through the State with the minimum exercise of violence.....(That is why I said at the Round Table Conference that every vested interest must be subjected to scrutiny, and confiscation ordered where necessary...with or without compensation as the case demanded.) What I would personally prefer would be not a centralization of power in the hands of the State, but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State-ownership.

—The Modern Review, 1935, p. 412

I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion that generally rich men and for that matter most men are not particular as to the way they make money. 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 human beings and expect response. Is it not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his talents, only not for personal aggrandisement but for the good of all? We do not want to produce a 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. I therefore suggest that my advice that moneyed men may earn their crores (honestly only, of course) but so as to dedicate them to the service of all is perfectly sound. "*Tenatyaktena bhunjithah*" is a *mantra* based on uncommon knowledge. It is the surest method to evolve a new order of life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbour.

—Harijan, 1-2-'42

The Two Sectors

Acharya Vinoba

When much is talked about the private and public sectors the following speech of Vinobaji in Mysore Yatra at Pantharapalaya on 13-10-57 will be of special interest. Vinobaji makes a special appeal to the commercial community to take up the welfare work and reduce the burden on the State.

IN a Sarvodaya society there can be no conflict of interests between the two sectors like private sector and public sector. Simultaneous development of the two sectors in fact is not only desirable but possible. The present conflicts between the State and the commercial community are characteristic of a democracy which we have imported from the West.

The alternative is direct democracy and in this the business community should play its role. The Chamber of Commerce should convert itself into a Chamber of Peace and Non-violence.

We lost India to the foreigners on account of the fact that the business community deflected from the Vaisya dharma, which is a way of life leading to spiritual liberation. The failure of duty of the Vaisyas gave the Britishers a foothold in India. Therefore I appeal to the business community to make amends by dedicating themselves to the ideals of peace and service.

The mercantile community should assume the responsibility of running the essential services of the society, such as health and education as an article of faith. That would enable them not only to regain their prestige but would also help them to be benevolent intermediaries between the State and the society.

At present the concept of welfare state is the ideal of state-craft. This means that the representatives of the people, catered to almost every need of the society. The State has to raise the necessary funds through taxes for this work, collected from the business community. Therefore it is the business men who finance the welfare of the State. But this process involves a none too happy relationship between the State and the commercial community. The result is that the best business talent has entered into a battle of wits with the representatives of the people which they normally aim to serve. This is not the fault of the business community. They should come forward for establishing direct democracy by taking over all social services and lessening the burden on the State which is tending to become monolithic,

★

My Fast for Peace

K. Kelappan

The following statement by Sri K. Kelappanji was read out at the workers' meeting at Tirunnavaya just before he formally commenced his fast at 5 p.m. on 18-5-1959.

I do not know when again I shall be able to speak to my people, so I would like to place before you a few facts which have for some time now been gnawing at my heart causing considerable mental anguish. Our country is the inheritor and custodian of a great and noble tradition. Eternal truths, realised as a result of profound meditation and spiritual experience, form our priceless heritage. God is Truth, God is love, non-violence is the highest religion—deathless precepts like these have, through the passage of centuries, shaped our life and earned us the homage of the civilised world. From these principles capable of making gods out of men and from practices conducive to their progressive realisation, our country should never be permitted to stray and slip. Exhortations to virtue like *Satyam Vada, Dharmam Chara* are not meant to be mere empty slogans, they have to be practised in our daily life. Differences of opinion on an Education Bill or a Land Reforms Bill should not drag man down to the level of the beast. There can be no compromise on this fundamental position. It should not be at the cost of our cultural heritage that our crises, however serious, are sought to be settled. Jesus Christ's warning, "If you secure the whole world and lose your soul, what availeth it?" proclaims an unforgettable truth which must be held sacred at all times and climes.

All our activities in the political, social, and religious walks of life must be guided by an unequivocal acceptance of these principles. It will be to our lasting advantage to follow in the footsteps of men who, themselves god-like, are considered prophets of God. It is my prayer that every thinking person in this country must bind himself by a solemn vow that he will not submit to forces of violence and hatred, whatever be their origin. Let us not be led away by the lure of short-cuts, and let us not also forget that we shall be renouncing Gandhiji at mortal peril to ourselves. Leaders who exhort people to hatred and conflict ought to realise that they would not be able to control the violence they let loose,

even if they have a mind to do so later. The sooner every one in the State realises that Man is above Nayar and Ezhava, Christian and Muslim, the better for themselves and the country.

Unfortunately, however, the highly explosive political atmosphere in Kerala today is far from conducive to genuine understanding and acceptance of these principles. The responsibility for this situation must be shared by the Government, the political parties and the communal organisations. Governments should not subserve particular party interests, but those of the people as a whole. At the same time, in a democratic set-up, a government can be dislodged only by truly democratic means. There can be popular agitation, but fire, loot and arson can not become the accepted mode of changing a government. Governments born of violence and bloodshed will have to be maintained by worse violence and bloodshed. This country which walked to political freedom through a bloodless revolution must retain that tradition of bloodless social transformation. Violent words might lead to stone-throwing and stabbing and subsequently to regular communal warfare. Outrage on a Mosque or a temple by irreligious and irreverent hooligans might be interpreted as a clash between Hindus and Muslims. Those who prompt and direct such misdoings do not realise their far-reaching results. A disagreement between an individual Congressman and an individual Communist at once takes the form of a conflict between the two political parties. All this has to stop. I earnestly beseech my people to renounce all forms of propaganda which will lead to friction and conflict.

Christianity is built on the noble tradition of the supremest self-sacrifice for the redemption of the world's sins. Hinduism has the tradition of the flesh of a king's bosom being offered for saving the life of a mere dove. The very word 'Islam' denotes peace and brotherhood. This priceless tradition held sacred by all our communities and religions must on no account be thrown away.

I am not for attributing unworthy motives to the political moves and countermoves in the State to-day. All parties might, in all probability, be functioning with the good of the country at heart. But if such functioning takes a violent turn, it will scorch the very land we live on. The path to hell, as the good English proverb says, is all too well-paved with good intentions.

Several reliable political observers are of the view that in Travancore a clash between the Nayar and the Ezhava communities is imminent. Both sections are carrying on propaganda of the most virulently poisonous type. I wonder whether these propagandists realise the danger inherent in their ill-conceived outpourings. Elsewhere, too, those who emphasise the differences between Hindus and Muslims are not conscious of the monstrous evils of communal conflict which they let loose on multitudes of innocent people.

If it be the case that this conflagration of violence can be quenched only by the voluntary laying down of life, I would say that Sarvodaya workers and Sainiks must rise to the occasion and prepare themselves for the supreme sacrifice. As a humble Shanti Sainik and servant of the people I pray for strength to lead and guide this crusade for peace.

I recollect several occasions when the Nayar and the Ezhava had come together. They got together at the time of the Vykam Satyagraha as also of the Guruvayur Satyagraha. The Hindu and Muslim came together at the time of the Khilafat agitation. But communal harmony should not end up as a mere emergency measure (*Apad Dharma*), it must prevail to-day and for ever. Our well-being depends upon the coming together of the various communities and parties of our country. That is the basis of Sarvodaya. May be, it will take some time for this idea to be accepted by the parties and communities. But this thought does not deter me. I shall be satisfied, if, as a first step towards that final unification, the parties and the communities will agree to maintain the fundamental decencies of normal democratic living. I would like to inform my old friend and co-worker Sri Mannath Padmanabhan that a Shanti Sainik will willingly wipe the scars of communal discord with his own bosom's blood if need be. To the Ezhavas of this country I make the same appeal in the name of Sri Narayana who gave the world the soothing slogan of "one caste, one religion, and one God." In the name of Jesus Christ who mounted the cross in expiation of man's sins, I exhort the Christian community, too, to tread the path of peace and non-violence.

One thing, however, I shall not overlook in this context. It is the significant role that the Government can play in lightening

today's conflict-charged atmosphere. They must put aside unworthy considerations of obstinacy and false prestige and take to the methods of co-operation and compromise.

This is my prayer—that I be favoured with unstinted support and unqualified blessings by all sections of my people, both organisations and individuals, in this, my effort at rousing the conscience of Kerala.

THE THREE FORCES

At present the power of Science has come to our aid. And there is spirituality already in our land. Spirituality has been teaching us universality and Science now tells us about its physical necessity. If we do not become universal in our outlook in this age, science will create a situation which will wipe off our physical existence, for the reason spirituality and science have become one. There is a third force which I would call as the force of Faith. In this scientific age there is urgent need for this in politics, and social fields. The more we have this power of faith, the more we shall be able to fit into this age. I have therefore combined the forces of faith with Vedanta and science. I have composed a couplet in Sanskrit which has become a mantra for my contemplation. The meaning of the couplet is "Vedanta, Science, and Faith are three forces: Through their enduring nature there will be peace and prosperity" I have come to the conclusion that these three forces will save the world in political social and domestic spheres.

* * * *

As regards unemployment we lay emphasis not only on Gramdan but also on village industries. Our motto is to change the society in a non-violent way into one based on Bhoodan and village industries as its mainstay. Without village industries India will not progress. This is gradually being appreciated even by those who are for industrialization.

We can demarcate the spheres of big and small industries. Such demarcation is possible and I think we should not look upon village industries and big industries as enemies of one another. They can go together and be mutually helpful to each other.

I want every village in India should stand on its own legs and establish Gramswaraj which will lead the cities to adjust their lives by making use of village industries and to check the flow of foreign goods.

—Vinoba

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan in Tamilnad

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan toured Tamilnad from 16th May from Cape Camorin and addressed several meetings. Condensed reports of his leading speeches at the Mudukulathur Conference, at the Madurai Gramdan Conference and his talk to the Workers at Madurai are given below:

THE MUDUKULATHUR SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

The Root Cause of Conflict and its Cure

INAUGURATING the Ramnathapuram and Madurai District Sarvodaya Sammelan on 18-5-59, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan emphasised the role of Sarvodaya in bringing about reconciliation and mutual good-will among the communities and commended the work done in this area by the small band of Sarvodaya workers under the leadership of Shri R. T. P. Subramaniam. In this connection he recalled the communal disturbances of 1957 and expressed his happiness that peace and good-will had been restored. But there was need to be vigilant and to go to the root of the problem of violence in society.

Violence was an evil anywhere, because it bred hatred, cruelty, injustice, tyranny, dictatorship, untruth. But in a free and democratic country such as ours it had no place whatever. We won our freedom only recently and have to re-construct a new India. We have many differences amongst us, such as those of language, caste, religion, class. If we try to settle these differences with violence, not only we will fail to settle them, but we shall also destroy ourselves and our country.

Some people condemn non-violence because they say it makes cowards of men. This is a complete misunderstanding. Non-violence requires far greater bravery than violence. Violence meets with defeat, but true non-violence can never be defeated.

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan said that it was necessary to organise for non-violence. That was what the Sarvodaya movement was trying to do. That work must be non-partisan in every sense of the term i.e. above political, communal and all other kinds of partisanship. Then only could that work appeal to every one. That work

also must be of a voluntary nature and not inspired and guided by the Government. All governments represent in the ultimate analysis a form of coercion. Therefore, while governments might help in programmes of non-violence, the latter must entirely be of a voluntary nature.

The task of organising for non-violence, Jayaprakash Narayan said further, had two parts. One part was of a fundamental nature and consisted in removing the roots of violence in society. The other consisted in dealing with situations of violence that might arise in the transitional period in a non-violent manner.

The Bhoodan, Gramdan, Khadi, Basic Education are programmes that are concerned with rooting out violence from society. They all aim at transforming voluntarily the basis of human life from being that of individual self-interest to that of collective interest. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan emphasised that as man was endowed with reason, it should not be difficult for him, particularly in this age of science, to see that pursuit of selfish interests has led and will lead in the future to misery, conflict and unhappiness, possibly even to total destruction. Science has made it possible for universal happiness to be achieved, but for that it was essential that the moral revolution or revolution in the basis of life that Sarvodaya was aiming at was brought about.

Side by side with this fundamental work, it was also necessary to deal non-violently with the eruptions of conflict and violence that occur from time to time. This was what the Shanti Sena programme of Vinobaji is attempting to tackle. In this connection Sri Jayaprakash Narayan said that he believed it was wholly possible for a country to defend itself non-violently from foreign aggression. This sounded as a far cry, however. But if we learn to maintain internal security with the forces of peace, we would have advanced a step forward to a position of un-armed defence. The immediate object of the Shanti Sena was to render the police and military unnecessary for keeping the peace. In this connection he praised the work of the Santi Ashram of Shri R. T. P. Subramaniam.

Further Sri Jayaprakash said that the Shanti Sena had three lines of defence like the Army. In the front rank were the *Shanti Sainiks*, (Peace brigade) who were full-time, non-partisan, constru-

ctive workers who had pledged if need be to lay down their lives for the defence of peace. Behind them were the auxiliary forces of peace, such as *Shanti Sahayaks*, Shanti sevaks, etc. Lastly were the citizens of peace, whom he described as being those who had installed *Sarvodaya patras* (Sarvodaya Vessels) in their homes. Sri J. P. said further that the *Sarvodaya patra* was a symbol of peace as well as of democracy, for democracy and peace went together. Whoever installed a *Sarvodaya patra* in his home made a promise to himself that he himself will not commit any overt act of violence and that he will put his faith in the counting of heads rather than the breaking of heads. He said that if these *patras* were introduced into all the six crores of homes in India our democracy would become unshakable and peace would be assured for all times.

ADDRESS TO MADURAI GRAMDAN WORKERS

SRI Jayaprakash Narayan inaugurating the conference at Madurai on 20-5-59 regretted his inability to freely discuss and learn things from the gramdan workers in this district due to the language barrier. He could not claim to have a clear picture of the gramdan work in Tamilnad in general and Madurai district in particular. He praised the progress of gramdan movement in Madurai district and said that Tirumangalam had become very famous all over India, because a large number of villages there had been given as gramdan. While the political development had affected the development of Gramdan, he wished that the objective should not be given up by the workers but should be pursued. The spirit that ultimately all the 5 lakh villages should become gramdan villages should prevail throughout the country. That was to say Bharatdan should be their goal. Towards this goal they should proceed adapting themselves to the changing times and conditions.

There was a controversy going on from the beginning itself whether this movement should be on the extensive side or on the intensive side. To him, the controversy was unreal; obviously they had to do both these. During Vinobaji's tour extensive side of the movement had been completed. His tour was to consolidate the work done under Vinoba's auspices.

Referring to the 202 gramdan villages in Madurai district Sri Narayan said that it was not enough that only 10 villages had

been selected for special attention. The Sarvodaya workers should so plan their work that not a single gramdan village was left out. It was the Sarvodaya mandals who were morally responsible for the development of these villages. It was likely that one might not have the necessary resources. Financial resources might not be the main difficulty. It might be the non-availability of enough workers. Women and young men in gramdan villages should be trained in this work. Each village should create its own workers. No degree was necessary for this purpose but there should be some training. Summer camps by students might be used for recruitment of voluntary workers.

Sri Narayan attributed the difficulties in obtaining help from Government to red tape. The Central Government, particularly the Community Development Department, expressed their fullest support to the gramdan movement and even offered some help in this regard. As for the Madras Government because of Sri Kamaraj, and his colleagues it was one of the few State governments that had helped this movement, even to the extent of taking administrative steps.

Sri Narayan counselled patience to the gramdan workers and added that wherever there was difficulty they should try to move the higher circles. This might not be possible for every gramdan worker. But it could be done at district or State levels.

Sri Narayan outlined the motive and spirit behind the movement at length. The most important aspect of the movement was that it was never intended that every thing should be done by Government. Gramdan was independent of any promise or expectation of any help. It was a different matter that now they had received help from outside. But this help sometimes led to deterioration. Outside help was not an unmixed blessing. It might corrode their spirit. Therefore, the gramdan worker should always keep in mind the spirit which led them to give away their village and without this spirit there was no value of whatever development they made. The main point was the development of the Sarvodaya spirit. That did not mean he did not want any material development. In America, the standard of living was very high but there was no Sarvodaya spirit there. Development of irrigation, education, housing etc by themselves did not make the village a gramdan village.

There were the two aspects of the movement-developing the community blocks, and the Sarvodaya outlook in creating a replica of the Sarvodaya society of the future in each village.

Sri Narayan said that voluntary surrender of property rights in land was not preached for its own sake. There was no particular virtue in mere surrendering. The virtue was that on such land it must be possible for the villagers, to lead a community life. Individual ownership led to so many social evils. That was why Vinobaji insisted that land or other form of property should be common trust. But having established common ownership, they should not think their task was over. It was only here the real task started. It was impossible to create a Sarvodaya society where there were differences in ownership and so when these differences were removed the way was made clear for progress towards the Sarvodaya ideal.

Sri Narayan gave an illustration of a village which built itself well and established its own property by adopting the Sarvodaya ideal. He said that by the villagers sparing two hours daily they were able to build up a village common fund to the tune of Rs. 10,000 by way of cash and kind in a period of one year. They realised that the real source of capital was labour, that is, *shramdan*. If only all the five lakh villages in India contributed *shramdan* they could build up a capital of 700 crores equivalent to the Government of India's revenue. If other people did not co-operate, let the gramdan villages help in creating wealth for the country. Difficulties of indebtedness in gramdan villages could be easily solved if they started building a common village fund. This could be done by *shramdan*. He suggested contribution of a small share in the production for raising a grain bank for each village.

Sri Narayan appealed to the villagers to take to Khadi which would be cheap if they themselves produced it. If each village became self-sufficient in every matter, they would become a Welfare State. Madurai district and Tamilnad, he said, could show the way to the country in this regard.

Explaining how agriculture should be organised in gramdan villages, Sri Narayan emphasised two main aspects. One was that land should be registered in the name of the Village Sabha and group

cultivation should be undertaken. Collective ownership, the second aspect was that at least 5 or 10 per cent of the total holdings should be reserved as community land.

He appealed to gramdan workers to give special attention to the development of gramdan villages in this district and State.

APPLY TRUSTEESHIP IN INDUSTRIES

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, called upon Sarvodaya workers and businessmen for the formation of a third sector—consisting of trusteeship concerns—that would combine the best virtues of both the private and public sector while avoiding some of their defects.

Sri Narayan, who was addressing Sampathi Donces and Lok Sevaks at the Gandhi Museum meeting hall said the former Congress President, Sri U. N. Dhebar has been entrusted by the Sarva Seva Sangh—organisation of Gandhian workers—with organising some model business concerns based on Gandhiji's idea of "trusteeship."

Sri Narayan said that a committee headed by Sri Dhebar met at Bombay recently and was now preparing a model constitution for such "trusteeship" concerns to fit in with the provisions of the company law and the present-day business practice.

According to Sri Narayan, these trusteeship concerns would form "a sort of third sector that would have the virtues of both the private and public sector, neither of which seem to be acceptable to the people."

The third sector suggested by Gandhiji combined in it the best virtues of the other two sectors while avoiding some of their defects. A businessman acting as a trustee could function boldly, intelligently and devote time and thought as any private businessman could, while he would not have the profit motive.

Ernest Bader's Unique Example

• Such concerns already existed in England. Mr. Ernest Bedar, who had organised such a concern styled as the Scott Bedar Commonwealth in Birmingham, was in India recently and gave the benefit of his experience to those interested in this system.

Ninety per cent of his plastic factory had been given over to the Trust owned by the workers. Sixty per cent of the profits in the concern would be ploughed back into the industry, twenty will be distributed among the workers and twenty would be spent on social services for the community. The highest and lowest salary in the concern were in the ratio of three to one and the entire accounts were open to the employees.*

He said the Sarva Seva Sangh would organise a few model concerns on the new basis so that practical difficulties could be assessed.

Asking Sampathidanis to organise such concerns and give their time to work them successfully, Sri Narayan said several influential businessmen had agreed already to contribute capital and time for such organisations to be set up in various parts of India. One businessman of Calcutta had agreed to convert his mining concern in Assam into a "trusteeship" commonwealth.

A Gujarati merchant from Portuguese East Africa had offered a capital of Rs. 35 lakhs for starting a trusteeship factory in Assam. During his recent tour of Kerala, two businessmen from Calicut and Cannanore offered capital for such factories.

Discussing the idea in relation to the Sampathidan movement Sri Narayan said: "This idea of organising trusteeship business was an alternative to the Sampathidanis renouncing their proprietary rights in business or industry. A number of Sampathidanis who are businessmen could come together, put up some capital and organise new concerns based on Gandhiji's idea."

"Pandit Nehru," Sri Narayan said, "has been giving recently unrestricted praise for the public sector. Personally I think he is over-rating the performance of the public enterprise and is giving it an exaggerated certificate. The system is suffering from bureaucracy, centralisation and reluctance of officers to shoulder responsibility or take decisions, as officers have always a way of transferring their responsibility to other shoulders."

*See Mr. Bader's speech at Ajmer Sammelan and the Supplement in "Sarvodaya" for March 1959.

DEMOCRATISATION OF SARVA SEVA SANGH

SRI Jayaprakash said the new constitution of the Akil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, organisation of Gandhian constructive workers, would come up for finalisation before its meeting at Madras on June 3 and 4.

He said that the new constitution would help to integrate all Gandhian workers under one organisation that would be "devoid of any hierarchy and posts of power" and would also help to fight the "danger of the constructive workers being divided into groups and classes on the basis of the work they were doing."

Sri Narayan said that the constitution of the Sangh has been a matter of discussion for the last few years and has been discussed at the Ajmer, Bombay and Rajpura meetings but no decision could be finalised as "there were strong differences regarding a non-violent type of organisation that would not offer posts of influence or power, but would only be an attempt at co-ordination of the activities of independent workers."

The new constitution of the Sangh, he said, would avoid the mistakes found in the Bhoodan organisation that was disbanded some time ago. "When the Bhoodan committees functioned there was a great deal of jealousy, heart-burning and misunderstanding. The evils arising out of controlling of funds, elective posts and hierarchical discipline would be avoided in the new constitution," he said.

Giving details of the constitution that would be placed before the Madras meeting, Sri Narayan said ten Lok Sevak working in a contiguous area could form a primary Sarvodaya Mandal and these units would elect by common agreement the district mandals, which in their turn would elect the central mandal. But every Lok Sevak taking the pledge could attend any meeting of any of the mandals, including the all-India mandal. Every worker would have to be a Lok Sevak.

He hoped that all constructive workers would become members of the Sangh under the new constitution by becoming Lok Sevak and suggested that every Lok Sevak should also become a "Shanti Sainik pledged to even lay down his life in an emergency."

He said in organising the Sarva Seva Sangh on these lines, the constructive workers were only implementing a suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi who wanted to convert the entire Congress into a Lok Sevak Sangh. ***

Kumarappaji's Views on Gandhi Museums

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa has been laid up in the General Hospital at Madras during the last about eight months. He is very weak and requires oxygen twice a day. He is carefully looked after. In spite of his weak health he is sharp and keen in expressing his views whenever he feels that there is a glaring departure from the principles of Gandhian Philosophy. Here is a poignant letter giving his views on the Gandhi Memorial Museums in general occasioned by the opening of one at Madurai by the Prime Minister in last April.

My dear Amirthammal,

WHEN you called on me a few days ago I felt highly honoured that you should have desired a message from me to the opening of the Gandhi Museum at Madurai by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and I need hardly tell you how much I appreciated your thinking of me in this connection. But for a view reasons I felt myself tied up hand and foot and I could not comply with your request. It was a great disappointment for me to decline a request coming from you. However, I hope you will generously forgive me when you know my reasons for declining this honour. I am afraid I was not in a position from my sick bed here, so I thought it would be best that I lay down my reasons for you and your colleagues who will wonder why I should not at this stage help with the function.

1. To begin with, Mangamma Palace has prison history. I am loath to glorify it into a Palace by giving it a rank of Gandhi Museum. However much we may value the museum, the building remains with its ancient history of a prison and therefore, I do not want to be a party to shackle Gandhi's relics in that edifice.

2. There is already a Gandhi Museum designed and planned by Gandhiji himself, built as a museum from rich stones obtained from Deccan in Mangawadi called "Magan Sangrahalaya", Wardha, which was opened by no less a person than Gandhiji himself.

When Gandhi wanted to build this museum, he thought over every detail of Khadi and Village Industries and how to display the exhibits. I myself went over the details with him. Though we may be poor executors, yet we have tried our best to put into practice the Gandhian ideal of bringing together the produce, the producer, and the method of living and try what we can do to display the life of the people in that way. Gandhiji wanted while displaying the Charkha we should show the spinner, the spinning wheel, and the products and we have hundreds of yarn hanks spun by devotees from Gandhiji downwards. I am afraid it will be an impossible hope to expect us to repeat all these at Madurai now without the promptings of Gandhiji. I fear, in Madurai Museum, it will remain shallow whoever opens it.

3. Though we may build a structure with marble we cannot consecrate that with the holy blessings of Gandhiji and we cannot therefore place it or make it the receptacle to the Gandhian relics such as his chappals, his watch, charkha, shawls etc. These must find a counterfeit place for them and the real place in my opinion is only the Wardha Magan Sangrahalaya. Besides, we have a garden around it of over 13 acres which could well be used for extending the Sangrahalaya later. Though that Sangrahalaya is unique I do not at all object to the duplication of such buildings all over India. You may build them of marble or stone; still these would follow the plans and designs laid down by Gandhiji himself. At that time Magan Sangrahalaya unfortunately was not provided with sufficient funds and so we were obliged to limit our thoughts to housing Khadi and Village Industries and so it still remains incomplete; only it needs to include great many other things, like sculpture, paintings etc. For these also we have laid down plans but we may not be able to carry on with it within our time limits. Therefore, I suggest that all museums which perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji should fall in line with the original Gandhian ideals however difficult it may be.

4. As regards opening of the Museum I feel that we will depart from Gandhian ideals if we do not strictly adhere to the basic principles of using a rock-bottom villager to bring it into existence. Gandhiji wanted to serve the villagers and one of the ways we can reinforce that ideal is to bring them into prominence. However much we may be honoured by our Prime Minister doing

this work we must look out for a typical villager who will in the future, live and serve the village all his life. I am afraid I cannot explain these ideas very much more fully owing to my present physical disabilities and I hope you will forgive me for having declined a great honour you had intended to confer on me. It is our desire to find a fulfilment though not in our life time at least in years to come. I, therefore, hope you will persuade Sri G. Ramachandran to see the few points as I have presented them, [however defective these be.

With best wishes to you both,

Room No. 3, Ward No. 31,
Govt. General Hospital,
Madras-3.

Yours sincerely,
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

THE ENIGMA OF POVERTY WITH PROGRESS

"This association of poverty with progress is the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social, and political difficulties that perplex the world, and with which statesmanship and philanthropy and education grapple in vain. From it come the clouds that overhang the future of the most progressive and self-reliant nations. It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization and which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundations, and every new storey but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex."

—Henry George in "*Progress and Poverty*"

Jayaprakash Narayan in Kerala

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan toured Kerala from 4th to 14th May '59. He addressed several public meetings and workers' meetings. Some of the leading points stressed while explaining the Sarvodaya ideology and Gramdan movement in his various speeches are culled out from the Press Reports and presented here in brief.

The Sarvodaya Ideal

WHATEVER be the field, whether science, technology or national reconstruction, the problems that face humanity are primarily and essentially ethical or moral. To many it appears that Sarvodaya is a distant ideal and has little relationship with their immediate pressing problems. They must think deeply of the problems that face them and try to solve them. That is what Sarvodaya ideal aims at. Today political, economic and other institutions are based on the principles of competition and conflict.

The competitive way of life leads to all kinds of social injustices, exploitation, moral corruption and several other forms of human misery. The question that faces them is whether they should continue to live and subscribe to the competitive values which taught them selfishness and aggrandisement or change into the Sarvodaya way of co-operative life which promotes a revolutionary attitude in which the individual is prepared to lose his identity in the community and society. India is predominantly rural with 80% of the people living in villages and therefore the Sarvodaya movement is predominantly a rural movement.

Gramdan movement

In the Gramdan village land is no property of the individual but belongs to the community as a whole. Community life is not confined to agriculture. It is extended to the several other departments of activity.

A Gramdan village in Bihar has shown the way to solve the pressing problems in the country, of providing employment and capital saving.

If a man goes without a job, he is either provided work or given eight annas a day by the village. Anyway he will not starve.

In the course of 12 months the village has saved in cash Rs. 4600 and earned through works executed another Rs. 5000. The village has borrowed Rs. 10,000. It is a village of 83 families and the village has created the proper spirit of co-operation and sacrifice. The saving of capital is the result of two-hour Shramdan daily by the villagers for the community.

Joint Co-operative Farming

Where the people want it, they follow joint co-operation in the Gramdan villages. In most of the villages of India the talent available is not equal to the task. The task of managing 200 to 500 acres of land requires managerial ability and members must be able to take an intelligent interest in the management. Otherwise the management will become bureaucratic and people will be reduced to the position of labourers.

Three Types of Socialism

1. *Tamasic Socialism*: The lowest form of Socialism that is imposed on the people.
2. *Rajasic Socialism*: The mediocre Socialism that is brought about by legislation and governmental interference.
3. *Satvic Socialism*: The higher and the only form of Socialism, that is voluntarily accepted and practised by the people.

The very concept of Sarvodaya is based on Socialism. Outward changes do not solve problems. They may give a different shape. Unless there is a radical change inside, there is no revolution, and unless there is a fundamental revolution of hearts and values there will be no peace. And Sarvodaya alone could bring about such a revolution.

Non-violent Defence

It is not only possible to defend nations through a form of non-violent defence but it is the best form of defence, to save human race from extinction. But to reach this goal, they should

primarily have a non-violent foreign policy and a non-violent internal policy. Then only can they hope to have a non-violent defence.

If certain conditions are fulfilled every nation in the world can successfully practise the non-violent form of defence and save crores of rupees now spent on defence budgets.

In the present day world perhaps excepting Russia and America, no other country will be able to defend its territory by itself, no matter however much it spent on defence.

So what is the earthly use of wasting colossal sums?

It is the morale of the people which is the final guarantee of our defence.

If the people decide against aggression, there will be complete non-co-operation, and if there is complete non-co-operation, the people will be unconquerable. They may be wiped out by modern weapons but they cannot be conquered.

Parliamentary Democracy based on Party system

If there is one place in India where the system of Parliamentary Democracy based on the party system has failed, and proved so more clearly than anywhere else, it is in Kerala. Unless a way out is found this frustration and disappointment for all parties that exist with the system itself, will lead the people into something which will prove to be immensely harmful to them as well as to the rest of the country.

Sarvodaya to set right Democracy

Democracy is standing on its head today and the Sarvodaya movement wants to put it on its legs.

Lincoln's definition of democracy is the best; but there is no real democracy anywhere in the world today. There may be Government of the people, in the sense they are formed by representatives of the people, and such government may even be working for the people, but no government in the world has a government by the people either in Kerala or in Delhi.

There should be effective decentralisation of political and economic power to ensure the establishment of real democracy, namely, Government by the people. The more power the centre

has, the less democracy there will be in the country. The villages should be made into self-governing units, leaving currency, national defence and foreign policy to the centre.

Political tension is not the monopoly of Kerala. It is common not only to the rest of India but also to other countries as well. No political system, whether Capitalist, Communist or Socialist can ensure peace in society. The root cause of all tensions and conflicts is man's false view that the fulfilment of selfish interest is the basis of life. The Sarvodaya movement seeks to build a new society on the basis that life has a higher purpose than pursuit of self-interest.

The people should be energetic and self-reliant and no Government whether democratic or dictatorial can do everything for a country's progress without the people's co-operation. If America, Russia, Germany or Japan makes great progress, it is largely due to the people's efforts.

Ideals of Shanti-Sena

The tense atmosphere prevailing in Kerala as a result of conflicts between parties is not healthy for democracy. The ideals of Shanti-Sena are to preserve peace and bring about a revolution in the hearts of the people. A Shanti-sainik should be a full time constructive worker and absolutely non-partisan.

Non-partisan Social Work

Non-partisan social work is the need of the hour when there is increasing confusion and frustration among the people. A feeling of frustration, disappointment and disillusionment has crept into the minds of the people. The Sarvodaya movement offers the only alternative to bring the people together and to establish a new social order.

Values of Democracy

Political parties should make an effort to educate the common man, the voter, in the fundamentals of democracy, to enable him to appreciate the democratic values of life and to live in a democratic way.

None of the political parties is making any effort to approach the people and give them lessons on the values of democracy. Instead every political party is interested in the power of the party and not the power of the people.

Trusteeship in Business

The All India Sarva Seva Sangh has taken up the work of propagating the "concept of trusteeship" in business and industry as the second stage of Sampatti-dan movement in the urban areas. A small committee in Bombay is now engaged in preparing a model constitution for trusteeship of business as well as the Memorandum of Articles of Association so that this idea could be fitted into the existing Company Law.

About half a dozen persons have already expressed their willingness to start new enterprises on a trusteeship basis which envisages common ownership on behalf of society. The trusteeship business is different from co-operative business. There will be no share-holding in it, as in the case of a new private company or a co-operative society.



Vinobaji with Pyarelalji

The Leverage of Land Monopoly!

MARK TWAIN

[This is a satirical portrayal by the renowned American humourist of the power of land monopoly reproduced from a pamphlet of the Henry George School of Social Science, Missouri, U.S.A. The original article appeared under the title "Archimedes" and we are publishing it in a condensed form under the above title:]

"GIVE me whereon to stand," said Archimedes, "and I will move the earth."

Why such a fellow as Archimedes should be looked upon as a genius—I never could understand. I never heard that he made a pile, or did anything else worth talking about.

He was in the habit of making a lot of fuss about his screws and levers, but his knowledge of mechanics was in reality of a very limited character.

I have never set up for a genius myself, but I know of a mechanical force more powerful than anything the vaunting engineer of Syracuse ever dreamt of.

It is the force of land monopoly; it is a screw and lever all in one; it will screw the last penny out of a man's pocket, and bend everything on earth to its own despotic will.

Give me the private ownership of all the land, and will I move the earth? No, but I will do more. I will undertake to make slaves of all human beings on the face of it. Not chattel slaves exactly, but slaves nevertheless. What an idiot I would be to make chattel slaves of them! I would have to find them salts and senna when they were sick, and whip them to work when they were lazy.

No, it is not good enough. Under the system I propose the fools would imagine they were all free. I would get a maximum of results, and have no responsibility whatever.

They would cultivate the soil; they would dive into the bowels of the earth for its hidden treasures; they would build cities and construct railways and telegraphs; they would navigate the oceans;

they would work and work, and invent and contrive; their warehouses would be full, their markets glutted and *the beauty of the whole concern would be that everything they made would belong to me.*

It would be this way, you see; As I owned all the land, they would, of course, have to pay me rent. I would allow them, in fact, to fix it themselves. Here is a piece of land, let us say, it might be a farm, it might be a building site, or it might be something else.

There would be numbers who would want it, and they would go on bidding and bidding one against the other. I should accept the highest offer. What could be fairer?

Every increase of population, trade, advance in arts and sciences would increase the value of land and the competition would continue to force rents upward, so much so, that in many cases the tenants would have little or nothing left for themselves.

A number of those hardpushed would seek to borrow, and as for those who were not so hard-pushed, they would get the idea that if they only had more capital they could extend their operation, and thereby make their business more profitable. Here I am again a regular benefactor, ready to oblige them. With such an enormous rent-roll I could furnish them with funds up to the full extent of the available security; they would not expect me to do more, and in the matter of interest I would be equally generous.

I would allow them to fix the rate of it themselves in precisely the same manner as they had fixed the rent. I should then have them by wool, and if they failed in their payments it would be the easiest thing in the world to sell them out. Whatever inconvenience they might suffer, it would be their concern, and not mine.

What a glorious time I would have of it, rent and interest, interest and rent, and no limit to either, excepting the ability of the workers to pay. Rents would go up, and they would continue to pledge and mortgage, and if they went bung, bung, one after another it would be the finest sport ever seen.

Thus from the simple leverage of land monopoly, not only the great globe itself but everything on the face of it would eventually belong to me. I would be king and lord of all, and the rest of mankind would be my most willing slaves.

It would not be consistent with dignity to associate with the common rank and file of humanity. I not only hate work but I hate those who do work, and I would not have their stinking carcasses near me at any price. High above the contemptible herd I would sit enthroned amid a circle of devoted worshippers.

For the proper management and public affairs I will have a Parliament. For the preservation of Law and Order there would be soldiers and policemen—all sworn to serve me faithfully; their pay would not be much.

All from the charmed circle of my society down to the deep ranks of workers for ever toiling and for ever struggling merely to live, would be pressing forward in the hope of sharing my favour. The hell of poverty, that outer realm of darkness where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth—the social Gehenna where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched here is a whip more effective by far than the keenest lash of the chattel owner, urging them on by day, haunting their dreams by night, draining without stint their life-blood from their veins, and pursuing them with relentless constancy to their very graves.

What a beautiful arrangement—ambition urging in front, want and fear of want bringing up the rear. In the conflicting interests that would be involved, in the throat-cutting competition that would prevail, in the bitterness that would be engendered between men and men, husband and wife, father and son, I should, of course, have no part.

In the serene atmosphere of my earthly paradise I would be safe from evil. I would feast on the daintiest of dishes and sip wines of the choicest vintage. Thus would I pass the happy hours away, while throughout the world it would be a hallmark of respectability to extol my virtues and anthems would be everywhere sung in my praise.

Archimedes never dreamt of anything like that. Yet, with the earth for my fulcrum and its private ownership for my lever, it is all possible. If it should be said that the people would eventually detect the fraud, and with swift vengeance hurl me and all my courtly parasites to perdition, I answer, "Nothing of the kind, the people are as good as gold, and would stand it like bricks and I appeal to the facts of today to bear me witness."

* *

Harvesting Yatra

Suresh Ram

“WELL, times have now changed. A new era seems to usher in. The land has now begun to flow. It can no more be individually held or owned. It can't remain a marketable commodity any more. Everybody must work and only those who will work will eat.”

Thus were talking amongst themselves four peasants sitting together in front of a beautiful wheat field in which about fifty of us—half of whom consisted of the village residents and the other half of Sarvodaya workers—were busy harvesting with sickles in hand. The natives of the village were all amazed. For never was the village gentry, people of high caste, known to work actually in the field. But thanks to Sri Dharendra Bhai, the well-known constructive worker and indefatigable President of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, they came out of their homes and gladly joined us. Verily, it was a sign of the new times.

Harvesting march programme

This harvesting yatra programme lasted for a week, from 30th March last to 5th April. It was carried on in the villages adjoining the *Shram Vidyapith* at Pasna in the southern part of the Meja tehsil of the Allahabad district. This community march with sickle in hand was a unique experience. Our party led by Sri Dhiren Bhai, consisted of both men and women as also children, including little babes. It was a jolly good company which conveyed the message of Gram Swaraj through Gramdan from door to door.

Our routine was simple. Leaving for the new camp in the afternoon, we reached there in the evening. Then we took a round of the village, announcing our arrival and programme. Public meeting followed at night in which Sri Dhirendrada was the main speaker. Early next morning, with sunrise, we began harvesting. Gradually more and more people came in. The programme lasted for about three hours. Then bath and food. It was followed by a small meeting in which the village elite discussed current problems with Dada. The convener was Sri Devatadin Misra, Secretary of the *Shram Vidyapith*.

On 30th morning we were at Baranpur, the Gramdani village of the district. The other camps were Basahra, Seenki, Bhainyal

Pathra, Obri and Sambhalipur. In all we harvested about sixteen acres of wheat fields. The proceeds would go to the *Vidyapith*. But far more valuable is the goodwill we earned and the experience we gained.

This harvesting march brought new values to light. Even the die-hards were moved and began to feel that land could no more be “possessed” as a personal property. Of course, there are other signs too which have shaken their foundations. The landless labourers heaved a sigh of relief and saw the shadow cast by the coming events. Not far were the days, they imagined, when their labour would earn what they deserved and more comradeship would mark mutual relationships. But who is aware of the suffering ahead before the new day actually dawns?

A landholder's woe

They came to Dhirendada and unfolded their hearts. A landowner lamented; “Everybody is out to kill us. You too take no pity on us. If the Government threatens us with ceiling-laws and co-operatives, you are spoiling the landless.

“Please, please!” replied Dada, “You must realise the situation correctly. These are the days of industrialisation and mechanisation. On the one hand there is the capitalist who wants to capture not only the raw material but also its sources. And on the other are the landless whose labour yields all produce. In between comes your class. You have to make your choice whom you will join. Obviously, the landless. If you and the landless combine together and stand on your own feet, you can face any situation.”

“Oh! I never thought like that. Your analysis is an eye opener. Surely, Gramdan will lead both to security and prosperity.”

In his discourses, Dada threw ample light on current problems and urged the need of self-reliance. “The British rule,” said he, “was marked by a country-wide network of bureaucracy and capitalism. The advent of freedom has only replaced the white bureaucracy by the brown and shifted the centre of power from London to Delhi. But our villages have not felt the glow of Swaraj. This is a task which you have now to achieve by your own effort. You must, therefore, resolve to establish *Gram Swarajya* and work for it earnestly and unitedly.”

The Five Yajnas, our Gram-Swaraj

"Nations of the world," he went on, "recognised the necessity of *Panch-sheel* for world peace. But if on the one hand we talk of world peace and on the other strike blows at each other by lathis in the villages it would be awful. In that again, you require *Gram-Swarajya*. In order to realise it, I will request you to carry out a five-fold programme which may be called as *Panch-Yajna*."

Dhiren Bhai explained this five-fold programme in detail: (i) Anna-Yajna, (ii) Shram-Yajna, (iii) Vastra-Yajna, (iv) Bhoomi-Yajna, and (v) Shanti-yajna.

"The object of *Anna-Yajna*, (Food-yajna)" said he, "is to raise up a capital in the village for the sake of use in emergencies or unforeseen situations. You take out one seer out of every one maund that you produce and the grain so gathered will serve as your capital. *Shram-Yajna* is meant to increase food production. Obviously, irrigation offers the most baffling problem. For this, each of you must give half an hour per day to dig village tanks and ponds. Thus devoting three and a half hours or half a day every week you can solve the problem of irrigation. The purpose of *Vastra-Yajna* is to stop the drain of village wealth for cloth which is the most expensive item of your budget. You must produce your own cloth. With the arrival of *Ambar-charkha*, this has become easy. Weaving arrangements should also be made in the village.

"On *Bhoomi-Yajna*", continued Sri Dhiren Bhai, "too much stress cannot be laid. Today the landholders do not enjoy the love and confidence of the landless. Nor the latter love to work. So long as there is any landless in the village, production is bound to suffer. It, therefore, becomes the duty of landholders to provide some land to every landless. This will transform the village climate. And *Shanti-Yajna* is the base on which the whole citadel will be built up. That is why Acharya Vinobaji has given to the nation the *Sarvodaya-Patra* programme. There should be a Sarvodaya patra in each home and the proceeds should go partly to set up a *Bal-mandir* (children's home) in the village and partly to carry on Shanti Sena work."

Sri Dharendra Majumdar called upon the people to set up a Gram Swarajya Committee in every village and it was for this committee to execute the whole programme with trust and confidence. It was bound to change the face of the village and wipe out poverty and ill-will. *

The Task before Nai Talim

E. W. Aryanayakam

President, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram

(This is the concluding part of the presidential address at the thirteenth All India Nai Talim Conference held at Rajpura, Punjab on 25th April 1959.)

WHAT then are the practical steps to be taken so that basic education may grow and develop in our country? The first step, I feel, should be the acceptance by our people of the fundamental principle of equal opportunities for all children. To achieve this objective, Nai Talim workers must be prepared to go out to the people, and carry the message of social and economic justice to every home in every village and town of our country. This is the work Vinoba has been doing for the last eight years through the Bhoodan and Gramdan movements.

"Food and education for all children of India" is his slogan, and this should be the slogan of all workers of Nai Talim. The workers must bear in mind that if Basic education is to be saved, they must be ready to follow in Vinoba's footsteps and prepare the people for this—the first fundamental principle of Nai Talim.

I am glad to say that most Nai Talim workers have recognised the close correlation between the Gramdan movement and Nai Talim and are working for the building up of the new society, where basic education will be the focus of all constructive activities.

Only when basic education is freed from the class-ridden set-up of education departments and becomes truly "*an education for the people, of the people, by the people*" will it grow and find its natural place in the life of the nation.

The second practical step for Nai Talim workers should be to educate the people towards the recognition of the second fundamental principle of Nai Talim about the function and place of work in the development of individual and society. The preliminary work has been done by Gandhiji and is being continued by Vinoba. Yet much remains to be done. Manual work has not yet been

established in its rightful place in society. The educated man is still a superior being far above the worker. This attitude to work permeates all levels of society and the worker longs to win a place for his son among the privileged educated classes who do not work with their hands.

Basic Education will be able to achieve its objectives only when manual work is given its legitimate place in society and there is a nation-wide genuine desire to organise our national life as a co-operative community of productive workers.

It is also time we workers of Nai Talim reminded ourselves of another important consideration, namely that Nai Talim is not only a philosophy of life but also a Science and an Art. To appreciate and accept the basic principles of the new education is no doubt the first consideration; but to evolve practical programmes and scientific techniques to put these principles into practice is equally important. In this connection we should not neglect the attested findings of contemporary educational psychology in class-room practice. We have much to learn of mastery of essential skills, of scientific techniques of individual and group guidance, of improved methods of evaluation and assessment and of curricular research. We have a vast unexplored field of educational research in institutions of Nai Talim, and some of these should be selected for research work. We are glad that the Government of India has started a research centre of Basic education at New Delhi, but many more are necessary if research work in the field of Nai Talim is to be developed adequately.

Now, we come to the last and greatest question facing not only the workers of Nai Talim, but all the educational workers of the world—the question of world peace and education. The latest developments in science have brought the weapons of destruction to such perfection that mankind is faced with the possibility of total annihilation. This situation offers a moral challenge to all the educational workers of the world, for they must either unite in the cause of peace or perish. Education for peace is the greatest need of this age and it is of supreme importance that the entire educational programme of every nation in the world should be re-orientated towards this objective.

It is the claim of Nai Talim that fundamentally it is an education for Peace. I would like to remind the Conference again of Gandhiji's words in his inaugural address at Wardha :

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

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

In his message to the Nai Talim Conference at Turki, Vinoba reminded the workers, that in a non-violent or peaceful society, defence was the foundation of education.

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

Our Prime Minister also in his message to the Turki Conference offered a challenge to workers of Basic education, and we should accept this challenge in all humility:

"India has got a reputation for being a strong champion of peace and non-violence. That reputation is partly deserved but not wholly so, because while we talk of peace and non-violence we indulge constantly in something the very opposite of it in our domestic and national life. This conflict within ourselves is, I am sure, very harmful. How far basic education can help in dealing with this problem, I do not know. But it has to try to the best of its ability."

We, the workers of Nai Talim have this great task before us. This means hard work, single-minded devotion and a scientific approach. No great cause has been achieved without great sacrifice and dedication. There can be no greater cause than the fullest development of every child of the nation for the service of the highest welfare of humanity as a whole, and no sacrifice therefore should be too great.

I hope the workers of Nai Talim will be prepared for this dedication and sacrifice.

The Creed of Compassion

Esme Wynne Tyson
(Selsey Sussex, England)

IN his article, 'Gramdan and Shanti-Sena' in *Sarvodaya* April 1959, Vinobaji speaks of the coming into existence of the Kingdom of Kindness. I think that he and the readers of 'Sarvodaya' would be interested to know that there are humanitarians both in America and Britain who have for some time been convinced of the necessity for a universal Creed of Compassion to transcend all other creeds, being well aware that, as Vinobaji puts it, "Either there will be a kingdom of kindness or there will be no society." Either the divine compassion potentially in all men will be quickened and extended to all living things, or men will destroy themselves and their world with the violence which is fundamentally lack of compassion.

Many years ago, the great composer, Richard Wagner, who also a humanitarian had a similar vision and suggested as a title for his universalist Faith, "The Religion of Pity." But the word 'pity' is tinged with condescension, while 'compassion' implies full understanding and appropriate action. When Jesus had compassion on people, he healed them. Among those in the West dedicated to a life of integrated *Ahimsa*, and especially to the care and protection of the lesser creatures, is the President of the Millennium Guild of New York which was founded by that great humanitarian, M.R.L. Freshel after she had talked with Tolstoy in Russia, and had read and been converted by Ralph Waldo Trine's book, *Every living Creature*. Since her passing in 1949 at the age of 82, her husband has assumed the Presidency of the Guild which is against all cruelty to all sentient creatures, and in the book by M.R.L. Freshel, which is issued free to enquirers, occurs the following passage from Trine: "The Golden Rule must be applied in our relations with the animal world, just as it must be applied in our relations with our fellow-men, and no one can be a Christian man or woman, until this finds embodiment in his or her life."

A more modern English group with the same ideals is called 'Crusade against all Cruelty to Animals,' and the Founder, the Rev.

Michael Fryer, has fully accepted the Creed of Compassion. Mr. Geoffrey Rudd, Editor and Proprietor of the Humanitarian Publication World Forum, has always been a fervent advocate of total *Ahimsa*, as the proprietors of the religious newspaper *Voice*, who, like the Hindus, are hospitable to all religions but consider the way of non-violence and compassion superior to any one sect or creed. Miss Lind of Hageby who, with the late Nina Duchess of Hamilton, founded the Animal Defence and Anti-Vivisection Society, is a woman after Gandhiji's heart who has spent her already long life-time in unremitting care for and championship of the lesser creatures. And these are but a few of the many outstanding exponents of *Ahimsa* in the West.

If we examine the teachings of Gautama the Buddha and Jesus the Christ we shall find that the essence of both was the Creed of Compassion; and that Gautama's Kingdom of Righteousness and Jesus's Kingdom of God were Vinobaji's Kingdom of Kindness—the kingdom that is within man, and within his capacity to establish.

It always seems to me that western humanitarians and the followers of Gandhiji and Vinobaji are living proofs that East and West can very fully meet, since whatever their nominal religion may be, they have actually adopted and are practising the greatest religion of all, the Creed of Compassion, which alone can establish the Kingdom of Kindness on earth. Ought they not to recognize this fundamental unity and work more closely together in order to achieve their mutual aim?

MY KASHMIR YATRA

I will have my yatra in the Punjab and Kashmir. The concept of Bhoodan and Gramdan has been growing wider and wider. We should seek for a glimpse of unity in this world though full of diversity. India and Pakistan should realise the ideal of unity. Pakistan spends every year at least a hundred crores of rupees on its army, while India spends three times as much on its army. An aggregate expenditure of 400 crores by both the countries on defence is too much. After all the money spent either by Pakistan or Hindustan is our money. It is painful to see that our right hand and the left hand are both equipped with arms. Though both are two nations now we should have no passport or visa restrictions for those moving from one country to another just as there is none for people going from one state to another in India. We should become the citizens of the world. With this hope I desire to go to Punjab and Kashmir.

—Vinoba

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News & Notes

RAJPURA (Punjab), April 27: Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Governor of the Punjab, suggested that in the context of post-Independence problems in India, school education should be linked with productive work.

The Governor was inaugurating the 13th All-India Basic Education Conference on Saturday evening. Mr. E. W. Aryanayakam, President of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, presided over the Conference, which was attended by 750 delegates. Part of the Presidential Address is published elsewhere in this issue.

Mr. K. L. Shrimali, Union Minister for Education was present.

Mr. Gadgil felt that Basic Education system would ultimately prove economical, if education was linked with production as had been the case in People's China.

No Extra Benefit Proved

Appealing to the educationists to reassess the results and re-define the ideals of basic education, if necessary, Mr. Gadgil said that it had not yet been proved that a student who had gone through a course of basic education was superior to a student of the normal course of education. "Our system of education should be adjusted to the needs of the society."

Mr. Gadgil pointed out that new reforms in U.S.S.R. provided for a modified system of education which corresponded with a new historic period in the development of the Soviet State—the period of the building up of Communist society. Similarly, in India, the Welfare State was being built on a socialist pattern and if the citizens were to be fully developed persons, the present education system basic or traditional had to be changed radically.

Not for Under-privileged Alone

Mr. Aryanayakam in his presidential address, deplored that the cause of Basic Education had suffered on account of the "lack of faith on the part of administrators, lack of conviction that Basic education is the programme of national education and consequent lack of determination that it should speedily replace the existing system." The preference given by the administrators and ruling groups to the traditional system of education, he said had relegated the Basic education to the background and had created a wide-spread impression that Basic education was meant for under-developed and under-privileged areas or people belonging to low income groups, and all roads to the institutions of higher education at secondary and university level and technical and professional education were closed to students of Basic or Post-basic schools."

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