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Twelfth Sarvodaya Sevagram
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Gandhiji coming out of his
cottage at Sevagram

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Mg. Editor :

SARVODAYA

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The power of the State

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

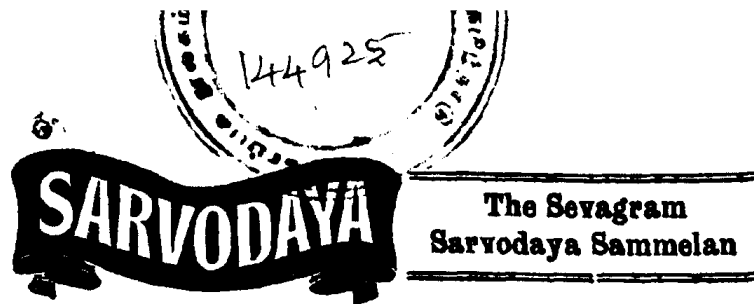
Mahatma Gandhi.

SARVODAYA

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THE Twelfth Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sevagram is indeed a success with the charm of simplicity and serious purposefulness in all the deliberations. It was not spectacular in any way. There were no exhibitions or other attractions. There was no importance of pilgrimage as attached to the places of the previous Sammelans to attract visitors in thousands. Those who attended the Sammelan were drawn from the rank and file of the Sevaks who are the very salt of the great non-violent revolution.

The absence of Vinobaji who was the sole inspiration in the previous Sammelans made the workers feel a little diffident. But the high level maintained in the discussions at the meetings of the Sarva Seva Sangh for about 7 days and the proceedings of the conference demonstrated that the Sarvodaya Sevaks rose to the occasion fully conscious of their responsibility. The high tradition of the previous Sammelans was maintained. The initiative and the lead taken by the younger section of the Conference drew the admiration of visitors like Sri G. Ramachandran who paid a glowing tribute to the new spirit of enquiry and challenge manifested by the younger generation.

Though Vinobaji was physically absent he was ever in the minds of the Sarvodaya Sevaks who had an abiding place in the heart of Vinobaji. The sanctity of the place consecrated by the Tapasya of Gandhiji for about 12 years in Sevagram, the benediction of Vinobaji, the guidance from the elders like Sri Sankararao Deo, Dada Dharmadhikari, Sri Dhirendra Mazumdar, Babu Jayaprakash Narayan and the remarkable self-confidence of the Sevaks themselves made the Conference unique and successful in many ways. Every one felt while leaving Sevagram an inward satisfaction of having found a new light and strength.

(Continued on page 45)

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Vinobaji on World Government

A CHARYA Vinoba Bhave expressed the hope that a normal world Government would be established in the near future and said that people did not like war after suffering heavy casualties in the two world wars in a talk with an American couple Mr. H. B. Hollins who had come from New York to know his views on the issue of war and peace. They undertook Pada-Yatra with the Acharya for three days in March.

Mr. Hollins asked "in connection with the problem of securing world peace, do you not believe that the people all over the world are more than ready to create a world Government and that on this subject the political leaders are far behind the people. So you often say that man must take the new big step in his evolution and reach a stage of spiritual development never attained so far. Do you think this change will come about within the foreseeable future or do you believe that while this change is taking place a world Government must be established.

Vinobaji said that people did not like wars and were ready for peace. But the difficulty was that people did not feel that they were the creatures of Government. They thought in terms of being ruled by a Government.

You are right that people are more ready for peace than Governments or political leaders. Governments, however, now also care for peace but are unable to find a way out of that situation created by themselves. Similarly leaders are also sincere in thinking about peace but do not know how to get rid of the fear complex. To establish peace an atmosphere must be created against cold war which is a greater curse than regular war" he added.

By the phrase, "The World Government" the Acharya said that he meant a moral world Government and not a physical Government. "If we conceive of a physical Government, world will again be faced with complicated problems which this Government will not be able to solve. It is enforced law through military force. It will further

create tension and new problems and in a way help to establish peace. Laws should be local and a moral Government in the Centre to tender advice should be established" he added.

"As regards spritual development of man", he said "we are not going to supplant but supplement spiritua-
lism. As nations have become closer to each other through science there is possibility of conveying spiritual thoughts to distant nations and a medium for that purpose is possible. Moral and spiritual weapons, can be invented.

He said "ego within will have to be killed totally or to put it in Indian terminology one will have to reduce oneself to zero. When we do that whole universe will become a commune through inner contact for world peace and a world Government. Distrust inherited by nations must be abandoned.

He said that spiritual hunger was being felt all over the world and as was evident from the fact that a spiritual movement launched in a remote corner of one country had its reaction on the other end of the world.

—*Hindustan Standard.*



Pandit Nehru meets Vinobaji

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru met Vinobaji on 2-4-60 at Pattikalyan, 40 miles from Delhi and had discussion with him for two hours on current home and world problems.

President meets Vinobaji

Dr. Rajendra Prasad met Vinobaji on 6-4-60 at the village of Senapet.

The Statement of Sarva Seva Sangh At Sevagram Sarvodaya Sammelan

Twelve years After.

Immediately after the demise of Gandhiji, a conference of his colleagues and co-workers was held at Sevagram. This has been followed every year by annual conferences of Sarvodaya workers. We are again meeting here in Sevagram after twelve years. It would be appropriate on this occasion to take stock of the situation and see how far India and the world have followed the teachings of Gandhiji during these years.

The Wave of Non-violence.

Gandhian thought transcends national boundaries. The ideal of Sarvodaya, or the good of all, is an universal ideal. It may doubtless be said that despite the invention of more and more deadly weapons and despite the pervading atmosphere of cold war, the world has on the whole advanced towards the path shown by Gandhiji. Many countries of Asia and Africa have been influenced by India's independence and particularly by the non-violent manner in which it was attained. The desire for peace has become stronger in the world. The idea of complete disarmament is being seriously put forward and considered even by those nations who are otherwise engaged in war preparations and in the quest for more and more destructive weapons of warfare. The progress of science has rendered violence ineffective as a means for solving problems and has compelled the world to search for peaceful methods.

Non-violent Resistance in the West.

Another welcome development during recent years is the rise of a world conscience which has made itself manifest on more than one occasion against injustice and oppression in any part of the world. This expression of world opinion is beginning to have its effect on events. There have also been practical attempts at non-violent

resistance in some countries of the world. In this connection we are particularly reminded of the Satyagraha offered by the Negro people in the United States of America to obtain recognition of their civic rights, and the various non-violent actions carried out in protest against the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons in Europe, America and Africa. A few experiments in community living on Sarvodaya lines have also been started during recent years in some countries of the world.

The Great Expectation from India.

For obvious reasons, there was a natural expectation from Gandhiji's India of some special effort in the direction of applying non-violence in practical life. But the evils flowing from the partition of the country brought about a chaos in the morals of the people and values that sustained human life were smattered. Communal fire was ablaze and took the toll of Gandhiji's life. The second World War also had its impact on India. All these combined to lower the moral standard of the people. The ideals of service and sacrifice that characterised our freedom movement have been replaced by narrow selfishness. People have tended to be more and more dependent on the government instead of manifesting their own initiative and independence of spirit. In spite of all these shortcomings, however, it must be said that the heart of the people is basically sound.

Non-Alignment Policy.

Two important experiments in the direction of non-violence deserve special mention. The foreign policy of India has been conspicuous for its adherence to the principles of peace, friendship and non-alignment. It has made an appreciable contribution to peace and has raised India's prestige in the world.

Bhoodan-Gramdan Movement.

The other significant event is the emergence of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement, in the course of which lakhs of donors responded to the call of love and compassion and gave away a part of their property to the society.

This movement has shaken the roots of the sense of private ownership in land, has made an humble attempt to create a moral climate in a country, and shown a new way for the non-violent solution of social problems. Bhoodan has infused a new spirit into both constructive work and workers and has revived their sense of purpose. It has also opened the way for the development of people's new strength and has provided an opportunity to different political parties for working together.

Other Non-violent Achievements.

Apart from these two major factors, there are a few more developments which need mention. The establishment of fundamental democratic liberties and the rule of law in this vast country, the framing of a constitution based on adult franchise and the emergence of a sense of freedom among the people constitute a glorious chapter in the history of a contemporary democracy. The peaceful integration of princely States with the rest of the country, and the abolition of the zamindari ended the centuries old feudal set-up in the country and laid the foundations of a healthier social order. The fundamental importance of the village in the material development of the country has been recognised by the Community Development Programme of the Government, and so also the need for the decentralization of power.

Khadi & Village Industries towards Village Swaraj.

The progress in khadi and village industries through Khadi Commission in the country has been considerable during these years. Specially welcome is the fact that those working in this sphere have realised the importance of the objective of Gram-Swarajya and Gram-Sankalpa as a means for its attainment.

Peaceful Methods by Political Parties.

It is also a matter of satisfaction that various political parties in the country have come to recognise the importance of constitutional and peaceful methods as instruments of social change.

Our Failures in Economic Life.

In spite of all these, however, we are constrained to observe that India has not been able to fulfill what was naturally expected of it as Gandhiji's country. Gandhiji stood for a decentralised economic order as a means to the establishment of a truly equalitarian and non-exploitative society. India has failed to follow that path. On the contrary, the old village industries have received a set-back. Thus the country has failed to take advantage of the opportunity provided by the attainment of freedom for initiating a fundamental reorganisation of economic and social life.

In International Conflicts.

We have failed to apply the policy of using peaceful methods for the solution of internal conflicts. Stone-throwing and firing have been resorted to on most trivial matters. It must be admitted that we have not yet succeeded in preserving internal peace. As a consequence, the necessity of the police and the military continues to exist.

In Land and Food Problems.

We have failed to solve such a basic thing as the land problem and unemployment is also on the increase despite planning. The country has not so far been able to attain self-sufficiency in the matter of food as a consequence of which we have to import almost a hundred crores of rupees worth of grain every year.

In Education.

Although, the Central and State Governments have accepted in principle the idea of Basic Education, there has been no change in the educational policy in actual practice. Education has neither contributed to the reconstruction of the country nor has it developed a moral content.

In other Constructive Fields.

It is natural that all administrative work should be carried on in the language of the people and all Inter-provincial work in the national language. Not only has

there been no progress towards this objective, but on the contrary, English language has received a greater fillip. So far as the removal of untouchability is concerned, while whatever was possible by law has been done, there has been no appreciable social effort for assimilating Harijans within the community.

Prohibition has not been adopted as a national policy. Wherever it has been, there is laxity in its enforcement. No effective social or moral climate has been generated in favour of prohibition. If we bear in mind the tradition and culture of India and the direction in which the idea of non-violence has been developing in the country, cow-slaughter should have completely disappeared. But this has not been done, nor has the development of the breed which is an essential pre-requisite for the economic development of the country, received adequate attention and encouragement.

The Challenge to Sarvodaya Workers.

This situation is a challenge for the people and particularly for Sarvodaya workers. We believe that these various problems can be solved by following the path of *Sarvodaya*.

The Indian people have already faced great problems under the leadership of Gandhiji. Even today there is no lack of that potentiality of effort among the people. We have had a glimpse of this latent quality in the course of the *Bhoodan* movement. There is no doubt that if the Indian people realise their own strength and become fully alive to the situation, they can create a Social Order which will be unique in human history and which may well lay the foundations of a lasting world peace and sweet relationship between man and man.

On this occasion when we have met in Sevagram twelve years after Gandhiji's demise, it is our most sacred duty to dedicate ourselves completely in the service of the people for the fulfilment of this great mission.



Appeal to Workers

Jayaprakash Narayan

*(Gist of his talk at the meeting of Sarva Seva Sangh
at Sevagram in the morning of 26-3-60)*

I am not one of those who feel we have lost the battle and the Bhoodan movement has come to a standstill. It is a pity that even a section of the educated elite of this country sometimes remark that Vinobaji has given up the movement of Bhoodan. I may remind them that there has been no movement in human history which did not have its ups and downs. I must emphasise that the nature of our movement is not the same as of our struggle for independence. At that time nationalist, capitalist, communist — all the anti-British forces were united under one banner. There was the unique leadership of Mahatma Gandhi; and what a dynamic force! Yet there were similar ups and downs in our national liberation movement also.

The ideal which we have set before us now is higher still and it requires much more perseverance and sacrifice to achieve it. It is not a work which may be accomplished in a year or two, it requires the devotion of a few generations. As a student of sociology I have no hesitation in saying that considering the objective condition of the nation and the world and taking into account the material with which we had to work, we have achieved a near miracle. Hence, I find no reason of being apologetic about our movement nor do I feel that our workers should suffer from a complex.

Though the work is hard and our goal is far off, the workers should go ahead with courage and confidence. Any impartial observer would notice that in comparison with 1951, constructive work on Gandhian lines is ten-fold today and the Bhoodan movement was the only single factor that contributed most for this ascendant curve of constructive work.

Yet I do not want to be complacent. I know that the tempo of the movement is not what it should be. In spite

of our achievements in the field of Bhoodan, land distribution, Sampattidan, reconstruction work and Sarvodaya Paatra etc. the fact remains that a sense of movement is absent and all of us including Vinobaji himself are trying to discover the key, with which we may open the gates for a further advance towards our ideal. I have always maintained that the Lok Sevakas are all independent research workers in the field of non-violence and we should give up the practice of depending upon Vinobaji or on any Sammelan for light.

We do not need any new programme. The programme is there, we have only to act up to it. We can select any one or a few of the items according to the local conditions or give emphasis on a particular item for a specific period. Nobody can say what may happen tomorrow. National and international conditions, popular psychology and many such factors work behind a socio-political upheaval. Even on the 6th of November 1917 it would have been impossible for Lenin to predict that his long cherished proletariat revolution would materialise on the next day.

We must work enthusiastically and our continuity of work and tenacity of purpose must be maintained. We should be ready to let ourselves become the manure which sacrifices itself for producing more. In spite of the adverse situation, whatever has been achieved in these years is undoubtedly encouraging and I am confident that through this movement India would be able to show the path of non-violence to the world.

The future programme is there. Some were chalked out by Bapuji himself and some are new. The work of distribution of land is long overdue and it is well that it has been taken up. The proposal of working in an intensive area to bring out all the aspects of Gram-Swarajya is very essential and it should be tried in areas where necessary preconditions exist. There is no basic difference between reconstruction work and what is called revolutionary work. It is not the particular item but the spirit

behind the work, which accounts for the existence of revolution in it.

We could ignore the task of maintenance of workers only at our peril. This is our collective responsibility. The experiences of Bihar though limited, are nevertheless encouraging. The problem of training of the workers and particularly of the Shanti Sainiks is also very important.

All these and similar activities should be taken up by us with enthusiasm. But we must know that it is not an easy job and hence, there is no cause for pessimism, even if the response from people is not immediate. Some village might react very quickly like Berain of Bihar; but in the nature of things such instances are bound to be limited. Speaking personally, if there is any cause for depression at all it is because of not so much for the lack of peoples' participation, as for the occasional hitches and mutual bickerings amongst workers themselves.

I may say that I have gained immense self-confidence from this session of the Sarva Seva Sangh. I remember the repeated saying of Vinobaji that revolution cannot be brought about, *it happens*. There are so many factors for its consummation. Today the situation is favourable for us. At home, people have become disillusioned with political parties and party rule. They are gradually developing an urge for non-party activities. Congenial international forces are also at work and it is not impossible that people may have to listen to us sooner than later. We are now to consolidate our position and be prepared for a big leap forward. As the avowed author and my friend Arthur Koestler recently told me, "the nets are almost dry", and we are now to get ready for the fishing.

(Courtesy—"Bhoodan")



A Gandhian Ideal

The following is from the American Weekly Journal "Manas" dated 13—1—60 commenting on the "Philosophy of Sampathidan" (Gift of wealth) as expounded by the late Srikrishnadas Jaju in his book, translations from which were published in "Sarvodaya". We are indebted to the editors of 'Manas' for reproducing the article for our readers.

It is often said that Gandhian principles of reform and reconstruction may be fine for India, but that they can hardly be applied in an advanced industrial society. There is so much plain fact in this judgment that it may lead to a neglect of the less obvious ways in which Gandhian thinking might be rendered into terms practical for Western use.

Take for example the problem of class distinctions—a situation no Western revolution has been able to overcome. While the distinctions of heredity and family persist only in certain European countries, these have been elsewhere replaced—most noticeably in the United States—by the distinctions of income. In countries where the State has become all powerful, the ruling class is made up of the bureaucracy. The important thing, in all these instances, is not the type of distinction, but the fact that the distinction exists, creating barriers between classes of human beings.

How would Gandhi attack this problem? A series of articles in a small Indian magazine, *Sarvodaya*, devoted to continuance of the Gandhian tradition and the work of Vinoba Bhave, examines the philosophy of Sampathidan, meaning "Gift of Wealth." The articles are renderings into English of chapters in a book written in Hindi by the late Srikrishnadas Jaju. Under the heading, "The propriety of using brain for amassing wealth," this author says:

"This is a fundamental and profound question—whether it is proper to employ learning for earning

money. It is as clear as daylight that such use of the intelligence is one of the main reasons for economic inequality. That is also the cause of exploitation. Many attempts have been made and theories put forward to remove discontent born out of socio-economic inequalities and exploitation. Some of them are also being put into actual practice. But if this complicated issue is to be tackled by non-violence, we have to follow Gandhiji's solution, which runs thus:—

“The needs of the body must be met by bodily labour and the needs of the mind to be satisfied by acquiring knowledge. The social order must be such that everybody should do physical labour for four hours and mental work also for an equal duration, and four hours' bodily work must earn for him or her as much as is required for living.”

One point here, is that no price should be put upon the work of the mind. Intellectual work is of another order of value than the measurable goods of economic production. Exploitation, it might be urged, has its root in the capacity of some men to turn their intellectual skill—their ability to devise high-sounding theories which work to their personal benefit—into personal economic advantage. The works of the mind, from this point of view, should be regarded as far too valuable to be perverted by sale in the open market. All creative acts, in short, should be amateur labors of love.

Apart from the difficulties in instituting such a “system,” let us look at the advantages it would bring. First of all, it would close the abyss between the intellectuals and the working classes. Wherever this abyss exists powerful antagonisms and defence mechanisms develop. The intellectual is shamed by the practical skills and know-how of the mechanic. The working man, in turn, is likely to be awed by the vocabulary of the intellectual. In self-defence, both devise reasons for being contemptuous of each other. The intellectuals take pride in their isolated coteris, often offering an almost cultist justification of their obscurantism. The working men, when

they bother to notice the intellectuals at all, usually dismiss them as “egg-heads.”

We are not suggesting that the differences can or ought to be entirely erased. We are suggesting that the division between these different sorts of men is much greater than it need be. We are suggesting that the intellectuals could go a great distance towards winning the respect of working men by becoming some kind of working men, themselves. Gandhi's four hours a day sounds reasonable, since technology will probably reduce the work-day to something like this, before too long.

It hardly needs pointing out that some kind of manual work would unquestionably provide intellectuals with a stabilizing foundation for their personal lives, which now tend, somewhat notoriously, to neurotic patterns. Most important of all, it would free the mind of any economic compulsions. No one would feel obliged to say what he does not believe on the ground that he cannot make a living any other way. The rule would be, instead, that he cannot make a living that way.

If it be argued that a writer needs more time than he would have leisure left to write, the answer might be that there are too many books, anyway. Let him write fewer, but better books.

We haven't tried to work out the details of this system. Obviously, it is not a system at all, but a proposal for voluntary action. No systems like this could be “enforced”. It would be followed, rather, because it is seen to promise the recapture of integrity. It represents a spirit or attitude of mind, rather than a formula to be adopted without making any exceptions.

There will be those, of course, who feel that this proposal amounts to a threat to their status as members of the elite. This cannot be helped. But it is not really a threat. The only threat in this idea is the possibility that one will be converted to it.

How would such a program work at the beginning? It is already working in the lives of a few. Scott Nearing

for twenty years ran a maple syrup farm in Vermont, working four hours a day and writing the other four. He and Mrs. Nearing made as much of a living as they needed to stay healthy and comfortable. We can think of two other men who have balanced their lives with part-time activities for economic purposes, leaving them free to do things which are ends-in-themselves the rest of the time.

In an industrial society, the Gandhian idea can be put to work only by means of free invention. But if the objective is to bring to birth a society that has space for human freedom, then a full use of what freedom we already have is the way to begin.



Progress of Bhoodan Movement till 29-2-1960

Provinces.	Land Received. Acres.	Land Distributed. Acres.
Assam	... 23,196	225
Andhra	... 2,41,950	95,278
Orissa	... 3,96,466	1,18,335
Uttar Pradesh	... 4,11,484	1,27,835
Kerala	... 29,021	2,126
Tamilnad	... 70,823	2,349
Delhi	... 396	157
Punjab-Pepsu	... 22,150	4,217
Bihar	... 21,06,342	2,46,198
Bombay	... 2,37,227 · 04	85,888 · 76
Bengal	... 12,352 · 81	2,972 · 80
Madhya Pradesh	... 4,04,703 · 57	89,274 · 88
Mysore	... 19,973	2,527
Rajasthan	... 4,34,614	1,03,962
Himachal Pradesh	... 1,568	21
Jammu Kashmir	...	—
Total	... 44,12,266 · 42	8,81,368 · 44

Figures are not available for the places marked blank.

My Experiments in the Art of Living

Wilfred Wellock (*New Longton, Preston, England*)

(XI) Path-Finding.

IT took Britain many years to come to herself after the first world war—if, indeed, she can be said to have done that even yet!

Civilizations cannot grow new roots in a day, although on occasion, they can destroy old ones at an alarming pace.

The wild maraudings of ambitious, vainglorious kings can quickly destroy the fruitage of centuries of wise building. But what are we to say of the mighty holocausts, upheavals and conflagrations which modern science has made possible by power concentrations of magnitudes which transcend the conceptive power of mind and imagination, and yet which remain at the discretion of vain ambition, the greed and fear of dictators, oligarchies, privileged classes and ideologies and always cleverly camouflaged with the language of freedom, justice and peace?

The mental and moral shocks of the first world war, together with its spiritual upheavals and human wreckage, mental and physical, uprooted so many vital values, habits and traditions, bewildered and transformed the minds and the outlook of so many millions of people, that a return to pre-war normality was utterly impossible. The old life with its myriad intimate human relationships had in four years of total war been transformed into a spiritual wilderness, and for the most part lost beyond recovery. New habits had been formed, new evaluations made, new desires fostered. On a vast scale men had changed, become what they were not, and often spectres of their former selves.

A new world had been promised. It did not come, but a very different world, peopled by different men, also unexpected, gradually asserted itself. And it was noticed that many, very many, of the young men who returned

from the war showed no inclination to darken a church or chapel door. Religion had lost all meaning, and the church status.

In an earlier chapter I described how during the first eighty years of the industrial revolution the craftsman of the Middle Ages tradition had been slowly dehumanised by the processes of industrial specialisation, since they deprived him of personal responsibility, the right to self-expression and to the social values of working for neighbours. I also pointed out that they made up for these losses to some extent by participating in numerous church activities, whence thousands of Nonconformist churches became centres of creative social and religious activities of a wide variety.

The cultural value of these activities was high, beyond estimation. They raised the standards of personal and social behaviour to a very high level, including sex behaviour. Even so, the Nonconformist churches stood in some danger because they steadily refused to face the issue of social justice in regard to the wages and profits of industry. Nearly every church embraced workers and employers in its membership, and despite the fact that thrift and careful spending resulted in nice homes, well fed and well clothed families, there was no margin for those extra comforts and delights which make all the difference in a hard, grinding life in which a doctor's bill becomes a nightmare.

It was in these circumstances that our industrial populations began to lend an ear to the arguments of the socialists who, in the "nineties" were making headway in convincing the workers that they were not getting their due share of the fruits of production. The result was that many of the more thoughtful young men and women in the churches, including Sunday School teachers and lay preachers, began to argue that the church should go into these matters and consider whether in view of all the facts justice was being done, and if not, what course should be taken to establish and insure it.

However, the great majority of the employers and investors within the church strongly objected to this argument, declaring that economic and business matters lay outside the province of religion and the church. The function of religion was to deal with man-God, not man-man relationships.

A bitter conflict ensued. The employers denounced the socialists as materialists, while the latter retorted that obviously it was the manufacturers who were the materialists since they cornered the lion's share of the fruits of industry, lived in luxury in spacious houses and grounds, and were constantly pulling down their factories and building greater.

In the end money won, most ministers supporting the few big givers, and sacrificing the many small givers, to church funds. The result was disastrous for the future of the church, as in the following decade she lost large numbers of her finest workers. During the process came the first world war, the effects of which upon the church I have stated above.

On two fundamental issues, therefore, social justice, and war, the church had rejected the teaching of its founder. Charity was extolled, but the subjugation of riches to the claims of justice and the principle of self-giving for the social good, was sidetracked. Similarly, love was extolled when given in the right places and in the right quantities, but out of place when regarded as a substitute for war. So the worshippers of class privilege, of social and national power were consoled by the Church's assurance that the world was not yet ready for love!

Not ready for love! Not ready for Truth! Yet every day in which the world is denied love and truth its civilisation falls in quality and survival power. Hence the love which the church rejects when war is afoot, makes future wars all the more certain, and the world's salvation by love more remote.

The price of that betrayal of truth and love we are paying today, and shall continue to pay in compound

interest until our civilisation perishes in moral decadence, unless there be an awakening, and truth and love are given their rightful place in the scheme of things.

We need not be surprised, therefore, that during the first twenty years of the present century there took place a tremendous exodus from the churches of this country, especially in the industrial areas. From that decline there has been no recovery since, nor are there any indications that there will be any. Self-giving through neighbour love must be seen as the most dynamic, life-yielding and expanding principle within man's power, the only hope of his salvation and of his peace, which is world peace.

As I moved about the country after 1920 it was next to impossible to secure a response to any kind of spiritual appeal. Public causes made no appeal. The churches struggled to keep their doors open as social coteries. The only organisation that appeared to be advancing was the Independent Labour Party. Most of the invitations I received, to speak about the condition of Germany, were from pacifist or I. L. P. groups and branches. These audiences were also keen to hear about Gandhi and India.

In this situation I tried to transcend the boundaries set by churches, religions and political parties, and to look at the world and its civilisations as a whole, thus presenting a broad human outlook, principles of conduct and types of behaviour that were capable of universal application. I claimed that people who tried to live rationally should keep rigidly to their principles, and make it clear to others that whole satisfying living, abundant living, was possible.

Ordinary men and women enthusiastically responded to the idea of industry acknowledging the right of every worker to a share of responsibility in running it, to self-expression and to a consciousness of "belonging" to a co-operative group working for common ends, human welfare in general and for justice in the disposition of the fruits of their labours. Indeed I soon began to realise that

I was providing former church-goers with spiritual objectives which, given determined, enlightened common action might revolutionise our common life.

The rapid march of the socialist movement in Britain at this time, with the Independent Labour Party as its spearhead, owed its success to its essentially spiritual appeal. The I. L. P. inherited the spiritual idealism of the early Christian Socialists and of the artist-poet-craftsmanship school of William Morris. In the North, many of its leaders were lay or local preachers.

This was the only kind of socialism that appealed to me, and my real problem was: could its idealism be transformed into reality by political action in the conditions then prevailing? I believed with William Morris that it was more important and infinitely more rewarding to be able to work with one's whole mind and soul eight hours per day, than to work like a machine listlessly, without zest, pride or satisfaction for seven hours per day with possibly a little more pay.

During the miners' Lockout of 1926, I spent several months addressing meetings of miners in nearly every coal field of Britain. Some of these audiences were very large, too large to be held indoors, and since it was summer and the weather mostly fine, many meetings were held on hillsides or in natural amphitheatres. They were wonderful occasions, and often had an evangelistic character. In those atmospheres it was possible to envisage and anticipate the dawn of a new age.

But other forces were at work, moving at a frightening pace in precisely the opposite direction. What would be the outcome?

The dreamers were few, strong in spirit but poor in cash, while the men of means, makers of steel and concrete, found open doors and Government backing all along the line. The signs and portents were ominous. The new world alas! I faced the future with determination but with much misgiving. The odds were frightening!

(12) I Venture into Politics.

I was over forty years of age before the thought of entering politics ever occurred to me, although I do not remember a time when I did not take a deep interest in most of the things with which politics is concerned.

My father was a Liberal, which to him meant believing in progress, in working-class education, and freedom to think and to decide such vital issues as vaccination, religion, etc. I have a vivid recollection of a Victorian General Election voting day when both the Liberal and the Conservative candidates drove through our town in four-wheeled carriages drawn by four prancing horses splendidly bedecked with Party colours. That was over seventy years ago, and it was the last General Election of that picturesque, aristocratic order. The working classes were becoming too well-informed upon the sources and the distribution of so called "national" wealth to be fobbed off with conventional definitions of social justice, and picturesque, aristocratic parades!

By the time I was eighteen, discussions among Sunday School teachers, Church workers and lay preachers had led me to a study of the works of Ruskin, Tolstoy, Carlyle, Kropotkin, Thoreau, Emerson, Wordsworth etc., all of whom influenced me profoundly, especially Ruskin and Tolstoy.

When John Ruskin wrote "There is no Wealth but Life—Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration" and added; "That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest influence, both personal, and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others," he was expounding the economics of a philosophy, a religion, in which economics and ethics are two aspects of the same Truth. The embodiment of this Truth in everyday industrial life should be the supreme duty of every employer and every labourer in whatever capacity.

But what was the situation in the Twenties? As a class, employers believed in the policy of *laissez faire*, and so tried to prevent political interference with the conduct of industry and disposal of its profits. This attitude was strongly combated by thriving trade unions and a working-class political agitation for economic justice and a wide variety of social reforms.

We are thus confronted with a veritable class war at the economic or materialistic level, and neither state nor church had an effective alternative to offer.

As I surveyed the social scene in the nineteen-twenties, the only Movement which offered an alternative system with a spiritual content was the Independent Labour Party. The essence of its idealism was a deep conviction that socialism meant not only economic justice but the sharing of responsibility for the achievement of a brotherhood of co-workers by hand and brain in the creation of beautiful homes and neighbourhoods and happy, satisfying lives. Their dreams were of substance and beauty, of vocational living which offered endless scope for the exercise of the imagination and the emotions. William Morris' "News from Nowhere" released the human spirit from the bonds of a crass materialism.

I fully realised the close connection between John Ruskin's economics and the non-parliamentaryism of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, but also the grip of the big financial combines upon the economic social and intellectual life of the country, and the consequent perpetual lowering of the standards of value in the community at large. I also realised that four years of total war with its colossal wastage of iron and steel and other vital natural resources had necessitated maximum automation in every sphere of production, and that these technological advances had been carried into peace-time production.

Inevitably these trends had a marked psychological effect upon the workers, which was intensified by the emergence of industrial amalgamations with a labour roll of twenty or thirty or more thousands: During the war

these gigantic industrial organisations achieved a high degree of sense of common purpose of trying to win the war. But when peace came and profit-making took control, the industrial climate rapidly deteriorated, the workers suddenly realised their social isolation and that they had only a machine, or output, value. Their humanity no longer came into the reckoning. Nothing that they did affected their imagination or their emotions. Executives, technologists and managements conferred together in some distant gilded tower while the workers, tied to their machines laboured in the basement. Between these two extremes was no social cement whatever, not even a nodding acquaintance. Every big industrial organisation thus tended to become a materialistic microcosm in which wages was the only end and bond. The natural outcome was a way of life which consisted of getting and spending money and in which everything human beings might need or desire could be bought with cash.

This sense of class isolation in a materialistic society was strengthened by the new daily newspaper journalism which Lord Northcliffe as news controller had developed during the war in order to maintain the nation's war efforts at their peak effectiveness. His technique was that of the mass appeal. Splash, heavy headings, streamers in heavy lettering, sweeping generalisations, tabloid news which omitted inconvenient details and a patriotism which avoided awkward issues, were adopted to the end of fostering the mass-mind propensities of the fragmented minds of the industrial robot era.

At the time of which I speak, nothing emanated from Church or state which combated these mass-man, materialistic tendencies, and the only idealism that did was the Socialism of the I. L. P. which was in the tradition of the Christian socialists, Guild Socialism and the William Morris School. Alongside this socialism was that of the economic socialists, who concentrated on economic justice and the general improvement in working-class conditions.

But what were the chances of an I. L. P. dominated Government? I fully realised the odds, but I also saw the

educational value of a propaganda in favour of a socialism with a spiritual content. A powerful socialist ferment was in being. At all my meetings I found a ready response to my spiritual presentation of socialist society. The response was: "then why don't you go into Parliament and help to bring it about?" and as at the moment it seemed to be the best way of offering a challenge to a materialistic society and a mass-mind proletariat, I decided to take the plunge. Having done so I accepted the first invitations to stand for Parliament which came along, entered immediately upon an intensive educational programme, and won a Bye-election in Feb. 1927.

The story of my Parliamentary experience is soon told. On the whole it was the most frustrating experience of my life. I never felt so impotent. Of course, the letters M. P. open many doors to service which the hard-working M.P. uses to the utmost of his power. Then there is important Committee work. I was made Chairman of several Select Committees, which dealt with Local Government Bills etc. That work I enjoyed, as I did also my membership of a Joint Committee of Lords and Commoners which sat for a whole year hearing evidence and writing a Report on the Future Government of East Africa. Our Report rejected a Kenya proposal to bring Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika under a single Government.

Then one day Krishna Menon, who was then Secretary of the India Congress group in London, asked me if I thought it possible to set up a Committee of M.Ps. which would interest itself in Indian affairs. I said I thought it might be possible, and in fact one was formed, and I became its first Chairman. One result was that I was able to meet many leading Indian personalities who came to London from time to time to further the cause of Indian independence, including Motilal Nehru, Bahadur Sapru-Mr. Sastry, Lajput Rai (The Lion of the Punjab) Mr. Jin, nah etc., also C. F. Andrews, Annie Besant etc. In this way I was able to get a wonderful grasp of the Indian situation and of the mind and spirit which was behind the

India's great crusade, and this was most important, for these were some of the finest minds and personalities I had ever met. Of these I saw Lajput Rai the most, as he had a good Punjabi friend Dr. Dharmavir, who had a medical practice only a few miles from my home. Lajput Rai was one of the most loveable men I have ever known. He insisted on my writing regularly for his famous weekly "The People."

In regard to the vital problems connected with our British way of Life, however, my parliamentary experience is rather a painful memory. I found that after a few years in the House of Commons most Members seemed to lose their enthusiasm for idealistic objectives. The general tendency was towards ease and security, and to regard the House of Commons as a first-class club where one can easily meet the people who matter in the political world.

One cause of this mental attitude is that there is so little opportunity to take part in the discussions on vital issues. The big debates are rare, and when they occur not more than ten or twelve back benchers are able to take part. Thus after throwing a number of unused speeches into the waste paper basket most Members give up the struggle and retire into background.

My chief interests in the House were peace, and the social order as it affects the quality of our civilisation, and, as I see things these two issues are closely related. The only hope I then saw of moving towards an era of peace and freedom was in an enlightened and courageous Labour Government. But alas! Disappointments came thick and fast. In 1927 when I entered Parliament a Conservative Government was in power. It was succeeded by a Labour Government in 1929, which unhappily was soon overtaken by the Great World Slump which lasted some four years. At its peak there were 30,000,000 workers unemployed in Europe and America. It brought down the Labour Government, which was superseded by a Coalition Government. The next Labour Government did not appear until after the second world war, in 1945.

As might be expected the big slump killed what was left of the idealistic socialism of the twenties. The I.L.P. became a mere shadow of its former self. A "bread and butter" politics held sway, with maximum pay packets and maximum consumption of goods and services, including sport and entertainment of the greatest variety, cosmetics and all the allurements of fickle fashion.

This was nothing other than a stronger wave of the new materialism that had been ebbing and flowing since 1920, and in it I abandoned all hope of attaining my ends by Party politics of any colour. Accordingly I cast them adrift once and for all.



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Dr. J. C. Kumarappa as a Patient

Dr. P. K. Krishnankutty, M.D., M.R.C.P.,

IT was about the middle of 1957 that Dr. J. T. Cornelius contacted me in connection with the health of his brother, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa. Dr. Cornelius had brought with him Dr. Kumarappa's X-Rays and cardiograms. On seeing them, I pronounced that the patient would not survive more than a week, so advanced was his disease. I examined Dr. Kumarappa only a week after having seen these records. What impressed me most on examining him was his optimism and his firm refusal to succumb to his disease. It was so striking that I immediately changed my views as to his chances of survival. If Dr. Kumarappa survived more than two and a half years after this first examination, it was due to a very large extent to his will to live.

Within the past two and a half years, Dr. Kumarappa had been in and out of the hospital five times, his last admission being on January 10th, 1958. He always made light of his illness. As a matter of fact, as I walked into his room every day, he would start the conversation by asking me, "How are you this morning?", taking the words out of my mouth. He was always extremely punctual—to the point of being a slave to his clock. This trait in him was often a source of great worry to my assistants and house physicians. According to routine, my house physician had been scheduled to visit him at 7 p.m. every night. If the young doctor was late by so much a fraction of a second, Dr. Kumarappa was sure to be very annoyed with him and would give him a sermon on the importance of keeping to time. This should not lead one to the conclusion that Dr. Kumarappa was malvolent or ill-tempered. To know how popular he was, among the staff of the hospital, it will suffice to say that the moment it was known that he had died, there began a never-ending stream of mourners consisting of nursing orderlies, nurses and doctors, to his death bed.

In this connection, I am reminded of an incident which took place one night. One of the junior pupil nurses fainted in his room with convulsions. Kumarappa, weak as he was, got out of bed and ran out to get assistance from the night nurse in the neighbouring ward, saw that the pupil nurse was removed to the nurses' sickroom, and

called on her the next day to find out for himself the details of her progress.

He was a great man for organisation. He donated all his books which had a bearing on Gandhiji's life to the General Hospital and organised Gandhian library which still exists in the vicinity of the room in which he lay. Every day he used to see a stream of visitors seeking his advice regarding their problems.

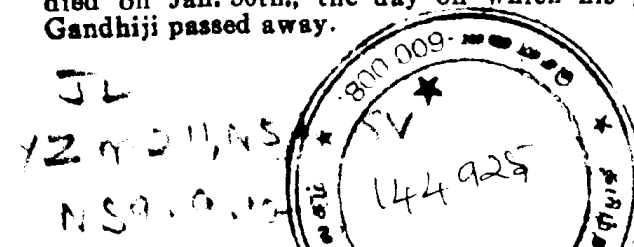
He always took great pride in showing us his apparel, which was produced from beginning to end at his ashram in Kallupatti near Madurai.

He had a passion for cleanliness. His writing-desk, time-piece and flower vase had each an allotted place in his room. Ill as he was, he was meticulous about the trimming of his beard.

Everyday during my visit, I used to look first at his feet. He would ask me why I did not look at his face, to which I used to reply that one should look at the feet of great men. He always treated this as a joke with a benign smile.

At times we found him a difficult patient, especially with regard to the administration of drugs. We had to give him medicines for his heart-failure, for his high blood pressure and for his anaemia; and since he was on a salt-free diet, we had to give him supplementary vitamins as well. All told, he had to take about 30 pills a day. His protest against us making him a guinea-pig was so vehement that we had to give up many of the drugs for a temporary period. Food used to be another problem. He was often dissatisfied with the diet offered to him possibly because it was saltless and therefore tasteless.

Though we knew that we were fighting a losing battle, his death came unexpectedly. But for a few days preceding his end, he refused to answer questions about himself, and was possibly aware of his impending death. I should consider that it was more than a coincidence that he died on Jan. 30th., the day on which his great teacher Gandhiji passed away.



Kumarappa—Iconoclast

Wilfred Wellock

IT was typical of J. C. Kumarappa to greet me with a bristling, almost provocative remark. That was his nature. Wherever he was he set up a breeze. When we met he would run towards me, throw his arms over my shoulders and say: "Hello, and how's daddy?" He said that knowing I should protest, for while I regarded him as a boisterous, unruly boy, I had to admit that I too was a boy and often found it most difficult to accommodate myself to a count of years.

I recollect that when I met his brother Bharatan, in the United States - we were lecturing together in Seattle - I told him that I knew his brother J. C. Kumarappa very well. "Oh, you do." He looked at me with serious, inquiring eyes, gently smiled and then asked "Didn't you find my brother rather aggressive?" I laughed, and he laughed too. "What can one expect of an iconoclast?" I asked.

J. C. Kumarappa had studied life in the Western world and knew that it suffered from many spiritual deficiencies, and when he saw so many supposedly educated Indians wanting to travel the Western road in order to acquire riches he was angry and felt he must speak his mind and at least try to compel them to face hard realities.

Moreover, like most iconoclasts he tended to see things in black and white. Nevertheless as an economics missionary he delivered his message in simple terms. He described the Western economy as a "tiger" economy, in contrast with the "mother" economy which he wanted to see adopted in India.

One of my happiest memories of J. C. Kumarappa is of a visit he paid me when he came to England after his visit to Moscow expressly to expound to various Soviet leaders the Gandhian economics. He delighted in recounting all the vital incidents connected with that visit, and, of course, he found in me a keen listener. Indeed I have

retold his story many times both in Britain and in the U. S. A. It was a thrilling experience for J. C. Kumarappa to tell his story of the Gandhian Economy to high placed Russian communists, and to realise that they had open minds and were anxious to know if Gandhi's teaching might be of value to them.

He also told me about his visit to Communist Bulgaria, and the numerous remarkable village handicrafts which he had seen there. He presented my wife with an open-lace tablecloth that had been made by an old village woman in Bulgaria.

I also saw quite a bit of J. C. Kumarappa when I was in India in 1949. He was then working and living in Wardha at the All India Village Industries centre. After some difficulty I found him in a hut where he was almost buried by the kindly protection provided by a number of trees and bushes, while a number of birds kindly informed him of my approach. On another occasion I found him sitting alone at a little desk in the distant corner of a large and almost empty barn or something. Somehow it all seemed appropriate, even the loneliness expressed the need of a restless spirit who was forever wrestling with a message which some hidden hand of destiny had placed upon him. From end to end his adult life was a challenge, and no person would listen to him without having whatever degree of complacency he possessed being deeply disturbed. In this conforming, luxury-seeking age we must thank God for at least a few such men as he.



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Gramdan Rally in Madurai

Janaki Natarajan

[T was 4-30 pm. on the evening of the 11th. Feb. when we reached the Gandhi Museum in Madurai. Preparations for the influx of several thousands of village people were afoot. How many thousands was the question that troubled the minds of the organisers - would all the twentyfive thousand expected arrive?

During the last few weeks Shri S. Jaganathan, Krishnammal and other workers had gone from village to village in the Gramdan area of Madurai district to call the people to make a peaceful demonstration in Madurai city of their desire for an early solution of the land problems. Gandhiji's Shraddhanjali had been chosen as the most appropriate day - February 12th.

At about 8 pm. the first part of that long procession began to arrive, slogans and banners held up high converging on the stone amphitheatre adjoining the Museum. They seated themselves quietly and in orderly fashion as most were tired having walked even as many as 40 miles during the past two days. After all had gathered - some ten thousand strong, they were told of the arrangements, and formed into three groups to be housed and fed. All were men for the women were being transported by lorries so that they would have more time in their homes.

The programme began the next morning at 6 o'clock with prayer, followed by speeches by Shri Arunachalam, Shri S. R. Subramaniam, Donald Groom, Smt. Ponnammal M. L. A., Sri R. R. Keitahn, Smt. Amritam. Ramasubramaniam, Smt. Krishnammal and six of the leaders of the villagers. The general concept of Gramdan and its importance in the national and international spheres as well as the meaning of the demonstration were among the points dealt with by the speakers.

A pleasant surprise awaited us when we found that a couple had been married the previous day and were to exchange garlands and be blessed by that great assembly.

Soon it was 9 a. m. The people had listened to a solid three hours of speeches. The appearance of breakfast must have been very welcome to people who were used to eating much earlier. The rest of the day was spent in rest, but for the organisers it must have been very busy.

The evening programme began at 3 p. m. A disciplined procession formed stretching a mile in length. All along enthusiastic voices, young and old shouted slogans:

"(1) Land for everyone work for everyone (2) Private ownership must go (3) The land must belong to the Tiller (4) Come, let us establish the Gram, Swaraja of Gandhiji"

interspersed with cries of JAI JAGAT. The 'padayatris' went around the main streets of Madurai for four hours till 7 p. m. At the head of the procession was an elephant from the temple and at different points there were well decorated carts carrying pictures of Gandhiji and Vinobaji. The pavements were quite crowded all the way, faces reflected curiosity, indifference, amusement, mild contempt; flashy cars sped passed.

We reached Tilak Square; Sri S. R. Subramaniam, Shri Jaganathan, Mr Donald Groom, Sm. Ponnammal and others spoke on the uniqueness of Satyagraha and the immense power of Truth, Compassion, Non-violence and Sacrifice as against any violent force and that these Gramdan people must unite to establish the new order of society,

Many of us felt that the response of local Madurai citizens to this demonstration even by attending the evening meeting was disappointingly poor. The comfort and position of wealth and the consciences of the wealthy had yet to be pieced, people had yet to be made aware.

As this was the first demonstration of its kind made by the Gramdan Movement, an analysis must be made of its character and value. I found it a thrilling experience to be with people who had voluntarily pledged themselves to Gramdan, I also felt the strength in the numbers. The very discipline of the 10,000 was uplifting.

Two way-side comments were interesting: 'These are Congress people.' 'It reminds one of a Communist rally.', which point out the difficulty of communicating through such a demonstration the correct vision of its purpose. It must be made clear that there is no motive of coercion or party political propaganda involved. Such a demonstration must be part of a long-term educative process.



Sarva Seva Sangh's Resolutions

On Indo-China Relation

(Resolution adopted in its meeting at Sevagram Sammelan)

VIOLENCE has become ineffective in this age of atomic weapons as an instrument for solving conflicts. The Indo-Chinese border dispute, therefore, is a challenge to those who believe in non-violence and provides an opportunity for working out a non-violent alternative of war. It is, therefore, our foremost duty at this juncture to dedicate ourselves completely to the task of building up non-violent strength in the country. Even for defence through arms, it is always essential to eradicate hunger, unemployment and internal discord. We, therefore, consider the programmes of Gram Swarajya and Shanti Sena to be defence measures. We have also learnt from Gandhiji the lesson of non-co-operation with evil while maintaining love in our hearts for the evil-doer.

The foreign policy of our Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, which is a policy of peace, non-alignment and friendship, is also inspired by Gandhiji's ideal of non-violence.

We believe that the spirit of fearlessness and non-enmity is the greatest strength, which can make friends of even those who come with evil intentions.

It, therefore, becomes our duty on the present occasion to work for creating a situation in the country when we can proudly proclaim that everybody in the world is our friend and hence, we need no army. However, even then if anybody comes as an aggressor, we may die in our attempt towards non-violent resistance but will neither remain as slaves nor take up arms. ★

Resolution about Africa

“**T**HE Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has been greatly pained by the news of the recent massacre in South Africa. The Sangh conveys its heart-felt sympathy and condolences to the families and friends of those men, women and children, who lost their lives in this tragedy.

“The happenings in South Africa are an outstanding example of the barbarous consequences which follow from the narrow ideas that divide man, whether those ideas are

based upon race, caste or colour prejudices. It is most unfortunate that the Government of South Africa has so far ignored the verdict of almost all civilized countries, has refused to accept the basic unity and equality of men and continues to practise its policy of racial discrimination. The spontaneous wave of indignation and resentment which has swept across the countries of the world clearly points out to the fact that world conscience is opposed to racial discrimination and its sympathies lie with the coloured people of South Africa who have risen in protest against this injustice.

“The Sangh is confident that this martyrdom of hundreds of peaceful and unarmed persons will not go in vain. It will make the South African Government ponder over and reconsider its policy and inspire those on whom injustice is being perpetrated to face it with redoubled courage and determination. The Sangh wishes to remind the people of South Africa that it was in that country Mahatma Gandhi discovered and successfully practised the technique of non-violent resistances.

“The Sangh notes with satisfaction that the South African people have so far adopted peaceful methods for fighting oppression and injustice, and hopes that they will not swerve from this path under any circumstances.”



VISHVANEEDAM—International Sarvodaya Centre.

We are happy to announce about the inauguration of Vishvaneedam (An International Sarvodaya Centre) in Bangalore. It is situated in an extensive colony at a distance of 7½ miles from Bangalore city near Herohalli, on Magadi Road. It is inaugurated on the 18th April by Sri Balkoba Bhawe, younger brother of Acharya Vinoba Bhawe. Sri U. N. Dhebarbhai presides on the occasion.

(Continued from page 416)

II

Unlike the previous Sammelans which had to create a new camp-town for the conference the organisers at Sevagram had no problem as there were already the institutions of Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Kasthurba Memorial Hospital and numerous unoccupied buildings constructed by the old Charkha Sangh for Khadi Vidyalaya etc. They had only to be repaired and renewed for use during the conference. About 5,000 sevaks were expected and there was not much need for extensive construction for accommodation of the sevaks. Neither did the organisers require the help of the Government to a large extent in the matter of arrangements for water and lighting. The State made the timely construction of a link road from the new railway station of Sevagram recently opened. The four hundred smart *Swayam-Sevaks* of men and women did good service and no police was visible anywhere. The Reception Committee with Sri Chimanlalji as the President, Sri Vele as the Secretary and a good team of experts should be congratulated for the highly efficient and simple arrangements for the boarding and lodging of about 5000 sevaks and visitors for about eight days. The Grama Seva Mandal, Nalwadi deserves special mention for its unfailing catering of pure cow's milk, butter, etc. to the thousands under the efficient management of Sri Deshpande.

According to the records of the Reception Committee Office, the total number of Sarvodaya Sevaks who were accommodated was 3,415. The number of Sevaks from each province is as follows:— Maharashtra: 629, Madhya Pradesh: 546, Bihar: 524, Uttar Pradesh: 341, Gujarat: 293, Orissa: 286, Bengal: 252, Rajasthan: 100, Andhra: 87, Karnatak: 66, Punjab: 51, Tamilnad: 38, Assam: 36, Kerala: 22, Delhi-Kashmir: 19, others: 115.

About 500 Sarvodaya workers had participated in *padayatras*. One party from Patna, one party from Koraput and 2 parties from Gujarat, walked all the distance to Sevagram. The total number of 39 parties that did *pada-yatra* in the various provinces are as follows:— Bihar: 8, Bengal: 4, Bombay: 5, Madhya Pradesh: 4, U. P.: 4, Maharashtra: 3, Tamilnad: 2, Mysore: 2, Orissa: 2, and Rajasthan: 1, Andhra: 1. The party from Koraput consisted of 85 members among whom the veteran Shri Hota of 85 years walked 550 miles.

III

There used to be seminars prior to the previous sammelans for the preliminary review of the progress and discussion of the future programme. It served as the clearing house of ideas. In the place of the seminar the recently constituted Sarva Seva Sangh with all its 300 representative Lok-Sevaks had continuous sitting for 6½ days from 20th March. The Sarva Seva Sangh daily took up one or two subjects for discussion. The generous President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Sri Vallabhaswami gave time to everyone who desired to talk. There will be very few out of the 300 Lok-Sevaks who would not have had a chance to express their views or experience or special local problems. Those who could not talk in Hindi could talk in English, or in their mother tongue of Telugu, Malayalam, Marathi and Oriya. There was a spirit of tolerance and a sympathetic effort to understand all points of views. Even when there were discordant notes of temper in the course of discussion they were quickly made up by loving apologies. The feeling of comradeship with the consciousness of the accepted purity of *ends and means* as the ideal, governed the entire proceedings in the meetings of the Sarva Seva Sangh as well as in the three days' session of the Sammelan.

IV

The meeting of the recently constituted Sarva Seva Sangh with about 300 Lok-Sevaks began its proceedings on the afternoon of 20th March in the Mahadeo Bhavan with prayer and sacrificial spinning. Sri Vallabhaswami, the President of the Sarva Seva Sangh welcomed the Lok-Sevaks and gave a review of the progress in the year. Sri Purnachandra Jain, the Secretary of the Sangh read the report of various activities and important trends in our movement during the period since the last Sammelan at Ajmir in March 1959. On the second day (21-3-60) discussion centred round the programme of work for the coming year in the light of the actual experience. There was an air of frustration in the minds of some to which Mr. Donald Groom gave an effective answer in Hindi. He said that there was no reason for frustration if we are inspired by the same faith and spiritual power which move Vinobaji in this mission.

In the evening Sri Aryanayakamji initiated the subject *Nai Talim* and expressed the high hopes raised by

the recent merging of the Talimi Sangh into the Sarva Sarva Sangh as the confluence of the *Jumna* and the *Ganges*. Discussion on Nai Talim continued in the morning of Tuesday (22-3-60) in which several speakers participated.

Then came the subject of the *New Turn* to Khadi work. Sri Dwajaprasad Sahu of Bihar Khadi Samiti explained the purport of the Pusa Road Resolution and described the efforts made to implement it in Bihar.

In the evening Sri R. K. Patil started the discussion on the programme of reconstruction work in the Gramdan villages and compared the approach and method of work done by Sarvodaya workers and by the Community Development Department of the Government.

The morning of the fourth day (23-3-60) was devoted to the subject of Santi-Sena in which Marjorie Behn, Sri Prabhakarji and others spoke.

In the afternoon the first subject that came up was the Bhoodan journals and literature in different languages. Sri Radhakrishna Bajaj, Secretary of the Prakashan Vibagh of Sarva Seva Sangh gave a brief report of the work done in the last year and the present condition. According to him the largest sale of publication is in Hindi, the second in Marathi and the third in Tamil in the whole country. The sale of Hindi literature was for Rs. 4½ lakhs in the previous year and it has come down to about Rs. 2½ lakhs now. Similar is the trend of fall in the sale of literature of all other languages. The annual sale of literature in eleven languages is estimated at present to be about Rs. 5 lakhs. Sri Siddharaj Dhadda spoke on special statement of the Sangh emphasising the importance of the propagation of Bhoodhan journals and literature. When Sri N. Ramaswami, Editor of "*Sarvodaya*" was called upon to speak he spoke with hesitation in his own broken Hindi to the amusement of many and tried to express how a large number of people from the various corners of the world of different schools of thought have been attracted by the content of the inspiring word of "*Sarvodaya*" and are looking to Sarvodaya ideology as the panacea for the ills of the world. He said that the little contact that the Editor could have with the friends overseas through the small medium of "*Sarvodaya*" shows the possibility of expansion of our activity in the journals and literature provided sufficient enlightened man-power and funds are available.

Sri Dhebar Bhai spoke on the subject of integration of agriculture and Cow-protection as both are inseparable and interdependent.

The morning session of the fifth day (24-3-60) was set apart for discussion of the function and the relationship of the primary Sarvodaya Mandals, District Mandals and Provincial Mandals and other organisational matters.

In the evening Sri Jayaprakash Narayan addressed for about two hours on his draft on "*The Reconstruction of Indian Polity*". It was a thorough and masterly presentation of the subject of partyless and decentralised democracy which will safeguard the freedom and happiness of man and assure the peace of the world.

The sixth day (25-3-60) witnessed a highly interesting discussion on the statement of the Sarva Seva Sangh's Executive Committee regarding the traditional way of defence to meet the Chinese aggression. The discussion was on a very high level and a fresh resolution was passed in this connection as given elsewhere.

In the evening session Sri Asha Devi Aryanayakam, and Miss. Marjorie Sykes spoke on the Shanti-Sena programme. Later Sri Narayan Desai proposed that the Sevaks may divide themselves into 25 groups. He read out the principal names to pilot each group in which others could join as they like. These groups discussed the plan and programme of work for the next year and the convenors presented the report of their findings at the morning session on 26-3-60. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's address to Lok Sevaks was highly inspiring. (This is published in this issue). Thus the continuous meetings of the Sarva Seva Sangh for a prolonged period of 6½ days came to an end with the noon on 26-3-60.

The open session of Sarvodaya Sammelan began at 2-30 p. m. on 26th march with prayer and spinning under the presidentship of Acharya Harihar Das the veteran of Orissa. Further reports will follow in the next issue.

(To be continued.)

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Vinobaji's Yatra News

Villagers should Solve Their Own Problems

ACHARYA Vinoba Bhave's walking tour entered a new phase on 28th February, when on reaching Kartarpur village he discarded the use of the loudspeaker.

He addressed a meeting standing among his audience. He said he wanted his words to reach their hearts direct, instead of through this instrument. He said that everyone must have the basic necessities of life; it was the duty of society to provide everyman and woman with means of livelihood. He said that villagers should become self-dependent and they should not look to the Government for the solution of their problems. Indeed, politics divided people into groups creating dissensions, he said.

Call to Businessmen

Acharya Vinoba Bhave urged the business community to part with a portion of their profits voluntarily rather than pay it in the form of death duty.

Talking to businessmen at Jullundur Cantonment on 6th March, Vinobaji said that no form of government whether socialist or communist would tolerate that the businessmen should pocket the entire profit. The same was true in a welfare state or under dictatorship.

He added that they should adopt the principle of trusteeship to ensure a bright future for themselves. If they acted in business as trustees they would be recognised both in public as well as in private sector.

Addressing a selected gathering of military personnel the Acharya said that Gita contained a valuable lesson for them as it taught the sense of duty.

"A soldier must be true, brave and straight-forward. He must be cool-headed but have a heart full of enthusiasm", he added.

He said that Sarvodaya movement was an ocean and all political parties like various rivers sooner or later must flow and submerge into it.

—Indian Nation.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru talking to Acharya Vinobaji at Patti Kalyan on 2nd April 1960.

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The Sevagram Sarvodaya Sammelan (2)

WHO could have predicted twelve years ago in the constructive workers' Conference that the twelfth Sarvodaya Sammelan would meet in the identical place at Sevagram to render account of the achievements and failures in our pilgrimage of Sarvodaya? The Conference appeared more for making heart-search by the followers of the Mahatma and for consolidation and intensification of the various programmes of the Bhoodan-Gramdan movement than for discovering any new programme.

The Conference began its deliberations on the afternoon of the 26th March with prayer and sacrificial spinning. The veteran Acharya Harihara Das, the octogenarian of Orissa was proposed to the chair by Shri Vallabhaswami. Shri R. S. Dhotre introduced the venerable President. Shri Chimanlal Bhai, who has been in charge of Gandhiji's Ashram welcomed the Sevaks as the chairman of the Reception Committee. After the presentation of the report of the Sarva Seva Sangh by Sri Poornachandra Jain the President gave his inaugural address which is given elsewhere.

On the Second day of the Conference (27-3-60) the morning session opened with a speech by Sri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe on the future programme. He stressed the need of making the Bhoodan Movement the people's movement and create the necessary *Janasakthi*, and commended the mass-pada-yatra initiated in Tamilnad. Sri Siddharaj Dhadda pleaded for organised execution of all the programmes with specific targets and appealed to the workers to bring about a revolution in their own lives. Sri Narayan Desai laid emphasis on the twin aspects of Satyagraha, namely non-co-operation with injustice and co-operation with the evil-doer for his spiritual redemption.

Later Sri Jayaprakash Narayan spoke for 45 minutes. His was the leading speech of the whole conference. Rarely has there been such an emotional speech from Sri Jayaprakash. He made a fervent appeal to realise the power of *Janasakthi* against which no power of the state could function. He asserted that with the mobilisation of *Janasakthi* with *Lok-Needhi* (the moral law of the universe) even the Himalayas can be moved. He exhorted the workers to awaken the *Janasakthi* which seeks neither the vote nor makes promises as political parties do. The Sarvodaya worker should strive to arouse the non-violent power of the people without any political power or law and authority of the State. After his inspiring speech Sri Gora spoke on his Satyagraha at Hyderabad for partyless democracy. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the President of the Congress also addressed the Sammelan.

In the afternoon session the representatives of the various groups who had done padayatras in connection with the conference gave out their experiences which proved the value of this unique means available to the Sarvodaya workers. Shri Dhebarbhai pleaded for setting the limit to the use of power and technology in the economic development for the preservation and protection of the rural economy of the masses.

Sri Dharendra Mazumdar commended the padayatra and frequent meeting of the workers without agenda for strengthening the fellowship. He argued that our programme should be from pressure to persuasion and from persuasion to education and thence to love.

The conference concluded with the morning session on the third day on 28th March instead of the usual closure with the evening speech from Vinobaji. The session began with speeches of the achievements of the Sarvodaya patra programme in Ahmedabad and Tenali by Sri Janardanaswami and Sri Rup Singh. Later Sri Kelappan spoke on the Shanti-Sena work done in Kerala during the most critical period, when about 1000 shanti-sainiks and shanti-sahayaks were trained. Sri G. Ramachandran,

(Continued on page 492)

★ Vinobaji's Yatra News ★

ACHARYA Vinobaji concluded his one year yatra in Punjab and Kashmir States on 7th April. He entered Uttar Pradesh through Baghpat in Meerut district on the 8th April. Addressing his last prayer meeting in Punjab, Acharya said that people should start thinking on scientific and spiritual lines. The days of politics and religion were numbered in this age of fast developing science.

During his 1,350 mile yatra in Punjab Vinobaji received 16 villages (three in Hosiarpur and 13 in Kangra) as Gramdan and 32,000 acres of Bhoodan. About 5,000 acres of land were distributed among the landless. Cash donations of about Rs. 12,000 per year were promised. Rs. 1,37,000 was collected for the movement. Literature worth Rs. 40,000 was sold and seven Sarvodaya Literature Centres were opened with an investment of Rs. 42,000. Another Rs. 56,000 has been collected for more literature centres.

Vinobaji arrived in Pilana village on the second day of his yatra in Meerut district. Addressing the workers he urged them to be honest, hard working and non-violent. Block Development officers discussed with him some aspects of reconstruction programme. After completing ten days' yatra in Meerut district he entered Bulandshar district on April 18. He asked people there to imbibe the spirit of sacrifice. Those who could not give wealth should serve society through hard work. Referring to the increasing competition in trade and industry he said that mutual co-operation rather than competition should be the keynote of our social life.

Addressing his prayer meeting at a village near Karnal, Vinobaji said

"Our Mantra is Jai Jagat and tantra is Jai Gramdan. The Mantra is the aim on which the whole scheme for social economic revolution is based and the way to put it into practice is called tantra. He will serve the whole community of society treating it as one family. As in a family we work unitedly, so shall we work here and not grab the share of any one by dividing it individually."

He stayed at the Gandhi Samarak Nidhi headquarters at Pattikalyan for three days. Though running a temperature of 102 degrees he fulfilled his engagements and addressed his prayer meetings. The villagers gave him Rs. 445 for a sarvodaya library. ★

A Common Script for Indian Languages

Acharya Vinoba

While Vinobaji's prayer speeches and interviews have been published he has not issued any statement to the Press for the last nine years. This is the first signed article of Vinobaji written for the Hindi weekly "Bhoodan Yagna"

FOR the sake of India's national unity, Indians have recognised Hindi as the national language for purposes of mutual intercourse.

Even the people of the South are not against Hindi as such; only they want some time. They have agreed that in course of time Hindi will take its due place at the Centre. As regards the transition, others have agreed to give as much time as the people of the south desire to have. Hence, there is now no controversy left over this issue.

For the very reasons for which Hindi has been accepted as the common language, Nagri should be recognised as the common script. But it has not been so recognised up till now. There is no objection to Hindi as the National language being written in Nagri. But we have yet to decide that the various other languages of India be also written in Nagri. Such a decision would not mean the rejection of the present scripts used for Indian languages. The above decision will only mean that both the original script and the Nagri script will be used.

Some people propose to give this place (of a national script) to the Roman instead of to Nagri. I have thought over this suggestion, and have tried to weigh it impartially. There is no doubt that the Roman script has many good qualities. But it is equally true that it has many defects also. These defects are so conspicuous that Bernard Shaw wanted the invention of a new script for the English language. He even set apart a portion of his estate for this work. I happened to see some time back in the "London Times" the specimen of the script which

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has been suggested in response to the desire of Bernard Shaw. What did I find? It was a script which had nothing in common with the Roman, and an attempt was made to bring into it the qualities of the *Nagri*, while here in India we have people who want to suggest the use of Roman script in place of *Nagri*.

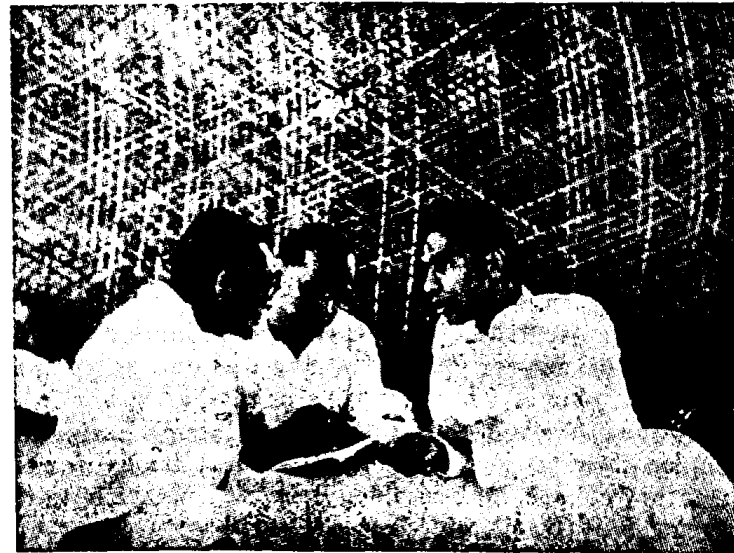
This does not mean that the *Nagri* script is perfect or that there is no room for improvement in it. I also count myself among those who think that there is need for improvement in the *Nagri* script. People have become somewhat acquainted with the 'Lok-Nagri' script associated with my name. The 'Bhoodan Yajna' carries a column every week in this script. But I do not believe that *Nagri* should not be made applicable for the other Indian languages in its present form that is, till it is improved. On the contrary, I sense danger in the proposition that *Nagri* should first be improved and then adopted for all Indian languages. My opinion is that even in its present form *Nagri* can and should be adopted as the common script for Indian languages. Accordingly I have, got the translations of my 'Gita Pravachan' in many languages printed in the *Nagri* script. Except for 2 or 3 it has been so printed in all other Indian languages. Experience has shown that by making use of these *Nagri* editions, one can easily learn many languages.

I have found that if *Nagri* is used in the whole of India, there are chances of its adoption even out-side. For example, during the course of my present *Padayatra* I had an occasion to learn the Japanese language from Bhikku Imai of Japan. I found that the construction of the Japanese language is similar to that of the Indian languages. The syntax and the use of the preposition in the Japanese language is similar to that of the Indian languages. The sentence begins with the subject, followed by the object with the verb in the end. The Japanese are in the search of a new script, because theirs is a picture-script and hence, being composed of innumerable signs, is unfit for wide use. Under the circumstances, if we adopt *Nagri* for the whole of our country, there is a

possibility of its being used for the Japanese language also. The same applies to the Chinese language. Thus *Nagri* can easily become the script of Eastern Asia. But whether it becomes so widespread or not, we shall have achieved much if it is adopted for use throughout India.

Here it may be asked that, if such are my ideas, have I not confounded the public mind by suggesting improvements in *Nagri*. I admit that this charge can be levelled against me, and it is to clarify this point that I have written this article. The improvement of the script is only a suggestion, I do not insist on it. But so far as the adoption of the common script is concerned, I insist on it. Of course, my 'insistence' does not mean that I want to impose it, upon any body. Everybody can understand that imposition does not fit in with non-violence. "Jai-Jagat".

★



Sri Vallabhsawami, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh (extreme right) talking with Sri Purnachandra Jain and Sri Radhakrishnan, Joint Secretaries at the Sevagram Sammelan.

Let Ganges of Swaraj flow to Villages

Acharya Harihar Das

(Opening speech at Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sevagram)

THOUGH India achieved freedom some 13 years ago, it has not brought the feeling of rejuvenation in the six lakhs villages of this subcontinent. Nay, even at the risk of being stamped as pessimist, I must say that it is only the exploiter class and middle men, who have now the unrestrained freedom of oppressing the poor folk. The Swaraj Ganga has been swallowed by those sitting at Delhi and other provincial capitals. And the modern Bhagirath Vinoba is working without any pause in his ceaseless effort for liberating the life-giving flow of swaraj from the bondage of the administrative machine. It is true that he has not been crowned with full success: but the limited success which he has achieved under the restricted condition of the country today, is a clear manifestation of the truth that his is the way which alone can deliver the goods.

Sarvodaya is no sectarian view of life, it is the universal religion of man. The so-called differences between man and man is artificial and out-worldly—they are man-made and do not reflect the will of the Creator. But the clash and conflict, which often comes on the surface is positive proof of the fact that we do not understand this human religion properly. Unfortunately this supreme religion of man has no place in the present system of education. Instead, from the very childhood youngsters have to answer questions like the one as to how much water should be added to a particular quantity of milk so that the profit might be doubled. Such anti-social examples incorporated in the arithmetical books for the elementary classes make a deep impression, which in the long run spoil the citizen of tomorrow.

Man is a combination of both animal and human qualities. Animality means want of independence, i.e. the negation of the art of rising above the animal instincts. But people have seen that, if need be, man can

(Continued on page 487)

The Universal Form of Satyagraha

Dada Dharmadhikari

GANDHI gave the word "Satyagraha" to the world. Satyagraha incorporates three faiths, faith in truth, faith in man and faith in society. That honesty and integrity may continually abound in human relations is the social purpose of the faith in truth. It requires everybody to practise truth in one's own life. Such observance of truth is relative only in the sense that it is practised between two or more persons. Otherwise, the observance of truth is always absolute. It does not depend on the good or bad conduct of others. Therefore Satyagraha begins with absolute, good conduct. Most people consider satyagraha to be a form of resistance. Resistance is always relative. There is no purpose of and occasion for resistance if there is no such situation or thing or person as needs to be resisted. Those who hold satyagraha as a form of resistance alone, do not take it as an absolute principle pervading the whole of life. That is why whenever somebody announces to practise satyagraha, we take it to mean that the person is out for practising some form or the other of resistance within the limits of non-violence. The role of resistance is an unique feature of Gandhi's satyagraha. In its totality it is not restricted to this aspect alone. Non-violent resistance is an essential aspect of the process of co-operation. Co-operation is the satyagrahi's permanent goal, resistance is his incidental duty. It means that wherever satyagraha is practised to remove individual, situational or social evil, it should always be borne in mind that we are in fact opposing the acts of those who oppose us, not for opposition's but for co-operation's sake. This is an aspect of faith in man.

The Satyagrahi not only has sympathy and goodwill for the person whom he opposes but also a sense of oneness with him. Had it not been so, satyagraha could never become a mode of universal conduct of truth and could be practised only in respect of him whom we consider to be

not one of our own folk, an opponent or an alien. Its use would be considered improper among one's own kinsmen, and other near and dear ones. And satyagraha, though resistant, would become partisan and restricted. It is therefore the first condition of a satyagrahic resistance that its user has an emotional identity with and a positive desire for the well-being of the opponent of the hour. In an armed resistance the more the resister is impassioned, vindictive, and aggressive the more intense is his struggle. In *satyagraha* these feelings prove to be drawbacks. Hence, from the point of view of making *satyagraha* a more beneficial and infallible weapon, it is imperative to have faith in man.

There is yet another fundamental and benevolent aspect of faith in man. It is the inherent nature of man to be moved by the sorrows of other human beings or beings as such. It is not merely an emotional state of the mind but an inborn characteristic of human nature. It is the element which has gone into the making and development of his personality. The cruelest among men is moved by the sufferings of other men and beings whom he considers to be his own. He, of course, finds some sort of a demoniacal pleasure in inflicting injury to or watching the woes of those whom he regards as aliens and opponents. It is an axiom of human life that no one is another man's born opponent. Spite and enmity are conditional upon something; they are not an essential part of human nature. To feel sorry for the suffering of others is not a rule of good conduct, not a ritual of special etiquette, and not a discipline of the societal whole. It is an essential part of man, out there. And hence it does not need to be reinforced from any outside rationalism or logic. It has a logic of its own. It is the inviolate law of life. It is a fundamental precept of *satyagraha* to hold one's opponent also as one endowed by nature with truth and love.

The evolution of *satyagraha* has taken place as a synonym for war of the right as an expression of societal rule and civil and non-violent strength. It does not consist in tolerance and forgiveness alone. Self-suffering and

forgiveness may stay as modes of self purification or spiritual strength; they are not necessarily turned into modes of resistance to individual or social evil. *Satyagraha* is an active and positive turn of manhood. The *satyagrahi* may also forgive the tortures meted out to him by others, but all this will go only to reinforce his saintliness and humility. Resistance to a social or individual wrong requires more than this. As a *satyagrahi*, motivated by human sympathy for the oppressed, feels deeply actuated to remove their sorrows and sufferings, so also, simultaneously, he is possessed with an irresistible sympathy for the wrongdoer, he is ever cautious to injure him as little as possible and ready to invite self-suffering as much as necessary. He does not resist for personal and selfish motives but for the benefit of his opponent and welfare of the society at large. The source of his self-suffering does not lie in his forgiveness or austerity but in fellow-feeling and sympathy. Thus the practice of *satyagraha* is thrice blessed. It does good to the *satyagrahi*. It blesses the person against whom *satyagraha* is practised. Furthermore, it adds to the welfare of the society through the nursing of healthy social norms.

Voluntary and spontaneous discipline and obedience to the social norms is the *sine qua non* of a civilised society; it is the daily righteous duty of the *satyagrahi* to inspire civil obedience to law and social norms. Therefore, whenever he conscientiously violates any constitution, rule, law or social norm in order to maintain his self-dignity, for the development of the self or the establishment of social values, his disobedience or transgression of the law instead of diminishing the law-abidingness of the other citizens, tends to upgrade and develop the same.

That is why the disobedience is qualified by 'civil.' Civil disobedience is that disobedience which instead of causing a decline in sociability, peaceability and civility develops them. Wherever resistance does not bear such fruits, the *satyagrahi* should humbly acknowledge that, though unarmed, his resistance is not non-violent. That

may be a peaceful resistance, constitutional struggle, but never worthy of being called a *satyagraha*.

A sentence from Gandhi is quoted oftentimes: "Violence is better than cowardice." This is of course an unexceptional rule. But it has been interpreted in quite a false vein. It is not aimed at eulogizing violence but for condemning cowardice. It does not imply that violence is benevolent but that cowardice is detrimental, and must be shunned. The purport of the statement is that violence is bad, but cowardice is worse. Which part of the sentence is emphasised is of importance, for the emphasis changes the entire meaning of the statement. The acceptance of violent methods is not desired here but the rejection of cowardice is. If we were to say that *ashwamedh* (horse-sacrifice) is worse than *naramedh* (man-sacrifice) we do not mean to support *ashwamedh* but to abolish *naramedh*.

In individual and mass application of *satyagraha* violence may erupt on account of compulsion, irrationality or inattentiveness. The *Satyagrahi* considers it as a slur. It may be natural but never expedient. The use of *satyagraha* is evolutionary, progressive and effortful. When the country was under foreign rule the people had no arms or military of their own. They rationally accepted *satyagraha* as an effective policy under those conditions. That was a rationally accepted policy of political expediency relevant to the particular context alone. The philosophy behind *satyagraha* was not thoughtfully accepted. Therefore discrepancies, errors and evils cropped up in its application. Today India is a formally and legally constituted democracy, elected by the people. The state has delegated, among other things, the use of penal code and arms to the police, army, jail and judiciary. The citizen gives his consent to such delegations and allows money to be spent on these departments in the hope that it will be used to safe-guard his rights and security. Where the use of penalty and arms is against his will, self-interest or reason, he feels it his duty to resist the law. The point is that there is a lot of difference in the social situation between pre-independence and post

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Impressions of Peace Work in Europe

Marjorie Sykes

(A speech introductory to the topic of Shanti Sena at the Sarva Seva Sangh meeting, Sevagram, March 1960)

DURING the second half of 1959 I had the opportunity of visiting a number of European countries and learning something of the activities and methods of the peace work that is going on there. I am not going to enter into any detailed description of my travels in the United Kingdom and Central Europe; it may however be useful to pick out some of the characteristics which have struck me and which appear to have some universal application.

There was a number of organisations, some national and some international, devoted to the cause of peace. Among the best known of the international organisations are the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, which links together associations of Christian peace workers in many countries, and the War Resisters International, which is not linked with any specific religious outlook but open to all who agree with its basis. The British branch of the War Resisters International is the Peace Pledge Union with which the weekly newspaper "Peace News" is associated. The War Resisters International is to hold its next General Conference in India (at Gandhigram, Madurai District) in December 1960; this meeting, with the necessary preparation and publicity will provide a unique opportunity for all peace workers in India to join with others in a common cause, and to pool experiences with workers from many lands.

These organisations have their offices and their full-time staff. A minimum number of such regular workers is essential to the efficient functioning of the organisation. But what strikes an observer is that in comparison with the amount of work done, the number of full-time workers is extremely small, and the office arrangements are extremely simple. A very large amount of the work

is done by freely given leisure-time labour on the part of volunteers.

"Peace News" for example has a team of faithful voluntary assistants. Most of them are at work, earning their livelihood in their various callings, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. On one or two evenings a week they take some light refreshment, and then go and work in the P.N. office up till 9 or 10 at night or even later, according to the needs of the work. They may help with despatch, or accounts, or a variety of their jobs, according to their experience and the needs of the paper. "Peace News" has recently been enabled, by a generous anonymous donation, to acquire an old, shabby house, conveniently situated in central London, for its headquarters. A great deal of the task of renovation, repairing, fitting up store-room shelves etc., has been done by enthusiastic young volunteers. On going into the office one feels at once that here is a team of people who all care about peace and about each other; those who are cleaning the windows or typing the letters are not doing it simply as a job—they care about the cause as much as the editor does.

This volunteer work in central offices is however only a very small part of the great network of voluntary service which is the life blood of the peace movement. There are thousands of ordinary men and women, doing a great variety of ordinary jobs in the world, who give their whole attention to how they can "let their lives speak" for peace, both during their working hours and in their leisure time. Just before leaving England in November last I talked with a young man in the northern steel city of Sheffield. He is a school teacher in an ordinary High School. The boys are in the habit of wearing on their coats the badges of the cycling clubs, etc., to which they belong. They see their teacher also wearing a badge, and ask him about his club. In that way he gets a chance to show them the badge of the War Resisters International and tell them about its work. During his free time at weekends, he is busy with all kinds

of propaganda and demonstrations for peace, in co-operation with other young volunteers of the city. He and others were planning to spend the ten days of the Christmas holidays in a *Padayatra* across northern England from the west coast to the east, to build up public opinion against Britain's military preparations and in favour of non-violent defence. This *Padayatra* has been carried out; it involved crossing the range of the Pennine Hills in the middle of winter, exposed to whatever bitterly cold rain or snow the season might bring. This young teacher is not exceptional; he is typical of the freely given voluntary service from which the peace movement draws its strength.

The second characteristic which I would like to emphasize is the vigour of local initiative within the movement, and the variety and flexibility of work to which this gives rise. Local groups, composed of individuals ready for the sacrificial giving of their free time which I have already described, plan and carry out their own programmes in each town or region. There is no "official pattern" of peace work sponsored by the national organisations, though there is much contact and much mutual assistance through "Peace News" and similar channels. In many villages and small towns local groups organise solemn processions and united prayers for peace (often on Good Friday, the commemoration of the crucifixion of Christ). In some places there are "peace shops", or exhibitions of posters, literature etc., in the window of a shop owned by a sympathiser. In London there was picketing of the office where scientists were being interviewed for jobs connected with atomic weapons. There are of course nation-wide programmes also, but there is nothing corresponding to what in the political world is known as the "party line". There are in fact strong and open differences of opinion about some of the methods of peace propaganda, and in particular about whether some of the forms of "Direct Action" against atomic warfare carried out at missile bases are wise or right. Deeply respected leaders of the movement, whose sincerity and

devotion are not in doubt, have taken up different attitudes; some have also publicly changed their opinion as a result of experience. This lively controversy about means, coupled with a basic unity about the ends that are desired, makes for alertness of mind and realistic thinking. People in the local peace groups do not look for "orders from above"; but they look for, and use, ideas from outside.

The local centres of initiative are effective in proportion as they succeed in doing two things. The first is to make real contact with "the man in the street"—the factory worker—the bus conductor, the working man's wife, the potential "Teddy boy" and his gang—for it is only by doing this that they can get down to the roots of social conflict and tension, and also to the roots of social apathy. This is perhaps one of the weakest points of the peace movement, in spite of all the devoted voluntary service that it calls forth. The recent "Direct Action" campaigns have been, from one point of view, an attempt to break through the invisible barrier between the convinced intellectual peace worker and the apathetic mass. There is certainly a keen awareness among peace workers of the problems that face them in this respect.

The second task of the local groups is to be alert, to be on the lookout for opportunities to make their voices heard, both in protest when things go wrong, and in approval when things go right. Not long ago a certain local Council (corresponding in status to a Panchayat Board) refused to allow the weekly "Peace News" to be placed in the local Public Reading Room, on the ground that it was "communist". The local group of peace workers at once took up the matter both with members of the Council and with the local public. In this way the town was given some basic political education about two matters.

1. Peace is not just a "dirty word" used only by "wicked Communists", but is a matter of vital interest to all.

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My Experiments in the Art of Living

Wilfred Wellock (*New Longton, Preston, England*)

(XIII) Adventures in Community

THE nineteen-thirties in Britain, and in the West generally, including the United States, registered a new low level of spiritual decline which, however, was not recognised as such by politicians and many others, even after the outbreak of the second world war.

It was in that decade that I terminated my adventure into Party politics—an experience which taught me much and indeed played an important part in my evolution as a person and as a free-lance teacher.

I discovered that Party politics produced two main types of M. Ps., the promotion or place and power seekers, at one end, and a large body of yes-men at the other, which included the faithful and the indifferent. The faithful were conscientious workers who looked well after their constituents' interests and gave solid voting support to their Party. They knew their limitations, had no ambition to shine in the big debates and no liking for the process of climbing. The indifferent, treated the House of Commons as an ideal club, and membership of it as worth fighting for in Elections and in Constituency activity. In addition, there were a few idealists, whose strong convictions unfitted them for Cabinet responsibilities in the eyes of Party leaders. Their impact upon their Party varied greatly, and their influence was usually greater in the nation at large than in the House of Commons.

It was in the "thirties" that the "bread and butter politics" of the new materialism completely overwhelmed the spiritual idealism of the earlier Socialists. The decline of the idealism was quickly followed by the rapid spread of the materialistic values of capitalism among the working classes, including the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. This meant that henceforward Party politics would degenerate into a power struggle for the

right to determine which social classes or groups should benefit most from the financial policies of the Government.

In this situation the church revealed its impotence. Instead of giving a spiritual lead to the nation it accepted, on the whole, the existing social order with its basis of capitalist values, and salved its conscience by making special pleas for a more charitable attitude towards social groups where distress was pronounced. The concept of a creative society in which spiritual values would predominate over all other values, and the principle of self-giving be accepted as the gateway to abundant life, according to the Gospel of Jesus, conflicted with the conventions to which it now bowed.

The root of this new social problem was the condition of man. The signs of his spiritual decline were everywhere apparent. The fever of getting and spending money and the search for easy money, for big and little areas of monopoly, for excuses to raise prices and profits, to exercise innumerable pressures in order to raise wages and salaries, (the demands of the professional classes being rather less modest than those of the workers) was rapidly transforming modern life into a jungle. The old basic honesty of the "just price" had become a thing of the past. There were still many good people who, shocked and bewildered by these trends, boldly resisted them at personal loss, but their number was small; and persistent resistance to the social currents is very wearing.

These stark realities weighed heavily on my mind and produced a sense of frustration, of helplessness and loneliness. I felt to be groping in a spiritual wilderness. I was thus thrown back, as so often in the past have been the seekers after light and truth, to the "day of small things" and new beginnings.

The problem was how to make fragmented men whole, sophisticated people natural, sick and drugged people healthy, how to turn getters into givers and wealth and power seekers into seekers after the Truth that is LIFE.

That Truth, expressed in words, was simplicity itself. But how to make the truth that contained life, shine like pure gold, was an insoluble problem.

My wife and I had reduced our way of life to simple terms, on the principle of first things first, yet at intervals we stopped to inquire whether we had, perhaps, started some new habit, yielded to some new temptation to self-indulgence, in order to free ourselves of every encumbrance. I had often dreamed of taking a little house or cottage in a suitable village with the idea of developing a strong community spirit by means of various co-operative efforts, the integration of industry and agriculture and the cultivation of a keen sense of local or neighbourhood beauty and charm. Indeed I had gone so far as to draw out a plan by which six or eight married couples or families would settle in as many contiguous villages, one family to each village, discuss plans and policies and make a wide variety of experiments, each learning from the experience of the others. The reception given to my scheme encouraged me to proceed; then, just as my enthusiasm was reaching bursting point, disquieting events began to occur which led in the course of a few weeks to the second world war.

At last, the long expected challenge of Hitler to the economic and financial domination of the authors of the Versailles Treaty, rent the uneasy peace. After five years of perilous existence on a financial avalanche, nine years of hopeless struggling to achieve economic stability, and six years of totalitarian rule which included a determined attempt to transform the Balcan States into a German colonial empire, Hitler let loose his pent-up fury.

So once again the explosive power of the ravening materialism born of the industrial revolution took control, and ruthlessly submerged what was left of the finer impulses, dreams and aspirations of the human spirit. In the six years that followed, some of the most diabolical deeds recorded in history were committed, even by nations who but a few months before had declared they would never countenance such horrors.

Yet even amidst those devastating years there were brighter patches. A thin silver lining appeared in the war clouds as early as 1940, although few people noticed it or even heard about it. It registered a revolt against our materialistic civilisation and a desire to lay new foundations.

A few groups of thoughtful people who were deeply disturbed by the trend of events in the Western world, bought land in the hope of fashioning a way of life that at least would steer clear of the horrors of war. In the first place, they would grow their own food, whereafter they would integrate other activities as finances and opportunities permitted.

One of these groups constituted the Adelphi Centre, in Langham, Essex. Its leading spirits were John Middleton Murry and Max Plowman, both of whom in 1940 began to see the possibility of Conscientious Objectors to war who were being directed to food production as an alternative to military service, by the Military Tribunals, forming themselves into Land Communities which might become centres of a new kind of integrated villages.

By the middle of 1940, quite a number of these Land Communities had been formed in different parts of the country. Their spontaneous appearance was significant, especially as they were all composed of pacifist groups. This fact, together with the fact that their total number was most astonishing, gave birth to the suggestion that they should come together in a Conference in order to discover what was in the minds of the various groups, and the extent to which a common mind and purpose existed in them.

The upshot was that a Conference was held at the Adelphi Centre, Langham, on Nov. 16, 17, 1940. It was magnificently attended and was most enthusiastic. Its terms of reference - "That the way to the restoration of a healthy national life, and a truly peace-minded society, lies through the establishment of Agricultural Subsistence Communities" - was heartily endorsed. Thus as the

official report of the Conference stated, "the immediate need and the long-term necessity had combined to enforce upon pacifists a positive policy for the revivification of a moribund society by the formation of communities, based on the land, yet naturally and necessarily including other kinds of co-operative work."

Six weeks later, a further Conference was held to consider the advisability of buying a farm or farms for the purpose of giving farm training to Conscientious Objectors, also in the hope that they would lead to the establishment of land communities which would serve as pointers to a new creative era. This Conference included only the small groups who were particularly interested in schemes for one or two specific areas. Sponsoring these schemes were Eric Gill, Canon Raven, Dr. Alex, Wood, Stuart Morris, Middleton Murry, Max Plowman, myself and, the Rev. Henry Carter who was at the head of the organisation known as the Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units, whose C. O. membership was 379 at the time of the Nov. 40 Conference, but later rose to 800.

Inside three months a 300 acre arable and dairy farm had been purchased, situated in Holton Beckering, Lincolnshire. Soon afterwards an adjacent farm of similar size was added, and later still a third farm of some four hundred acres, also in the same area, making 1,000 acres in all. As these three farms included three large farm houses, with the usual out-buildings, three Land Communities were formed within a single organic farming entity. A pacifist farm manager was appointed, and several foremen.

About the same time another group of pacifists bought a similar type of farm in Somerset, with the same immediate purpose and the same long-term objective.

Another remarkable Community adventure was that of a London group called "The Community Service Committee", under the devoted and enthusiastic leadership of Leslie Stubbings. Its members were intensely interested in the extension of the Community idea and spirit. They

all worked in the city, but they pooled their incomes and paid out weekly to each member a sum appropriate to his personal and family needs. The surplus which was appreciable, was devoted to spreading the principles and practice of Community living. Their chief means of doing this was the publication of a "Community Broad-sheet", a periodical which reported on the doings of all these manifold community adventures which, at their peak numbered forty or fifty or even more. This Broad-sheet was a remarkable, valuable and greatly appreciated production, as in addition to reporting the progress of the various British community adventures, it gave information on communities overseas and contained very fine articles on the meaning, purpose and possibilities of the Community concept.

It cannot be too strongly stressed that behind all these community adventures was the belief that they were contributions to "the building of a new Britain". In addition to the Community Broadsheet, the "Adelphi" a monthly, and "Peace News" a weekly, also the Bulletin of "The Christian Pacifist Forestry and Land Units" supported this belief with special articles and comments. I may add that I supported the movement from its inception in 1940, and devoted to it larger allocations of my time. The Holton Beckering venture, by reason of my share of responsibility in getting the capital to insure its stability, had the first call upon my time. It was a considerable concern with assets of £ 50,000 loaned by pacifists, much of it free of interest and the rest at very low interest rates.

Without question these were great days. In the midst of the biggest and most devastating war in history, steps were being taken to build a more stable and enduring civilisation on new foundations. By 1941 I was devoting all my time to this purpose. Every month, I spent several days at Holton Beckering to help on its work, and strengthen the faith of the men working there. In addition, I visited as many of the new communities spread about the country as I could, and in the

meantime wrote articles for Peace News in whose pages Middleton Murry and I were perpetually expounding the wider aims and implications of the Community concept.

Then came the sad sequel. At long last the war ended, and very soon afterwards the new Communities began quietly to fade out. One by one, heeding one call or another, the men returned home. The pull of old habits and values, of families, friends and sweethearts, were too strong to resist in face of the odds that the future offered. Indeed for many years after the war, the scarcity and cost of raw materials offered a bleak prospect to those who hoped to build for a better future.

Nevertheless the sudden collapse of high hopes based on five years of patient, fervent building, constituted one of the major disappointments of my life. John Middleton Murry and the Rev. Henry Carter, with both of whom I had worked most closely during those turbulent years, sent me letters which matched my own for their expression of regret, disappointment and sorrow; but there was nothing we could do about it except wait and hope.

However, after many years I came to a rather different conclusion. I have discovered how deeply the spirit of man has been immersed in the bog of modern materialism, and how clear must be the vision and how great the courage necessary to restore the true balance of spiritual and material values to our rapidly decaying civilisation. Then again in moving about I have discovered that many of the young men and women who joined the various communities above mentioned, have chosen vocations which reveal a deeper regard for human need and the finer things of life than for making money. The study of "problem families" in our big cities - Manchester and Cardiff, e.g., - was initiated by war-time pacifists. The list of such social pioneers is long. Then a fairly recent visit to Holton Beckering proved to be a highly rewarding experience. It was gratifying to see that an appreciable percentage of the land we bought is still being farmed by

our trainees, and that they were infecting the atmosphere of the area with something of the spirit we tried to impart. They had been responsible for packing a hall to listen to what I had to say about national and world trends and about life in general, on a cold Saturday evening in January. We had a good discussion, after which I had the great pleasure of chatting with a score or so of "old companions". Then on the Sunday evening some twenty or thirty of us had a rewarding discussion in the drawing room of the Old Rectory, now the home of Roy Broadbent, whose wife I learned was doing excellent work among the women of the area. Also the group has transformed an army hut into a theatre with seating accommodation for about 200 people. Each winter they put on a short series of really worth while plays. The people come from far and near and pack the place for every performance. In addition, several craft industries are prospering, the most striking being the production of garden furniture in unique designs. Mrs. Cornwallis designs and produces small artistic tiles to fit into the trays of dinner waggons which Roy Broadbent constructs. All the scenery for the theatre is done by first-class artists who now paint for pleasure and make their living by farming. Even the young people are developing interests and "concerns" of a promising character. I must confess I returned home with an appreciable glow in my heart.



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EDITOR, SARVODAYA, TANJORE (S. India)

(Continued from page 470)

2. One of the basic principles of a free democracy is being flouted when the general public is refused access to *all* types of thought, even those with which the Council members do not themselves agree.

It is equally important, perhaps even more important, that appreciation should be expressed when things go right. About a year ago there was rioting in two or three towns in England against the influx of people from Jamaican (West Indies) who came there in search of a stable livelihood, and whose presence has in fact done much to relieve the labour shortage in certain industries. These riots were front - page news not only in U. K. but through-out the world. The abortive attempt of Oswald Mosley to make election capital out of them with his "Keep Britain White" campaign, was also front-page news. But what followed, not being so sensational, was not considered by most newspapers to qualify for the front page.

1. In delivering judgement at the trial of the white "Teddy boys" responsible for the violence committed in the rioting, the presiding Judge made a magnificent statement on the principles of a free democratic society and the danger of the virus of racial prejudice.
2. The Jamaicans who had suffered in the riots made a moving appeal that their assailants, being young and misguided, should be given as mild a sentence as possible.

Peace workers took the initiative in giving the greatest possible publicity to these two facts, and in reprinting the text of the judgment. In other words, they worked to replace the negative impression left on the public mind by the ordinary newspaper treatment of the incident, by a positive impression designed to strengthen the public sentiment for justice and non-violence.

In what goes before I have stressed four aspects of the peace movement which seem to me sound; they are

not intended to be an exhaustive or thorough appraisal, but suggestive in relation to our own work:

1. The great preponderance of workers who are "swayam-adharit", who earn their living in ordinary callings while making a sacrificial contribution of time, labour and money in the cause of peace.
2. The decentralised activity and local initiative, leading to a variety of programme and method which makes for openmindedness and the steady improvement of techniques.
3. The continual search for ways of appealing to the ordinary citizen and arousing public opinion.
4. The alertness to the implications for a democratic and nonviolent way of life of particular local or national events.

In conclusion I should like to describe two more incidents which are not sensational news, but which have come to my notice.

I attended an election meeting last October in a town in Britain which had been badly bombed during the war and where in consequence there is still a shortage of good, cheap housing. A woman got up and shouted at the candidate: "What is the use of making fine promises about housing, when you let these blacks (i. e. Jamaicans) take our houses?" The candidate answered in direct, homely speech, to the effect that human beings have got to be treated with justice and considerateness regardless of their colour, and that if the Jamaicans could not find work in Jamaica, the responsibility for conditions there was on Britain. He reminded the crowd that their town owed a debt of gratitude to its Jamaican citizens: "You know very well that we couldn't have run the bus services without them." What impressed me was not only the homely sincerity with which the candidate put the Jamaican case, but the spontaneous applause with which the whole crowd received his speech. They made it quite clear that their

sympathies were not with the questioner, but with the appeal for "fair play".

More recently, the news of neo-Nazi movements and insults to Jews, in Germany and elsewhere, has "hit the headlines". Quite rightly, we are disturbed. What did not hit the headlines was the news (announced in a B. B. C. broadcast) that immediately after these riots there took place, in West Berlin, a spontaneous demonstration of the disgust which the great majority of young Germans felt for these ugly outbreaks. No less than 40,000 young people marched round the city in complete and solemn silence, accompanied only by the slow beat of a drum, as a sign of mourning for what had happened.

These two incidents both reveal the the fundamental soundness of ordinary human nature which is, in the last resort, the basis of our hope. Wherever we are, Berlin, Bombay, or anywhere else, the peace-worker can begin, on his own initiative and in his own place, to build on these foundations of peace.



Sacrificial spinning at the Sevagram Sarvodaya Sammelan

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Free Education from State Control

Damodardas Mundada

THE Education Minister of Bombay State Mr. Hitendra Desai in one of his speeches, recently, has rightly appealed to his countrymen to free education of all political influences. It is hoped that his statement will be appreciated on all hands and necessary response will not be lacking; The problem is causing headache to all sincere and thinking men in the country, especially because in the past few years, there have risen several occasions when police had to open fire on students and unfortunate incidents have been taking place which make our heads hang down with shame. In spite of several appeals to form a code of conduct with regard to their contacts with students, the political parties have not felt the urgency to take necessary steps. The staff and the students are being daily exploited for political gains. The plight of the primary teachers and students is even worse and beyond expression. Slightest disinclination on part of a primary teacher to dance to the tune of the local Board member must necessarily result in his immediate transfer to an inconvenient place miles away from his family and home.

And political influence does not exclude State interference and State Control which is so predominant today. There is indeed hardly any freedom in the field of education. Every minute detail of teaching is worked out from above. The teacher cannot devote a period or two more for any subject, against the prescribed quota, howsoever he may be feeling the urge to do so, in the interest of the students. He is compelled to explain the five year plan including family planning to the students of 12 and 13 but he cannot infuse in them, the religious and moral outlook resulting from the teaching of Gita and Ramayana or Bible and Koran. Regimentation on a very large scale is going on in the country to-day in the name of discipline and democracy when it is daily perceived that nothing is greater damaged than discipline and democracy in the compounds of educational institutions.

We have also seen what a heavy price, the ruling party in Kerala had to pay, mainly because it was alleged that the party tried to influence the education in the state with its ideology.

The problem cannot be solved by patch-up work because it is a fundamental one. The question is, whether we really want democracy which is synonym of freedom, to be enjoyed and experienced by our people. Education being the main medium of imparting proper outlook of democratic life, can we afford to adulterate it with party influences or exclusive ideologies? What is the remedy then?

The Haward Committee consisting of twelve most prominent educational experts have rightly advised that an increasing struggle must be fought to free education from a type of direct political control which seeks to impose appointment, restrain legitimate movements of teachers and even dictate what they should teach.

The matter was discussed at the time of the A. I. C. C. C. at Berhampur between Pandit Nehru and Vinobaji when Panditji appreciated the latter's suggestion to free Education of State control and appoint an autonomous Board to look into the educational affairs. The British model was also quoted as an illustration.

It is not known what is happening at the Govt. level in this connection. Let us hope that those who are shouldering the administration will soon realise the necessity of making education free of State control but the people cannot wait till then and we must seriously apply our minds to the remedy with a real moral sanction.

It is visualised that in Gramdan and Gramswaraj people will plan for all their needs including education. The Gramsabha which will be free of party dissensions, will not find it difficult to reorient the education of their children, so that it not only suits the local needs but infuses the children with the country's traditions and makes them fit to shoulder the responsibilities under a free and ideal democracy. ★

(Continued from page 466—Universal Form of Satyagraha)

independence in India. It is therefore essential to bring about a change in the function and role of *satyagraha* to suit the present situation. But even in a democracy (*lokrajya*) the power of *satyagraha* is the ultimate and principal basis for the maintenance of individual freedom and the rights of minority. In a social order in which the interests of the minority have been entrenched through power and money, *satyagraha* is the most effective weapon in the hands of the majority of common men devoid of political power and wealth. But its mode and form must necessarily be in tune with the new environment.

Civil-disobedience can never be used to establish the majority will or self-interest. Its supreme role lies in humanising the affairs of men. Therefore as a result of the use of *satyagraha* peaceability, humility and sympathy should be developed in the heart of the *satyagrahis* and directly manifested in their behaviour and action. This of course, is a test of the purity and effectiveness of the *satyagraha*.

Sympathy and love are the natural qualities even of the brutal man. Further more, he wants to develop those qualities for his own sake. Hence, we say that these qualities comprise human nature. The cruel man restricts his sympathy and love only to those with whom he feels some kind of oneness. The gradual enlargement of this circle of oneness is a symptom of progress. It is not merely an emotional refinement but a practical necessity of the age of science. The development of science has in a way rendered the natural and political boundaries between nations obsolete. Such thinking men, seers and popular and political leaders as are moved by a world view have started pleading for the right to freedom of travel between nations and abolition of passports and visas for the same. In such a state as this man's broad-mindedness is bound to continually grow in unison with the development of the scientific spirit. Hence it is perfectly logical and relevant to say that *satyagraha* alone can aspire to be the universal creed of scientific behaviour in the present age. (Courtesy—"Mankind"—March '60)

The Conference of Fellowship of Friends of Truth

DR. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, inaugurated at Gandhigram on April 28, the seventh annual conference of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Delegates from many parts of India and a small number from abroad attended the conference. Sri G. Ramachandran, who presided over the conference, announced that the theme before the conference was "The exclusive claim of different world religions and how to reconcile them."

Sri S. K. George, one of the prominent founders of the Fellowship and its Secretary during the first five years though very ill, was present on the platform.

Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar, inaugurating the conference, referred to his long acquaintance with the writings of Sri S. K. George and said that he had known and understood more about the inner truth of Christianity from the writings of Sri George than from any other source. He had years ago reviewed one of George's books on "The Life of Christ." He had seldom met a more truthful and courageous follower of Jesus Christ than George.

Quoting extensively from the religious literature of the Hinduism, Dr. Ramaswami Aiyar showed how the mind of India always sought unity in diversity. He particularly stressed the teachings of Sri. Sankaracharya in this connection. He also recalled how he had written a booklet on the tolerance of Indian culture for the UNESCO. He referred to modern scientific developments which proved that matter was ultimately an illusion and came from energy which was all pervasive in the universe. Therefore, what was crumbling before the advance of science was not religion or spirituality, but materialism. Religion had now to meet new challenges in a changing world and all religions must come together in mutual understanding and harmony. He had profound faith that religion would continue to play a vital role in the new

world that was shaping. There were priceless treasures in every religion and all these treasures belonged equally to all men and women. He pleaded for much more than mere tolerance, for understanding and harmony among the various religions. He concluded by wishing that FFT would grow from strength to strength and would bring together devotees of different religions in the common quest for the good life for all. He himself became a member of the FFT.

Dr. Devanandan of Bangalore read a paper on Christianity, Janab Habibullah Saheb on Islam, Justice Niyogi on Buddhism and Sri R. R. Diwakar on Hinduism.

In his message, Sri Vinobaji said "Now-a-days I am speaking of one thing, again and again; and that is - the days of Faith and Religion are slowly passing and are being replaced by days of Science and Spirituality which is the essence of all religions. Taking that essence we have to eschew the non-essential remaining part. This appears to me to be the only way of effecting a reconciliation. Here, it is necessary to accept that the eternal ethical values are ever inherent in spirituality."

After deliberating all the papers and giving sufficient thought and time to them, a general statement, was drafted which will be re-examined before publication.



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(Continued from page 462)

rise above his animality and in this sense he becomes free. This freedom of man, this power to make or mar his future is his humanity. Swaraj had not given the opportunity of developing this humanity in the people. On the contrary, the present education is against all human values. Wherefrom the present generation would inherit knowledge and compassion? And without these none could expect that the dream of Gandhi and Vinoba would ever materialise.

The workers will have to increase the spirit of sharing (*Sahabhog*) and co-operation (*Sahayog*). Without love and affection amongst them Sarvodaya Samaj would always remain a distant dream. If love and friendship be our guides we would not have any doubt about our ultimate success. On our march forward, neither shall we be detracted nor shall we look behind. No good purpose is ever defeated; we need not feel any frustration. With confidence in Him we will march ahead. —*Bhoodan*.



Acharya Harihara Das addressing the Sarvodaya Sammelan in Oriya language which was translated by Sri Manmohan Chowdhury sitting on the right.

Sudden Demise of Sri S. K. George

G. Ramachandran, Gandhigram.

SRI S. K. GEORGE suffered a sudden collapse, on 3rd May 1960 and passed away at 1 a.m. on 4th May, Wednesday.

Only a few days earlier S. K. George had attended the 7th Annual Conference in Gandhigram of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Many delegates from different parts of India and a few from outside had specially come to the Conference to meet Sri S. K. George and to do him honour. He had been one of the original founders of the F. F. T. and was its first Secretary for five years as also the Editor of the quarterly Journal of the Fellowship. During the last 3 years he had been very ill.

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar who inaugurated the Conference had testified before those assembled that Sri S. K. George had showed him the true Christian way of life more than any one else. Sri R. R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi had come to Gandhigram to have the pleasure and privilege of personally presenting to Sri S. K. George special copies of the Souvenir Edition of the F. F. T. quarterly brought out in his honour and his wife Mary George's. In fact, Sri S. K. George had attended the Conference on all the 3 days it sat in Gandhigram, though his long standing disease prevented him from uttering a word or doing anything except being a silent witness. Nevertheless Sri S. K. George had appeared to be in fairly good general health.

But suddenly on the morning of 3rd May, barely 4 days after the Conference, a sudden collapse occurred in George's physical condition. His disease had evidently reached his lungs preventing the normal functioning of his lung muscles. 4 doctors and 4 nurses helped George to put up a very brave fight against the disease. But it was a lost battle from the beginning and at 1 a.m. the heroic and gentle warrior of "*Sarva Dharma Samanuthva*" (Equal reverence for all the great Religions of the world) and the

SUDDEN DEMISE OF SRI S. K. GEORGE

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valiant pioneer of the most significant—Inter Religious Fellowship in India today, passed away in the midst of the prayers of the entire Gandhigram community.

His funeral took place at 5 p.m. on Thursday, 5th May at Koorkancherry near Trichur about 130 miles away from Gandhigram where his beloved wife Mary George was laid in her grave less than 5 months ago.



Sram-dan—Offering of Manual Labour



A special feature at the Sevagram Sarvodaya Conference is that hundreds of Sarvodaya workers offered manual labour for 2 hours daily in raising a big bund for a channel.



International Sarvodaya Centre

VISHVANEEDAM, an international Sarvodaya Centre under the auspices of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh was inaugurated by Sri Balkoba Bhawe on April 18, the day on which Bhoodan Yajna Movement was started 9 years ago. Vishvaneedam, (Meaning the world's nest) is situated on a 300-acre plot donated by the Jamnal Bajaj Seva Trust. Situated about 7 miles from Bangalore City amidst beautiful surroundings the Centre will be run on the lines of an Ashram. It will also serve as a resting place for full-time Sarvodaya workers. It is hoped to provide training facilities for workers and Shanti-Sainiks. A well-equipped library will also be maintained.

Sri Mangaldas Pakvasa, Governor of Mysore, presided over the function. Inaugurating the centre, Shri Balkoba Bhawe, younger brother of Acharya Vinoba Bhawe traced the evolution of the concept of an Ashram as envisaged by Gandhiji and explained the significance of the 5 disciplines namely, truth, non-violence, non-stealing, non-accumulation and all round control over senses directed towards the realisation of God, which give both purpose and direction to human existence.

A special message for the occasion from Acharya Vinoba says:—

"The inauguration of *Vishvaneedam* on April 18, the day on which Bhoodan Yajna was started, is an auspicious event. It will be a home for Shanti sainiks of Bangalore and will be of help in making Bangalore a Sarvodayanagar. It will not only be a meeting place of the four Southern States but also be a symbol of Indian culture. It will also be an effective instrument for establishing contact with the whole world."



War Resisters' International Triennial Conference at Gadhighram

MR. Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England, writes to us under date 2nd May 1960.

"Dear Editor,

The 10th Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International is an unusual conference to take place in India in December 1960. It will be held at Gadhighram, Ambaturai Railway Station, Madurai District, Madras State. Attenders will be welcomed on the evening of the 21st December by Sri R. R. Diwakar, Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi; the Conference will conclude with breakfast on the 28th December.

The War resisters' International has chartered an aircraft seating 68 passengers to bring delegates from Europe, and about 20 delegates from Australia are expected. Most of the 30 pacifist organisations (in 22 countries) affiliated to the W. R. I. will be represented and individual members from several other countries will participate.

This marks the first such Conference to be held outside Europe, and has been heralded as a unique opportunity to further the integration of Eastern and Western pacifist thought and action. To further this objective much of the Conference will be open to non-members.

We earnestly desire the attendance of your readers who are seriously concerned with the problems of war and peace, and of building a non-violent social order.

I shall be travelling about India from about 1st Sept. 1960 (after a visit to Ceylon), and would welcome the opportunity of meeting you.

Sincerely,
Arlo Tatum,
(General Secretary)"

(Continued from page 457—The Sevagram Sarvodaya Sammelan (2))

Secretary of Gandhi Nidhi paid a glowing tribute to the initiative taken by the youth in the Conference and drew the attention to the challenge to the Shanti Sena programme by the compulsory military training that is given to students through N. C. C. and the proposal of compulsory service-training proposed by the University Commission.

Lastly Sri Shankarrao Deo exhorted the workers to completely dedicate themselves to this mission.

The Conference concluded with the President's appeal to the Sevaks to go forward with full faith in God. The conference came to an end with an inspiring song of Rabindranath Tagore.



Sri E. W. Aryanayakam's Foreign Tour

SHRI E. W. ARYANAYAKAM received an invitation from Sharman Trust for taking part in the Seminar on the Records of the life of Jesus. He has accepted the invitation and expects to reach New York by 20th June. After the Seminar he will spend three months in America under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, and the Fellowship Reconciliation and visit experimental centres in Agricultural Education. He will also visit Canada in connection with Tagore Centenary celebrations. He will return to England in September and spend three months and go to the continent for two months, and return to India by the middle of December.

His Address will be :

c/o East West Committee,
Friends' House, Eastern Road,
London N. W. I.

and C/o

Fellowship of Reconciliation,
Nyack, New York, U.S.A.



Future Programme

(Summary of the resolution adopted by Sarva Seva Sangh at - Sevagram)

THE seed of Bhoodan yagna sown 9 years ago has grown into a big tree with countless branches of fresh items of work. The movement originated from an impulse of compassion. Demand for one sixth of land incorporated social justice in it and the programme of Gramdan presented a complete picture of our solution of land problem. But the solution of land problem alone was not enough. Hence, other items of work like village Industries, Nai Talim etc. were added to it to present a composite picture of Gram Swarajya. Acceptance of the ideal of Gram Swarajya as our goal led to a great issue - the problem of non-violent defence and the programme of Shanti Sena was the natural answer to it. It is but natural that this all-pervasive movement should stand on the sanction of active consent of the people. Sarvodaya Paatras offered the means of getting universal popular support. Thus today our programme has become comprehensive enough to lead us to Gramswarajya.

But we did not consider all these items as components of an integral whole. Hence, whenever a new programme was offered, we lost sight of the old and thus some looseness has crept into our movement. We have to correct this mistake now. At the same time we shall have to remember that our strength is limited and we should, therefore, concentrate our attention on a few of these items of work to conserve our energy. It may not be possible to apply every programme in its minute detail in all the places of a vast country like India. The programme presented by the Sangh here is suggestive only. The provincial and district Sarvodaya Mandals can, of course, draw their detailed plans.

'India is experimenting with the ideal of Panchayat Raj. It is now up to the people to mould it towards Sarvodaya. But they will have to guard against the prevailing inequality in villages, which, if not tackled in the beginning, nullify the aims of Panchayat Raj. The Panchayats should therefore see that :

- (a) Nodody in the village remains without food.
- (b) There is full employment. (c) There should be one year's reserve of food-grains in every village. (d) Income

from land revenue should remain in the village. (e) Village plans must be formulated by villagers themselves.

"To check the unhealthy influence of politics they should:

(a) Make special efforts to see that elections to the village sabha, the municipality or such other local bodies are not conducted on party basis. (b) All decisions be taken by common consent or by lot. (c) Villagers should take pledge to self-sufficiency with regard to food, clothing, justice, health & education.

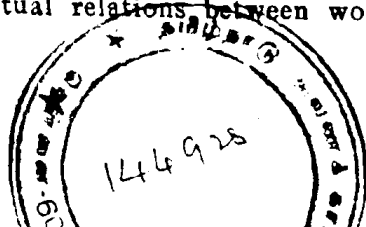
Lok Sevak may take up the following items:

(a) Continuous *Padayatra*. (b) Intensive (*Samuhik*) *Padayatra*. (c) Sale of literature.

In course of these *Padayatras* they may ask for *Bhoodan* and *Sampattidan* and distribute land already received. They may propagate the ideals of *Gramswarajya*, *Gram-sankalp* and *Gramparivar*. They may also throw light on the current problems of the country and suggest their solutions on *Sarvodaya* lines. The programme of prohibition may also be emphasised to be taken up by the people themselves as a movement for moral rejuvenation. Special effort should be made to complete the distribution of land received in *Bhoodan* within the next 12 months and the co-operation of all the organisations of constructive work should be sought for it.

Intensive work should also be taken up and as far as possible a compact area with 1 lakh population should be selected and all the items of the *Gramswarajya* programme should be worked out with peoples' initiative. The help of other institutions of constructive work as also the National Extension Blocks, may be taken, but the ultimate sanction should be the peoples' initiative.

For this it is necessary that all our activities should be run on *Nai Talim* pattern, i. e. on educative lines. Part-time or whole time — all types of workers should be given proper training and particular attention should be paid to see that the mutual relations between workers remain cordial.



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Acharya Harihara Das

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President of the Sarvodaya Sammelar held at
Sevagram in March 1960.

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