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Ninth Year of Sarvodaya

IT is with a deep debt of gratitude to the hundreds of friends spread all over the country and abroad that we venture upon the ninth year of our pilgrimage of Sarvodaya with this number. To us the number of the readers is not of so much importance as to the type of readers who have been drawn by the highest idealism that this small magazine is striving to present through the *message*, the *man* and the movement. We mean that Sarvodaya strives as a medium to carry the *message* of Sarvodaya, the inspiring words of Vinoba the *Man* and the march of the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement for the realisation of Sarvodaya Order of society.

Sarvodaya or the non-violent dynamic altruism is not exclusively for India but it has become the voice of the entire humanity. It is expressed in the various schools of thought and movements in many parts of the world. There are movements of non-violent resistance against the onslaught of violence of science and state against the sanctity of life and freedom of Man.

Sarvodaya has brought us in contact with several valued writers, journalists and publishers in other countries. Their writings and journals and books closely reflect the Sarvodaya concept. It is our earnest desire to share these with the readers in the form of a periodical supplement at extra price when occasion warrants.

Mahatma Gandhi has defined independence as a sense of the capacity of all to regulate and control authority when it is abused. His words describing the Sarvodaya State are given in this number. Vinobaji has been advocating "LOK NITI" or the moral Law of Humanity as a substitute for the party politics and power politics that govern life today in all spheres and choke the soul of Man.

Sarvodaya rededicates itself for the *Lok-Niti*—The Sarvodaya order of society "which can only be the result of a revolutionary action in the soul." * *

The Sarvodaya State

Mahatma Gandhi

TO me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a State everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal State, therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that Government is best which governs the least. (Young India 2—7—31.)

I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress.

The State represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

What I disapprove of is an organization based on force which a State is. Voluntary organisation there must be.

(As to whether in an ideal society there should be any or no government) I do not think, we need worry ourselves about this at the moment. If we continue to work for such a society, it will slowly come into being to an extent, such that the people can benefit by it. Euclid's line is one without breadth but no one has so far been able to draw it and never will. All the same it is only by keeping the ideal line in mind that we have made progress in geometry. What is true here is true of every ideal.

(Harijan 15—9—'46.)

India of my Dreams—Navajivan Publication.

The Philosophy of Gandhiji

Acharya Vinoba

Sri Pyarelal's two Volumes of "The Last Phase" of Mahatma Gandhi constitute a great epic. The price and bulk make them beyond the easy reach of the common worker. The Navjivan Trust should be heartily thanked for having brought out a small and cheap edition of three chapters from the Second Volume under the title "Towards New Horizons" at Rs 2. The following is the foreword written by Vinobaji for this cheap edition.

BY giving us *Mahatma Gandhi—The Last phase* in two volumes, Shri Pyarelal has rendered a unique service to the world that perhaps no one else could have done. I have compared the closing phase of Gandhiji's life to *Shanti Parva* (The Canto of the Attainment of Elysian Bliss) of the *Mahabharata*. Shri Pyarelal's book, which I dare say will in the years to come rank as a classic, brings to us a vision of this modern epic.

This was the height of Gandhiji's career though to the world, for a moment, it seemed to be a period of his eclipse. His thought had attained its full maturity. As it added to itself more and more dimensions, the frail earthly tabernacle became, as it were, a fetter upon it. It had to break free from its shackles and become all-pervasive to help further evolution of the world's thought.

An epic is necessarily a voluminous affair—not within the reach of each and all. It has to be condensed and presented in its essence for the use of the common folk. After independence, Gandhiji's thoughts were turned more and more to the realisation of the full picture of Sarvodaya society in India. The three chapters in Shri Pyarelal's book setting forth this picture are now being brought out in the form of a separate book. I am writing this foreword to commend to the reader this publication in the hope that it will serve as a beacon-light to us.

The philosophy that Gandhiji presented to us through his written and spoken word and above all through his life, though essentially Indian in its origin and background, is destined to have a world-wide application. Satyagraha (The power of truth and non-violence), Sarvodaya (the doctrine of the good of all), Samanvaya (synthesis) and Samya-yoga (the gospel of equality) are its

four facets. I have to the best of my capacity and understanding striven for the last ten years to give body to it in all its four aspects. In my own way, under Gandhiji's inspiration and guidance, I have been thinking and experimenting on these lines for the last forty years. That inspiration and guidance abides with me still. I take this opportunity in reaffirmation of my faith to pledge myself to my Maker to dedicate myself to the pursuit of this goal till my last breath.

I hold that Vedanta (unitive knowledge), Vijnan (Science) and Vishvas (faith) are the three forces by which this four-fold consummation will be achieved.

Vedanta stands for liquidation of all sectarian and prescriptive religions and isms and their re-emergence into an all embracing faith in One God. Equal respect for all religions follows from it as a corollary.

Vijnan means relentless, systematic search for all the hidden forces in nature including not only the material world without but also the world of the spirit within. Enrichment of life and correct thinking are the fruits of Vijnan.

Vishvas or faith is the means that will liquidate the present group and party politics based on mutual distrust and establish in their place Lokniti or the people's democracy.

I have summed up the significance of these three forces in a Sanskrit couplet which means that Vedanta, Vijnan and Vishvas are the three forces which when fully and firmly established will inaugurate the era of perpetual peace and prosperity on earth. **

TO OUR READERS

As sufficient printing facilities are now available at Tanjore, our headquarters, "SARVODAYA" will be printed at Tanjore from August 1959. The change over with re-registration may involve some inevitable delay in the publication of August number.

While parting we express our grateful appreciation for all the help that M/s. Rajan & Co. Madras gave us in printing "Sarvodaya" during the last 19 months from January 1958.

— EDITOR.

The Way out of Kerala Muddle

K. Kelappan

The following is the statement given to Sri Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he visited Kerala in the third week of June. Panditji is said to have appreciated it and distributed the copies among the Congressmen in Kerala.

I place my view before you for what they are worth. I feel it is dangerous to set aside a Government by a violent agitation. It is undemocratic and unconstitutional. If a precedent is created like that, it will open the way for more violent agitation by the Communists against the Government that succeeds. It will throw the whole country into chaos.

In the present agitation what really counts is the one that is engineered by the Nair Service Society and the Catholic Mission for closing down the schools and colleges. The students are the spear-head of the agitation. It has gained in prestige because of political parties. That agitation is violent in character and is fraught with very dangerous consequences. It will do incalculable damage to education in the country. There will be no discipline in the Educational Institution. Every school will be a warring camp of students with different political affiliations. It will paralyse the work of the schools and colleges. This agitation will create a generation of students characterless, ill-disciplined, ignorant, and with reverence for nothing under the sun. Even now in our schools and colleges teaching has become almost impossible because of the rowdism of students.

The picketting of schools must be stopped and the students and educational institutions should have no part in the agitation and must be allowed to pursue their studies unhampered.

The agitation—Deliverence Fight they call it—will lose its effectiveness without students. The political agitation too is not non-violent. It creates hatred in the country. The speeches and slogans are violent and the picketting they carry on I won't call peaceful.

Continued on page 33.

The Kural on Trusteeship Doctrine

C. Rajagopalachariar

TO put Socialist distribution into force by law before the nation attains prosperity would, as Sri Jawaharlal recently admitted, amount to distribution of poverty and in fact prevent prosperity. This would be so because we would be killing all incentive for production.

But as and when people make wealth directly for themselves and indirectly for the nation, a certain amount of simultaneous voluntary flow of that wealth from the rich to the poor must be encouraged. And this is what the doctrine of trusteeship means. If Fabian Socialists have to admit that their schemes must await prosperity, the Gandhian doctrine does not wait but asks people to treat themselves as trustees of their own wealth for the good of the less fortunate around them.

Those who assert that because men are not angels they cannot be expected voluntarily to help the poor, are casting an unworthy aspersion on our people and on our culture. Innumerable are the memorials all around us of generosity and social co-operation without any legal compulsion. The spirit of charity, or to use a more apt word, the *dharma* of our land has not been an idle or empty slogan. It has always been acted upon and many are the persons who have earned instant and great happiness by the act of giving. They have maintained unbroken the culture of the land in that respect. Gandhiji did not invent or enunciate a new doctrine but it is the genius of the land that spoke through him.

Democracy on the basis of universal adult suffrage is based on the faith we have in our people literate or illiterate, ignorant or wise. It would be inconsistent with that faith if we refuse to trust those who work and earn their wealth. We must put faith in them and develop moral power enough to make it the rule of life for the wealthy in our land to live as trustees.

* Kural or Tirukural is the 2000 years old Tamil classic of aphorisms in couplets,

Here is a chapter from Tiruvalluvar's *Kural* on the doctrine of *Oppuravu* or social co-operation, which is nothing more or less than the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship. The 22nd chapter of this holy Tamil scripture is worth being rendered fully into English for the benefit of those who cannot read the Tamil book.

"What good did the creatures of the earth do to the clouds that pour the rain? So indeed should you serve society, seeking no return."

"Good men put forth industry and produce wealth not for themselves, but for the use of society."

Wealth is not to be earned for the purpose of self-indulgence or for satisfaction of greed. Wealth should be treated as the citizen's instrument for helpfulness. The word *velaanmai* is just not helpfulness, but helpfulness combined with a sense of duty.

"There is no pleasure in this or in the other world equal to the joy of being helpful to those around you. Do not lose the opportunity for this rare pleasure."

"Man is born as a social being. He alone lives who functions as a social co-operator. He who does not recognise this duty is to be counted as one dead."

"When prosperity comes to a man who has understanding and knows his duty to his fellowmen, it is like the village tank that is filled by the rain."

It is, that is to say, an occasion for joy for the whole community. The tank keeps the water from running to waste or being dried up, and serves to quench the people's thirst throughout the year.

"When wealth comes to a large-hearted man, it is like the village tree coming to be in fruit."

The joy of finding ripe fruit in their own village tree is an apt figure for the prosperity that comes to the large-hearted citizen to whom it is joy to spread joy around him for which prosperity brings him the opportunity.

"If wealth comes to one who is blessed with a large heart, it becomes the unfailing medicinal plant for society's troubles."

The village tank stores the water from running to waste; so the wise citizen acquires and looks after his acquisitions in order to serve all. The village tree bears ripe fruit; so the liberal-minded citizen freely gives of his wealth to help all around. The medicinal tree is the precious alchemist of nature. Its leaves, bark, fruit and root take out of the earth those essences which relieve ailments of all kinds. So does the wealth of the great citizen serve to relieve suffering of all kinds. His knowledge and experience make up the alchemy that is needed to put the wealth to effective use for the benefit of the community.

"Poverty does not stop the social co-operation of those who have a clear understanding of the duties of life. They continue their social service undeterred by adversity."

It is not necessary to be rich to be helpful. There are ways in which in any position one can help. The essence of social service is in the mind. Under each changed circumstance, a new duty arises and the due fulfilment of it is what should be attended to. When, therefore, a man loses his material resources, he does not need to think that his capacity for social co-operation has ceased.

"The worst misery that poverty brings to the large-hearted man is the pain of not having resources enough to serve others in the manner he had been accustomed to."

"If social co-operation appears to ruin you, it is indeed worth while to be ruined. You may sell yourself out into slavery if that would enable you to serve the people around you."

There is no price too high to pay for service to society. **
Courtesy: Swarajya.

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3, BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON N. 4

The Message of Buddha

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

(President of Republic of India)

MANKIND with all its achievements in the world of science and technology is in sore need of that spiritual element in its mental and moral equipment which only a message like that of the Buddha could give.

It seems as if centuries of foreign domination had cast a spell of oblivion and covered from our eyes the serene rays of an invaluable gem, which the first touch of freedom served to show up in all its resplendence.

Though Buddhism as an organised religion has ceased to function in the land of its birth, its principal tenets which had emanated from Indian thought and make-up have been re-assimilated in Hinduism, and Buddha himself has been accepted and worshipped as an avatar of Vishnu.

The influence of Buddhism on Indian thought and emotional life has been stupendous. But more far-reaching and immeasurable has been the impact of the teaching of Lord Buddha on different and distant parts of Asia. It has been a matter of pleasure and inspiration to me to see it still in an active form ruling and regulating the lives of millions of people in the countries which I have recently visited.

Not that it did not attain maturity and all the beauty and strength that go with youth in its land of birth, but its achievements in distant lands have been even more remarkable in that they are seen and felt as an active form in the lives of the people and not only studied and appreciated in libraries, museums and great works of art. The establishment and existence of a centre like the one in Colombo are proof of that vitality.

Bringing together diverse nationalities in their quest for wisdom, it bids fair to be a centre of rich and varied exchange. A kind of *cus-sedness* or indifference is the hall-mark of this age and the Buddha's message of positive compassion will give such of them as are by their stay at this centre to absorb the spirit of this understanding a talisman for the rest of their lives.

(From the Speech at Colombo on 16-6-'59)

An Appeal to Khadi Workers

Jayaprakash Narayan

GANDHIJI started various items of constructive work and constructive institutions for the same. All these were the important limbs for the fight for freedom. Every worker therefore in the constructive work was considering himself as a non-violent soldier in the fight for freedom.

After we got freedom what is the place of constructive work and the constructive worker? After winning freedom the revolutionary aspect of these constructive activities disappeared. Constructive work has now become part of the Government's work. There is a natural fear that the constructive work has lost its revolutionary aspect.

If the constructive work is done by the Government what then remains for the Constructive workers? This doubt was there when Vinobaji entered the arena of public work after freedom. He showed us a way out of the situation. He said that we have ourselves to do everything in Khadi, Nai Talim, Harijan Seva, Village Industries etc. and the Government should come forward to help our work.

Vinobaji reminded us of the revolution to be completed by us. He called it as the revolution rooted in Bhoodan and through khadi and village industries.

You are all khadi workers assembled here, You have to consider how khadi can be revolutionary. Mere production and sale of khadi by itself cannot be revolutionary. Gandhiji said that khadi is not a mere cloth but an idea. Can you say that khadi can be made a medium for an ideological revolution without being simply a commodity for production and sale? There are 20000 khadi workers among whom there are many who do not know the idea behind khadi. A young worker comes to khadi for a job and continues to work in it without imbibing the idea. How can he spread the revolutionary idea behind the khadi? When he is in touch with the artisans what new idea can he give them

and what is the influence that he can bring upon the life and attitude of the villagers? How many of the spinners and weavers wear mill cloth even now!

On every 12th February thousands of spinners give yarn offerings for Sarvodaya Mela. When you ask them about it they complain that one yarn hank is taken way as in the last year. They are not made to understand why it is collected.

Every work can be done in two ways. One with the idea of revolution and the other in the usual routine way. Gandhiji said "Understand well why you spin and then spin." How many understand and do so? That is why our revolution is not progressing.

There are 7,000 workers in Khadi in Uttar Pradesh Gandhi Ashram, 5000 works in Bihar Khadi Samithi, 2000 in Tamilnad. On the whole there would be about 20,000 workers in the Khadi field in the country. If all these work in Khadi with the revolutionary zeal can the country be in this present state? We have to deeply think over this matter.

The constitution of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh is being changed. Khadi is not to be for sale as a commodity but for self-consumption. With Grama-Sankalp khadi will grow. Gram-Sankalp has not begun yet in Tamilnad. In other states many thousands have taken Gram-sankalp in a large number of villages. Instead of the spinners spinning for wage they gather and take a pledge to spin for their own clothing and not to import mill cloth into the village from outside and this would create a revolution.

Today our Khadi work is run with the grants and subsidies received from the Government. If the Government stops these for some reason or other what will happen to Khadi? Can Khadi stand on its own feet without Government aid? Will Khadi be run in the centralised form or in a decentralised way? These are vital questions to be considered.

There is another aspect. In the social revolution what is the place of Khadi and all other constructive programmes? It should be remembered that all these are integral items of the revolutionary programme. We have also to consider how khadi can be related to other activities, like Bhoodan and Gramdan,

When Bhoodan movement came there were the Bhoodan committees in the various provinces. When Vinobaji addressed the workers of Bihar Khadi Samithi he said 'If you have done all your work with a revolutionary purpose there would have been no need for Bhoodan Samithi now.'

The Sarva Seva Sangh has now decided to bring far reaching changes on the suggestion of Vinobaji. There will be considerable progress in our objectives if the Khadi and all other constructive workers join together and work with the revolutionary purpose.

Constructive workers of each section think that they are separate from others. The Khadi workers work separately, Nai Talim workers work separately, the Hindi Prachar separately and so do others. Each group has no feeling that the others are also doing the constructive work for the common revolutionary goal. Each may be a specialist in his line but he should feel that all are working for the same revolution.

Vinobaji often appeals for workers. He wants 75,000 Shanti-sainiks. If all the constructive workers considered their work as a revolution and consciously worked together, the work done in the last eight years could have been ten times more. In Gramdan we could have got 50,000 instead of 5,000. If one out of every ten villages is a Gramdan you can see how much we could have advanced the progress of the country.

Gandhiji wished to have the Lok Sevak Sangh. He wanted 5 lakhs at the rate of one worker for a village. He wanted the Congress to become a Lok Seva Sangh. All constructive workers would have become Lok Sevaks spread all over the country. But it could not be. Sarva Seva Sangh has decided to make itself the Lok Sevak Sangh now in spirit if not in name. All constructive workers should consider themselves as Lok sevaks and should sign the pledge of Lok Sevak. They should also go further and become Shanti-sainiks.

(From a talk to workers at Tirupur on 25-5-59.)

Realistic Peace Building

Wilfred Wellock, Preston, England.

A survey of peace activity throughout the West today reveals its abject impotence due to its unrealistic character.

Probably the most thorough-going peace propaganda in the West occurs in Britain and the United States, where many pacifists are pressing for unilateral nuclear disarmament, and many non-pacifists for the abandonment of nuclear bomb tests.

Both these aims are unrealistic because they take no account of the world conditions that are responsible for the piling up of military power all round. They think it is enough to point out that nuclear warfare will be so destructive that the chances of survival on both sides of the conflict will be exceedingly slight. What they fail to recognise is that so long as nations fear each other more than they fear war, as is the case today between Russia and America, the possibility of a major nuclear war cannot be ruled out.

Race for World Supremacy

The outstanding fact in current world affairs is the capitalist-Communist, or Russo-American conflict. Both these powers are presently aiming at financial and economic supremacy in the hope of drawing the largest number of nations into their respective orbits. It is a race for world supremacy between two antagonistic ideologies and social systems, their philosophies, values and ways of life.

What is not generally realised is that both ideologies are materialistic at their cores. Both are primarily concerned with raising material living standards and of maintaining a form of government that is largely dominated by an oligarchy of prosperous Senators and financial magnates under the guise of a capitalist-Christian democracy, in the one case, and by an oligarchy of climbing Commissars under the guise of a Marxist proletarian dictatorship-democracy in the other.

Neither of these essentially materialistic systems can lead the world to peace. To achieve world power, or the triumph of one

materialistic system over another, involves a struggle for the monopoly of the earth's most vital economic resources and thus of the world's markets, a conflict that has already been responsible for two world wars.

There can be no solution to this problems of power and rival armaments other than that of a way of life, and values, which do not rest or depend upon power, but on goodwill and neighbourliness and on the principle of self-giving which sustains them. These are the bases of the good life. Peace emanates from them as scent from roses.

The nations of the West are rapidly losing the sense and knowledge of the supreme value of human relationships and of the fact that no quantity of material possessions or self-indulgences can compensate for the joys of neighbourliness with all the people who come into one's life by habit or circumstance. It is the nature of these human relationships which determines our wellbeing and the quality of our personalities.

We are thus driven by the force of events to choose between a life of self-indulgence, with its consequence, a fierce economic, or cold, world war which may terminate in a nuclear world war, and a spiritual interpretation of life which places material and spiritual values in their rightful order.

Already there are signs of a growing sense of satiation, ennui, and basic dissatisfaction with a way of life which consists of maximum production and consumption of goods and services, almost everywhere in the West. But the tragedy is that people in this plight are too morally weak to rise from the wretched condition into a life of complete self-realisation through self-giving, by way of the knowledge and understanding of a true culture.

Who is to teach, to expound, this culture, and thereafter to live it? Which nation, or religion, or philosophy?

The Mission of India and Britain

It is my deep conviction that the two most likely countries to fulfil the function and mission are India in the East and Britain in the West: India because her mind is endowed with the spiritual

treasure of many millennia of spiritual revelations, whence she has been able to survive every kind of invasion, and also because today, through the agency of two outstanding spiritual leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave, she is now trying to lay the foundations of a truly spiritual democracy by ways of the Bhoodan Movement; Britain because her island situation has enabled her to function unmolested from the outside whence she has developed a culture, values and customs, and perhaps above all a capacity to pull herself together when occasion demands in order to change her course, as when recently she made decisions that are resulting in the transformation of a vast empire into a commonwealth of free, friendly co-operating nations.

These two nations could together, each according to its genius, lay the foundations of a civilisation that would capture the imagination of the whole world and insure its peace. It should not be assumed that the Stalin policy will continue for ever to dominate Russian policy. The Stalin "Die-hards" are struggling hard to retain the "one-idea" dictatorial policy against a deep and growing resentment to all that it implies, and without doubt the powerful urge towards a more flexible culture and way of life will achieve results in the near future. When it does, the way will be opened up to the possibility of a culture and way of life which would attract the better minds in America and Russia and indeed in all lands. It is for that end pacifists and all of us ought to work.

In launching the new idea or policy it should be recognised

- (1) That social, national and world peace are one, and are the natural outcome of a way of life in which personal and national self-realisation is achieved through self-giving for all.
- (2) That the culture which embodies this concept should be expounded appropriately according to age and background in every educational institution for young and old alike.
- (3) That pacifists should discipline themselves according to this basic culture and subject their material de-

mands to the demands of truth, which is the key to abundant life.

- (4) That this change-over of value whence material values come under the control of spiritual values would constitute a major economic and social revolution. By limiting material demands it would put an end to the insensate international struggle for markets and supplies in order to meet the rising demands of an irrational and degrading "expanding economy."
- (5) That the consequent removal of the stresses and strains of the existing economy would open the way to the development of a reasonably balanced agro-industrial economy, which would be a further step to the erection of a civilisation of high quality.
- (6) That the prospect of such an achievement would open up immense possibilities for the creative imagination of aspiring youth and herald a new creative era in every sphere of human interest and activity, also a process of international co-operation and sharing on a scale hitherto undreamt-of.

The sum total of these changes would, by almost universal consent, make universal disarmament not only feasible but a logical and spiritual necessity. They would in fact bridge the gulf which now divide the two dinosaurs and free their at present fear-ridden and fretful satellites.

One of the major benefits of the new order would be the wide spiritual horizons it would open up to the youth of our time. The new culture of self-realisation and fulfilment by way of self-giving would free the creative spirit now imprisoned in the confines of a degrading materialism, and open up possibilities on a scale unparalleled in all history. It lies in our power to bequeath this great opportunity to the youth of our age. Let us not fail them, or betray TRUTH which now stands in THE WAY BEFORE US!

Conquest of Fear

J. B. Kripalani.

Gandhiji's three fundamental principles of morality, truth, non-violence and moral means to achieve approved ends—through which he sought to solve conflicts and tensions between groups, communities and nations have so engrossed the minds of the people that one other equally important principle has not received the attention it deserves. That is Gandhiji's emphasis on the elimination of fear from personal and group life.

As a matter of fact truth cannot prosper where there is fear. People indulge in untruth because of fear of adverse consequence of sticking to truth. Every recantation or repudiation of truth as one feels it or is convinced of it, is due to fear of painful consequences. Why did Peter repudiate his Master Christ, and thus deny the truth that was in him? It was due to fear of painful consequences to himself from the Roman authorities. Why did the good man and great astronomer Galileo in his old age deny the truth that he had discovered and about the correctness of which he was convinced? Why did he yield to the pressure of the blind, the prejudiced and ignorant priestly authority? It was because he was afraid of the action of the Inquisition and of the penalty that was sure to be imposed upon him for his deviation from a doctrine that the Church falsely held as truth about the motion of the earth. Why did Philosopher Kant, who held that the two most wonderful things in the universe were the starry heavens above and the moral law within, in his old age give a promise to the Prussian authorities that he would no more ventilate his opinions on political problems of the day? He did it out of fear of painful consequences. These are only a few of the outstanding instances with which history abounds. I have not cited them to condemn these great men but merely to point out the fact that deviation from truth is generally motivated by fear of adverse consequences.

There have been on the other hand many noted examples in history of great people who have not repudiated out of fear their faith and the truth to which they were called upon to bear witness. We have the shining example of Jesus Christ. Our own legends and

history contain many examples, like those of Prahlad, Druva and several Sikh Gurus who stuck to truth as they conceived it and who bore the extreme consequences of their beliefs. There have also been many unknown heroes of this kind. Every sphere of life and activity has produced its martyrs who unhesitatingly and fearlessly expressed the truth as they saw and felt it. Religion, morality, politics, economics, sociology, philosophy, science, literature, art etc. have their martyrs to truth, who fearlessly proclaimed their faith in face of enormous odds. It may even be said that the history of the progress of mankind is the history of man's martyrdom of man in the pursuit of truth. Fearlessness and Truth have in short been twin brothers.

Fearlessness is also intimately connected with non-violence. A man relying upon violence may be brave but he cannot be fearless. He is afraid of injury and death. He tries to avoid them by all the violent means at his command. Brave as such as one is, he becomes fearless as soon as he refuses to seek the protection of arms and casts them aside. Soldiers in the army are brave but they have fear always lurking in their hearts.

Today we see the working of this fear in the international field. Of the universal, thoughtless and dangerous race of armaments, what is the root cause but fear? If nations shed their fear they would not enter into arms race. But the remedy man chooses only aggravates the disease. For is it not a fact that those nations that have most arms and that have nuclear weapons, suffer most from fear? Those nations who do not possess them have less fear and go about their business without war neurosis. They also enjoy more freedom. It has come about that more military power a nation has more insecure it feels.

Courtesy—'Vigil'.

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Sir Stephen King-Hall's appeal for Non-violent Defence

Donald G. Groom

On October 9th last Sir Stephen King-Hall addressed a meeting of Army, Navy, and Air Force officers on the above subjects. "The event may prove to be historic," writes Peace News. In speaking of this, Sir Stephen King-Hall who is not a pacifist himself, said that "we have to take a completely fresh look at the whole business of war, and this difficult mental process is termed—"breaking through the thought barrier."

"You can't love a nuclear war, you can't win it; you can only leave as its memorial a civilisation destroyed" so said Sir Stephen.

The following are extracts from the speech that he made.

"What is the object of war? If you instinctively reply "to defeat the enemy forces" you are still on the wrong side of the thought barrier". "The object of war is to change the enemies' mind. The operation of changing a mind can be undertaken by two methods, or a combination of the two.

- 1) the operation of conversion and persuasion and psychological attack; the Battle of Brains.
- 2) the imposition of physical pressure on the body carrying the enemy mind "

"I claim to be able to prove that the trend has been from the material to the spiritual in what we are determined to defend—we are chiefly trying to defend our way of life—the importance of the individual and the institutions which are the means of expression of this.

"If you look hard enough and long enough there is a new and unexpected field of defence beyond the frontiers of violence."

"To the majority of the world's inhabitants, an occupation by an enemy is regarded as a normal hazard of international life."

"If you do not think that all is lost when the country is occupied by a totalitarian power, then what plans have you made in connection with the organisation of which you are the head to meet this contingency?"

"We do not know enough about the techniques of non-violent defence."

"I shall continue to insist that which must be defended to death is the spirit of our way of life, which in the last resort is rooted in the mind and courage of every individual who believes in the imperishable values of freedom and the supreme importance of the individual."

"The work of the ministry of Defence should now be—

- 1) continuous educational work to raise the whole standard of citizenship and appreciation of the significance of our values."
- 2) train the nation how to cope with an enemy occupation."

"The conduct of a nation under occupation should be:

- a) the economic life of the country to be maintained as far as possible.
- b) Administrative arrangements to be continued until the occupier orders new ones.
- c) refusal at all costs to say or write anything contrary to the principles of our way of life or accept denial of freedom of speech and association.
- d) Pact should be to seek contact with representatives of the occupying power and establish a moral superiority."

In the end Sir Stephen King-Hall said "we must give mankind a lead to save him from himself."

This may be helpful in encouraging others to think and write on the question of Non-Violent Defence. Vinobaji is showing a way to the world through Shanti Sena. I commend his book on the subject recently published. ★

Sarvodaya Ideal

Sri Pyarelal's address to Madras workers

ADDRESSING a gathering of Sarvodaya workers at the Gram-Rajyam Office at Madras on 22nd May 1959,

Sri. Pyarelal explained that Sarvodaya was not merely a philosophy, but a method of action by which certain far-reaching changes could be brought about in society. The idea of Sarvodaya was drawn by Gandhiji from John Ruskin's "Unto the Last." If the realisation of that ideal depended merely upon the perfection of the philosophy, it would have been realised by Ruskin in England long before it was taken up by Gandhiji in India. But, while it had made very little impression on the people among whom it was first conceived, the Sarvodaya ideal had made much strides in this country. This was because those who took upon themselves the task of delivering the message to the people here were qualified for the task.

In a Sarvodaya Society they would begin to do things not from the top but from the bottom; they would take up the most essential and vital things with which the common man was concerned and then teach him to go on adding to those things as his capacity increased. Then, he remarked, the future would not be a mere leap in the dark, as at present. What happened today was that they planned for something but suddenly found that the expected returns were not likely to be achieved and certain other factors had been brought into operation, which should not be left unchecked. Luckily, they had now in their midst the Sarvodaya movement, which could to a large extent arrest the evils that threatened to overtake them.

Sri Pyarelal suggested that they could seize the opportunity before them and try the movement in compact areas, and see if they could realise the full picture of Sarvodaya society in which the common man would have the consciousness that he could by his own efforts provide himself with all the necessities of life and protect himself, without depending on any outside authority. In his own little way the speaker said, he had made small experiments in this direction and had found that the common man was capable of responding to it in a measure which exceeded all expectations.

The Challenge of Sarvodaya

Dr. T. R. Anantharaman

Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

AMONG the important developments in our country since independence, the Sarvodaya movement is undoubtedly one that has attracted the attention of thinking people in other parts of the world. It is true, however, that most students of our schools and universities are blissfully unaware of the scope, significance and potentialities of this unique movement. The word Sarvodaya appears often enough in newspapers, but few educated Indians have taken the trouble to read, think about and understand the ideology it stands for. There are not many among the so-called intelligentsia who even know that the concept of Sarvodaya was thought out and developed by that saint among men whom we revere as the Father of the nation and who is looked upon by millions outside this country as the greatest man of this century.

What it stands for

What does Sarvodaya stand for? Sarvodaya is a compound Sanskrit word derived from two shorter words *Sarva* meaning "all" and *Udaya* meaning "uplift" or "progress." The word was coined by Gandhiji in 1908 when he prepared a paraphrase in Gujarati of Ruskin's famous English book "Unto this Last." The title of Ruskin's book is taken from a parable of Jesus in the New Testament which has the moral that God provides for all—"unto this last." A literal translation of this title in Sanskrit should read *Antyodaya*, but Gandhiji seems to have felt that *Sarva* (all) includes *Antya* and hence the word *Sarvodaya* conveys correctly the idea behind the biblical expression. The word has been explained in detail by Gandhiji in his later writings and the philosophy behind it expounded most lucidly in recent years by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Gandhiji's spiritual heir. Expressed briefly, Sarvodaya means "Total Uplift" or "All-round Progress" in the case of the individual and "Uplift of All" or "Progress of All" in reference to Society.

Integrated Growth

In the case of the individual, *Sarvodaya* means the integrated growth of the body, mind, intellect and spirit which make up the total human personality, i.e., the fullest development of the

physical, emotional, intellectual and moral faculties. An individual attains *Sarvodaya* when his body becomes healthy, vigorous and shining, his heart pure and rich in love, truth, goodness and beauty, his intellect steady, clear and penetrating and his spirit so all-pervading as to include the whole world in its fold. The attainment of *Sarvodaya* is thus the fulfilment of the human being, the realisation of the purpose of his existence on this earth and not different from the attainment of the Supreme Goal often referred to as Mukti or Nirvana or self-realization or the Kingdom of God or the State of Tao.

Wholesome Progress of All

In the case of society, Sarvodaya means the attainment by all its members of the total progress that each is capable of. Sarvodaya thus assumes the possibility of every human being attaining the highest fulfilment on life. There can therefore be no distinction in a Sarvodaya Society on the basis of nationality, race, caste, faith or sex. No individual or group in it need have any fear of being violently suppressed, exploited or liquidated. If the Sarvodaya Society can be compared to the human body, each member therein is like a limb contributing actively to the welfare of the body. Each limb attains its maximum well-being by striving its utmost without rivalry or selfishness for the maximum well-being of the body. Just as a body becomes ill when one limb does not perform its duty, so the society will suffer when individuals either do not contribute their maximum or do not receive their full requirements. The individuals have all got to co-operate wholeheartedly with each other and discharge their obligations to themselves and others fully if they want to live in peace, harmony and happiness.

An ideal within Reach

How is this grand ideal to be achieved? Is it not perhaps Utopian in conception? Vinobaji agrees that the goal is yet far away, but he is absolutely confident that such a social order can be built up. In fact, he is convinced that humanity can survive on this and on no other basis. Those who feel that this conception is too idealistic will do well to look back on the freedom movement led by Gandhiji and the Bhoodan movement started by Vinobaji. No one could have foreseen success of these movements at their very

start. The historical culmination of Gandhiji's movement and the triumphant progress of Vinobaji's movement clearly show that the goodness, love and intelligence in Man have yet to be awakened and utilized fully in human society. Sarvodaya holds out a positive way of doing it in preference to the negative way of punishing and oppressing with violence the evil, hatred and unreason in man.

The Pre-requisites for progress

Vinobaji lays stress on a few fundamental things as essential pre-requisites for the success of the Sarvodaya movement. Firstly, love, truth and non-violence should be the touch-stone of all human endeavours. Secondly, the end aimed at and the means adopted to realise it should both be pure, i.e., should both rest on the bedrock of love, truth and non-violence. Thirdly, all the discoveries in the realm of natural sciences as well as in the realm of the science of living have to be fully utilised for the betterment of society. In other words, knowledge that is nowadays divided under the two disciplines of Science and Religion should be harmonised fully for the solution of individual and social problems. Fourthly, although the individual has to be given maximum freedom to discover and follow his own way towards fulfilment, the society should be so organised as to awaken the full potentialities of the individual. To quote one of Vinobaji's favourite expressions, "Janashakti" or the power of the masses has to be mobilised to replace "Danda-shakti", the organised impersonal violence of the army or police. Lastly, one must have full and unwavering faith in the Sarvodaya ideal and dedicate oneself to its realisation without bothering too much about immediate results. The above ideas have to be thought over carefully and acted upon earnestly by all those who are concerned with the problems of society and their lasting solution. The goal may not be easy to realise, but society can gradually acquire stability and peace if more and more people put their shoulders to the wheel of Sarvodaya, started by Gandhiji and now kept going by Vinobaji and his followers.

Universal Philosophy.

Sarvodaya is rightly claimed by its votaries as a complete and universal philosophy. There are numerous other ideologies dealing with the economic political or spiritual progress of human society,

but none of them takes into account, as Sarvodaya does, all human aspirations and leads to an integrated programme for the total progress of humanity in the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual levels. One often comes across doctrines and ideologies, concentrating on one or more aspects of human development, but ignoring or opposing other equally important facts of human progress. There are again philosophies which are meant for a group of individuals, or for a particular nation or for continent, Sarvodaya seems to be the only philosophy that steers clear of narrow and partial world views and offers full scope for individual and social development in all parts of the world. Sarvodaya transcends all geographical, cultural or religious limitations and rises above all isms to provide a basis for the complete regeneration of human society. It also constitutes a philosophy *par excellence* for immediate application in any field of human endeavour.

Sarvodaya believes in the uplift of all without exception, because it accepts the equality of all human beings and also recognises the need of all to rise towards perfection. It does not advocate the uplift of one group at the expense of another. It does not stand for the uplift of the majority at the expense of the minority. It does not believe in raising the standard of living of the have-nots by simultaneously exterminating the haves. To quote Vinobaji again, "the rich are fallen long since and the poor have not risen at all. Both need to be lifted up".

Non-violence and Love.

The edifice of Sarvodaya is built on the foundations of Love, Non-violence and Compassion, and hence is of special significance to the present day world. Man has now become totally disillusioned about the long-range efficacy of violence in the solution of national as well as international problems. Humanity faces today the alternatives of total annihilation and total renouncement of violence. In this context of despair and anguish, all thinking men and women will do well to ponder over the Way of Sarvodaya, the way of Love and Persuasion. Science and Technology have brought the nations together physically. Nothing but Sarvodaya seems to have any chance of integrating and unifying them emotionally, intellectually and spiritually.

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The Call of Sarvodaya

The call of Sarvodaya is for all countries, but especially to our Motherland. Our country is now waking up after the enforced stupor of many centuries and has the glorious chance to develop itself economically and socially on right lines, on the basis of its long past and in the light of the recent experience of many other countries. Ideologies imported from abroad have failed to inspire our lethargic masses who still stand divided into a million fragments by unfortunate and unreasonable religious, communal, linguistic and economic barriers. Sarvodaya is an idea born in the soil of this ancient land. It is not only in tune with the spirit of India's wisdom, but also in harmony with the temper of modern Science. It reflects, as no other ideology does, the Indian genius for synthesis, integration and unification.

The Challenge to Youth.

Since Acharya Vinoba Bhave took over the leadership of the Sarvodaya and launched his campaign for Bhoodan (land gifts) in 1951, the Movement has made rapid strides and achieved some spectacular successes. From the point of view of manpower and resources utilised, the Sarvodaya Movement has done more than any other movement or project, Government sponsored or otherwise, to mitigate the misery of the poor, ignorant and down-trodden millions in our villages. Thanks to the efforts of a few thousand dedicated workers who have neither a regular nor adequate income to depend upon, nearly five million acres of land have been obtained as voluntary donations and are being distributed to the landless in the villages. The inhabitants of nearly five thousand villages have also voluntarily given up private ownership of land and embarked on the great adventure of the total reconstruction of their villages. These figures are an eloquent testimony to the magic contained in the word and ideology of Sarvodaya. Even a child can realise that a tremendous impact this Movement will have on our society if the number of its dedicated workers increases tenfold and more and if the number of its supporters run into millions. This constitutes the challenge of Sarvodaya to our educated and well-placed young men and women. Will they respond to it?

Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe—the Pioneer of Koraput

Robbert Terry

"HUNDREDS of young men come when he calls" said a Sarvodaya worker to me. "They will do anything for Annasaheb: he is their ideal."

And a soil conservationist, with thirty years of government service, who is nearing the end of his two-year commitment to work in Koraput remarked: "But, of course, I shall stay on if I can work with Annasaheb."

Here speak but two of the many capable and dedicated people who have come—often at a sacrifice—to this hilly, poor district of Orissa to join Annasaheb Sahasrabuddhe in his work among the Koraput *adivasis*. And these are but a few of the people throughout India who admire the man and his work.

Some kinds of personalities seek out *gurus* and attempt to solve life's problems by becoming blind disciples. But followers alone do not create nations or great human enterprises.

When one meets the young men and women who come to join Annasaheb, one feels quickly that they are not merely followers but leaders in their own right. These are the kind of people we need to create a reality out of the dream of a New India.

Daily, in editorials and books, in speeches and seminars, we hear the call to create local leadership. But here, in a remote area of India, it is happening. Those who care for the future of India should know how. To know how, they must know about the man who is doing it.

"For twenty-five years I've spent twenty days out of every month in trains, moving about the country to fulfill my duties," said Annasaheb as we walked about the rough buildings and neat gardens of the *adivasi* training centre which is rising in Gopalwadi, Koraput District in Orissa. "But now I'm ending those obligations so that I can devote all my time here. I expect to spend at least the next ten years in Koraput."

"But why here?" I asked "Your home is Poona, and so many all-India leaders are drawn to Delhi and to big organisations."

"Yes, I was raised in Poona, but by now my home is anywhere in India. Five years ago, I first learned about the *adivasi* problem. It baffled me then; it still baffles me; and there's no point in rushing off elsewhere when a job remains to be done here."

The job began in 1955 when, in the wake of Acharya Vinoba Bhave's successful tour, the Sarva Seva Sangh decided to pour one crore of rupees in Koraput during a ten-year period for *adivasi* upliftment. Annasaheb and his co-workers began to work in the now-standard pattern of community development, which emphasises agriculture, public health, and cottage industries.

But they soon discovered that standard planning was not delivering the goods; today, they are developing a programme tailored to Koraput's unique needs. For community development workers everywhere, this process of discovery and development points to two principles—the need for regional planning, or 'planning from below,' and the need for creating the local leadership of tomorrow by training the youths of today—principles which are not yet practised enough except in lip service.

That the Koraput workers are pioneering the discovery and development so successfully is due in large part to Annasaheb's unique abilities. These abilities did not just appear, but grew out of thirty-five years of experience.

Annasaheb is indeed fortunate, for he is a man whose time has come. He is one of those rare people who realise themselves in their work. The reason is that he has taken up a challenge for which he is prepared. At present, the *adivasi* problem baffles Annasaheb; but it is meeting its match in a man who has lived since boyhood as a challenger and creator.

Annasaheb comes from a lower middle-class family: his father taught in a primary school. Although a career government servant, the father planted in his son the seeds of two kinds of independence—national and personal. So, even though the family could not afford to pay for higher education, Annasaheb was prepared to work, and thus earned his way through college.

He took his B.A. degree in 1920. This was the time, and Poona was the decisive place, when the Congress was maturing from an urban middle-class club into a national mass movement.

"Lokmanya Tilak every week exhorted mass meetings to oust the British *raj*," Annasaheb recalled. "I didn't miss hearing him once. Our heroes then on the political side were Tilak and the Italian, Garibaldi, and on the religious side, Vivekananda and Aurobindo."

When Gandhi called out the first non-co-operation movement, Annasaheb plunged in. After initial agitations, the great need, if non-co-operation with government schools was to be effective, was for private schools. Annasaheb and seven comrades opened one and taught it for seven years.

"We started as well a small experimental farm."

"But why," I asked, "did a middle-class youth dirty his hands with agriculture?"

"Because as a student I discovered my own private hero, the great American Negro and botanist, Booker T. Washington, who produced so many scientific achievements. I don't remember much about him now, except that he was important to me then. So my first love ever since has been agriculture."

This love conceived forty years ago decisively influenced Annasaheb's life and work, and is having profound consequences today in two ways. The first is the work at Koraput.

Unlike the majority of development workers and officers, who know agriculture through textbooks but not through their hands—a senior official once remarked to me; "They are hollow men; our agricultural 'experts' presume to teach a cultivator to use a plough when they don't know how themselves"—Annasaheb knows the soil and its needs. Hence the emphasis upon soil conservation in the Koraput programme.

A leader who does not know the jobs of his subordinates as well or better than they do is no leader. Annasaheb's experience with agriculture qualifies him for personal daily leadership in the field as well as for policy leadership of the overall Koraput programme.

The second consequence is his effort to convince his colleagues and the 25,000-man army of Gandhian Constructive Workers to worry less about *khadi* and more about food. Few people realise fully that a major crisis looms ominously in India's near future.

The results of a study just completed by a team of twelve American experts reveal its proportions—if present rates of increase of population growth, food consumption, and food production continue between now and 1965-66, India will then lack 28 million tons of its needed 110 million tons of cereal grains, or a short-fall of 25 per cent.

No conceivable programmes of either imports or domestic rationing, say the experts, can bridge such a wide gap. The only solution is to produce more food between now and then. They feel certain that it can be done, but only by realising the size of the approaching crisis and acting to avert it—now.

India cannot avert the crisis by Government action alone; private organisations must also pitch into the battle. The Gandhian constructive organisations, because of their size, their tradition of service, and their location in rural areas throughout India, must shoulder a larger burden of responsibility in carrying this message of warning to the people at large, and then in joining the campaign to stave off national disaster.

But, the majority of Gandhian workers are not yet fully aware of this situation. Annasaheb's personal story reveals an aspect of history which today influences in a vital way their understanding of the nation's needs.

(Courtesy: Sunday Standard.)

★ TO READERS ★

We appeal to friends of the Sarvodaya ideology who appreciate the usefulness of this small magazine to introduce it to prospective subscribers and help in making gift subscriptions for devotees of Sarvodaya who cannot afford to subscribe.

EDITOR, 'SARVODAYA', TANORE, S. INDIA.

Non-violent Resistance against U.S. Missiles

Plans for civil disobedience at Omaha

A NATIONAL committee recently set up in the U.S.A. has issued a call to non-violent action, similar to that taken in Britain at Swaffham, against their country's nuclear missile policy at the Omaha (Nebraska) Inter-continental ballistic missile base and at other bases in the U.S.A. during the last two weeks of June.

Dr. Homer Jack, Unitarian Minister of Evanston, Chicago, and close friend of Albert Schweitzer, is chairman on the committee of 37 which includes the crew of the *Golden Rule*, the ketch which sailed on a nuclear test protest voyage to the Pacific, Bayard Rustin, American Negro representative at the first Aldermastons March and leader of the Youth March on Washington, and the following Peace News writers and correspondents: Robert Gilmore Milton Mayer, Stewart Meacham, Theodore Olsen, Jim Peck, Robert Pickus and Arthur Springer.

Another 82 people, including Barbara and Earle Reynolds of the protest vessel "*Phoenix*," Quaker attorney Walter Long-streth, and scientist Victor Paschkis, have added their names to the call.

They have addressed their call to "all our fellow-citizens who are troubled about the cold war and the arms race, to all who realise that no magic or miracle will stop war while we sit idly by, especially to those who have renounced all war; who believe that non-violence is the only way to overcome violence, injustice and tyranny; who in this fearful crisis for humanity, seek more human ways to act for peace.

"The insane arms race continues. It is justified on the grounds of 'deterrence,' each side builds its arsenal of satanic weapons, not to use them but only to keep the other side from using his. If people trusted in this they would feel secure. Actually, the arms race is preparation for genocide—mass extermination—and in their hearts many people sense this.

"The focal point of the arms race is the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile—ICBM. The White House, the Pentagon, scienc-

tists, engineers, ordinary workmen are feverishly concentrating on building these instruments of death. With the perfection of solid-fuel ICBMs housed in hundreds of underground launching sites, inspected disarmament will become almost impossible. Mankind will live in a state of ever-increasing fear—or be immobilised in apathy.

"We feel that the way to deal with this situation is to assume personal responsibility. In past months there have been men and women who have taken responsibility, have voiced protest, have acted.

"At the Mercury atomic weapons testing base near Las Vegas on Hiroshima Day, 1957, men and women kept vigil, entered the forbidden testing area and were arrested.

"The *Golden Rule* sailed into the Pacific last Spring, its crew intending to go into the Eniwetok testing area. They were served with a restraining order in Honolulu. Twice they sailed, openly refusing to obey an order which they considered against the welfare of humanity. The United States government jailed them for 60 days, making it impossible for them to reach Eniwetok before the end of the tests.

"The Reynolds family and their Japanese mate then sailed the *Phoenix* into the testing area and were in turn stopped.

"At Cheyenne and in England concerned people engaged in non-violent intervention in the path of construction equipment; where missile bases were being built.

"A month-long vigil was held before the White House. The Cape Canaveral Missile Base was the site of two other projects: There were walks for peace in many parts of this country and in other lands. Young people are taking action on great social and human issues. An increasing number of individuals refuse to pay taxes for war, preferring to suffer jail sentences rather than have their earnings used for mass suicide."

(*Peace News, London*)

Continued from Page 5

[The way out of Kerala Muddle]

This does not at all mean that I support the Government. The Communist Government is a party Government, in the interest of the party. Their patronage goes to the party. The cell secretaries interfere in the day to day administration of the country. Very few officials will disobey the directions of the party leaders. They interfere not only with the executive but also with the Judiciary. "Equal justice to all" is a thing of the past in this state. The Communist agitators are even more violent and abusive in their speeches and slogans.

The way out of this muddle according to me is to suffer the present Government to continue with safe-guards. They must consent to a high-power committee which has to be consulted in all important legislative measures and decisions of the Government. Their decisions must be final. Education should not be allowed to be controlled by the Government. If need be necessary changes must be made in the Education Act and the rules framed thereunder to satisfy the management. At the same time the interests of the students and the teachers must be safe-guarded.

To be impartial I must say, this Government has not so far received the co-operation of the Opposition parties. In their impatience to get rid of this Government the Opposition has made the Legislature a forum for unedifying scenes and talks. The opposition should offer any Government responsive co-operation. The Communist Government also deserve that.

I conclude repeating once more that if by the result of a violent agitation by the opposition, this Government is set aside, that will give sanction for violent agitation against any Government chosen by the electorate hereafter also. That will give a set back to the progress of the State.

PEACE NEWS

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Editor, Sarvodaya, Tanjore, India.

An Episode in South African Satyagraha

The Great March of the caravan of over 2,000 pilgrims from Natal to Transvaal is a great event depicted in his "Satyagraha in South Africa" by Mahatma Gandhi. The Europeans in Volksrust were excited and threatened to violently prevent the marchers. Here is a touching confession from one who faced Gandhiji with a determination to kill him. This episode of defeat of violence is given in a press clipping kindly sent by an American friend of Sarvodaya, Sri. Adeline Gray of Colorado, USA for our readers.

The following story appears in a recent issue of the Southern African Sentinel. It tells of an incident in the life of J.A. Duvenage, South African Disciple pastor who died early this year. Mr. Duvenage was pastor at the Farramere Christian Church in Benoi.

It was a Sunday service in Benoni, at which an invited preacher had illustrated his sermon with one or two episodes from the time when Mahatma Gandhi lived in South Africa.

Rising after the speaker, Mr. Duvenage said in that dramatic way he had:

"I want you to look at me. You are looking at the man who nearly killed Gandhi"

He then went on to tell how Gandhi had led a party of Indians, members of his Passive Resistance Movement, from Natal with the purpose of crossing the boundary at Volksrust into the Transval. This was in defiance of what they and many Europeans, too believed to be an unjust and discriminatory law limiting the movement of Indians between Natal and the Transvaal.

Mr. Duvenage and a large number of his Boer friends had determined to attack them. They rode forth on horseback armed with cudgels, ready to injure and to kill.

"And," declared Mr. Duvenage, "I said to them, 'you leave Gandhi to me; I'll take care of him.' But when we got to the border I saw an inoffensive little brown man passing along the line of Indians, unarmed, and smiling benevolently as he held up his arms to ward off the blows, I was *ashamed*. All the fight went out of me. I flung away my cudgel and rode home."

Then he added, "Of course, I was not a Christian then."

Vinobaji's Yatra Notes

Punjab Yatra Completed

AFTER covering 400 miles on foot in the Punjab, Vinobaji and party left Pathankot for Jammu and Kashmir early in the morning of 22nd May '59. He was given an affectionate send-off by a large number of citizens and Punjab Ministers including Shri Mohan Lal and Dr. Gopichand Bhargava. A seven-man deputation of the Ahmadiya community from Qadian waited upon Vinobaji and presented him a copy of the English version of Quoran. Sardar Zuil Singh, M. P. along with members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee also presented to him a Hindi translation of Guru Granth Sahib. A number of books on the Sikh history were presented to the Acharya by the Maharani of Nabha. Khan Gasi Kabuli, President, Paktoon Jirga-e-Hind, also met Vinobaji.

Addressing his farewell public meeting on 21st night Vinobaji said that the aim of Sarvodaya was to create universal brotherhood, to have faith in God and to share equally the national prosperity and render selfless service for the welfare of Humanity. He said that the Punjab whose civilisation was 10,000 year-old had suffered a lot due to partition. The Punjab had suffered for the sake of the rest of the country but the Punjabis had maintained their tradition of bravery and hard work. He said that he had not the least doubt that the dispute between India and Pakistan and among different sections in the Punjab would be amicably settled soon. Prophets of all religions, had preached universal love and only selfish leaders sowed the seed of dissension among simple masses and were responsible for all turmoil in the world.

Shri Achint Ram, M. P. and Chairman, Punjab Bhoodan Board, reported that during the Padyatra of Acharya Vinobaji in the Punjab 2,000 acres of lands and Grams (villages) had been donated. Six persons had enrolled themselves in Shanti Sena and 5,000 "Sarvodaya Patras" had been introduced in different houses.

Acharya Vinobaji has nominated Sri Om Prakash Trikha, as the convenor of the Punjab Sarvodaya Mandal, with the following

others as its members : Sri Dada Ganeshilal Dharmadhikari (Hissar) Sri. Munshi Ram (Hoshiarpur), Sri Hariram Chopra and Sri Ude Chand of the Punjab Khadi Gramodyog Sangh, Bibi Ummat-Ul-Islam (Patiala) Som Bhai (Ambala) Banarsi Das (Ferozpur) and Sri Yashpal Mittal (Pathankot).

Vinobaji Enters Kashmir

Vinobaji crossed the Ravi Bridge, Kashmir's border with the Punjab on 22nd May 1959. He will walk in Kashmir for four months "to see, to hear and to love" in his words. He was received at the Ravi Bridge by Bakshi Gulam Mohammed, the Chief Minister of Kashmir and cabinet colleagues, Gulam Mohammad Rajpuri, Health Minister and Chunilal Kotwar, Development Minister. Vinobaji accompanied by the Chief Minister walked to Lakhanpur village.

Welcoming Acharya Vinobaji at the meeting the State Premier said that he had offered the entire State in "daan" to Vinobaji. He said the State had largely settled its land problems by abolishing Jagirdar and Zamindari without the peasants paying any compensation. He said the Government had also fixed the ceiling on land holdings at 182 kanals.

Vinobaji in his first address in Kashmir said that since his programme to visit Kashmir had been drawn up, two important events had taken place. First, the State had abolished the permit system regulating entry into and exit, from the state. Secondly, the Government had fixed ceiling on land holdings and decided to distribute state-owned waste lands among the landless peasants.

Vinobaji met Sheik Mohammed Abdullah, former Premier of Kashmir and Jammu in the special Jail at Jammu on 10th June. The interview is said to have been held at the request of Sri Sheik Abdullah and it lasted for about two hours and 45 minutes. Vinobaji walked from his camp at the Museum ground to the special jail where the former premier is now kept as an accused in the Kashmir Conspiracy case.

Vinobaji said at Bilaspur on 1st June that "the Kashmir problem had been solved for ever and it is no more a problem now". He said that the only thing that the people of the State were anxious

to do was to develop their country as self-sufficient in all respects. "If people of the State create an example of brotherhood and build internal unity and amity, Kashmir will shine as a morning star over the world horizon," he said.

Vinobaji reached Mansar Lake on June 3rd. He advised the people to put an end to untouchability which was a moral crime and a great hindrance to the country's prosperity. With this ends the first stage of Vinobaji yatra when 600 Kanals of land and about Rs. 1,000 of Sampattidan were offered.

The Executive Committee of All India Kashmir Welfare Association has requested Vinobaji to settle permanently in Kashmir as the State was in need of the presence of a leader like Vinobaji.

News in Brief

Merging of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh

The emergence of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh as a new Registered Trust in 1951 was the result of a resolution passed at the Constructive Workers' Conference that met in Sevagram in March 1943 immediately after the demise of Mahatma Gandhi. The All India Spinners' Association, The All India Village Industries' Association, The Go-Seva Sangh, and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha decided to merge themselves in the new Sangh but the Hindustani Talimi Sangh did not join. Vinobaji has been advising the Talimi Sangh to join the Sarva Seva Sangh on several occasions. After prolonged consideration the Talimi Sangh took a final decision to merge itself in the Sarva Seva Sangh at the 13th All India Basic Education Conference at Rajpura in May 1959. Further details were discussed and finalised at the meeting of the executive of the Talimi Sangh at Jammu in the presence of Vinobaji in June. The merging of the Talimi Sangh in the A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh will be considered as a great event in the history of Gandhiji's constructive institutions in general and that of Hindustani Talimi Sangh in particular. The Sarvodaya workers all over the country will anticipate tremendous change in the tone and colour of the activities of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh as a consequence of the merging of Talimi Sangh, the pioneer in giving a revolutionary turn in the field of education under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.

Sri Jayaprakash in Tamilnad

During his tour in Tamilnad from 15th May to 4th June 1959 Sri Jayaprakash Narayan visited 30 places, addressed 25 public meetings, and 11 workers' meetings, the District Sarvodaya Con-

ferences at Mudukulattur, Madurai and Madras besides the first anniversary of the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh at Tirupur. Bhoodan of 1,861 acres were distributed by him at various places and purses amounting to Rs. 20,297-75 were presented at several places as Sampatti-dan collections. He appealed to businessmen at Tuticorin, Madura and the Chamber of Commerce at Madras to adopt the trusteeship principle in industries.

He led the rally of the Shanti-sena at Mudukulathur and at Madras city. The rally and the march organised by Sri R. T. P. Subramaniam and Sri Veerappan at both these places were impressive. The marchers consisted of the Shanti-sainiks, the Shanti-sahayaks (helpers) and the public who subscribed to the cause.

On the Way to Gramswaraj

A meeting of Sakri Taluk Gram Nirman Mandal was held at Dang Shirwade, 50 miles from Dhulia to consider the crop-planning of the Gramdan village in the area. Shri. Damodardas Mundara, Sri Balooobhai Mehta, the district development officers, officers from the Khadi Gramodyog Commission, Dr Anantharaman, and Sri Hema Anantharaman from Bangalore attended the meeting. Gifts in the forms of bulls, timber, fodder etc. were offered by many.

Students' Training Camp in Pondicherry

A training camp for the College students of Tamilnad was conducted at Pondicherry from 15th to 30th May. It was organised by Sri S. R. Subramaniam with local help in Pondicherry. There were 75 students. Besides many eminent Sarvodaya scholars of Tamilnad Sri Pyarelal and Sri Jayaprakash Narayan addressed the students on Gandhian ideology and way of life.

Gramraj Conference at Lalitpur

The conference was held at Lalitpur in Jhansi District in U.P. under the presidentship of Sri Goro from 15th-17th May. It was attended by a large number of leading workers and the public. A resolution was passed to the effect that wide propaganda should be made for Gramraj movement with enrollment of members and collection of funds. Sri Lokendra Singh, c/o Gandhi Asram, Jhansi, U.P. will function as the organiser for this purpose.

Shanti-sena work in Kerala

Sri Swami Atmananda of Kerala and Sri R. T. P. Subramaniam, Shanti Sainik from Mudukulathur, Tamilnad are concentrating in Kottayam area in Travancore in organising Shanti-sena work for restoring the peaceful atmosphere. Kottayam is one of the several places of disturbance and Sri Kelappan has advised Sri R. T. P. Subramaniam to help in this area.

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan in Karnatak

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan toured Karnatak for 7 days from 4th to 10th June '59 and condensed report of his talks will be published in the next issue.

Henry George School of Economics

Mr. Erick S. Hansch from Portland, Oregon USA writes: "Needless to say that we feel a great community of ideas with your Bhoodan movement.....Meanwhile, the facilities of the Henry George School will be at your service."

Training in Non-violence.

One of the most ambitious programmes ever devised in the West in the field of non-violence has recently been announced in the U.S.A. according to "Peace News" London. It is a three-week Training programme in the theory and application of non-violence, to be held from August 16 to September 5 inclusive at the former Manumit School, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

The Sarva Seva Sangh under Revised Constitution

The radical amendments of the constitution of the Sangha were considered at the second meeting of the Sangh which met at Madras on 3rd and 4th June. Though a large number of the members from the Southern States participated in the meeting and discussed in detail there was not enough quorum. The adjourned meeting to consider the amended constitution will meet at Pusa Road on 8th-9th June. The new general body of the Sarva Seva Sangh under the amended constitution is expected to meet on 1st and 2nd August at Srinagar with the inaugural address of Acharya Vinoba.

The Pledge of the Lok-Sevak

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

Place:

Date:

Signature

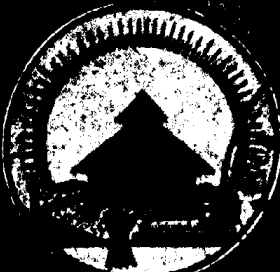
Acknowledgement of Books

1. **The Technique of Correlation in Basic Education** by A. B. Solanki Published by Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad: Price Rs. 2.50.
2. **Gandhian Concept of State**; Edited by Bimon Binari Majumdar, M. A., F. R. S., Ph. D.; Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 7.
3. **Village Health—A Guide for Teachers**; By Elton Kessel, M. D. (Chicago), Director, Rural Health Department, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha; Price Rs. 2.
4. **St. Hohn Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent**: Translated by Archimandrite Lazarus Moore with an introduction by M. Heppell; Published by Faber and Faber Limited, 24, Russell Square, London W.C. 1; Price Sh. 25.
5. **The Man versus The State** by Herbert Spencer with an Introduction by Albert Jay Nock; (A Classic Statement of the case for individual liberty—A Theme Revived in an Acute Form by the Struggle between the Democratic and Totalitarian systems) Published by The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, U.S.A. Price \$ 2.50.
6. **In the Struggle for Equality**: by B. Yelensky (The story of the Anarchist Red Cross and its activities to help the refugees and prisoners during the regime of Russian Tsardom and later at the hands of the Bolshevic rule which labelled the followers of Tropoktin and Bakunin as 'bandits'.) Published by A. Berkman Aid Fund, 2,422, N. Halsted Street, Chicago 14, Illinois; Price \$ 2.50;
7. **"Towards New Horizons"** By Pyarelal: Reprint of three chapters from *The Last Phase* Vol. II. pages 234; Published by Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad Price Rs. 2;
8. **"Tyranny Could not Quell Them"** By Gene Sharp: (An Account of the non-violent resistance of the Norwegian Teachers to the Nazi occupation in 1942) Published by the Publication Committee of the Peace News 3, Black Stock Road, London N. 4. ✕

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SARVODAYA

Vol. IX
AUGUST 1959 179
No. :




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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE. (S.I.)

"It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coils of violence itself, and fail to develop non-violence at any time. ... The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Hence I prefer the doctrine of Trusteeship."

Mahatma Gandhi.

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A Model Village ★

Mahatma Gandhi

A model Indian village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation built of material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have courtyards enabling householders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle. The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all, also a common meeting place, a village common for grazing its cattle, a co-operative dairy, primary and secondary schools in which industrial education will be the central fact, and it will have Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruit, and its own Khadi. This is roughly my idea of a model village Given co-operation among the people, almost the whole of the programme other than model cottages can be worked out at an expenditure within the means of the villagers without Government assistance. With the assistance there is no limit to the possibility of village reconstruction My task just now is to discover what the villagers can do to help themselves if they have mutual co-operation and contribute voluntary labour for the common good. I am convinced that they can under intelligent guidance, double the village income as distinguished from individual income. There are in our villages inexhaustible resources not for commercial purposes in every case but certainly for local purposes in almost every case. The greatest tragedy is the hopeless unwillingness of the villagers to better their lot.

From "Towards New Horizons" by Pyarelal

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God's Voice in the Council of Five 179

Acharya Vinoba

IN ancient days, when Europe had hardly awakened to a sense of social consciousness, India had developed the ideal system of Grama Panchayat. Though it cannot claim perfection, it can claim to have evolved an advanced social and political system of self-government.

The Panchayat rule was evolved to administer justice and to provide protection and education to all, irrespective of the communities. The village council of five was made up of representatives drawn from the four communities and the fifth who were the outsiders. All had to submit to the unanimous decision of the Council of Five. It is surprising how this ideal Panchayat system of ancient India has failed to appeal to us now. The saying "God speaks through the Five" is commonly found in Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi languages. The unanimous decision of the five was taken as the voice of God, and the people accepted it. This is India's unique contribution to the world.

But in these days, as a result of party politics, God has come to speak through the majority of three and four. Even when two are against, a resolution is considered as accepted. Any decision except by all the five is bound to lead to differences and conflict. The curse of modern democratic rule or a majority rule should be replaced by the unanimous decision of the Council of Five of ancient India.

A doubt may arise as to its practicability in these days. Today, villagers are not responsible for looking after their affairs, as the whole show of the Panchayat is run from the centre. If the villagers are left to look after the village themselves, the voice of the majority or three-vote God or the four-vote God will naturally be replaced by the single voice of God through the unanimity of the council of five.

The Grama Panchayats have become a curse. They are constituted before the removal of the basic inequalities

in life. Naturally the consequence is that power rests with those who have higher education, greater riches, and more land. Naturally Grama Panchayat becomes the instrument of exploitation which was never meant to be such.

If a village becomes Grama Dan with no individual ownership of land the whole village would evolve into a single joint family, or as a village State. Those who are unanimously elected for the Panchayat in such a village State can never be an instrument of oppression or exploitation, but will only be servants of the people.

The effect of the new change would depend more on the sequence of two acts - Gramadan and Panchayat. The first act must be the declaration of Gramadan surrendering the individual ownership, and the second will be the ushering in of the Panchayat to take charge of the affairs. By this our object of decentralisation of power from the top to the people will be realised. There will be no canvassing of votes by any political party. There will not be the bitterness engendered by voting for this man or for that man, this party or that party, this community or that. The system of rule by party, though recognised by the constitution should have no place in the villages of India. *

Adapted from a Speech in Hindi.

★ Sri Kelappan's Shanti Yatra ★

Sri. K. Kelappan, Sarvodaya Leader of Kerala in a Press statement announced about the Pada Yatra by Shanti senas and Sainiks proceeding to Trivandrum from Shanti Kuteeram, Tirunavaya on July 15. The Shanti sena and Sainiks on their way will spread the message of shanti. Sri Kelappan says that so long as there are political parties it is not possible to have peace, as there would be always strife and turmoil, but they could have peace only if they all worked co-operatively for the good of the people. He continued that by President's rule shanti could not be brought to their politics, nor could they bring peace by installing one party in place of another. The only way is to abolish once for all party politics. The Pada Yatra would spread the above message in all places they visited. *

The Living Exponent of Gandhi's Philosophy

Asoka Mehta

Vinobaji has been described by Asoka Mehta as the living exponent of Gandhi's Philosophy in his book "Studies in Asian Philosophy" published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. This is taken from the illuminating chapter under 'Upsurge of Utopianism' part of which had already appeared in Sarvodaya of January 1959.

GOODNESS is like a fire: it can irradiate light far but warmth is confined to the immediate environs. So a man must have a place, a locus, to work and grow; There needs must be a limited locality of intensive work: the seed-bed from which the wider cultivation of life may be attempted. When you dig a hole, there is a heap on one side and a hollow on the other—so every accumulation simultaneously produces want elsewhere. A vital person is he who is never tired of his co-mingling. And so forth, Vinoba's parables flow on. Ideas, according to him, do not spread by clash with other rival ideas but by the contagion of example. The truth of an idea is best expressed in its quiet living, in its silent majesty. When it is given over to words it breeds violence, and violence mauls and mutilates truth. The Central teaching of Vinoba, as of Gandhi, has been that the fire of truth is invariably destroyed in the outflow of violence. Violence is the fundamental negation of the organic, the living, the aspiring.

Instead of sharpening antagonisms and breeding sectional solidarity, Vinoba's gentle approach unlocks humanity from every heart and brings to the parched society the needed moisture of understanding and sympathy. Redistribution of land, through bhoodan, revivifies the whole society. Vinoba does not propose to stop at land redivision; he wants the "villagisation of land", that is, co-operative ownership and cultivation on the basis of a

village commune. Then again, the village has to be so planned that it is able to achieve its simple abundance and sufficiency. Each village through its administrative autonomy and economic diversity must strive to be a miniature republic, a microcosm endowed with much of the substance of the macrocosm.

Vinoba has already extended his movement to other aspects of life: *sampattidan*, the redistribution of wealth *buddhidan*, the gift of knowledge, *shramadan*, the comradeship of labour. In giving, as in mercy, is one doubly blessed. Though these gifts "gifts", Vinoba hopes to unfreeze and restore to society the quasi-rents earned by "gifted" individuals in the manifold spheres of life. Not the market place, where men meet only as sellers and buyers each intent on his own interest and advantage, but in the broad concourse of life where people are intent on giving and sharing do men enrich and fulfil themselves. Vinoba would gladly endorse St. Thomas Aquinas' stewardship concept of property and even more Jacques Maritain's gloss on it. "Society cannot exist without the perpetual gift and perpetual surplus which derive from persons, without the well-springs of generosity hidden in the very depth of the life and liberty of persons, and which love causes to flow forth" Maritain, likewise, believes that the first essential characteristic of the common good implies a redistribution".

Gandhi and Vinoba may not have solved the stubborn socio-economic problems that socialism yearns to resolve but they have brought to their solution a new insight, an inspired method; an organic relatedness between the means and end. To philosophic anarchy that is the ultimate objective of all socialists, utopian as well as scientific, Gandhi and Vinoba offer a constantly foliating approach. *

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A Date with Vinoba

Arthur Koestler

Arthur Koestler, the famous novelist and writer, visited India recently. He met Vinobaji in the village called Ranganathpur in Rajasthan, and spent a few days with him in his yatra. This is the introductory portion of his series of articles which appeared in the "Observer", London.

IN May, 1953, two years after Acharya Vinoba Bhave had set out on foot to solve India's problem by persuading the rich to give away their land to the poor, the Rajah of Ranka, province of Bihar, seized by the holy fever, donated 11,000 acres to one of his labourers and 2,500 acres to another.

Vinoba asked the Rajah why he had given four times more to the first than to the second. The Rajah shrugged respectfully and said he had given each labourer precisely the amount that he had asked for.

Vinoba sucked in his cheeks as if sucking an acid drop, a habit of his when thinking: In this case, how much will you give me?"

"As much as you ask for," said the Rajah.

"How much land do you have altogether?"

"A hundred thousand acres uncultivated and about 7,000 self-cultivated."

"As a rule," said Vinoba, "I ask for one-sixth of the total. But in view of what you said, please make over to me the whole 100,000 acres of uncultivated land and one-sixth of the cultivated."

"As you wish," said the Rajah, and as soon as it was drafted, he signed the deed.

The story, when narrated by a Westerner for Western ears, carries a ring of melodrama or fairy tale which is as unavoidable as it is misleading. For such episodes were

daily routine in the early years of Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan campaign. The movement was growing like a slow, silent avalanche—without publicity, staff or organization—an avalanche of dust stirred up by the old man's feet, stamping round the country from village to village, at the rate of four miles an hour, twelve to fifteen miles a day, seven days a week, covering up to date a total of 25,000 miles.

In April, 1954, on the third anniversary of the movement, a conference was held at Bodh Gaya, the city where the Lord Buddha had obtained enlightenment under the Banyan tree. Among the speakers paying homage to Vinoba were Prime Minister Nehru and the leader of the Socialist Party, Jaya Prakash Narayan. The latter, one of the most revered figures in India, was at the time generally regarded as the likeliest successor to Nehru.

On that historic occasion he alienated for ever thousands of his followers and electrified millions with a new and unexpected hope for Jayaprakash, a leonine orator, announced quietly, almost shyly, his Jeevan-dan—his renunciation of politics and solemn pledge to devote the rest of his life to the service of the Bhoodan movement.

At the beginning of 1959, nearly eight years after the start of the movement, Vinoba had marched the equivalent of the length of the equator and collected nearly eight million acres of land. It seems a staggering figure, but it represents merely 15 per cent of his original target of 50 million acres as a minimum solution of India's rural problem. Moreover, less than half of the donated land is in a cultivable condition, and owing to technical difficulties only a fraction of it has actually been distributed to the landless.

Among the Indians to whom I talked before I met Vinoba, about one-third shrugged him off as a saintly crank, another third regarded him as a historic figure equal to or greater than Gandhi; the remainder hovered between rational scepticism and irrational hope. *

My Experiments in the Art of Living

Wilfred Wellock, Preston, England

We are happy to announce that the idealist octogenarian Mr. Wilfred Wellock has kindly conceded to our request to write his eventful and challenging experiences in the evolution of the new art of living and philosophy approximating to Gandhian way, in the form of his autobiography to be serialised in easy instalments. This is his introductory portion in which he has set forth the forces that have impelled him to take this task and the background of the modern civilization in crisis in which he had to develop his new philosophy of life.

(1) Why Write an Autobiography?

THIS is the age of unreflected years. They pass so rapidly that we can scarcely keep count of them, let alone contemplate their content, their worth or barrenness, or even their power to insure man's survival. The multiplication of external stimuli absorbs and runs away with the growing multitude of mass minds, bewilders the seekers after meaning and permanence and baffles and throws into spasms of despair the majority of people over fifty.

This situation may explain why so many people of late have asked me if I were writing or intending to write my autobiography. As I move about I observe that the more thoughtful people are looking for interpreters, and the thoughtful younger generation for guidance, in an age of growing complexity and confusion, an age which presents Arcadia in every mart and shop window, and threatens death at every turn of the road.

My reply has always been: why should I spend months or years on reflective writing in an age that is devoted to—things ephemeral, and is shamelessly exploited by success hunters who prey on the mass mind they have helped to create?

At the same time, I realise that in certain respects my life is somewhat unique, that from an early age and perpetually since, I have rebelled against the general trends of life in the West, and especially against the processes and effects of a devouring materialism which masquerades in the guise of a divinely ordained Prosperity. All along, I have lived in an atmosphere of conflict between my concept of right, justice, and the good life, and trends which I believed would, if not seriously curbed, hurl Western civilisation towards self-destruction. Even so, I have always hoped to see the day when I should be in the majority. Today I know I never shall. I see more clearly now than ever before, the road to the good life and so can do no other than try to tread it and make it clear to others. But I am under no delusion regarding the perilous state of our civilisation.

That means, of course, that there may be a valid reason why I should record my struggle to uphold in word and deed what I believe to be the truth about life. Moreover, I have a vivid recollection of a discussion I once had with Erick Gill, that most purposive sculptor, on this very theme. It was in the late "thirties". As we conversed, Eric suddenly remarked "I have begun to write my autobiography, have you begun to write yours?" I was taken aback. "Good heavens", I replied, "I have never thought of such a thing!" "But you should, you know. Indeed you must! Things you have let drop from time to time indicate that your life has been unique, both eventful and challenging, and you ought to tell us all about it." "But it is too early," I interjected, "I am not yet sixty, and you are not much over fifty!" I shall never forget his reply: "In my case it is necessary, because I shall die young, probably in my fifties - as in fact he did! The lively manner in which he said this was typical of him. It was as if death meant no break in the continuity of his life. He went on to say "I think reflective writing, especially on one's experience is of great public value; but it has a personal value also: it helps one to understand

one's own foundations and thus live more vitally and to better purpose.

That impressive conversation has jumped into my mind repeatedly as the years have passed, but without driving me to obey Eric's command. Nevertheless I must confess that often, on waking after a night's sleep I have suddenly discovered that my mind was pondering some event or crisis in my life, which left an urge to put my thoughts on paper, and on two or three occasions I have yielded to this impulse.

I am now yielding to the bigger task, and the reason for this change is that my friend N. Ramaswami, the Editor of "Sarvodaya", (an Indian monthly dedicated to the exposition and application of the Gandhian philosophy, and now concentrating on Vinobha Bhave's Bhoodan "Land-gift" mission) has invited me to relate in Sarvodaya the story of my life as a series of experiments in the art of living.

The suggestion came like a bolt from the blue. I fell for it, in part because I felt that the atmosphere of Sarvodaya was ideal for the task, and in part because contributing monthly instalments would make for precision and brevity and at the same time enable my life to run in its normal course.

I therefore commence my account with the unashamed assertion that throughout my life it has come natural to me to do my own thinking, and if there be any merit in my life it is largely due to that fact. I have never been a great reader, and in any case I read slowly, since whenever I come upon a new idea, or one which conflicts with my own conclusions, or system of thought, I pause for contemplation, which may be long or short, until I have proved to my satisfaction its validity or its error, when I make such adjustments in my philosophy as may be called for.

Accordingly I never developed the habit which so many victorian thinkers, writers and orators favoured, of keeping a store-house of finely phrased "truth" and trite

sayings, collected from the works of the thinkers of all ages, but instead have evolved a philosophy and a way of life by the habits above described, and to which I still adhere — habits, by the way, which have led me into countless vicissitudes, responsibilities and missions, at home and in many lands, each of which has contributed to that totality of thrilling experience which I identify with Life.

The evolution of a philosophy, however simple, and of a way of life in harmony with it, however imperfect, should, in my opinion, be the aim of all education. Were it such, my way of life would be the normal way, whereas today it is abnormal, whence I am dubbed, as I always have been, an agitator, rebel, extremist, which at root means nothing more than that I keep abreast of the times.

One advantage of being abreast of the times is that one is able to appreciate the difficulties and problems which confront the rising generation. As a social rebel I not only perceive the problems that are confounding the present generation, but know how and why they have arisen, and the general lines of their solution. I observe the confusion into which modern life throws the more thoughtful of our youth, also the contrast between their deeper instincts and aspirations and the prevailing social trends and aims, and the few openings there are for creative self-expression, or vital living. These facts become painful when it is realised that it is upon our youth that we must rely if civilisation is to fulfil its promise, and that a very big percentage of our twenty year-olds have already been caught in the toils of social exploiters, whence they are deemed to function at various levels of mediocrity, sophistication and materialistic servitude.

This is true of every Western country. But latterly the canker of Western materialism has entered the East, where already its evil effects are to be seen. It is now penetrating into many parts of Africa. The remarkable fact is, however, that it is in the countries with the highest material living standards that the decline in spiritual values is most pronounced. Let the East, and Africa, take warning, therefore!

(Continued in page 69)

First Declaration on Shanti Sena

Vinobaji often refers to the origin of the Shanti Sena at Kozikode in Kerala on 12th August 1957 when Sri K Kelappan, the veteran Satyagrahi of Kerala signed the pledge of Shanti Sena with seven others. The first statement on the Shanti-sena being of special and historic importance is published here.

IT is ten years since India regained her freedom. But we have not yet realized the Grama Rajya of Gandhiji's dream. We could not get any glimpse of it either in the policies or programmes of the National Government, or in the routine constructive activities carried on by Gandhiji's followers. It was then that the Bhoodan movement—appeared as a silver lining in the all-pervading darkness. After six years of work, Bhoodan has now paved the way for Gramadan. The picture of Gram Raj becomes clearer and clearer as we move forward in the work for Gramadan. Today Gram Raj has ceased to be a fascinating dream; it is being felt as a reality coming within the reach of experience.

Society today all over the world is being strangled within the framework of government. The full and unfettered growth of the—individual is not possible in that set-up. The violence and exploitation that has spread all over are ever on the increase. In order to liberate the individual and society from this and to build up a non-violent social order based on Gramadan, and with a thoroughly new perspective, effective work has to be organised.

A non-violent and non-exploitation society cannot be brought into being much through the legislature or the Government. That revolution can come only from the people. The State and the present social order are upheld by three factors — the consent of the people obtained through the ballot box providing the basis for the political power of the State, the taxes paid by the people enriching the coffers of the State, and the army which embodies the punitive power of the State for the maintenance of law and order.

A Sarvodaya order of Society can be built only if these are substituted by their non-violent counterparts. The creative Sammathidan should take the place of inactive vote, the Sampathidan and Bhoodan the place of the taxes and Shanthi Sena the place of the police and the military. This experiment must start immediately at least in a few selected places. We have to prove that the coercive power of the State is not only not inevitable for the maintenance of peace in society, but a normal democracy cannot be built up on that basis. It should be possible for us to get the police and Military withdrawn. This is the only way for the realization of a non-violent Sarvodaya Society—the dream of great thinkers.

We have resolved to form a Shanthi Sena who are prepared to lay down their lives for this ideal. They should take the pledge enjoined on the Lok Sevaks and for Shanthi Sena and to face any situation with a sense of discipline. The five-fold observances are the following:—

1. To strive one's utmost to practise Sathya, Ahimsa, and Aparigraha, i. e. non-possession.
2. To do Nish-kama Seva, i. e. service without a desire for return.
3. To keep aloof from all party or power politics and to try to win the maximum co-operation of all irrespective of party consideration.
4. Not to observe any difference of class or caste and to cultivate equal respect for all religions.
5. To devote one's maximum time and total meditation for Bhoodan.

Lok Sevaks are bound to these pledges. Members of the Shanthi Sena will work as Lok Sevaks in normal conditions, but on particular occasions as soldiers.

We fully believe that a Sarvodaya Social Order can be built up in India through the efforts of this Shanthi Sena. This is a glorious objective inspiring any Indian. We consider ourselves fortunate in being able to constitute the sena under the inspiring guidance of Poojya Vinobaji. We appeal to our country-men to share in this great and noble Yajna and dedicate ourselves to this mighty task.

Talks on the Gita By Vinoba

A Review

This is a book which has made a record sale of about a million copies in fourteen languages of India. The first edition of ten thousand of the English translation being sold out, the second edition of 20,000 is just now released by the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, Rajghat, Kashi. It is 290 pages and priced at a low level of Rs. 2 - to make it within reach of all. Copies are available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.

THESE talks given in Marathi by Vinobaji to his fellow-prisoners in Dhulia Jail (Feb. to June 1932), have been translated into almost all other Indian languages and have become deservedly popular throughout the country.

The English rendering succeeds in retaining the simplicity and liveliness of the spoken form, without however sacrificing the strength or subtlety of the original. Though one may not endorse Bernard Shaw's preference for a journalistic style, one may deem it a piece of good fortune that the draft English version of "Gita Pravachan" appeared in weekly instalments in the SUNDAY STANDARD and was subjected to wide friendly criticism before being finalised. The result is a fine blend of faithfulness and readability.....

The publishers rightly claim that this seminal book brings to the English reader "the rich and growing tradition that Vinobaji would have us live". Indeed, the classic commentary on our central scripture is Vinobaji's one sustained effort at expounding a philosophy and challenges comparison with the similar work of earlier Acharyas. Vinobaji's first love was mathematics. He is a loving student of Hindu metaphysics and mythology and the lives, songs and sayings of the Mahabhaktas of Maharashtra. Through years of contemplation he has revived the Vedic concepts of Yajna and Dana and given them new applications. He has lived a life of active idealism in intimate contact with the greatest Karmayogin of modern times. Above all, he is a born teacher. The result is a

rare combination of correct and comprehensive thinking, clear presentation and earnestness to help the seeker in the practical problems of daily living.

Vinoba claims and exercises the right to re-interpret old terms and to keep alive the spirit by departing from the letter. His greatest and most original contribution consists in the treatment of vikarma as bhavana or inward action, including bhakti in all its aspects. Not only does he help us to an understanding of the real message of the Gita, but gives us a key-formula (karma plus vikarma equals akarma) which can serve us in every situation demanding action. Many old barren controversies are laid to rest in the course of the discussion of yoga and sannyasa, of bhakti and jnana.

By analysis of its structure and appreciation of its sustained imagery, the Gita is shown to be a continuous and cumulative movement from beginning to end. While this should please the exacting philosophical or literary critic, repeated reading of this modern masterpiece will assuredly impel and enable ordinary men and women to live healthy and happy lives. One cannot help growing from good to better, when one is inspired by a sense of purpose, high but not too high for human nature's daily food. Those who accept and practise their swadharma in the light of these "Talks" will never lack the daily bread that Lord Jesus taught us to pray for - the intellectual, emotional and spiritual sustenance that develops mortal creatures into souls worth saving.

While all Hindus accept the authority of the Gita, they have approached it for the most part from a theoretical angle and used it too often for controversial purposes. "The Talks" presents both a synthetic and highly practical version of the scripture and eminently deserves to become "the common manual of all modern Hindus". It would be a very good thing if every person leaving school is given a copy of "The Talks" in the language of his choice, so that he may use it as his unfailing guide and companion through life.

— "Sunday Standard".

Moratorium for Scientific Inventions

Jayaprakash Narayan

WE are a country with thousands of years of civilization. During this period, great experiments have been made in social living. It was a great misfortune that after the attainment of political independence, when the fundamental law of the land, the constitution of our country was drafted, all our past experiences of thousands of years in the successful functioning of democratic institutions were neglected and the framers of the constitution tried to imitate the experiences of a few hundreds of years of the functioning of parliamentary institutions in a few Western countries. As a result of this, we find ourselves sunk neck-deep in this mire of party politics. It was particularly in South India that these democratic institutions had taken deep roots and were functioning well for a fairly long time.

Defeat of Democracy

The party system has divided us, has created artificial conflicts, has exaggerated all the vices of our national life and it is leading to the demoralisation of our public life. At the same time, the party system does not even give us a democratic government. The minimum definition of democracy is that it is the rule of the majority. But where is that majority in our country? Where does the rule of the majority exist? There may be one or two exceptions. Everywhere in every state the party which has received minority of votes is in power. I have called this failure of democracy in our country.

The minimum that the political leaders of the country should do is to assure the people that they would have governments backed by a majority of opinion. Even if we do get a majority Government, is that the ideal form of Government? Is it the final word on Democracy? Western democracies have not advanced beyond the concept of majority rule. If there has been any advance, it has been from majority rule to class rule, the rule of the proletariat etc.

Party-less Democracy

It was Gandhiji who placed before us the concept of the rule of all. He has placed before us the concept of government without parties, a partyless democracy. But there are a few people who are giving thought to what Gandhiji had said and written. Everywhere there is struggle for power and everyone is busy with that. Everybody wants power for himself. How could the people get power, nobody thinks. As soon as you think of parties and their relative strength, you have given up the thought of securing power for the people.

The Evils of Election

The present system of election is absolutely foreign to us. It creates such excitement, creates such unreal issues, makes understanding so difficult because false issues are created and many lies are said and it also involves so much expenditure that it can in no way be conceived as expressing the will of the people. This system of election is contrary to the social nature of Man, to the nature of society.

This system of election takes an inorganic view of society viewing the different individuals as so many particles of a substance and not as independent human beings. Man is a social being and is bound with his neighbour, family and community.

Society is not just the sum total of individuals; society is the sum total of human relationships; society is the sum total of social living. It is, therefore, that our political institutions should reflect our social living and social nature of Man.

The primary unit in social life in which Man lives is the family, and then village community. Our large cities and towns are not communities at all; they are human jungles where one individual does not know his neighbour. That is why I have been emphasising some form of indirect election through the integration of community life at different levels and stages.

Mahatma Gandhi has spoken and written about all these things. But unfortunately, the drafters of our Indian constitution had never cared to look into what Mahatma Gandhi had written.

Science has become the religion of the modern world. Everyone knows how science has brought the whole world to the edge of an abyss. Science is itself helpless in saving Man from plunging into that abyss. Science is merely an instrument in the hands of man who had not learnt any new lessons whatsoever. And until man learns a new lesson nothing is going to save him from this destruction which stares him in his face. I have repeated so many times that unless the moral and the spiritual development of man catches up with this scientific and technological development that has been taking place around us at such a rapid rate, man is destined to commit a very painful suicide.

A moratorium for Scientific inventions

Human society will lose nothing if a moratorium were to be placed on the future development of Science. Nothing would be lost if it could be agreed amongst all scientists of the world that all new scientific inventions will be suspended for a short period, say 20 or 25 years and in the meantime all attempts should be concentrated in evolving Man into a worthy human being who can use Science not for self-destruction but for the good of the human family.

This is an age of changes, age of revolutions. All kinds of revolutions have taken place around us. But the question is "have all these revolutions achieved the goal? Have we achieved peace of the world, peace of the human family? Have we established new value of life? I think any impartial, objective person will reply in the negative. Neither the violent revolutions that had taken place in Russia and China have achieved the goals they had set before themselves. Neither the democratic socialism of North-western European countries carried out by masters of socialism has taken us near to the goal of socialism.

The conflicts between man and man and all kinds of conflicts still continue in all these communities. The individual narrow self-interest continues to be the basis of life everywhere. Everywhere there is fear.

Over-organised and over-institutionalised

Life has become so over-organized and over-institutionalised that the individual feels suffocated. There is no scope for the human heart to function. Human relationships between man and man are difficult to be established since life has become artificial. The desire to have more and more and to raise our standard of living has created such an unrest in the life of the individual, as well as in the life of the nations of the world.

Revolutionary ideals of equality, fraternity and liberty and brotherhood have been left miles behind. Hence, it is necessary to ponder over the vexing problem and find out the solution of the malaise. Mahatma Gandhi and Vinobha Bhave have stressed that the fundamental change must be in the individual himself and without that change no other external change could achieve anything. Without a change in the individual's outlook, his attitude and his sense of values all external changes are meaningless and history has proved this.

This is an age of Socialism. Everyone and every party talks of socialism. What is the Socialism we wish to bring about? Socialism is not mere bread and butter. It is a matter of way of life, it is a set of human values. Socialism means a new civilization. Socialism means a new Man. It is very easy to be outwardly a socialist and inwardly a capitalist. Everyone of us, so long as he is narrow-minded, selfish and greedy of power, is a capitalist. Let us become the Sarvodaya Socialist of Satvic kind.

(A speech at Tanjore on 28-5-59 while inaugurating a fortnightly Tamil Journal "Pudumai kural"
—The New Voice)

Tolstoy on Land Problem

We are indebted to Henry George School of Social Science, New York, for this interesting letter of Count Leo Tolstoy written in 1894 in his estimate of the unique contribution of Henry George on the question of private ownership of land and his Single-tax theory. In his inimitable language Tolstoy compares private ownership to slave trade.

To

B. Eulenstein,
Berlin, Germany.

Moscow, Russia,
April 27, 1894

Respected Sir,

In answer to your letter of the 23rd of March, I hasten, with peculiar pleasure, to inform you as follows:

I have known Henry George since the appearance of his "Social Problems". I read it, and was struck with the correctness of its fundamental thought, its extraordinary clearness, which is lacking so much in scientific literature, its common sense, its power of analysis, and particularly for scientific literature, the exceptional Christian spirit with which the whole book is permeated. When I had finished this book, I then read his earlier work, "Progress and Poverty," and learned to appreciate still more what Henry George has accomplished.

You ask my opinion about what Henry George has accomplished with reference to the question of landed property and his system of the single-tax. My opinion is as follows:

Humanity is constantly progressing in the knowledge of social laws and the establishment of conditions of living which correspond with this increased learning. And, therefore, in every period in the life of humanity there takes place on the one hand a clearing of conceptions, and on the other hand a realization in life of that which has become clear to us through enlightenment.

Towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century there occurred throughout Christendom the process of clearing the minds with reference to the working class who lived in various forms of slavery, and the process of establishing new forms, corresponding with the enlightened spirit of the age; the abolishing of slavery and the replacing of the same by the wage system. At the present time the clearing of ideas is in process, with reference to the use of land, and so on, it seems to me, must begin the process of realization of the clarified conceptions.

In these processes, which in our time are the main tasks in social economy, Henry George was, and is, pioneer and leader of the movement. It is this which gives him his great eminence. He has, through his most excellent works, materially contributed to the clearing of the conceptions of men with reference to this question, as also to a practical solution of the same.

It is remarkable that in raising this question of the abolition of this notoriously outrageous system of private property in land, the same thing is repeated which, if I remember rightly, occurred when the abolition of slavery in Russia and in America, was in question. The governments, and the leading classes, realizing in the very depth of their souls that the solving of the land question means the solving of all social questions, which would deprive them at once of all their special privileges and that this question is the question of the day, make it appear as if they were greatly disturbed over the welfare of the people, and while they introduce savings banks, inspection of factories, income tax, and even the eight hour working day, they ignore very carefully the land question; and with the aid of a politico-economic science which is devoted to their interest, and will prove anything they want proven, they insist that the expropriation of land would be useless, hurtful, nay, even impossible.

The very same thing now occurs which occurred when slavery was in question. The people have long felt that this condition cannot last long; that slavery is an awful,

soul-harassing anachronism; but nevertheless a quasi-religion proved that either slavery was necessary or that the time had not come yet to abolish it. Now the same thing occurs with reference to the land question, only with this difference, that political economy takes the place of religion.

One would have thought that, to every intelligent man, it must be as clear as day that possession of land by people who do not use it, who refuse hundreds, aye, thousands of starving families the occupation of this land, is as immoral as it is infamous—just like the possession of slaves. Nevertheless, we see cultivated, refined, English, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian aristocrats enjoy this cruel, abominable privilege, and, supported by the ready sophistries which a politico-economic science furnishes them for their excuse, they are not only not ashamed of it, but pride themselves on their possessions.

Now the great merit of Henry George consists in this, that he dissolves into nothingness all these sophistries, which are produced in defence of private property in land, so that the defenders of it do not dare to debate any more, but carefully evade this question, and purposely ignore it with silence. But Henry George has also driven them from this attitude of evasion. And in this, again, lies his great merit. Henry George did not content himself with making this question perfectly clear, so that only those with closed eyes can fail to see the unreasonableness and immorality of private property in land. Henry George was also the first who showed the possibility of solving this question. He was the first who gave a clear and straight answer to the common objections which are brought forward by the enemies of all progress, and which culminate in the assertion that the demands of progress are chimerical, impractical, and wild phantoms which one can and may answer with silence. The plan of Henry George silences these objections and puts the question in such a shape that even tomorrow committees could be appointed for the examination and trial of the plan and its crystallization into law.

In Russia, for instance, we could commence tomorrow to examine the question of buying out the land, or its expropriation without compensation for the purpose of nationalization, and it could be adjusted after various changes in the same way as, 33 years ago, the question of freeing the serfs was decided.

The necessity for a change in their condition has been made clear to the people, and also its possibility. (changes and improvements may be made in the details of the single-tax system, but the fundamental idea is certainly feasible) they cannot, therefore, refrain from acting accordingly.

It is only necessary that the fundamental idea of the nationalization of land shall become public opinion.

As I see, from your letter and your books you sent me, your efforts are in this direction. I sympathize with you with all my heart, and wish you the best of success; for my life is devoted to the same work, which I consider my most sacred duty.

Very respectfully,
Leo Tolstoi.

The Great Political Superstition

"The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments. The oil of anointing seems unawares to have dripped from the head of the one on to the heads of the many, and given sacredness to them also and to their decrees."

Herbert Spencer

Children in Vinoba's movement

Leon Bensimon

The writer is a friend from France who was working in India in the Service Civil International. He is devoted to Sarvodaya. He has returned to India after spending some time in Israel.

It seems that with every new human being appearing in the world, the Almighty is sending us a message of hope to the humanity. Although the world is passing the age of Kali Yuga or "Black Age" the messages brought by the newly born children remain always valid. And how not to realise the significance of every human birth when the Saint of the times, Vinoba himself says "I am learning to see God in the children".

In fact, the kids have taken part in the pacifist revolutionary movement, actually in India, which preaches and puts in practice 'the voluntary sharing between men of all kind of worldly wealth material and non-material'.

Let me recall some significant instances.

One evening in the year 1953, from the Ashram of Sevagram a group of disciples of Gandhi, including many boys and girls, started. Led by the great disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, Asha Devi Aryanayakam, they were going to organise a meeting in the neighbouring villages to request them to give graciously a part of their property to their less lucky brethren.

After Asha Devi's talks, when we walked in the peasants' assembly, we saw a peasant bending his head towards his son, a kid of 12 years of age. After a short moment of thinking, the father got up and came slowly to put his thumb-print on the Gift Deed, and afterwards he confessed, with a quiet voice but mixed with joy and pride that his son had just convinced him to partake five acres with the landless neighbours. Imagine the effect of such a thing on the audience, and mainly on some Europeans privileged to be there.

Another case: One child of 15 years spent his one month holiday, by collecting alone from farm to farm, in the Indian State of Bihar, nearly 100 acres, i. e. about 40 hectares of cultivable land. At that time, the newspapers of India published the news. Armoured with his innocence and faith, rooted already with the sense of justice, the self-confidence to persuade people was coming to him naturally. The families who benefited from those acres of land will never guess to whom they owed for living "a new and dignified life". But what makes the greatness of India is that several of her sons act with disinterest, without expecting any praise or any benefit for themselves.

Another kid, 8 years old, accompanied on foot, during the monsoon of the same year, the party of an eminent disciple of Vinoba, Sri Shankarrao Deo in his tour of the South Indian villages. Nobody had sent him, he came alone, barefooted, to faithfully follow those Gandhian workers. They seeing the rains, the mire, and the winds, advised and insisted on the boy's return to his home. But he, with an angelic sweetness, refused and kept company for several weeks and disappeared one day.

For some time in Bihar, then Vinoba's party was including two mothers each one of them carrying a child of about two years old. At the afternoon prayer meeting, sitting cross-legged, Vinoba was protected on each side by one of these small wingless angels. Sometimes one of them would climb on his back while he was speaking to the big crowd.

One day the audience applauded the talk of Vinoba. This boy, turning his face to the children imitated almost ironically, the applause of the crowd as if he wanted to tell the boys:— "What do you think? Do you need their noisy hand clappings? What does interest us is that they will be conscious of the misery of the world and bring all their efforts to remedy it".

When Vinoba arrives with his disciples to villages, or city one touching scene is of equal amount of enthusiasm

of the old as well as of the children. Like birds they almost dance around "those Gandhian missionaries for Peace", run here and there, sometimes knock out themselves against some legs, call one another, showing the thin beared Saint and declaring loudly: "Vinoba! Here is Vinoba!" Some times they form a little group advancing and jumping to Vinoba cheerfully. What a difference does this make in the agitated circle around Vinoba, with his followers with faces too serious and filled with importance, at the entrance to a city.

Thus God is sending His blessings to Vinoba and his companions in the form of children. Without them, the meaning of arrival of each Bhoodan party would be "Incomplete".

When Vinoba speaks to the crowd, murmur surrounds his voice. It is the voice of the children and small girls who keep company among the adult people.

Vinoba, who is sometimes in a humorous mood told us one day, pointing to the children: "What do you think? Those children are speaking because I am speaking, and now they are going to keep quiet because I too am going to observe silence" meaning thus the five minutes silent prayer which follows always his speech and everyone burst in laughter.

In the sale of books of the Sarvodaya movement, around the hall, the children are not the last to take part. They take them for sale shouting the prices and bring the sales amount with joy to the person in charge of literature and again take books for sale.

Having recently done a walking pilgrimage of 250 miles upto the birth-house of Gandhi, I was requested many times on my way, to talk to the students of Gandhian educational institutions. I noticed that those boys were hearing with keen attention when I was speaking about the movement of Bhoodan, Gandhi or Vinoba, and when the children in their natural sensibility applaud you, it means you are touching the real.

One evening I told them, "In every one of you, there is the soul of Vinoba and Gandhi. Actually it is sleeping in you. It is up to you to awaken that soul". I shall not describe to you their reactions, the expression on their faces, because it is difficult for a Westerner to catch what is going on in the inner being of an Indian. But after the talk they dispersed without noise or calling each other as usual.



AN INTERVIEW WITH THE MAHATMA

IT was a day of silence when I saw Gandhiji at Sevagram in 1945 sometime before he was perhaps to start to Bombay for talks with Jinnah. I put a question to Gandhiji as I was not getting Indian colleagues to work with me in my rural work around Rasulia. I raised the doubt whether I was handicapped by reason of my nationality. To this Gandhiji wrote out his reply on tiny bits of paper as follows :

"I am glad you came again. I would like you when you have the time to come again and stay as you like.

"Please do not think that you do not get any Indian coworker, because of your nationality. It may be a part cause. But the deeper cause lies in our inability to pursue the truth relentlessly. I do not find fault because I know that the age long slavery has deprived the people of initiative. But it is coming through ever so slowly. Hence do not be discouraged but go on as you are doing. What do you care so long as Truth which is God is on your side."

Donald G. Groom

(My Experiments in the Art of Living—Continued from page 52)

One of the biggest modern problems is how to check and counter these materialistic trends - the acceptance of getting and spending money as a way of life, the craze for speed and a weakening regard for human life, the clamour for endless gadgets, for fashion, cosmetics, affluence and social status - trends that are deliberately fostered by money friends, pressure advertisers in the press, on the screen and television, and hire - purchase trading backed by big finance.

Reflecting on this situation I become increasingly conscious of many vital creative, human and social values which had sway in my younger days that have been swept away by that materialistic tornado, the Industrial Revolution. Yet while I meditate on the past, I still dream about the future, and even picture an age in which the wisdom of the centuries and the spiritual values to which it gave birth will find their due place in the age of science and mechanical technology. For of this I am sure, that a civilisation which fails to synthesise spiritual and material values will ultimately perish.

Hence at eighty I am as much a dreamer and a rebel as I was at twenty. I look back over a long period of major changes in every sphere of human activity, vaster and more bewildering changes than have occurred since man emerged on this planet, and then turn towards the future where I see two possibilities, on the one hand, the gaudy, glamorous, quantitative, self-indulging habits and values of a brazen Prosperity and unmatched Power - financial, economic, political and military,—the triumph of greed and desire over reason and wisdom, of abundance over sufficiency and of indulgence over restraint, and thus the possibility of an unbalanced uncontrollable civilisation being swept into the primeval void whence it came, and, on the other hand, the emergence of a new heaven and a new earth, uncontrolled and more glorious age than has yet been, where truth holds sway over Power, and where science and philosophy, conduct and religion, technology and spiritual values, wealth and wisdom achieve the unity

of an all-inspiring synthesis and open the way to that spacious, friendly, neighbourly, interesting, satisfying, and vital way of life of our dreams.

After all, our basic needs are simple once we have thrown off the fetters of greed and false pride. We should aim at simplicity in all things, including food, dress and speech. The most precious things in life possess the quality of simplicity, as should also the most common daily necessities; food, dress, homes, neighbourhoods and human relationships from the home and the village to the ends of the earth. Simplicity calls for a world family, universal fellowship, and the wealth that is LIFE.

(to be continued)

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

"MY identification with labour does not conflict with my friendship with capital. All through my life I have been pledged to range myself against capital but capitalists have, in the end, regarded me as their friend. My ideal is that capital and labour should supplement and help each other; they should be a great family living in unity and harmony, the capitalists being trustees for the welfare of the workers.

Legislation in advance of public opinion is worse than useless. Non-co-operation is the quickest method of creating public opinion by a change of heart and of manners. Two paths are, therefore, open before India today, either to introduce the Western principle or to uphold the Eastern principle, that truth alone conquers, that truth knows no misrepresentations, that the strong and the weak, labour and capital have alike a right to seek justice."

—Gandhi.

(From Gandhian Technique and Tradition)

Jayaprakash Narayan in Karnatak

DURING his six days' tour from 5th to 11th June 1959 to propogate Sarvodaya ideal in Karnatak, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan travelled 600 miles. Though the duration of his stay was short, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan kept up the heavy engagements.

He visited 12 important places, addressed meetings organised by the public, workers, Chamber of Commerce, students and new Lok Sevaks and also gave a talk at a Press Conference.

While replying to the civic addresses presented to him by the Municipalities of Mysore, Shimoga and Davanagere, he explained the need for the transformation of the present Municipalities into "Sarvodaya Municipalities", and also the duties and functions of such Sarvodaya Municipalities and the place they should occupy in the life of the country.

All the public meetings were packed to strength and thousands heard his message of Sarvodaya. The main subjects covered were Shanti Sena, Sarvodaya patra and Gram Swaraj. He appealed to the Gandhian constructive workers to come together and make an united effort to push the movement forward. He stressed the need for integration and co-ordination in their approach and ideology. He explained the new constitution of Sarva Seva Sangh in the Workers' meetings and asked workers of all the Constructive organisations to become Lok Sevaks.

At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in Mangalore, he spoke on *Trusteeship* and its application in industry. He had a meeting with Gen. Kariappa, the former Commander-in-chief of the Indian Army. In Shimoga a veteran social worker donated 10 Gunthas of land for construction of District Sarvodaya Karyalaya and Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan laid the foundation stone thereof.

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During the last two days of his tour he attended the Karnatak Sarvodaya Sammelan held in Hubli. 150 workers from all over the State attended the conference in which Sri R. R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Nidhi also took part.

The following is the gist of some of the points emphasised by Sri Jayaprakash:—

Sarvodaya Municipalities :

Mysore had already given its support to Vinoba's Sarvodaya ideals. The existing Municipalities must be converted into Sarvodaya Municipalities. Such a step towards the realization of this ideal should be taken by a State like Mysore, as there is no need for obtaining legislative sanction. It could be done voluntarily as the ruling party has accepted the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society. It is our duty to do whatever is possible to further the ideals of Sarvodaya. The dearth of "real fulltime workers" for the furtherance of Sarvodaya ideals is much to be regretted. *(Mysore, June 7)*

The Aim of Sarvodaya :

Sarvodaya aims at the removal of the apathy, the helplessness and the inertia which have enveloped the people after independence. It is very unfortunate that people should look to the Government for getting everything done. This attitude has killed the initiative in the people and the aim of the Sarvodaya movement is to kindle initiative and make the people realise their responsibilities and duties to the nation.

It is only by the co-operative work of the people that any country can progress. In the totalitarian regime, State socialism pervaded all walks of life, but in a democracy the State can only guide and it is the people who should venture and build up the nation. Wherever the people have taken the initiative, countries progress remarkably, but wherever the people did not work, those countries remain backward.

While manpower is short in the Western Countries, India has abundant men to work. But how all the people could work is the question. Leaving children and old people India has now a population of nearly 2½ crores. If all these people are provided with work, what miracle can we not achieve? The rural population has been utterly neglected and millions are idle. Since we have abundant man-power, we have to re-orient our policies on an agro-industrial community basis. Sarvodaya strives for this purpose. *(Davangere, June 11)*

Call for Intensive Work :

As the Sarvodaya Movement is a people's movement, the public must support it whole-heartedly. What we have so far achieved in Bhoodan and Gramdan work is very little compared to the target, but considering the movement as a whole, ample progress has been made. Sarvodaya workers should pay greater attention to intensive work. More socio-economic progress could be achieved if we work with greater zeal and enthusiasm.

Sarvodaya Work like an Iceberg

The lull in the Sarvodaya movement is like an iceberg. The Sarvodaya movement being a "psychological movement," cannot be fully discernible. There will be a lull followed by an intense activity. People cannot expect a steady course of action in a movement like Sarvodaya which touches not the head but the heart of the people. Like the iceberg, the greater part of the movement, is not fully visible, and it has quietly touched the hearts of millions. If today people are frustrated with the current political trend in the country, this frustration can be easily channelised through Sarvodaya.

Wrong Emphasis on material Progress

In many of the Gramdan villages, the emphasis is placed more on the material welfare of the people than on the Sarvodaya way of life. The Community Project department can only provide the material welfare but many types of work do not fall within the sphere of the Government. Here the Sarvodaya workers must step in.

Revolutionise Khadi Work

*(Resolution of the Khadi-Gramodyog Samiti of
The Sarva Seva Sangh at its meeting at Pusa Road in
July 1959)*

WHILE giving a new direction to the work of the Charkha Sangh, Gandhiji presented a comprehensive picture of village reconstruction before Khadi workers. That and our recent experience in reorientating Khadi work have both made it clear that the constructive programme for establishing a new society should be planned in the context of the entire life of a village. If the constructive programme is promoted only as a cure for unemployment, it cannot advance beyond a certain limit and permanent solutions of basic problems cannot be reached. It is therefore, necessary from both the theoretical and practical points of view, that programmes of a constructive nature including Khadi, should be framed keeping in view the broad picture of village life.

The basic problem of the village is that of food. We must, therefore, co-ordinate programmes of Khadi and village Industries with those for the development of agriculture and animal husbandry. Indeed, it can be said that Khadi and Village Industries programmes can be planned in the context of the entire life of the village only on the basis of agriculture and animal husbandry.

The problem of the hungry and the naked is a social problem and is closely connected with social justice. That is to say, the concept of social justice is inextricably linked with our entire programme. In view of all these considerations, it becomes abundantly clear that we should chalk out our programmes of reconstruction in the context of the entire life of a village. As a result of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement, the ideal of a non-violent society and also our path have become clearer. Thus, our goal is to march towards a non-violent society based on Bhoodan and village industries. We will have to prepare our workers, the village population and the society at large on this basis.

The Myth about Small Holdings

MUCH is said about the uneconomic small holdings and low out-turn in agricultural operation in such holdings. Here is an extract from the Ambassador's Report by Chester Bowles proving that low production in the small holdings is a myth with his own personal observations in Japan and other Asiatic countries.

"The argument that small holdings of land in the hands of individual owners will mean less production is simply not valid. It confuses the *cost* of production per ton in America with the *amount* of production per acre. We have believed this myth because in the United States, where land is plentiful and labour is scarce and costly, we have found large-scale farming with giant machines highly profitable.

But a Long Island farmer with two acres of good land, with plenty of fertilizer and intensive cultivation, could produce more wheat per acre than a North Dakota farmer with a tractor combine working a large farm.....

In Japan, where I saw what amounts to "wheat gardening" on tiny terraces all the way up hillsides, the farmer on a two-acre plot, which he plants and fertilizes by hand, produces half again as much wheat per acre as we do on our vast farms; and between rows of wheat he grows a good crop of potatoes. He tends those two acres with all tender care that a gardener gives to a rose garden on a millionaire's estate.

In most of Asia this is practical, because labour is plentiful and its production above all which is wanted. The land is now too crowded for mechanized agriculture, there would be no jobs for the millions of peasants displaced, and in any case there is no money available to purchase the huge machines of the West". ★

Sarvodaya Patra in Andhra

UNDER the inspiring guidance of Sri Suryanarayana Rao of Tenali Sarvodaya Patra has made remarkable progress in Tenali, Vijayavada and Guntur. At tenali about a thousand patras were distributed in the beginning of August 1958. It has rapidly progressed, and today there are about 4000 patras in operation. 15 Seva Sainiks are working in Tenali. At Vijayawada, controlled by the Tenali Office, some Sarvodaya Patras were distributed on 17th November 1958, and today there are about 2000 patras operated by 8 Seva Sainiks. At Guntur, 14 Seva Sainiks are serving the 2500 houses which have accepted the Sarvodaya Patras.

When any body doubts about the practicability of the Sarvodaya Patra Vinobaji points at Tenali and Guntur as a challenge and an answer.

The success of the programme is more attributable to the perfect method and technique followed by the organisers. There is a regular programme of propagating the ideology of Sarvodaya besides periodical visits to the houses for collecting the contributions. A strict formula of utilisation of the collection is being observed. Every Seva Sainik collecting the contribution is paid Rs. 50 per month. The rest of the collection is being spent for rent of the premises, for printing pamphlets and for doing propaganda work among the patra-holders. The seva sainiks are given good training. They not only collect the grain contribution, but also go about the houses collecting Ambar Yarn hanks for delivering them to the Charkha Sangh. They undertake repairing and servicing of the ordinary and Ambar Charkhas. They are also doing adult education work and are conducting community prayers. In all the melas and local festivals, these volunteers could be seen serving. The lady sevikas teach handicrafts like embroidery and sewing. Two training courses were conducted at Doppalapudi for three weeks and another at Patamatalanka in Vijayawada. ★

The Citizen's Duty in Nuclear Race

A friend has drawn our attention to an interesting editorial in the *Saturday Review*, U. S. A. under the title "If there is to be mobilization". This is occasioned by an incident of the Radar screens of the American Military Defences picking up some unidentified flying objects, after which the U. S. Strategic Air Command immediately despatched jet bombers armed with nuclear bombs in the direction of the Soviet Union. While the bombers were still well on the American side of the border of the Soviet Union, the markings on the Radar were identified as a simple migration of large birds. Fortunately, the order went out in time to stop the planes, which would otherwise have led to a huge world war with annihilation of humanity. The concluding part is given below:

"The most significant aspect of the current crisis is that the national sovereign governments are floundering and, indeed, are intensifying the peril by refusing to create the only basis on which a common security can be built; namely, a pooling of sovereignty under world law.

"What is most needed today - and this holds for all peoples and not just the peoples of the United States or the Soviet Union - is massive assurance of wisdom and restraint rather than nervous proclamations that one side or the other is all set to unleash the nuclear terror. It would be in greater keeping with our history if we were to announce, not that we were all primed to press the ultimate trigger, but that we would rather die ourselves than start a world nuclear war. And it would help to serve the cause of all history if we were to make known with absolute sincerity our own iron determination to put an end to the runaway nuclear race under enforceable safe-guards that would be binding on all. And if we speak of mobilization, let it be the mobilization of purpose and resources in combatting hunger or disease or injustice - abroad or at home.

"Our security depends on control of force rather than on the pursuit of force. It is not enough for the governments to recognize this. The citizen must recognize it, give it priority over his personal affairs, and create the kind of mandate that can give leadership to leaders."



Definition of Anarchy

WE are surprised to see that the *Sarvodaya* magazine has attracted some friends of the anarchist and the libertarian school in foreign countries. They are sending us their publications and journals: some of them are in French or Italian which we are unable to follow. One anarchist friend in Britain sent us an article on "Sarvodaya and Anarchism" published in *Sarvodaya* and he posed certain questions to be answered by Vinobaji or Sri Jayaprakash. Recently we received some literature from the editor, Libertarian, Bombay. We were naturally anxious to know the definition of 'anarchy'. One of the books with the title "In the Struggle for Equality" by B. Yelensky published in U. S. A. has extracted the definition of "anarchy" from the Encyclopedia Britannica which is given below:

"The Encyclopedia Britannica has a quite full sympathetic account of Anarchy. We would particularly call the reader's attention to The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, which can be found in many libraries, and which has an excellent article on Anarchy by Oscar Jaszi, a Hungarian scholar who was a teacher at Oberlin College. He gives a comprehensive survey of the history and literature of Anarchy, and outlines some ideals which were the center of discussion at the Congress of American Anarchists held in Pittsburgh in 1883, as follows:

(1) "To establish justice, that is, equality and reciprocity, in all human relations by the complete elimination of the state, or by the greatest possible minimization of its activity, and its replacement by an entirely free and spontaneous co-operation between individuals, groups, regions and nations.

(2) Our unbearable social and moral evils cannot be cured, or even alleviated by the state, which is necessarily an instrument of domination and exploitation.

(3) All reforms from above are worthless and can only augment our present misfortune. Only the principle of federalism, beginning with the humblest of human relations and ascending to the highest international co-operation, can establish the new society.

(4) This new society can only be the result of a revolutionary action in the soul, or in the socio-political life, which will destroy the state... and all coercive systems whatsoever." ★

Vinobaji in Kashmir

MAROONED for six days at Mandi, Vinobaji reached Gulmarg on July 15. Vinobaji was proceeding to Kashmir valley from Poonch. On his way to Gulmarg Vinobaji crossed the Jamiagali Pass 13500 feet high near Gulmarg on 13th July.

Vinobaji with his party of 24 which includes Shri Navakrishna Chowdhry reached Srinagar on August 2.

On his way to Srinagar, Vinobaji passed through Magam, Patan, Baramulla, Haddwara, Watale, Sapore and Shalting.

At the meeting held at Srinagar on the 3rd August, he said that he was not in favour of imposition of co-operative farming or collective farming and that he stood for co-operation as the basic principle of life, which is the essence, both of science and spirituality; He stood for one world government as in this age of scientific advancement, distances between different countries are narrowed down. It would be wise to vest political and economic power in villages. Between the villages and the world government the function of States would be that of co-operation and co-ordination. He said that villages will be the basic units of real freedom and that the villages should therefore plan to develop the villages themselves. Among those who attended the meeting were Sardar-I-Riyasat, Yuvaraj Karansingh, Chief Minister Bakshi Gulam Mohammed and Ministers of the Kashmir Government.

At the Srinagar meeting on 4th of August, he said that he regretted that the Kerala problem was not solved with love and peace. It is of no use apportioning the percentage of blame and responsibility on the different parties in Kerala. It is obvious that all parties were more or less in the wrong. What pained him, was that the different parties should have involved the students and dragged them into the political struggle.

Vinobaji welcomed the good news of the proposed meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev. He said that political leaders had immense power now which even the great monarchs of old days did not have. In his scheme of things, he stood for increase of the power of the people so that the forces of love, understanding and peace are strengthened. He expressed the

hope that India would show the new way of solving all issues with love and understanding to the world by solving all her own internal problems with love.

Vinobaji climbed the 6000 ft Sankaracharya Hill overlooking Srinagar City with his party and worshipped at the shrine of Sri Sankaracharya there.

Vinobaji discussed with Sriman Narayan on the general outlines of the Third Plan, particularly on agriculture, land reforms and matters connected with unemployment. Sri Yuvaraj Karansingh, Sardar-I Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir had 45 minutes meeting with Vinobaji when they generally discussed about the philosophy of Sarvodaya. This was the first meeting of the Yuvaraj with Vinobaji since he entered the valley. *

News in Brief

Sarvodaya Literature Campaign in Tamil Nad :

The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal decided at its recent meeting at Batlagundu to celebrate the second Sarvodaya Literature Week from 11th to 18th September 1959. 11th September which is the anniversary day of the Tamil Poet Bharathi is also the birth day of Vinobaji. Last year, the celebration was conducted for a fortnight on an extensive scale throughout Tamilnad, with exhibitions, discourses, essay competitions and sale campaigns, which resulted in the sale of Sarvodaya Literature for about Rs 25,000/-. This year the period is restricted to eight days and it is hoped that it will be more effective and successful than last year.

Sarva Seva Sangh :

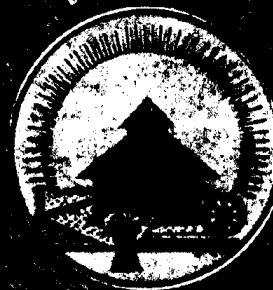
The newly constituted Akila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh under the amended constitution will meet at Sevagram on 24th and 25th September 1959. Great efforts have been taken in every state, to enrol large number of Lok Sevaks drawn from the various fields of constructive activity like Khadi, basic education, village industries etc. The Lok Sevaks in each district are busy having their meetings to select a representative for the Sarva Seva Sangh from each district.



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SARVODAYA

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Bharathi Day
&
Vinoba
Jayanthi



11th September

The Anniversary of the greatest modern Tamil Poet, Subramania Bharathi happens to coincide with the birthday of Acharya Vinoba on the eleventh of September. Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement seems to have been anticipated by the Poet Bharathi who wrote 40 years ago:

"So long as land and water do not belong commonly to all human beings, men are bound to behave worse than brutes in their 'economic relations' at any rate".

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SARVODAYA

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Vinobaji and Bharathy

MILLIONS in India will be celebrating the eleventh of September as the 66th birthday of Acharya Vinoba. It will be the unique pride of Tamilnad to associate the day with the anniversary of the Prophet-Poet, Subrahmanya Bharathy. Both have a spiritual affinity of their own. While in Vellore Jail, Vinobaji mastered the Tamil language and used to quote often from Bharathy in support for the Bhoodan ideals in his Yatra in Tamilnad.

Tamilnad has appropriately chosen to combine the Bharathy Day and Vinoba Jayanthi as the Sarvodaya Literature Week from 11th September as last year. The Week will be devoted for intensive propagation of the Gandhian ideology embodied in the treasure of inspired poetry and prose of Bharathy, for the realisation of which Vinobaji has been walking in the foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi for the last eight years round the country.

Vinobaji, the prophet-saint of Paunar after silent and continuous research at his laboratory of non-violence, came out to complete the Gandhian revolution in the social and economic sphere. He has been ceaselessly walking with the message of love, truth and courage for the freedom and dignity of man and self-determination for a self-planned and self-governing life of the Village Community as the enduring foundation for the peace of the world.

May Bharathi's name live for ever! May God grant long life to Vinobaji to guide us for the realisation of our Sarvodaya order of life in which man is again the sovereign and the state rules the least as the ideal one in the words of Thoreau.

Let us on this solemn occasion recall the pledge taken by Vinobaji on 15-4-1957 at Kanya Kumari, the Southern tip of India where the three oceans meet and wash the feet of the Virgin Kumari:

"I solemnly pledge this day, at the feet of Kanya Kumari, on the shore of the Indian Ocean and in the presence of Suryanarayana-Sun God that as long as Grama-rajya (Swaraj of the Village) is not established in India I shall keep on moving (yatra) and ceaselessly carry on the efforts in that direction. May God give me strength for the achievement of this goal."

The Attainment of World Peace

A Letter from Gandhiji



The Gandhi Memorial Museum in the old Tamukkam Palace of Rani Mangammal in the crowded city of Madurai has an imposing majesty of its own with an atmosphere of profound sanctity and peace. Besides innumerable enlarged photographs there are many precious letters of Gandhiji in the museum. With the permission of museum authorities we are giving a letter which contains a message of perennial value to us.

Dear Sister,

Here is my message. You can do with it what you like.

Attainment of real world peace is impossible except for greater scientific precision, greater travail of the soul, greater patience and greater resources than required for the invention and consolidation of the means of mutual slaughter. It cannot be attained by a mere monster roll signed by millions of mankind desiring peace. But it can, if there is a science of peace, as I hold there is, by a few devoting themselves to the discovery of the means. Their effort being from within will not be showy but then it will not need a single farthing.

Yours sincerely,

Seagaon,
Wardha C. P.
26-8-1937

M. K. Gandhi.

Handwritten signature and date: 24/8/37

Non-violent Village Communism

Subrahmanya Bharathi

This is a free rendering of part of the poet's article on "Wealth" in Tamil written probably at the time of Russian Revolution. The great Tamil poet had a vision of anticipating something analogous to Gramdan where the 'haves' gather and take a solemn pledge of showing a non-violent way of liquidating poverty before the village Deity.

THE world is made up of countries; the countries of provinces. The province is an aggregate of districts and the district is composed of a few cities and a large number of villages. Therefore, if we take a village and find means to make it absolutely free from poverty the same would become appropriate means to rid the world of all adversity. Let us take the very village of Kadayam in which I live as an instance. All the fields surrounding this village will be the possession of about thirty big land-holders and several small land-holders.

Let all the land-holders constitute a Sabha (Association) and let them meet before the temple tower and convene a meeting of the village people by tom-tom. Let one of the land-owners with their consent stand up and declare solemnly before the villagers as follows:

"Though you are merely living on gruel, the uncertainty of even that being available to you every day makes you victims to countless worries, misunderstandings, jealousies, deceits, disappointments and conflicts. The food problem is the only major problem as the Poet has sung. It has afflicted you as an insoluble big problem. Either by legitimate means of labour or by deceitful trade, the fields of this village have become the possession of only a few, as Proudhon, the French Economist has said 'Possession is theft'. The mere possession of the land by us is not the guilt of ours. Still, these lands will not yield anything without your co-operation, support and goodwill. Further your suffering and the resultant conflict among you owing to the uncertainty of daily assured food have involved us also in ceaseless misery. Except in the material possessions we have, we are all just human

beings like you in all respects. As our close and continuous association has become inevitable, it is impossible for us to feel happy while you are in the endless hell of distress. All our work has to be done with your help and we have no other go. The flame of your distress consumes us in many ways like a curse. It makes the chance of unity remote and aggravates the feelings of jealousy among us.

Land is common to all of us like the mother. That the claim of it as an exclusive possession is injustice has become clear to us. It is also clear that it is not right for you as it happens in countries like Russia to violently do away with us by murder or imprisonment so that you can expropriate our property which has been handed to us from generation to generation. For, possession helps to foster civilisation, and to rob of one's possession is unjust whatever be the reason for doing it.

If you who are landless can by force rob us and take the land from us, will it not be proper for those without clothes to rob you of your clothes? Similarly the homeless can rob those who possess houses and take possession. The man without possession is not traceable even among the nomadic hill-tribes.

And, is land alone property? Houses, utensils, articles like mat and pillow—everything is property. Would you consider it proper for the hill tribesmen to invade your villages and take possession of the house, utensils and all depriving you of them?

Therefore, it is clear that it is not right for you to expropriate our land by force. However, we do not wish to continue to commit the sin of appropriating all but wish to share between ourselves the produce of the land which mother earth provides for us all. We do not want to continue to say 'You shall be at our mercy for food. It is with our grace that you shall eat. If we are so inclined we shall keep you under starvation and bondage. As the sage Tiruvalluvar has described it, you lead a precarious life asking yourself ever the question:

"Is Indigence to bear me company even today?
She tormented me but only yesterday even unto
death."

We do not want any longer to bear the burden of the sin of keeping you in this tantalising state of your daily uncertainty of food. We have now decided to free you from the fear of hunger for ever and propose to adopt the following method to achieve the objective:

'Let some of us and some of you sit together to form Village Planning Sabha. This Sabha will decide the amount of work to be done in the village in all matters like, agriculture, sanitation, education, temple management, in production of food, clothing, utensils and other articles of need. This association will also allocate work to each according to his capacity and the people of the village will accordingly contribute their labour. Every man, woman and child will be assured of daily food for ever.

We and our descendents, generation after generation, will abide by this agreement. We solemnly pledge ourselves in this temple, in the presence of the deity here, on our honour and for the welfare of our own children. This agreement between us shall be engraved on a copper plate signed by a leading representative of ours and preserved in the temple archives'.

If such a pledge is taken and the village life is carried on on the basis of this pledge, poverty will be liquidated in the village. More than that, the more terrible thing of fear of hunger will vanish. Unity and mutual goodwill will prevail, disease and early death will diminish, and the village will radiate happiness. If this plan succeeds in one village, it will be followed with benefit by others all over the world.

People of Tamilnad, I appeal to you to claim the glory of giving the lead for the eradication of poverty and distress in the world.



From Vinobaji's Talks in Kashmir

Silent Prayer :

ALL of us describe God reverently in our own way but it has not been said that that description is His best or complete description. God is still satisfied with it just as the father is satisfied with the inarticulate expressions of his tiny child. Even so silent prayer is accepted as one of the best forms of prayer. If children and parents sit together in silent prayer, it is a good practice indeed and that will exalt the society. The habit of silence will be conducive to peace and non-violence. If there is a big gathering which is noisy, then pronounce the word 'Silence' in a way to make the whole gathering go to silence. If people get accustomed to this habit it will go a long way in establishing peace. Thus silence will prove immensely effective.

Silence is thus not only helpful for the individual but also for the order and discipline in the society.

For more than last three years I have been trying to introduce collective silence. I wish silent prayer to be practised in every family. In joint prayer meetings of Hindus, Muslims and other sects the question always arose how they pray together. In other works all can amicably meet together irrespective of caste or community but at the time of prayer they separate. One can understand if they keep apart in other matters. But in prayer they should all remain together and then alone we can all claim to be true devotees of God. Silence can easily and satisfactorily unite us in prayer.

Gramdan—a Defence Measure :

Every gramdan village should enjoy gram-swarajya. Many thought that Delhi would oppose this idea. But just the contrary has happened. Recently an economist said that "till now we have had to make plans keeping the interest of 35 crores of people in view. If all the villages come under gramdan we shall have to maintain a list of 5 lakhs villages only." If each village looks after its own affairs then the people will face no hardship in case a world war breaks out tomorrow. Every village will be self-sufficient in the matter of food, clothing, shelter and

(Continued in page 121)

The Swaraj of the Upanishads

Jagadguru Sankaracharya.

WE have various forms of government in this world and the purpose of every government is to cater to the physical needs of the people, like food, clothing and shelter and to ensure to them a peaceful existence, from molestation of any sort. In India we had been agitating for Poorna Swaraj and we are supposed to have achieved it. The idea behind Swaraj was that we should not be in the position of carrying out the behest of another, but should be in a position to regulate our own lives through representatives chosen by us.

We come across the expressions *Svarajyam*, *adhipatyam*, *svarat*, *virat* etc., in the Vedas and in the Upanishads. *Svarajyam* literally means one's dominion over oneself. Isvara is the king of this Universe, of the *triloka* (three worlds) or, according to a different enumeration, the fourteen worlds. He is the eternal Ruler. He has no beginning or end, and there is no question of successors as in the case of temporal kings. He is also conceived of as the Father and the Mother of the universe. To extend the relationship a little further, He is also the bosom friend or *sakha*, as in the case of Sri Krishna and Arjuna. When we establish this *sakha* relationship with Him through the eight forms of *bhakti*, we get a share in His Government or a kind of *Svarajyam*.

The Upanishads teach us not only that the world is God, but also that God is in each of us. He is I and I am He. The awareness of this identity of the two is real *Svarajyam*. It means *svayameva raja* (I am both the ruler and the ruled). This identity is not an imagined identity, for a mental equation signifies the separate existence of the two things that are equated. This oneness is felt as realisation of non-duality. When we dissolve ourselves in Him, the consciousness of duality will disappear. When this happens, there will be no sorrow or fear; for these feelings are traceable to a sense of duality; the thought of another apart from oneself. When the otherness is effaced, there will be no fear or sorrow; one will enjoy *anandam* or bliss.

(From a talk at Madras)

Gandhiji on Satyagraha in Democracy

Acharya J. B. Kripalani

GANDHIJI has never once in his copious writings on the subject said that Civil disobedience cannot be resorted to against a democratically formed Government. It would be strange if it were otherwise. Gandhiji never believed that the majority opinion must always be right. He assigned the supreme place to individual conscience. But he did not consider it infallible.

He therefore put on it the restraint of non-violence. If individuals and groups do not use violence, or coercion and are prepared willingly to suffer the legal and other consequences of breaking the law, they are entitled to do so for what they considered to be right. But who is to decide what is right? Here is Gandhiji's cryptic answer:

Ques: "However honestly a man may strive in his search for truth, his notion of truth may be different from others. Who then is to determine truth?"

Gandhiji: "The individual himself".

Ques: "Honest striving after truth is different in every case?"

Gandhiji: "That is why the non-violence is part of it".
Pure and Sure Weapon:

Gandhiji was conscious of the fact that any system of Government foreign or indigenous, democratic or totalitarian may go wrong. He knew that under democratic forms a Government may be autocratic that is, it may be highly centralised or corrupt. In such cases, it would trample on the individual's liberty and freedom. Under such circumstances Gandhiji proclaimed the supremacy of the individual conscience, provided he was willing to suffer the consequences of bearing witness to the truth in him. Gandhiji also held that it is thus that the world has progressed. He says "When Daniel disregarded the laws of Medes and Persians which offended his conscience and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered Satyagraha. Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be truth and bravely suffered

death. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the States to which they belonged." Further Gandhiji considered Satyagraha as a pure and sure weapon. He says "I believe that the use of a pure weapon even from a mistake motive does not fail to produce some good." Again he says "to put down civil resistance is to imprison conscience."

Grave risks :

Can civil disobedience be offered against a democratic Government? The answer would be in the negative if no occasion could ever arise for a democratic Government to offend an individual's conscience or to be corrupt. This would manifestly be unhistorical and not true to the facts of life. However Gandhiji's answer is clear. He says "I hold non-co-operation is of universal use. Well applied its use in politics can displace the use of barbarious weapons of mutual destruction. The thing, therefore, to be done, is not to restrict its use but to extend it. Risk of misuse has undoubtedly to be run. But then Gandhiji holds that "no big or swift movement can be carried without bold risk and life will not be worth living if it is not attended with large risk" When, therefore, occasion demanded he did not hesitate to take grave risk for himself and the nation he led and guided. His whole life was full of risks.

He, however, says that in a well ordered State the occasions of civil resistance will be rare. He says "It is rarely that the occasion for civil resistance rises in a well ordered State. But when it does, it becomes a duty that cannot be shirked by one who counts his honour, i. e., his conscience above everything.

Unambiguous :

Unfortunately today there are all varieties of democracy in all stages of development and under development. A Government may be installed in power by the free popular vote. But it may take step to entrench itself in power permanently. Even if it retains the paraphernalia of the vote and periodical elections, it may be totalitarian in character. We have the examples of Nazi and Communist

regimes. In India, the Communist Government in Kerala is charged with trying to destroy democracy, after it came in power through the democratic vote. Gandhiji, therefore, does not talk of democracy but, what is more unambiguous, a well ordered State, and here, too, he holds the civil disobedience may become a duty for a conscientious citizens.

To further clarify his point Gandhiji says, "I wish I could persuade everybody that civil resistance is the inherent right of a citizen. He does not give it up without ceasing to be a man." The word citizen in this context is significant. Only in a democracy is a man a citizen. In a totalitarian regime there are no citizens but subjects and slaves.

Birth - right.

Gandhiji goes so far as to say that civil disobedience is the birth-right of the citizen. It is possible to question the freedom of applying civil disobedience in respect of a particular act or law; it is possible to advise delay and caution. But the right itself cannot be allowed to be questioned. It is birthright that cannot be surrendered without surrender of one's self-respect.

Further Gandhiji holds: "Civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty when the State becomes lawless, or which is the same thing corrupt and a citizen who barter with such a state shares its corruption and lawlessness."

Again Gandhiji says: "Civil disobedience can be made a sovereign remedy for all our ills if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there is always that atmosphere except when their civil disobedience leads to bloodshed.....Even so a call may come which one dare not neglect cost what it may. When the neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty."

"When a Government goes wrong to the extent of hurting the national fibre itself, it becomes the right of the subject, indeed it is his duty to withdraw his obedience to the extent it may be required in order to bend the Government to the national will."

Allegiance only if.....

Gandhiji further holds that a person who deliberately sets himself to flout society, "has no right to be served by society." This applies as much to individuals as to groups and Governments. He says "You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance. A good man will, therefore resist an evil system or administration with his whole soul.....Civil disobedience is the only and the most successful remedy and is obligatory upon him who would disassociate himself from evil."

Gandhiji was most careful in using words. He not only talks of a bad system of Government but also of a bad administration. Even democracy may be badly administered. The present controversies in India between different political parties do not centre on the democratic system which all accept but how the system is being administered by the Communists in Kerala and the Congress elsewhere.

No Exception.

Gandhiji held that "Satyagraha to be genuine, may be offered against one's wife or one's children, against rulers, against fellow citizens, even against the world. Such universal forces necessarily make no distinction between kinsman and strangers, young and old, man and woman friend and foe. No exception is made here of a Government come into being democratically. In Gandhiji's view any individual groups or Government may go wrong and then, the sovereign remedy is civil disobedience and not coercion or violence.

Again when Gandhiji enunciated his theory of Trusteeship of the rich, it was pointed out to him that it implied the existence of the law courts, which in the last resort could compel fulfilment of the terms of the trust. Where was this court of justice in his theory of Trusteeship of the rich and the capitalists. His reply to this was that there was none, except civil disobedience. It would compel compliance with the terms of the Trust. ★

The Mission of Sarvodaya Workers

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, (President, Republic of India)

THE Sarvodaya workers have a role to play to check the current trend towards centralisation and the suppression of the individual in society.

Of late people are losing the habit of self-reliance. They are beginning to depend more and more on Government or others. Many activities which were undertaken in the past by the people themselves are now being put through by the Government. For example, the people repaired a tank when it went dry in olden days. but now an irrigation project of the Government supplies them unfailing water. Modern gadgets are playing the role of human beings. I wonder whether a time will come when people would give up even cooking their food in their homes. All the world over, there is a drift towards centralisation of power and authority. In the nature of things, it is difficult for this country to escape its impact. But all the same, there is a case for decentralisation, and individual initiative in the country and Sarvodaya workers are best fitted to spread this message to the people at large.

The country is confronted by many problems. A solution must be found for them so that they may keep intact the precious freedom they have achieved. Government are playing a big role in the solution of these problems with the result many of those workers who were interested in them in the pre-freedom days are now inactive on the plea that their own Government would take care of them. I will not agree with that complacent view. The habit of self-reliance should not be lost by any means. The public and their leaders must co-operate actively with the Government in the solution of many social and economic problems.

Social problems cannot be tackled only on the front of legislation. The movement of prohibition acquired a momentum, thanks to the initiative of Gandhiji, and the Government has enforced it in many places. From my experience I will state that even in those places where

prohibition is being enforced by legislation, the desired results would not be achieved unless the popular leaders mobilise public opinion in favour of the reform.

True democracy is one where an individual is free and not dependent on others. The question is whether the individual should become a part of a machinery or retain his identity. There is a system in which the individual loses his identity in society. You have to decide what you want. The balance should be struck between the role of society and the role of the individual. The prime duty of Sarvodaya workers is to educate public opinion towards this objective.

(From a speech inaugurating the second Andhra Pradesh Sarvodaya Conference at the Sarvodaya Mandir, Bolarum in Hyderabad on 16th Aug. 59.)

The way to avoid Dictatorship

"But it is now a historical fact that the means of production are fast becoming the monopolistic property of Big Business and Big Government. Therefore, if you believe in democracy, make arrangements to distribute property as widely as possible.

... In practice, as recent history has repeatedly shown, the right to vote, by itself, is no guarantee of liberty. Therefore, if you wish to avoid dictatorship by plebiscite, break up modern society's vast, machine-like collectives into self-governing, voluntarily co-operating groups, capable of functioning outside the bureaucratic systems of Big Business and Big Government.

... Therefore if you wish to avoid the spiritual impoverishment of individuals and whole societies, leave the metropolis and revive the small country community ...

Aldous Huxley
in "Brave New World Revisited"

A Letter from England

*This was received by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan
and published in "Bhoodan"*

Dear Mr. Narayan,

London, 29th July, 1959

The signatories of this letter wish to express their admiration for the spiritual and practical achievements of the Bhoodan Movement in India.

Some of us have held several meetings here and have discussed how it might be possible for private people and business in Britain to help the movement in India.

We therefore seek ways by which contributions in the spirit of your gift (Bhoodan) Movement may be channelised through the movement in India. This may encourage response in India as well as afford an opportunity for people in this country to participate out of a real sense of identity of spirit.

We recognise that the collection of a fund is not in the spirit of your movement in India, so we would look to establishing an agency through which the donors in this country or elsewhere may be placed directly in touch with the need in India. May we therefore ask you, Vinoba and those actively engaged in the movement kindly to indicate the points of need towards which we can turn the attention of those wishing to make their contribution. We recognise, of course, that one need may be trained personnel and this could receive our very sympathetic attention.

We were impressed by the possible great symbolic value of the Bombay housing project which Mr. Koestler discussed with you during his recent visit to India, but we realise that we know too little of the practical details to come to any conclusion at this stage.

May we assure you, in concluding, that coming from different walks of life, political and religious persuasions, we are not guided by any other motive but admiration for Vinoba Bhavé's effort and our wish to assist it.

Yours sincerely,

E. Bader,
Isabel Gripps
David Kane,

Arthur Koestler
Arnold Toynbee
Michael Scott

E. F. Schumacher
Pakenham

Welfare Society or Welfare State?

Shankarrao Deo

TODAY the slogan of Welfare State is echoed from mouth to mouth. But, to me, this slogan seems to be fraught with great dangers. If the well-being of the people is to be entirely the responsibility of the state, then they will surely become cripples. That is why we want a welfare state. On the ground of our past experience it is amply evident that in a welfare state the whole machinery is centralized and this machinery being controlled by a bureaucratic set up, the entire work lacks honesty and becomes merely formal. So the villagers have to work for their own welfare. Everybody will feel in his heart the throb of unity only when the people in the villages get equal opportunities and equal wages. This decentralized order alone affords the fullest opportunity for the evolution of human values.

We, the constructive workers have to act and conduct our movement on the basis of these reflections. If our work becomes one-sided, then our view-point will no more remain constructive, but become commercial. The propagation of Khadi is an essential part of our constructive work. I request Khadi workers to comprehend the real meaning of Khadi and accordingly start the work of rebuilding society through it. They should not confine themselves merely to the statistics of production and sale; instead they should chalk out a programme for the all-sided development of the life of the village folk. The Khadi worker must realise that in the form of *Charkha* he is not taking merely a spinning wheel to the village, but the symbol of the new ideal which aims at establishing a non-violent society. If the *Charkha* succeeds in bringing a change in the spirit, the order and the structure of the village, it is *Charkha* in the real sense, other-wise it is nothing but a wooden contrivance.

Now Khadi cannot succeed in the way in which it is being run in various Khadi stores. It would not stay long if it is allowed to continue in the same manner. Besides,

Khadi cannot be made stable by depending on State subsidy. It is persistently maintained that for the promotion of Khadi and the village industries we may avail ourselves of any amount of government help. Yet this work and Khadi and Village Industries movement are not gaining the expected momentum. In this connection I want to make it plain that those who think that monetary help would give impetus to the Khadi and the village industries' movement, are not correct in their assumption. Certainly by depending on financial aid this movement is going to wane out instead of achieving any success. This movement would grow only on the strength of the villager's own spirit and courage. With us Sarvodaya workers it is never the question - how and to what extent we may secure Government help. On the contrary, all our thoughts are directed towards minimising the Governmental subsidy. It is a question of policy rather than of subsidy.

The policy adopted by the Government today is that of a Welfare State. The important question confronting us is how far this policy can be helpful in inculcating quality of self-reliance in the society and in constructing a decentralized social order. It seems to me that it is not lending much help to the Sarvodaya ideal in the way in which it is being implemented today. So long as the policy of centralization continues to form the basis of all our Five-year plans, the question of furthering the movement of Khadi and village industries will demand consideration. Any amount of subsidy may continue to pour in, but so long as essential change in the basic policy is not effected, no genuine service will be rendered to the cause of the Sarvodaya movement in general and Khadi and village industries in particular.

Today the discussion about the third Five-year plan is going on everywhere. If the Government admits the basic view-point of Khadi, then it will have to adopt as the foundation of this Plan the basic policy advocated by Bapu, for the implementation of which he strove all his life through various constructive institutions. Then and

(Continued in page 100)

Dr. KUMARAPPA ON CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

M. Vinaik

IN one of the press conferences held in New Delhi on August 7, 1959, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated as reported in 'The Hindu' as follows:

"It may interest you to know that Dr. Rajendra Prasad appointed a Committee when he was Congress President 13 years ago in 1946. (On the unanimous suggestions of the Revenue Ministers' Conference which met in Delhi in December 1947, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then Congress President, appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee). He appointed an Agrarian Reforms Committee with Mr. J. C. Kumarappa as the Chairman and a number of economists including congressmen and non-congressmen. They presented a very interesting report and Rajen Babu himself inaugurated the Committee's work. The report dealt with co-operatives. Quoting from the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture 20 years earlier, it (the Kumarappa report) said that unless Indian agriculture adopts co-operatives, there is no future for agriculture".

A few of the relevant extracts are given here from this valuable document.

Holdings:

"The Committee has evolved three norms of sizes of holdings—Basic, Economic and Optimum. The Committee has, therefore, recommended co-operative Joint Farming for holdings below the Basic size. This, however, does not mean that all the below Basic Holdings in a village would be lumped into a single giant Co-operative in which the cultivator may lose his individuality. A Co-operative Joint farm would be formed whenever the requisite number of below Basic holders come together and constitute a holding of the optimum size.

How to do it?

"A beginning may be made in selected areas and its extension may be entrusted to specially trained persons under the planned direction and control of a provincial co-operative Farming Board. The gradualness of the

programme, intelligent propaganda, liberal state aid and its judicious implementation by a specially trained cadre would to a very great extent reduce the psychological hesitation of the farmer to take to the co-operative patterns recommended by the Committee."

Prices:

"The Committee believes that the assurance of a reasonable income to the agriculturists through stabilisation of prices or a scheme of crop insurance is necessary for the success of agrarian reforms. It has, therefore recommended that a technique should be evolved for maintaining parity between prices of agricultural and industrial commodities."

What is it?

"The Co-operative Joint Farm which we visualise is not the co-operative joint farm dealt with in literature on the subject. Our co-operative joint farm would not generally in the beginning be more than three times the economic holding. Of course, there would be experimental co-operative joint farms under proper supervision of the appropriate authority of the Land Commission which would be much bigger than these voluntary co-operatives."

Compulsion:

"We are confident that in course of time through proper direction, supervision and guidance the Indian peasantry would take to the small co-operative joint farms and there would be very few occasions to resort to compulsory co-operative farming except the experimental co-operative farms.

Extend to the farms:

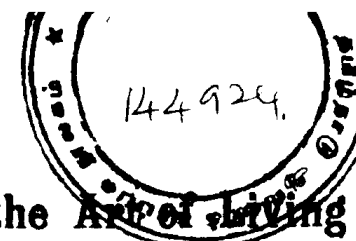
Of course there would be experimental co-operative joint farms of the size of 400 or 500 acres. But the bulk of them generally be of the order of 30 to 50 acres and as the co-operative spirit among the people becomes more ingrained, these small co-operatives may be integrated into bigger ones.

"It is obvious that the Darauna and Nanwara Co-operative farm, while no doubt a move in the right direction, suffers from the control of officials lacking in missionary zeal which alone can make such an experiment a success. As one would expect, the officials are more interested in sending departmental reports rather than in patiently explaining the co-operative ideal to illiterate and conservative peasantry and winning them over through human treatment.

"There is nothing inherently wrong in the co-operative movement. The defect lay in the administrative set-up operating the movement and the exploitative economic structure in which the Indian peasant had to live and work. We proceed on the basis of a simultaneous change both in the administrative organisation and the economic structure."

then alone the Sarvodaya movement will acquire real strength to realise in reality its dream of a new social order. What is now required is to persuade the Government to admit the basic principle of Khadi instead of asking for subsidies.

So far as the Khadi institutions and Sarva Seva Sangh are concerned, we are all adherents of Bapu's view-point. If we follow exactly the significance of that view-point, the question of rebate, subsidy, loan etc. would become absolutely secondary. Our attention will be diverted from the magnitude of the figures of production and sale of Khadi. Then our only goal will be to work rapidly for the creation of the new social order. Today Khadi is not progressing rapidly. The main reason for this is that we have made Khadi, a medium of business without following its real significance. We look at it as a measure of relief or as a means of solving the problem of unemployment. It has now become absolutely necessary to change this point of view. ★



Wilfred Wellock, Preston, England

IT is not easy at eighty to evaluate the content or estimate the quality of one's life at 6, 8, or even 12 years of age. Perhaps the best guide to the understanding of those tender years is to ponder the memories, pleasant and un-pleasant which stand out most conspicuously, including the pain and pleasure which attended them.

Such reflections lead me to conclude that my early years, on the whole were happy. I found life full of promise, pleasure, excitement and even enchantment. Within a few minutes of my home were fields, meadows, woodlands and a river, all of which I loved to explore. I knew the flights of birds and, I may add, the sting of bees and wasps.

My home life was happy, stimulating and in no sense repressive. I have no recollection of a father's austerity, except on rare occasions when I was forbidden to go to certain places, or of a mother's over-indulgence. However, I learnt wisdom, and if I wanted to go somewhere very badly, I would explain my reasons to mother, knowing that she would talk the matter over with father and so remove the possible objection to my desire. How quickly children learn to "know the ropes", and even how to guide their parents!

Judged by present day standards my life as a boy would be considered very hard, but it did not appear so to me then. In the north of England, where I lived, the strict disciplines of the puritan era still prevailed.

I was born on January 2, 1879 in a working-class home in the cotton weaving town of Nelson, in Lancashire, the country in which the Industrial Revolution had its birth. My father worked in a cotton mill, as a taper, which was one of the rather better paid jobs.

the rather better paid jobs.

Although the Industrial Revolution was by then a century old, I knew all about the stubborn resistance of the hand-loom weavers to the confined, rigidly ordered life of the factory, which meant the loss of independence and a varied life which included gardening for food, tending certain animals which thrived on common land and cutting wood in the surrounding woodlands for winter burning. A twelve-hour day in a cotton factory governed by the toll of a bell was to him the equivalent of a prison sentence. Later on, thanks to the agitation and trade union action, the hours of labour were reduced to 56 per week—10 hours per day on five days and six hours on Saturdays, Sunday being set aside for church worship. Wages, too, had risen considerably in the meantime, although they were still low, so low, indeed that parents were glad to send their children, both boys and girls into the factories at ten years of age to work as half-timers i.e., 28 hours per week for a wage of three shillings. At 13, the law permitted them to work full time, that is, 56 hours per week. The half-time system was abolished in the "nineties".

Accordingly factory life became my lot at ten years of age. I was wakened at 5-30 a. m. and I left home with my father at 5-50 to be in the factory by 6 o'clock. At 8 a. m. there was a half-hour break for breakfast, and at 12-30 I went home to my mid-day meal. Then at 1-30 I went to school for three hours.

After this long confinement, its strenuousness notwithstanding, we half-timers—and we were all half-timers in those days—were ready for vigorous exercise, especially as our climate was rarely too warm in summer and always rather cold in winter. I was fondest of games which involved a lot of running. Hence I liked cricket for which I had some aptitude, having a "true" eye. But alas my cricketering career started and ended in boyhood.

Nelson had the reputation of being the quickest growing town in the country, and I grew up with it. Because it was new, it had few traditions, and thus inhibitions.

whence it could advance rapidly. As the factories multiplied, workers poured into it from far and near, from the wheat-growing areas of East Anglia, and from Cornwall and Devon. A new and mixed population was also conducive to a high rate of progress.

The town lay in a valley through which ran a river and a tributary. It had a clay foundation. These conditions produced a damp atmosphere which was conducive to cotton weaving. On each side of the valley was a stone quarry. Hence all the buildings—houses, factories shops and civic buildings were of stone. The workers' houses, usually had four or five rooms. Because of the dampness, the floors of the weaving sheds were covered with stone flags, which necessitated the wearing of clogs—wooden soles ringed with narrow iron strips, and leather tops nailed to the soles. These kept the feet dry and warm, and gave to one's step a slight spring, which was helpful. As the streets were also flagged and paved with stone, the clatter of thousands of pairs of clogs at 6 o'clock in the morning was some thing to be remembered!

Thus at ten years of age my life began to be very full. My first factory job was in the department where the woven cloth was examined, folded, packed and shipped. I was promoted from one job to another, and none of them gave me any difficulty.

But there was the question of my education, about which my parents were anxious. The school I attended, like most schools at that time was run by a Christian Denominational Church. My father was on its Management Board. By reason of the half-time system, Continuation Classes were held in the evenings. So I attended these, even eagerly. Also I wanted to learn shorthand, solely because I had become fascinated with good oratory which naturally stimulated an interest in ideas. I wanted to have a record of important speeches. So my father arranged for me to attend a private class for shorthand. At 12 I had won certificate for writing shorthand at 100 words per minute, of which feat I was rather proud.

Then there was the question of voluntary service. My father's hours in the factory were over sixty per week, yet he acted as Secretary of the church we attended, and as a member of the School Management Board, both in a voluntary capacity. It seemed natural to me that I should conform with this tradition, so at 11, I was appointed by the church to take charge of the distribution of the monthly magazine of our Denomination. From that day to this, my life has been hemmed about with voluntary public service of one kind and another, and to-day more than ever.

Again, I had to be trained in the art of neighbourliness. I was about 8 when my mother said that it would be rather nice if I would devote one hour per week to running errands for an elderly and rather decrepit lady neighbour. This also I did gladly, and the old lady and I become fast friends.

Another interest which emerged, quietly like the flowers in spring, was the habit of taking long walks into the country on Saturday afternoons. These walks revealed my father at his best, for he revealed to me the secrets and the beauties of nature. We would walk ten, twelve or fifteen miles. I thus became familiar with a wonderful variety of landscapes—fertile fields and meadows stocked with well-fed cattle, pastoral hillsides dotted with quiet sheep, lovely well-wooded lanes, dells and valleys decked with multi-coloured flowers, the Penine mountains, and wild, lonely heather-clad moors with stretched to far horizons. Those lonely glorious moors fascinated me, moved me as nothing else had ever done. I there felt the deeper meaning of freedom. The memory of those boyhood expeditions I still count as one of my most treasured possessions. They gave to my life a mellow, contemplative quality which helped me to acquire and maintain a steady, balanced mind.

But even these experiences were not enough. We children were taught how to use our time to the best advantage. Why fritter time away when the greatest joys of life come from creative self-expression? Among my

most stimulating recollections are those of our winter evenings when the blinds were drawn, the gas was lit, the fire was aglow, and the entire family—father, mother, two sisters and a brother, six in all—brought out our materials and pursued our self-chosen creative pursuits. My father's hobby was woodwork-carpentry.

Several memories of a quite different order should perhaps be recorded. One day I heard a discussion amongst a few neighbours as to whether they ought to take off their caps when they met their rich employer in the street. My father stated emphatically that he would not bow to riches since riches should not be made the measure of a man's worth or dignity. Those words stuck to me like glue. They had much influence on my future.

That was my first contact with what later became a part of the class war. At the same time, in blissful ignorance I was experiencing another side of it. Whenever I saw the children of my father's employer I felt sorry for them. This was either when they were riding in a beautiful landau drawn by two prancing horses to a private school, while I was joyfully running to school, probably speeded by an iron hoop, or playing very dolefully, as it seemed to me, as I peered through the big iron gates into their desolate garden. Why didn't they come out and play with us? Ever since, great riches have been associated in my mind with social isolation.

An incident occurred when I was about 8 which may have some significance. When I was very young there was a paucity of boys in our immediate neighbourhood, so most of my playmates were girls. It happened one Christmas that one of these girls was given a huge doll by her parents. Unfortunately it turned her head, inflated her sense of her own importance, causing her to act condescendingly towards her girl playmates. This angered me greatly. But one day her conduct was so shameful that I seized hold of her doll, ran down the street and flung it over a wall into a field where the chimneysweeps emptied their bags of soot after clearing the chimneys in the area.

This act got me into trouble, as I knew it would. My mother was informed of my iniquitous conduct, whereupon I was called up for questioning. I quietly stated my case, and perceived that my mother had some sympathy with my judgment, if not with my action. She spoke to me accordingly. I remained firmly unrepentant. It was my first social revolt.

Looking back over the years I feel that the life of my parents was very hard, too hard, in fact. Every penny my father earned had to be spent with the utmost care, and every minute of time put to the best use. Yet there was no thought of his getting a better-paid job. My father neither smoke nor drank alcohol. There was no waste, and there was no real want. We were all well fed, well clothed and our lives were full of interest. After I commenced to work we had a few days' holiday at the seaside every year. The doing of it all was a miracle, or a fine art, for above all the family expenditures, my parents subscribed liberally to our church and all its work. As a whole, it was an intensely satisfying and balanced way of living, the like of which is rarely to be seen today. And I, too, found that it was good.

(to be continued)

SOME BOOKS BY WILFRED WELLOCK

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The Philosophy of Sampattidan

Srikrishnadas Jaju

'Sampattidan' or 'Gift of Wealth' on the principle of voluntary sharing was the natural and logical offshoot of the Bhoodan---movement. But it did not make much progress, as sufficient attention could not be bestowed on it. Except a few speeches of Vinobaji on this subject, there is no powerful and persuasive presentation as this small book in Hindi by late Srikrishnadas Jaju. It is a thorough analysis of the basic principles of the philosophy underlying Sampattidan and he expounds a broad system of regular sharing of wealth by every individual on a workable basis. We are publishing here a free rendering from the original in Hindi by Sri Suresh Ram, the well-known writer and author of "Vinoba and His Mission" and other books on Bhoodan.

'DAN' and ownership of wealth

THE meanings of the word "DAN" used in these Yajnas must be clearly understood. "DAN" has so far meant one's giving something to the other as an act of pity or spending something for sake of one's own good in the other world. However, Vinobaji is using it in a different sense. He tells us that Shankaracharya has defined DAN as 'equitable distribution'. It means a distribution based on justice and equity as one finds among the different members in a joint Family. It is in this sense of equitable distribution that Vinobaji employs the word DAN.

Usually DAN implies that the donor was the owner of the thing donated and had the right to keep it with him. But Bhoodan Yajna implies that we have no right to keep more land than we really require. Different factors, have contributed to its coming over to us which we are keeping. This is, however, a mistake which must be rectified. Likewise, the donee who receives land should no more think that what was denied to him on account of

his poverty or distress was being given by others out of grace or as an obligation. He must, on the other hand, feel that he is entitled to get it as his right.

How can the right be denied?

In the ideas of the "right" commonly held about property or wealth, the above makes a strange reading. The property owner feels that the wealth with him is due to the labour, physical or mental, he has performed and that the means he adopted were fair and he has neither stolen nor contravened any law. Therefore he feels he is entitled to enjoy that wealth—a title recognised both by law and society. The idea that that wealth is not really his, does not appeal to him at all. Likewise how can the donee's right be ever recognised? For, he has never worked to earn that land or wealth, has had no connection with it at all and law also does not grant him any title to it. He cannot even imagine that he has his right. Who can? How can one claim right upon such a thing which has not been earned by him or her and when law also does not support the same?

Justice is above Law and Custom

Let us try to answer this question. We must consider the value of the sanctions behind law and custom. One must never forget that there is something called justice which transcends both law and custom. None can deny its demand, for its roots are within rather than without, in the soul, in the discriminatory sense of the mind. Also there is no reason to assume that the postulates held true by society or law at any particular time are always right. Law often approves the current practice. And social sanction generally follows the orthodox tradition. But we cannot necessarily say that law and society always follow justice. Look at the pages of history which will show that sanctions held sacred at one time were rejected at another, and that the law also changed with the change of sanctions. As long as that sanction held the day none suspected its bonafides. Even if a few had some suspicion it did not count and had no effect on the then popular opinion. In course of time as sense dawned, man found that what

he held dear was based upon gross injustice. At long last the change does come. And even the Government has to change the law accordingly. Otherwise it cannot survive. Thus it is clear that once the consciousness is roused, we have got to change a sanction, however old and widely prevalent. Let us clarify it by a few illustrations.

Slavery held the order of the day for thousands of years. It did so inspite of the learned people, the philosophers and the saints of those ages. A famous philosopher even supported it. Some slaves themselves believed that the practice was in their own interest. Nevertheless, man's consciousness was aroused. The question posed itself: Is it right on grounds of justice for a rich or strong man to hold in slavery bonds another man who is like him in physique and has, like him, again, a heart with its weal and woe. Battles were fought for its sake. At long last, however, slavery came to be abolished. The same is true about the institution of kingship. In ages and ages, individuals, as kings, ruled throughout the world. In India, sovereigns were regarded as the lords of the earth. Again, man was faced with the problem: Is it right for a man to keep other people under his rule or control? This issue also led to terrible wars and conflict for hundreds of years. Millions suffered in the same. In the end, however, kingship disappeared and power came to the people. Even now sometimes a few individuals try to wield autocratic powers. But none likes this. And it can be definitely said that that is not going to last long. Similar has been the case of untouchability in our country. We even held it as sacred sanctioned by religion. But today it is punishable even by law. Instances can be multiplied to show that values and sanctions cherished for thousands of years were cast off with the change in public opinion. The question of the ownership of wealth is of a like nature.

How is Wealth Created?

It would be appropriate to consider first as to how wealth is created. It is wrong to regard gold or silver

money in metal and paper currency as wealth. Wealth consists of only those things which man can actually consume in one way or other. While some among them are such without which man cannot even exist, some are meant for pleasure and luxury. Man's basic necessities are food, clothes and house, without which he cannot live. Besides, there are other things without which man can very well get on.

Now, how are these articles, called wealth, produced? They have not come by themselves. Nor do they fall from the sky. Nor one brings them with one's birth. On the other hand, birth gives rise to some necessities whose fulfilment requires constant exertion or struggle. All these articles of use are a result of the physical labour performed with the different materials found in nature. Thus there are two main sources of wealth: natural material and man's physical labour. Some articles seem to be produced by machines; but these machines, in turn, are a product of physical labour and their operation too requires physical labour in some form or other. Mere mental labour is of no avail in producing an article of use. In other words, wealth cannot be produced without physical labour.

But what is the place assigned to the physical labourer in the structure of wealth? What we find is that those who actually perform physical labour live a life of misery and want, while the wealth they produce goes on concentrating in the hands of a few. Some businessmen or a few others who but deal with those articles grow rich. What a strange spectacle that though the tiller of the soil is not able to meet even his basic needs by the grain he produces, makes the same grain fill the coffers of the traders. Again, the mill-hands without whose labour no workshop can run, have no hope of any happy life. If the workers develop managing capacity a workshop or mill can be run without its rich owners and managers. On the other hand, the rich owners and managers can never run the same. Yet, they get much more remuneration than the workers. Thus the wealth produced by the labourer goes

to the few rich who do not physically labour at all. Nay, they look down upon physical labour and labourers. In this way wealth is accumulated with a few persons. They are not more than ten in a hundred, while those who labour are millions.

Tracing the origin of the wealth of these rich, one will find that it is either in the pocket of the poor or in the labour of the labourers. It is not by their own effort and yet they are called its owners. It is the poverty of the poor who are not getting full returns for their labour, which adds to the wealth of the rich. And yet the law recognises their right over it. Whatever the law or—society may say, is it all just and right?

Manual Labour - versus - Mental Work

There are diverse means of livelihood or for amassing wealth. These professions may be broadly divided into two classes - those of manual labour and those of mental work. We may call them manual and mental professionals respectively. Among the latter are ministers, Government officers from the top down to the clerk, judges, advocates, doctors, teachers, traders etc., who depend on mental work for their living. And the former category comprises of those who earn their living by bodily labour, viz. peasant, factory worker, carpenter, mason, smith, cobbler, potter, scavenger, etc. Obviously professions of both these classes are necessary for a smooth running of society. But there is a world of difference in their dignity and status. The mental worker enjoys a far higher status and gets much greater emoluments than the manual labourer. Nay, it is argued that there should be a division of labour: that some must take up mental work and the rest manual. But a little reflection will easily reveal the fallacy of this argument.

Imagine for a moment that the manual labourers abandon their profession all at once. What would happen? Even the articles of basic need would cease to be produced and life will come to a stand-still. On the other hand, if all mental professionals give up their job, there

would be some mismanagement, but society will not cease to function. The very existence of mental workers depends upon the outturn of work done by manual labourers. The important role of the manual labourers in the life of society can thus be realised. But is it not a curse that the manual labourers have a meagre income, have no social status and have to pass a miserable existence. Talks of education for their children, medical facilities and entertainment are only distant illusions. On the contrary, the mental professions enjoy higher status and greater salaries or profits as also various amenities of life. Society finds nothing wrong with this arrangement; law also condones it. But the question still remains: is this all just and right? Now let us come to the basic question. Is the mental worker entitled to earn more wealth?

First, we shall examine the argument advanced in favour of collecting and earning more money. There is an expert, say a doctor, who takes the best of education after a long period of training in the biggest hospitals in the country and abroad. He settles down to his work, and carries it on successfully with ability. He believes that it is his right to earn more and more money by his ability. Society recognises this right. When he fixes his own visiting fee, in case anybody were to ask him to charge less he would remark that he must get due return for the huge amount of money and energy he had spent in qualifying himself for the profession. Should there be a poor patient, he may get some relief on some occasions; but his right to relief is not recognised. Similar is the case of those who are experts in law, engineering, etc. The same is true as regards popular writers, poets, artists etc. And so is the claim put forward by businessmen, capitalists, managers, etc.

Those in commerce and industry again swear by the old theory of economics which teaches them to buy at the cheapest rate and sell at the highest, there being no limit for profit. We know that no industry or mill can run without the physical labour of the labourers. These hands hardly get one hundred rupees or so a month. But the

right of the managers and owners to earn thousands and lakhs is not questioned. The conventional idea is that the intellectuals are entitled to earn unlimited money and amass huge wealth, because they have acquired the power and art to earn that by their effort. Why blame anyone if those not gifted with that power are not able to earn more or have to starve? Alas! We do not see that the poor too have all faculties and had they been offered the same opportunity, they too could develop as much as others!

Be it as it may, the question before us is whether these powerful people are entitled to earn any amount of wealth. Imagine the case of a child who is left alone in a solitary place from his very childhood; all arrangements are made for his bread and butter and he is allowed to grow of his own accord without coming in contact with other people. Then what would be the result? He cannot learn even to speak. Neither would he be able to understand others, nor to make himself understood. He would find himself a misfit in society. Man acquires by himself the social habit by living in society itself. That is, he is obliged to the society for this trait.

The educational institutions, from the primary to the highest, where man learns, are not his own. They are either run by the Government which maintains them by money drawn in the form of taxes from the people or by grace of the rich, generous people. The fee which he pays is nothing compared to the expenditure involved. The money spent in education comes to him or his parents from the society as stated above. He should be grateful to society for making him acquire knowledge through the education imparted with their money. Again, the knowledge imparted to him is the collective fruit of the efforts of the earnest labour of devoted souls during thousands of years. The art and ability of traders and capitalists come from the institutions where they have studied and the people with whom they have contacted as also from their colleagues and friends.

It is true that the individual does make some use of his own skill and specialises on some subjects of his own accord. But his own share in attaining ability is insignificant as compared to the said total contribution from society. Nothing tangible can accrue to the individual without the latter. It is thus clear that for the ability we have acquired, our own contribution is the least and the largest comes from the society. Under such conditions, should we not return to society more and more as possible in lieu thereof and take for ourselves as little as we need from it? In fact, this will be the righteous way of life. This is our bare duty. But what we find now is just the reverse. Man desires to give the least to society and is eager to grab the most. He is not worried even if he can do without giving. Again, man's capacity to earn money depends upon the current socio-economic standards and not on his mere sweet will. In case the age of economic equality comes in, which is bound to come one day, of what avail shall be our money or power to earn wealth or the conceit with which we hold our possessions?

(To be continued)

The Need of the World

The other great idea that the world wants from us today—more perhaps the lower classes than the higher, more the uneducated than the educated, more the weak than the strong—is that eternal, grand idea of the spiritual oneness of the whole universe, the only Infinite Reality, that exists in you and in me and in all, in the self, in the soul. The infinite oneness of the soul—that you and I are not only brothers, but are really one—is the eternal sanction of all morality. Europe wants it today just as much as our down-trodden races do, and this great principle is even now unconsciously forming the basis of all the latest social and political aspirations that are coming up in England, in Germany, in France and in America.

Swami Vivekananda.

The Future Programme of Nai Talim

IN furtherance of the decision of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, the body which has pioneered in Nai Talim since its beginning in 1937, to integrate itself with the Sarva Seva Sangh, the members of the Executive Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Talimi Sangh met in Sevagram from August, 25 to consider steps necessary for the implementation of the future programme of Nai Talim. The resolution of the Sangh expresses the purpose of the integration in terms of the sevenfold educational programme which Acharya Vinoba has placed before the uniting bodies.

1. A vigorous concerted and nationwide movement for the understanding and acceptance by the people of a programme of national education on Sarvodaya principles.
2. A new approach to Nai Talim in the context of Gramdan and Gramswaraj.
3. Suggestions to be placed before Central or State Governments with regard to Basic Education work.
4. Scientific development of the educational techniques and practices in Nai Talim.
5. All the activities of the various sarvodaya institutions like centres of khadi and village industries, to be 'coloured' by Nai Talim and conducted from an educational point of view.
6. The training of the whole people in the task of making and keeping peace, including Shanti Sena activities.
7. The establishment of fundamental moral and spiritual values in national life.

While the Sarva Seva Sangh recognised that all its activities have to be thought from the perspective of Nai Talim the following could be considered a minimum programme in all institutions of constructive work as a first step.

1. Each worker to devote atleast an hour every day for manual work and for educating others.

2. No scavenger to be employed in our institutions; The workers together to undertake all types of cleaning work.
3. The labourers in every institution to have opportunities for further education for atleast an hour out of their working hours.
4. In those institutions where workers live together pre-basic education for their children to be organised.
5. Parents' groups to be encouraged to discuss the educational programme of their children as well as their own education from the point of view of all round/development.
6. Attempts to be made to bring about a climate of self-study in the institutions.

The Sangh decided to call a seminar of workers of Nai Talim at Sevagram in the month of November to consider the various aspects of Nai Talim and the various problems Nai Talim worker are facing in different parts of the country. It was also suggested to call a seminar of leading educationists of the country with Vinoba as early as possible. The necessity of focussing the attention of the parent, the teacher and the educationist towards developing a proper concern towards the country's educational crisis was felt as very urgent. Education should be the concern of all not merely the teacher or the administrator. It is the cumulative effect of a variety of forces in home, school and community that shapes the ultimate citizen.

The Sangh felt that a new approach has to be made in the context of Gramdan and Gramsankalp and total education of the community can only be the foundation on which *Gramnirman can take place. After preliminary survey of various areas attempts should be made to give Gramnirman a Nai Talim reorientation.

The Sarva Seva Sangh recognises that all its future programme can be conceived only in terms of Nai Talim, that is in terms of replacement of the existing values in individual and social life by new ones. (Courtesy—KSR)

* Reconstruction of village

The Shanti-Sena Camp in Uttar Pradesh

Suresh Ram

FOR the name Santi-Sena, we owe to Mahatma Gandhi. He was the first soldier as well as the first commander of this army, and at the bidding of the commander Mahatma, the soldier Gandhi laid his life on 30th January, 1948. The second is Acharya Vinoba. It was as a Shanti-Sainik that he entered Telangana in April 1951 and ever since the indefatigable warrior has known no rest. But he knows that in this age of sputniks, merely one soldier won't do. Hence he has decided to raise a regular force of Shanti-Sena under his supreme command. The first rally of India's Shanti-Sena was held at Gagwana, on 2nd March 1959 when more than eight hundred Shanti-Sainiks walked a distance of nine miles from Ajmer in pin-drop silence. The number has now reached about twelve hundred.

In our Uttar Pradesh, the number of Shanti-Sainiks is about two hundred and fifty. A camp of thirty, selected amongst them, was held from 21st June to 26th June last at Shram Vidyapith at Pasna in the Allahabad district. These hailed from twenty-four districts. We had for our pilot Sri Brahmadeo Bajpai, Provincial Nivedak and Vinoba's U. P. Representative. The residents of Pasna, Koraon and other neighbouring villages contributed in kind for the camp.

We had the privilege of having Marjorie Behn in our midst for four days, from 21st to 24th June. In her very first talk, she put forth the foundations on which the citadel of peace would be built. She said that peace work had been carried on all over the world for a long time. "But so far, in the West, its stress," she remarked, "was on non-participation in wars or on refusal to commit violence. Many have suffered for their faith. But this was mostly a negative work. It does not touch the basic cause of violence or unrest. In India the emphasis has been on creating a new social order free from violence and exploitation. This is very basic. Mahatma Gandhi has thought and done a lot in this direction for which the whole world is indebted to him. And on the same line, Vinobaji has started the Shanti-Sena movement."

We had a busy routine. Sleeping at nine, we got up at four. Congregational prayer began at 4-45. It was followed by two hours' bodily labour work. Then breakfast. Again half an hour's work in the kitchen, cowshed or lodging compound. After bath we assembled at 9-30 for discussions which went on up to twelve noon; Food and rest. Sacrificial spinning from 15-00 to 16-00. hours. Discussions again until 18-30. Then food after an hour's nap and lastly prayers at 20-30.

After initial talks, they chose five issues for discussions: (i) Objectives of the Shanti-Sena; (ii) Efficacy and effectiveness of the instruments in the cause; (iii) Field work and programme of the Shanti-Sainik, (iv) Organisation of the Shanti-Sena and (v) Training for work and service.

For six days they exchanged and discussed their experiences and offered suggestions. Marjorie Behn enriched these talks by her illuminating exposition of the peace work done in foreign countries. The main organisations were society of Friends (Quakers), War Resisters' International, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Peace Pledge Union and Church Peace Fellowship. Miss Marjorie said that Quakers' was a three hundred year old institution and they carried on their work by mutual consent and had never resorted to voting. Their principle is not 'resist not evil', but 'overcome evil with good and love.'

★

... In India religious life forms the centre, the keynote of the whole music of the national life. And therefore, if you succeed in the attempt to throw off your religion and take up either politics or society, the result will be that you will become extinct. Social reform and politics have to be preached through the vitality of your religion.....

Swami Vivekananda.

Family to Gramdan & to Jai Jagat

Braj Bihari Migan M.A. L.L.B., Victoria College, Lashkar

GRAM - DAN is the first tangible realisation of Vinoba's favourite metaphysically potent slogan *Jai Jagat*. But family precedes a Gram, and therefore can we say that Gramdan or Jai Jagat is the negation of the family? An individual is primarily a member of the family. Therefore a conception of duty also arises between the members of the family and the individual. But even as it is, it would be very difficult to define and determine a family. In the present context it may vary from a family consisting of a husband and a wife to as many members as the understanding, goodwill and cooperation existing between them allows. Therefore neither the number nor the relations in a family can be determined.

Moresoever the advancing strides of science and experiments in genetics will make it more difficult to determine the nature and extent of a family. Artificial insemination by husbands and donors have already puzzled the judges to determine the right to the children of either the husband or the wife. Further experiments have also been successful that the conception of one woman can be transferred in the womb of another. The problem will arise about the claim of either woman to the child. And therefore with such new and inconceivable ways of the conception of birth the meaning of family must also change. This is a challenge of science.

With the above in view, can we say that family precedes in respect of rights and duties and then follows everything e.g. Gram and Jagat. Or can we arrange individual, family, Gram, state and Jagat in the order of priority? Or there is no need of this priority, and humanity is the only relation between man and man, and everything else all sink down. If we say Jai Jagat, then there are no hurdles of family, Gram and state. Humanity is the only truth that should bind us. Science is forcing us to realise this truth in practice. But this truth is to be realised by steps. And therefore Gramdan is the first stage of the extension of the family, when Jai Jagat will be the highest extension of the family.

* Village and universe.

To return to the family, I can say that generally family means physical nearness and it is perfectly seen in the relation of the parents and the child. It is proximity in space which creates a sense of duty on either side. But man is a rational being and therefore physical nearness is not the perfect relation (many times the sons kill their fathers and fathers their sons). It is the physical nearness plus the ideational nearness which can be called to be a perfect relation. Distance of space is no more a horror, we are coming nearer one-another, and thus the world is coming very close. This coming closer will imply, not only physically, but mentally too. Thus with advancing science and technology, we will have to revise our relations and extend the old ones.

When world comes closer, family will not be taken as the nearest goal or the end-all and be-all of our activities, but it will have to extend. This extension of family will imply the scientifically ordered minimisation of wants. In a family everyone curtails the wants for the perfection of the family as a whole. Every part develops well. There is not only an even distribution of economic goods, but there is willing distribution of pain and pleasure too. Therefore I think that relations in the family is not the basis of duty, but humanity is the real basis. Family as we have already said, shows the greatest physical nearness, but it never implies identity. Identity is the goal, while physical nearness is the first step. Therefore the first step has always been mistaken for the stop. Vinoba has come forward, and advises the extension of family to Gram. Let the Gram be now the new family in a progressive scientific age.

Even otherwise also nothing can be said about the limits of the rights and duties of the members of a family. It all centres round the idea of a private property which was no doubt a happy-go slogan upto the development of capitalism. But now it is not a living idea.

Therefore recognising the right of humanity and duty towards humanity, let us fix our feet on Gramdan and then we shall hope for ascending further and extending the family to the State and ultimately universe. ★

(Continued from page—87)

other daily needs of life. In the event of a war the present five year plan would collapse. That is why I call *Gramdan* a defence measure.

Gramdan an enlarged family :

There is no separate ownership in a joint family. If a law comes into force which recognises separate ownership in a family, it will mar the happiness, the affection and the love that prevail now. Today in a family there is joint ownership and joint earning. That is why it is called a house. I wish to extend this very code to the village also.

Today some one owns hundreds of acres of land in a village while some other owns only two acres of land. Some have abundant lands and others none at all. Some are masters and others servants. It has torn asunder the village. Love is showered liberally upon the members of a family but it is scantily shown to neighbours. Love rules within the family, while rivalry divides the society. I have delicious dishes in my home whereas the neighbour has no bread. His earnings and mine are separate. Therefore, I am not responsible for his welfare. This narrow idea of separatism is against humanity and against the will of God. Our Lord God has made us all from the very same life and bade us love each other. We have made love itself a captive in the family. Therefore liberate love and extend it to all.

Noah's Flood

The boys here ask me the question, 'what is this flood for?' It is nice that they question. 'God is powerful and always kind. Then wherein lies His kindness when he devastates the land with floods?' The boys ask in a way which the elders even would not. I replied "We do wrongs and the consequence is the flood. This is my belief and I have no proof for it nor do I want to adduce any."

The flood does not make any distinction among people. It floods the entire land. When a disaster comes it comes down equally on all. The story of Noah's flood occurs in the Quoran. Noah was a great prophet and a good counsellor to the people. But people did not obey him and there came a great flood. Then God asked the people "Now whom would you obey, Noah or Noah's flood?"

The story of that remote past is worth recalling. A similar flood has visited this place. Hence the people who have been rendered homeless should be readily accommodated in other people's houses. There should not arise any consideration of sect, religion etc. The question should be of humanity alone. That is why 'Jai Jagat'; Victory - not alone to my country but victory to the whole world. I am happy that the village people understand me. They shout the slogan, "Best is the world" along with "Our Hindusthan is best of all". We should realize that we belong to the whole universe.

Abundance or Peace?

"The grow-more-food" campaign is active in Russia and America too. Our Government is also doing it. Should I too do it or attempt some other work?" I do want increase of production because we produce less. In China and Japan, they produce thrice as much as we do. It is but proper that we should learn new methods and increase our production. But the mere abundance of production or plenty of food and clothing does not give mental peace. In America food, clothing and other articles are available in plenty. On the other hand abundant production affects the head. Diseases of the body are not so numerous in America as diseases of the mind. It has increased the variety of insane cases unknown to doctors till now. In India we have more bodily diseases because we get less to eat and also because we do not know what to eat and how to eat. People here even do not know how to prepare meals properly. Here the way of cooking destroys the vital part of the food. Due to these, the bodily ailments here are many. But in America, cases of brain sickness and suicide have increased.

They go even to the length of keeping up the price level of commodities by burning the standing crops, which would be considered as a kind of madness. So it should be understood that if we build on the American model and prepare our five-year plan, it will not lead to progress. Production has to be increased indeed. But that much alone would not lead to mental peace. The moral and material progress should go together.



Vinobaji in Kashmir

Acharya Vinoba Bhave was accorded a rousing welcome by the people of Baramulla, 34 miles from Srinagar, on his arrival in the town on 21st July 1959. He addressed a largely attended prayer meeting at which 13 persons gave him gifts of land totalling over 23 acres.

Vinobaji entered Srinagar on 2nd August 1959. He said that Kashmir is just like the head of India and that he hoped that it would be the first Sarvodaya State and Srinagar the first Sarvodaya city. He declared he had no political mission nor was he associated with any party. He was for all and all were for him. He only wanted love and desired to convey the Sarvodaya message to every hearth and home. He said if the people worked unitedly, poverty would vanish everywhere. There were many potentialities for development in Kashmir. He asked the people to face the situation created by the floods unitedly and courageously.

Earlier on arrival in Srinagar, Acharya Vinoba was received by a large number of people including Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Sri Shamlal Saraf, Industries and Commerce Minister, Bakshi Abdul Rashid General Secretary, National Conference, Srinagar, the Deputy Commissioner, Mir Nassarullah, and Municipal councillors.

He said, recalling that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad had offered him the whole State, "I hope this will be translated into reality." Later Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad presented two maps of Srinagar to Vinoba and explained the historical background of the town, its flood problem and topography.

Vinoba had his first Shikara in the Dal Lake on August 6th. He also inspected a houseboat. He received delegations of the Plebiscite Front and the Pro-Pakistan Political Conference, and had separate meetings with them.



The True Right of Property

Henry George.

There thus arises, anterior to human law, and deriving its validity from the law of God, a right of private ownership in things produced by labor—a right that the possessor may transfer, but of which to deprive him without his will is theft.

This right of property, originating in the right of the individual to himself, is the only full and complete right of property. It attaches to things produced by labor, but cannot attach to things created by God.

Thus, if a man take a fish from the ocean he acquires a right of property in that fish, which exclusive right he may transfer by sale or gift. But he cannot obtain a similar right of property in the ocean, so that he may sell it or give it or forbid others to use it.

Or, if he set up a windmill he acquires a right of property in the things such use of wind enables him to produce. But he cannot claim a right of property in the wind itself, so that he may sell it or forbid others to use it.

Or, if he cultivate grain he acquires a right of property in the grain his labor brings forth. But he cannot obtain a similar right of property in the sun which ripened it or the soil on which it grew.

For these things are of the continuing gifts of God to all generations of men, which all may use, but none may claim as his alone.

To attach to things created by God the same right of private ownership that justly attaches to things produced by labor is to impair and deny the true rights of property. For a man who out of the proceeds of his labor is obliged to pay another man for the use of ocean or air or sunshine or soil, all of which are to men involved in the single term land, is in this deprived of his rightful property, and thus robbed.

*(From an abridged edition of Henry George's
"The Condition of Labour")*

The Pacifist's Conference in Austria

TWO hundred people from 23 countries were present at an impressive conference organised in Austria by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in August. Among them were individuals active in non-violent resistance in India, Europe, South Africa and the Deep South of the USA. The programme of the conference was based on the conviction that "The positive content of non-violence is nothing less than love. There is no situation, no department of personal and collective human life in which the beneficial, healing and regenerating action of love would be in principle inapplicable" in the words of Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman of the European Community of the F. O. R.

Dr. Karel Hujer, an American said that this is an age calling for the guidance of the prophets who taught us that salvation is in love and non-violence instead of the present feverish armaments race dominating both the sides of the iron curtain.

The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, engaged in multi-racial work in South Africa for 36 years spoke that the great task was to awaken the understanding, break down apathy, and develop the reign of love where there is only tension and fear.

One of Austria's leading scientists, Prof. Hans Thirring spoke of ways of revolutionising education to remove the traditional incentive for waging wars, that in the expectation—fed by the old way of teaching history—of achieving glory and fortune.

Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, Lecturer in Church History at New College, London, spoke on the Christian Love manifested in History for the replacement of force by a more excellent way, by tenderness towards sufferers and by redemption of the wrongdoer.

The Rev. N. H. Smith said that discrimination and racial upheavals form a moral cancer, the removal of which is only the first step in creating an integrated society. He said "There are no more worlds to conquer, we must now turn and conquer ourselves. Co-operation

must replace conquests and we must supplement each other's needs.

The Rev Michael Scott, Hony. Director of the African Bureau referred to the growing competition between the newly emerging African States. He said that the state was actually fostering racial division and so leading that country into ever mounting racial antagonisms and that nothing less than the truth for which Christ, and many other martyrs died would suffice in face of this.

On Youth Day a German pastor spoke on the "Challenge to Youth". Reports of the World Youth Festival, Youth Service in Scandinavia, Eastern Europe etc. were read. The Rev. Ralph Keithahn, of America, who has rendered dedicated service in India in Gandhiji's non-violent revolution during the last 30 years talked on "The Call to Love from India." He said "The West has its precious contribution to make, but it will be in this great creative meeting between East and West that the world will find peace. It is thrilling to be alive today, as we come together and learn of the fullness of love. One perfectly non-violent man is more powerful than any force." Mr. Keithahn referred to the work of Vinoba Bhawe, and to Ghaffar Khan, a leader for democracy in Pakistan, at present in prison. He also spoke of a Peace Army Brigade (Shanti-Sena)—evisioned by Gandhiji and now organised on an all-India level by Vinoba.

Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow gave the closing address, "The call to Love". Defining love as "active goodwill towards our fellowmen, which expresses itself in service and if necessary with sacrifice" he said "Pacifism is not something which is to be confused with passivism, but is always something positive and active. Here we have Jesus Himself as our supreme example, who never condoned or ignored the stark reality of evil. He did resist it, but not with its own weapon—but by that redemptive love of which the Cross is the symbol. It is in the light of the Cross that all the evils which are today bedevilling the world, must be met and overcome.

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