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No. 1

★ Satyagraha

I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The rishis who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

—MAHATMA GANDHI.



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

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TENTH YEAR OF "SARVODAYA"

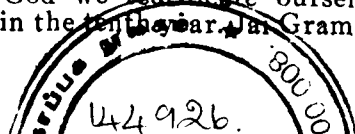
'One Epoch of Khadi has ended How Khadi can become the symbol of non-violence is to be proved.'

It is with these words of Mahatma Gandhi that this small journal ventured on its journey nine years ago in July 1951. While striving with the above ideal we witnessed the emergence of the new non-violent revolution of Bhoodan and a year later this assumed the name of "Sarvodaya" as it was considered more appropriate.

In the wake of the Bhoodan under Vinobaji's leadership, Khadi and the cottage industries began to gain their due place as integral items in the programme of national reconstruction. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission has given a tremendous fillip to production and sale of Khadi which has increased now to ten times. Quantitatively this is a great achievement but the new epoch of Khadi envisaged by Gandhiji is yet to come.

The Bhoodan-movement has revealed marvellous blending of the Charkha and the land, or agriculture and industries as one cannot live without the other. The large army of thousands of workers in Khadi and other village industries as well as Bhoodan are striving now in the task of moulding the agro-industrial cottage economy as the symbol of non-violence of the new Social Order. The Gramdan movement again has brought us nearer to Gandhian ideal of Gram-Swaraj of basic decentralised, non-violent spiritual communism. Shanti-Sena for non-violent defence and Sarvodaya patra are naturally the crowning items in our programme.

These nine years have been a thrilling period for us in witnessing the mass manifestation of the dynamics of ahimsa and Satyagraha in the various forms of constructive revolution in India and other countries, for regaining the spiritual values and freedom of Man. Let us uphold the Lok-Niti, the moral-Dharmic Law of humanity over the Raja Niti-the barren law of the State based on the sanction of violence. Let us rise above party and power politics that control life today in all spheres and threaten to choke the soul of man. With a deep sense of gratitude to the hundreds of our friends in India and abroad and with faith in God we rededicate ourselves to the Sarvodaya mission in the tenth year. *Jai Gramraj: Jai Jagat!!* ★



The Technique of Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi

Navajivan Publishing house has published a series of attractive cheap booklets at prices ranging from 20 to 50 nP. each. This extract is taken from the booklet with the title, "Non-violent Way to World Peace" which will be specially useful as a guide to Sarvodaya workers pledged to non-violent defence through Shanti-sena.

Not to yield your soul to the conqueror means that you will refuse to do that which your conscience forbids you to do. Suppose the 'enemy' were to ask you to rub your nose on the ground or to pull your ears or to go through such humiliating performances, you would not submit to any of these humiliations. But if he robs you of your possessions, you will yield them because as a votary of ahimsa you have from the beginning decided that earthly possessions have nothing to do with your soul. That which you look upon as your own you may keep only so long as the world allows you to own it.

Not to yield your mind means that you will not give way to any temptation. Man is oftentimes weak-minded enough to be caught in the snare of greed and honeyed words. We see this happening daily in our social life. A weak-minded man can never be a Satyagrahi. The latter's 'no' is invariably a 'no' and his 'yes' an eternal 'yes'. Such a man alone has the strength to be a devotee of truth and ahimsa. But here one must know the difference between steadfastness and obstinacy. If after having said 'yes' or 'no' one finds out that the decision was wrong and in spite of that knowledge clings to it, that is obstinacy and folly. It is necessary to think things out carefully and thoroughly before coming to any decision.

The meaning of refusal to own allegiance is clear. You will not bow to the supremacy of the victor, you will not help him to attain his object. Herr Hitler has never dreamt of possessing Britain. He wants the British to

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom right of the page.

admit defeat. The victor can then demand anything he likes from the vanquished, and the latter has perforce to yield. But if defeat is not admitted, the enemy will fight until he has killed his opponent. A Satyagrahi, however, is dead to his body even before the enemy attempts to kill him, i. e., he is free from attachment to his body and only lives in the victory of the soul. Therefore, when he is already thus dead, why should he yearn to kill anyone? To die in the act of killing is in essence to die defeated. Because, if the enemy is unable to get what he wants from you alive, he will decide to get it after killing you. If, on the other hand, he realizes that you have not the remotest thought in your mind of raising your hand against him even for the sake of your life, he will lack the zest to kill you. Every hunter has had this experience. No one has ever heard of anyone hunting cows.



Vinobaji's Yatra Programme

After spending about a fortnight in the dacoit infested Chambal valley Vinobaji is proceeding towards Indore through Kota and Jhalawar districts of Rajasthan. He is avoiding the Agra-Bombay high-way and is walking through difficult and unfrequented hilly pathways even though this is a rainy season. He is expected to reach Indore on July 22 where he will stay for about a month, for intensive work. Already preparatory work is going on in Indore as mentioned in the article by Sri Donald Groom published in this issue.



TO FRIENDS

We announce that Sri Nirmol Chander, M. O. L. of Bombay who was enrolling subscribers for "Sarvodaya" has ceased to be our representative henceforth.

Managing Editor, Sarvodaya, Tanjore.

Vinoba's Mission in the Chambal Valley

Suresh Ram

"I have not come here with an idea to convert anybody. Had that been the case I would have spent more time in this area. I am bound for Indore. Verily I have come to Bhind Morena districts to meet the *sajjans* (virtuous). I do not call it the dacoit region, but the virtuous region. True there may be dacoits here, but by far, the majority of the people are good and virtuous. And well, there are dacoits in Delhi too. They carry on white dacoity. But my object is to meet the *sajjans*. May you be endowed with more love, more fearlessness and more co-operative spirit—This is my triple message, "Jai Jagat".

With these words Vinoba greeted the Madhya Pradesh workers who had assembled across the Chambal on 13th May 1960 to receive him from Uttar Pradesh into their own province. He looked very fresh and gay. None could say that this frail man had been walking from village to village for the last nine years covering more than 32,000 miles, on foot.

Curiously and happily, his visit has yielded unforeseen results. Nineteen leading dacoits, who carried prizes for their heads, surrendered before him. "The dramatic news", to quote the *Eastern Economist*, "has touched the soul of India in an unmistakable Gandhian way," and restored faith, so to speak, in an age which seemed to be irrevocably in the past. "People's minds have been stirred and all sorts of comments—from exuberant delight to dismal horror and utter confusion—are being offered. Some are not sure whether it would ever happen.

It must be understood that Vinoba believes that no man is bad by birth, nor does he continue to be bad all his life. The dacoits are, no exception to this truth. To quote his own words.

"I have love for them (the dacoits) in my heart. They are a brave people. Theirs is a powerful engine of life. Having taken a different track of rails, they were diverted in an adverse direction. If the rails were changed, they can grow into useful protectors of society. They can be transformed into sadhus, soldiers, farmers and efficient servants. It is easy to win such people by love."

Vinoba's Entry

The urge which took him to terror-struck Telengana has naturally brought him here. And he walked from village to village in that scorching heat of May, with storms of dust blowing, to meet the people personally. He went to villages which were never visited by any social worker or minister, even during the election days. Sometimes he encamped in a primary school, or in a small house or under a tree. One day came a fierce storm and his tent fell down over his head, But he came out smiling, as if nothing had happened.

It would not be out of place to mention that Vinoba had obtained the formal assent of the authorities before entering Madhya Pradesh. When he was in the Punjab during the last winter, some high dignitary—a Minister or Deputy Minister—issued a statement to the Press that Vinoba was not required in his Madhya Pradesh and there was no need for him to come. On Vinoba's attention being drawn to the same, he wrote a letter to the Chief Minister of the State whether he could come on his mission in Madhya Pradesh. The reply he received from Dr. K. N. Katju was cordial and in the affirmative. Hence this yatra of Vinoba.

The Message of Love

Vinoba carries no talisman with him. He knows no trick. Nor does he believe in miracles. He is quite conscious of his limitations as also of his co-workers. He talked to them as one of them, and called upon them to be fearless, and love their neighbour. His language of love went straight to the heart:

"Externally looked at, man's life consists of eating drinking, disease, old age and death. The same is also true with animals. But there is something which distinguishes men from animal. That consists in his manhood or humanliness. God's greatest gift to man is his heart of sympathy. He feels others' sorrow as his own, their misery as his own. Even when thirsty, he will give his glass of water to another and feel joy. The greater this humanliness in a man, the greater would be satisfaction in his life. We must try to develop this trait and help others."

On another occasion:

"We must make our hearts generous. Miserliness produces thieves and dacoits. I often say that a miser is the father of a thief. In Telengana, people donated 12,000 acres of land whereafter the problem—The

Government was spending five crores a year—was solved. The same is the problem here. People take to evil ways. Once they become generous this feature will disappear. We must observe self-restraint. Secondly we must be generous and charitable. Thirdly we must be fearless. Fearlessness does not come through arms but by virtue of the soul. Thus the important things for us all to do are—gifts of love, observance of self—restraint and cultivation of fearlessness."

Also he continuously reminded them of the need to renounce ownership of land and turn the village into a family. To quote him:

"The ownership of land or wealth is an untenable proposition. It is against right thought, against humanity, against God. Everybody who wants to till must get land. Those who do not require lands should get some crafts. Those with land be it little or otherwise, must donate some of it for the poor. Our act of love will save us as also the world. If we would try to preserve ownership, it would prove futile. We shall offer what we can and with love."

Gramdan is, therefore, the first necessity. It will lead to village unity and prosperity and also solve what is known as the dacoit problem. Vinoba made it absolutely clear:

"Nobody is dacoit by birth. Nor is he a dacoit for life. Yet it is said that dacoits have been killed. Then where have these others come from? The dacoits have been subdued, but not the dacoit-tendency. The drops of blood falling down from Ahiravan's body gave rise to as many Ahiravans. It is therefore not possible to wipe out dacoits by the force of arms. Violence only begets violence. Violence, to be vanquished, must be met with non-violence."

It was this soothing Ganga of love, peace and non-violence which flowed from place to place. Those who surrendered to Vinoba remained with him for a few days and were then sent on the night of 23rd May to the district jail of Bhind. Each of them touched his feet. He gave one and the same message to them: "Keep your mind on right lines and turn yourself to the devotion of God!" Next day he met them in the jail and offered his morning prayers in their company.

Those who had surrendered were given no assurance. Vinoba's firm injunction was—"Unconditional." In fact, confession and assurance do not go together. Confession,

to be real must be unconditional. They must be prepared to face every trial:

"The Law of the Government has its own bounds. There is no question of going against it. I shall try that justice should be meted to all of them. They would be provided legal aid. Their children would be looked after. They would get justice. But they must not think of amnesty or pardon. If you get amnesty here you will be punished there at His."

Before leaving this area, Vinoba entrusted the follow-up work of rehabilitation and reconstruction to an earnest group of tried workers who are Shanti-Sainiks all. They set up a body of their own, known as *Chambal Valley Shanti Committee*, with Swami Krishna Swarup as its President, and Sri Hem Deva Sharma as Secretary. Other members of the Peace Committee are Messrs. Lallu Singh, Mahavir Singh, Bhagwat Singh, Baba Parashuram, Sri Ram Gupta, Lakshimi Chand Vaish, Keshava Singh and Smt. Rajendra Kunwar. Its office would be located in the town of Bhind. This committee would work under the guidance of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh and keep in close touch with Vinoba.

Thus have been laid the foundations for enacting a peaceful and non-violent revolution in this much-dreaded region. The task is stupendous indeed. The Shanti Sainiks have to do or die. It is hoped that power of non-violence and peace would here emerge, happy results would follow and people's woe come to an end. In the book of life of the Chambal Valley people, the chapter of conflict and bloodshed would come to a close, while a new era of peace and harmony would open.

In the end, one may ask: Will Vinoba's mission yield any fruit? Only the future can give the correct answer. But Vinoba entertains no misgivings. Nor does he worry about it. As he said:

"I take up any work only when God beckons me to do it. Here also I have come at His bidding. People inquire whether this work would meet with success or not. But it is not my work. It is God's. I care little whether it succeeds or fails. Personally my mission would triumph only when truth, love and compassion overflow my heart. I would consider myself successful if my heart were filled with so much compassion as to make my body break down and collapse. But so far as the work here is concerned, its success rests with God."

U.S. Ambassador's Interview with Vinoba

This is an interesting verbatim report of an interview of H. E. Ellsworth Bunker, U.S. Ambassador in India with Acharya Vinoba Bhave at Kalanjari (Meerut Dt. in U P.) on 11th April. This interview was recorded by Sri Suresh Ram of Allahabad. A. A. is American Ambassador. V. B. is Vinoba Bhave.

- A. A.-How do you do? I have been following your wonderful work.
- V. B.-Thank you. For how many months have you been in India?
- A. A.-More than three years now. I am sure you have covered hundreds of miles during this period.
- V. B.-Yes.
- A. A.-Well, What is your opinion with regard to co-operatives in villages?
- V. B.-Left to themselves, the people can have only small co-operatives of the type of service co-operatives, not big ones. I want that people should not lose the initiative.
- A. A.-Do you approve of co-operative farming as distinct from service co-operatives?
- V. B.-I am not sure that co-operative farming will succeed so long as the villagers are ignorant of any kind of mathematics. If you force it in the present conditions, it will lead to a managerial class. The people have to be educated first.
- A. A.-That is a very important point indeed you have pointed out.
- V. B.-We can begin with small co-operatives. Our people can't read and write. Be it any experiment, if they see results they will follow it.
- A. A.-Are you helping them to form service co-operatives?
- V. B.-Yes, without that Gramdan village has no meaning. Generally our Gramdan villages are small. Along with this, we will have to introduce co-operative field of village industries.
- A. A.-You see good prospects of developing village industries.
- V. B.-Yes, it is so simple for them. Although the onslaught of big machinery is hampering progress, yet we can help them and see that village industries are introduced.
- A. A.-What kind of village industries?

V. B.-First and foremost Khadi. It includes several industries - ginning, spinning, carding, weaving, printing, dyeing, carpentry etc.

A A.-I think there is a growing interest in Indian handicrafts in my country.

V. B.-Conditions very much differ there

A. A.-But there is quite a good field for Indian materials and articles. Several organisations have been formed in U. S. A. recently to import handicrafts

How do you think agriculture can develop here? Is there room for much increased yields by better methods?

V. B.-Of course, modern methods do yield more production and our farmers take to an new method provided they see good results.

A. A.-They are open-minded. It is very good.

V. B.-But their resources are limited. In U. S. A. land per capita is perhaps 12 acres?

A. A.-Much more, I think. More people are leaving farms and going into industries. We have fewer farmers than fifty years ago. Only about 12 to 13 per cent of our people live on land and so farms have become bigger and more mechanised. We have also 350 million acres of land as in India, but only 7½ million families. Farms have to be of bigger acreage and unless we used machinery we could not have food. Now we are having surplus food - wheat, rice and sometimes cotton.

V. B.-So far as agriculture is concerned, American model won't suit India very much.

A. A.-Yes, what will suit is better seeds, improved methods and the like. I think that particularly small improved tools can be helpful and here, of course, in India you have lots of irrigated land, more than we have.

V. B.-An American writer, F. M. King, has written a book on China, *Farmers of Forty Centuries*. It is a wonderful work. The author says that that model would be useful to U. S. A. after, say, two centuries (laughter).

A. A.-Yes. I suppose you require here, as they do in Japan, intensive farming.

V. B.-They are trying some Japanese methods in India. Japan has the same problem as India - over population.

A. A.-Yes, I suppose yields per acre there are quite high.

V. B.-They say ^x one world ^x is coming. I think there may come a time when those countries which have ample land will invite others, for example Australia inviting people from China and Japan.

A A.-Oh, yes, I imagine so.....There are large areas in South America too.

V. B.-We say *Jai Jagat* (Victory to the world).

A. A.-Yes, that's a good slogan. Lots of people are working towards it, one world idea.

V. B.-It is surely coming. With the progress of science there is no other alternative. Either we have one world, or the whole thing is destroyed.

A. A.-Well, I think it will come some day, but may probably take some time. The world is getting pretty smaller quite rapidly. People are realising that they have to live together.

V.B.-They are now thinking of colonising on the moon ... (laughter)

A. A.-Yes, I had a letter from a friend in Bhilai. He runs a restaurant there. He wrote to me for fixing a passage for him in the first ship; he is ready to meet his expenses and begin there some business too. I have sent my good wishes and best luck to him! I understand you have a very active schedule. Do you stay for a few days here?

V. B.-Only one day in a village except at places where there are some conferences, etc.

A. A.-You hold meetings also.

V. B.-Yes, both in the morning and evenings. And there are intruders like you also! (laughter)

A. A.-I feel like an intruder. (more laughter)

V. B.-But you are very welcome.

A. A.-There must be many intruders who want to see you. You were very good to my wife who came to see you last week. I am sure you keep yourself in very good physical trim.

V. B.-Yes, walking is perhaps the best cure.

A A.-Yes, walking and reasonable diet. What do you generally take?

V. B.-Milk diet, curd and honey, rarely fruits.

A. A.-Vegetables?

V. B.-No, milk diet is enough. I have been walking for the last nine years, a habitual walker.

- A. A-I am also a habitual walker, but on a very small scale only in the Lodi garden. I walk every morning before breakfast. But I don't start at 4 O' clock like you. Perhaps if I adopted your diet, I could.
- V. B-How much time do you give for walking?
- A. A-About one hour.
- V. B-That is very useful.
- A. A-Gandhiji also was a great walker. Wasn't he?
- V. B-Of course, he was.
- A. A-How do you visualise village development organisation? I learn in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, more authority and power has been given to villagers.
- V. B-I have heard about it. From here I go to M. P.
- A. A-How many states have you covered?
- V. B-All except Assam. This is my second tour of U. P.
- A. A-After you receive gifts of land or village, how do you utilise it?
- V. B-We distribute land to the landless and do so on unanimous basis.
- A. A-Now these service co-operatives, do they provide help to the landless in the form of seeds, credit etc.?
- V. B-That we have to do, at least for the first few years and help them by what we can.
- A. A-You give bullocks also.
- V. B-Yes, we provide for the bullocks.
- A. A-How is the capital for co-operatives supplied?
- V. B-Members will donate every year a part of the produce. (Vinobaji referred to the English weekly 'Bhoodan' and presented to H. E. the American Ambassador, the latest issue. Turning its leaves, he came across a title "Failures & Achievements".)
- A. A-What is meant by failures?
- V. B-We have not been able to build up our cadre of workers as yet. There is a question of their training, etc.....
- A. A-You have a centre in each State?
- V. B-Almost in all...And we are trying.
- A. A-I have taken a lot of your time and given you so much trouble.
- A. B-No, You are always welcome.
- V. A-Shortly I go to the U. S. On my return I would like to meet you. Thank you very much.
- V. B-Thank you. Jai Jagat!

Symposium at Madras

on "Reconstruction of Indian Polity"

Our readers are familiar with the draft by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan on "Reconstruction of Indian Polity. This has been widely discussed by eminent men and in the press in India and outside. Over a hundred prominent economists, politicians and Sarvodaya workers participated in the symposium held at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, in Madras on 9th and 10th June in the presence of Sri Jayaprakash. There was a favourable reception and general acceptance of the basic principles of decentralised broad based democracy with self-contained and self governing agro-industrial urbo-rural small communities. Sri K. Arunachalam presided. Sri K. Santhanam initiated the discussion. Sri Jayaprakash at the end expressed his satisfaction with the discussion and promised to incorporate some of the suggestions made by the speakers in the final draft. A summary of the discussions as reported in the "Hindu", Madras to which we are indebted, is given here.

MR. Sri K. Santhanam, said that he did not think that a modern society which believed in freedom and democracy could be based on decentralisation, community feeling and non-party government. These principles had to be used as correctives to the modern tendencies of centralisation, atomistic individualism and Parliamentary Democracy. The historical argument about panchayats was fallacious. They could not restore old panchayats, because neither caste nor heredity could find a place in any modern reconstruction of village self-government. In the present age the devolution of power to village panchayats and municipalities could only be very limited. Exaggerated pleas for decentralisation would only result in weakness and inefficiency.

The speaker was convinced that the only and effective alternative to Parliamentary Democracy was Communist

dictatorship. But they should accept the basis of Parliamentary Democracy and hold fast to the Indian Constitution, trying to remove the evils through the development of better traditions and healthier conditions.

Sri M. Ruthnaswami said that it was rather difficult to revive the old system of village administration. With all the disadvantages of universal suffrage in direct elections operating under universal illiteracy, the system offered an opportunity for the political education of the masses. The only way to remove defects was to organise universal suffrage on a corporate basis. He defended Parliamentary Democracy and said that it was consistent with federalism and would not lead to centralisation. But in the working of parties, there should be freedom of expression for members, though discipline and conformity required voting in the same way on fundamental questions. He held that in the complicated questions affecting modern State it was unfair to ask the common people to take a direct part in decisions.

Mr. V. K. Narasimhan emphasised that the Gandhian spirit and approach should be recovered in the general reconstruction of India. Since the dawn of Independence very little had been done to carry on the work of Gandhiji. Gandhiji wanted that the Indian polity should be built from the bottom and his plea was that people should combine voluntarily for service. The new socialistic doctrine propounded at present, took away the responsibility of individuals for their action. Individual responsibility and social voluntary action were hardly emphasised in the entire political propaganda since 1947. They had developed a false theory of dependence on the State for everything.

Mr. Lakshmirattan Bharathi said that the Sarvodaya leaders should eliminate all legislative and executive sanctions of State power, before they could function effectively through love and non-violence in the purely social and economic spheres.

Democracy in India

Speaking at the afternoon session, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri said that there was an Asian way of life as distinguished from the Western or European way of life. The West was looking to the East for many things and India was functioning as a beacon in that regard. After referring to Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan's pamphlet on Indian Polity, the speaker said that community of communism was a leviathan but not so the community of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. Democracy was not new to India. But its background was different from that of the Western Democracy. In regard to the system of election he said it was claimed that election on adult franchise had been successfully conducted twice. While it might be so, they should remember that they were conducted at an enormous cost. He suggested that the defects, if any should be remedied and it should be considered if it was possible to adopt a better method.

In ancient days, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri added, India had an economy in which much importance was not given to acquisition. It might be difficult to hold to that ideal now but it was not necessary that the old spiritual life should be forgotten in the way in which it was done under the Plans. The speaker deplored the fact that there was a steady deterioration in the moral standard of the people and that the leaders did not live up to the ideals that they had set up before themselves during the period of struggle for freedom.

Sarvodaya Ideals

Professor R. Bhaskaran, University of Madras, commended the Sarvodaya ideals and said that the idea of making a permanent and ultimate revolution was dangerous. Sarvodaya did not want to make it and it wanted only a gradual revolution. He thought there would be difficulty in that and it would come even without any violent political effort. He said that the system of

administration advocated by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan would give them a more economic form of Government.

Dr. M. Aramvalathan said that the planning that was being done now in the country was different from that Gandhiji had thought of. The sociological and psychological consequences of planning of the kind that was being done now were not appreciated by economists. The speaker praised the sociological approach to national construction given by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan in his pamphlet.

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J. P. NARAYAN'S REPLY

AT the outset, Sri Narayan thanked the organisers of the symposium and said that it was a rewarding experience for him. He said that he accepted many of the suggestions made by the speakers and promised to incorporate them when he took up the work of elaboration of the draft schemes. There was more general agreement among the speakers than disagreement with most of the proposals that he had made. There was general agreement on the need for decentralisation of power and authority as far as possible in the economic and political spheres. He was also glad of the acceptance of his view that they in this country had certain traditions and a peculiar genius which should be preserved in all future plans for building up of a new India. In that task they should not disregard the lessons that the history of other countries had taught them. In the present Western form of industrialisation and society, the people were not conscious of the "crisis in civilisation".

Disagreeing with the view that centralisation was inevitable for the progress of the country in the present age of science and technology, Sri Narayan said that such forces were not like the forces of nature which were

(Continued on page 29)

My Experiments in the Art of Living

(XV) World Regeneration of World Catastrophe

Wilfred Wellock

The series of highly valuable and thought-provoking articles of Mr. Wilfred Wellock has been serialised since last August 1959 in "Sarvodaya". The back numbers of "Sarvodaya" are available at 50 nP. per copy including postage.

AS the story of these personal experiences of a wayfarer in search of Truth proceeds, readers will have observed the close relationship between the conclusions to which my inquiries have led me on national and world problems, and the course of my own life.

In the everyday sense of the term I have no vocation. My life has been characterised by an endless series of vital changes all of which have been determined by the conclusions I have reached on the broad problems of local, national and world affairs. The impact which my thinking has had upon my conduct has on most occasions had the effect of the hidden hand of destiny which I have felt compelled to obey. It was, of course, the power of Truth as I felt and saw it, and it constituted a message which I knew it was my duty to expound to the utmost of my ability.

From the very first my way of life, which includes my work as a free-lance teacher by deed and word, written and spoken, has been identified with the broader issues of the social good, local, national or international, as the case might be. And because I have never allowed my subsistence to depend upon any organisation, institution or Government, I have always been free to express my thoughts openly, untrammelled by political or religious taboos, orthodoxies, etc. Hence my study of social and world problems is an essential part of my autobiography

My earliest thinking was concerned with Christian teaching regarding personal conduct. It carried me into numerous controversies and conflicts, and compelled me to refuse military service in the first world war. A little later my interpretation of Christian teaching compelled me to face the issue of social injustice as presented by socialists and communists, whose statements of economic facts I found generally to be correct. The refusal of the churches to face up to those facts later rent it in twain. And so it has been throughout my life: social Truth and my way of life have run in harness.

So, once again, at the present juncture in my life, meditation has brought me face to face with the emergence of new world problems, changes in personal and national values, aims, habits and policies of such far-reaching importance that I am compelled to draw attention to them, to point out the dangers which lie ahead, and the way of salvation as I see it for persons and nations.

The pace of events is now so high that trends towards an inevitable choice between a world spiritual revolution and a world catastrophe seems likely to be thrust upon us in the very near future. A period of universal mediation is called for, but how is it to be secured?

In the course of these records I have on several occasions referred to the spiritual devastations caused by industrial specialisation, centralisation and automation, etc. But they are not nearly so clearly realised by this generation as they ought to be. The story of our lost spiritual values as a result of the industrial revolution is so important to an understanding of our present national and world problems, that I am constrained briefly to recount them in their natural stages.

Stage 1 occurred when the village craftsman was transferred to the town factory. This deprived him of a high degree of responsibility, of creative self-expression, and all the vital social relationships arising from direct services to neighbours.

Stage 2 came when the processes of specialisation introduced the assembling line invented by Henry Ford, and also the long line of repetitive machines which confined each worker to a single operation. This change transformed the worker into an industrial robot. Personal responsibility and personal skill were reduced to the minimum.

Stage 3 occurred when assembling lines were extended to several miles and each worker was responsible for the tiniest operation, and became a unit in a gigantic financial corporation which might employ up to fifty thousand workers. The small group of Directors, Executives, Managers and Technologists had their being apart. The great body of the workers never even saw them. Thus the workers had no sense of "belonging." They were isolated units in a vast organisation in which they had no personal interest whatever. Being thus socially ostracised they had no interest in their work as such, nor in anything except their wages. They had no function or standing as whole beings, but only as robots, fragmented beings, who worked for one thing only—money. In other words, they were forced into materialism and into the era of the economic man.

Stage 4 was reached when it was realised that the industrial robot had no enthusiasm for a high or even a satisfactory output. American Big Business discovered that the best way to remedy these evils was to raise wages, and not once in a number of years, but annually under the impulses that were supplied by the new magic of "an expanding economy". It became the function of technology to speed up production, of advertising to insure its sale, and of Hire Purchase trading to extend sales still further. This process made annual wage increases not only possible but necessary. After all, the cash incentive operated strongly at the summit of big financial corporations, so why not at the base? By this process the habit of getting and spending money is today carried to its extreme limits. The spending fever passes from one

class of goods to another, first in one social class, then in another. Worker car owners are multiplying rapidly with the aid of H. P. The then owners of used cars want new ones. and the owners of inferior cars want super ones. Fashion and advertising beg into play on the minds of ever-increasing percentages of the population, with the result that getting and spending money becomes the dominating factor in so many lives that people have no time for their neighbours of interest in other people's families. They just come and go, full of concern for their numerous personal interests, we thus reach that new phenomenon of an atomised society.

Stage 5 arrives when the process of atomisation is carried to the family, as is now happening on a wide scale. Young people from fifteen to twenty years of age are now able to earn wages so high (and all or most of which they expect to keep and spend on themselves) that they assert their independence even of their parents. They come and go, as they please, and cultivate habits and associations of which they try to keep their parents in complete ignorance. Hence the atomisation of families.

Of course, there are thousands of exceptions to this spending mania, and varying degrees of it, but what I have described is the general tendency, and every year produces new crops of its tragic consequences.

The fact must be faced with all its consequences, that modern industrialism has obliterated the functional character of life as it existed in the pre-industrial era, when the fulfilment of a specified social function was a common light and duty, which contributed the social cement that was responsible for the organic quality of community life. This traditional, functional living gave vitality to every neighbourhood and made neighbourliness a major social value. Everyone worked for neighbours and knew in the depths of his being that his well being and his future depended primarily upon the quality of his labour, as did also his standing in his village, the

respect and goodwill upon which he knew he could rely. These values meant as much to a man as his wages.

Nowhere in our era is a comparable cement to be found. It is impossible to study Western civilisation in the nuclear age without realising that the lives of people and the policies of nations are out of harmony with the world's needs, while the percentage of under-developed and mal-developed humans with fragmented minds and warped personalities is a reflection on the state of our civilisation we would do well to consider.

The full implications of the way of life of the fragmented, economic man have not so far been grasped, let alone faced by those who are supposed to be concerned with the condition and the future of our civilisation. It is not easy for the whole man to comprehend a way of life that is governed by lures which money alone can buy such as speed, mass excitements, a widening range of self-indulgences, fashion in nearly every realm of spending, including cars, and even the excitement of getting easy money by fortuitous means. Money is the key to life, the *sine qua non* of the economic man, and to be without it is the primary evil, the hell from which he must escape at all costs. If the State does not in some way provide it, nor agitations and plottings for higher income, then slick hands or quick brains must. H. P. serves well at this state, but it has its limitations. Loaded up with H. P. goods and facilities, the economic man can ride many storms and enjoy a few bursts of grim excitement and grim splendour. Like a saint he fears no evil, and so long as he keeps within bounds he is the darling and prey of the advertisers and H. P. Vendors. But once he skips the traces he becomes a social liability. His latest craze for easy money is share speculation if he is conventional, or sheer daring if he has abandoned convention. Even at the conventional level strings are being pulled and pressures exercised to secure higher incomes, at every social level. Profits, fees and wages are all in the ring as liquid assets. Investment clubs have

opened up new avenues to affluence by assisting their members to spot the financial rivulets which show signs of swelling into rivers, at the public expense. So the mad hunt for cash proceeds, while the level of civilisation gradually falls.

Another outstanding 'rock and roll' adventure is the heavy distribution of reserved profits as bonus shares on top of handsome dividends all along, and the allied high "take over bids" for numerous business concerns. These are but a few examples of the wide range of social plundering that is now taking place in the business life of our country, and that we are expected to accept as the new normality.

This, however, is clear: ultimate effect of these sickening processes of getting and spending money will be to weaken or eliminate those moral and spiritual qualities which enable a nation to play an enlightened and courageous part when grave international crises occur, such as are already foreshadowed in many of the signs of our times.

All the Western states are so completely absorbed by the processes of material expansion, that they are paying scant attention to the implications of such expansion on a world scale. They are all expecting to find unlimited markets for their rising production for long years ahead, without facing the consequences of, say, doubling Western living standards during the next fifteen or twenty years, and rapidly raising those of the under-developed two-thirds of the world's population.

President Eisenhower has stated that American living standards will be doubled in the period named, and Mr. Krushchev has set Russia the task of equalling, if not surpassing, American living standards within the same period. Add to these figures the following, that by 1980 the world's population will have risen to something like 4,000,000,000, while its standard of living will have risen, on the whole, by from 50 to 70 %.

Let it also be remembered that the United States has proved that there is no limit to the multiplication of

wants and desires, and thus to the quantity of clothing, furniture and almost every types of commodity or gadgetry which fashion and advertising can impose upon a community in a materialistic civilisation. This is largely true of food also, since although there is a limit to the amount of food the stomach will hold comfortable, the limits to luxurious and highly concentrated foods is difficult to determine. It takes a bigger acreage to feed 1,000 Americans than it does at present to feed 1,000 Englishmen also to feed the latter than 1,000 Italians, and 1,000 English Middle class than 1,000 working class people, although even that difference is now rapidly declining. Moreover, it takes on the average four or five times more acres to provide a given quantity of nutrition by direct feeding such as grains, fruits, nuts, and vegetables, than by indirect feeding, such as animal food. In England, today, bread consumption is falling rapidly while meat consumption is rising.

In these circumstances it is impossible to estimate the magnitude of the world's demand for food and raw materials in 1980, let alone in 2000. But who is taking cognisance of this situation and relating it to human behaviour, that is, to human need in terms of the good life? Before 1980 is reached something serious is going to happen as a result of these unchecked appetites and demands. But what? I see three possibilities. First to let matters proceed on their own momentum, as at present, and trust to luck. Second, to let them proceed until a more serious crisis arises and then try to call a halt, and Third, face the facts at once and call for an integral social and spiritual revolution here and now.

The consequences of these alternatives demand immediate study and decision. The first course will head straight for "red ruin and the breaking up of laws". for riotous living on the basis of "let us eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die", and internationally for a world war by way of a gigantic struggle for the monopolistic control of the earth's resources wherever they

happen to be, especially between the two Dinosaurs. The fact that the USA has already largely exhausted her own natural resources means that she will make desperate efforts to beat Russia in her bid for favour among all the underdeveloped countries which possess rich natural resources; and out of that rivalry the final, fatal nuclear war could come.

In regard to the second course, the view is widely held in Britain that because the new materialism is now so strongly rooted, the only hope of uprooting it would be to use the occasion of a major economic crisis to try to awaken in the public mind a keen sense of the realities involved in our condition, in the hope of securing a strong body of public opinion in favour of radical changes in our way of life, including our culture.

The third course involves the coming together of all the people who perceive the deeper social and spiritual implications of the materialism that is now spreading like a plague. They would include members of cultural groups, churches, the teaching profession, pacifist groups and lone thinkers everywhere, all of whom in their various ways could exercise enormous pressure upon the Powers that be and upon the soberer and more thoughtful sections of the community. But there must be the definite aim of a cultural revolution which carries with it a transformation in personal values, in outlook and purpose, and in behaviour. That revolution would not be dependent upon political action or Government decisions, and could commence the moment meditation and firm decisions had revealed the urgent necessity for it.

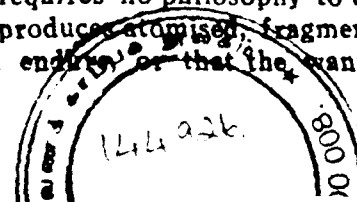
But our vision and plans must reach out to the whole world, for we have now reached a stage in world history when every country is being confronted with the same basic problems and will continue to be for as far as we can see. Unless there exists in all the underdeveloped countries a clear understanding and realisation of all that is involved in accepting Western industrialism: the loss of numerous human rights and spiritual values, the spread of

a devastating materialism, the fragmentation of men's minds and the atomisation of communities and even of families, the emergence and reign of the economic man; the whole world may quickly find itself in the throes of a succession of economic crises, an insensate competition for markets, foodstuffs and a widening range of raw materials, and eventually for armaments. In such conditions the fear of a nuclear war could arise and spread like wild fire.

Accordingly steps should be taken without delay to bring these issues into discussion among all the religious, philosophical and cultural groups throughout the world, with the aim of calling a world cultural conference to consider ways and means of preventing the further encroachment of Western materialism, habits and outlook upon the rest of mankind; of formulating a social and economic order which insures the development of whole persons and whole societies, and a simply stated philosophy of the good life for man as the first step towards establishing spiritual and material values in their right relationships to each other and to the Good Life, and so avoiding the materialistic trends which today threaten the peace and stability of the West.

All the great religions emphasise in one way or another the importance of finding the right relationship between material and spiritual values, between the demands and rights of the natural man and of the whole or spiritual man. It is the right of the whole man to control the conduct of the natural man, to set the limits to self-indulgence and natural desires. I am therefore strongly of opinion that an effective, simply worded philosophy of life, which would also be the philosophy of abundant life, could be produced that would conform with the teaching of all the outstanding world religions and find acceptance by them.

It requires no philosophy to tell us that a civilisation which produces atomised, fragmented mass-man societies cannot endure, or that the wants of the economic man



deliberately inflated by pressure advertising and the temptations of hire-purchase spending, can do other than demoralise buyer and seller alike and eventually bring down the entire social and economic system of which these evils are an integral part. To control advertising to day is to be in a position to control the mass mind for political ends should the need arise.

All greed and all clamouring for bigger shares of wealth by persons, and of consequent natural resources by nations, is aggression, and economic aggression leads inevitably to military aggression. No Summit Conference can change that law, nor can anything, save national policies based on the principle of genuine co-operation in the pursuit of a life of high quality. The supreme crime of the industrial revolution was its cold-blooded rejection of the creative ability of the common man, the talent and genius of hundreds of millions of honest, worthy and aspiring human beings, in the interest of profit and power through quantitative production. Perhaps the best that can be said about them is what was once said of two unfortunate historical characters: "they know not what they do".

The whole world must become ONE, and the secret of oneness is co-operation in a common concept and purpose, the highest welfare of all. The pursuit of spiritual values makes easy the sacrifice of material values when the common good calls for it.

We must all help to bring the world's populations under the influence of a philosophy which constrains man for their own and the social good to restrain desire and mould their lives to simpler patterns. They would then suddenly realise that they were much happier with less, while devoting the over-plus to social ends.

The nature and content of that philosophy can be simply stated, as it so often has been by the outstanding religious seers and teachers of the past. Jesus, the Nazarine carpenter, had the gift of wrapping up a complete

moral and spiritual philosophy in a very few sentences, which theologies and liturgies, unfortunately, have tended to obscure. Consider these simple sentences.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy strength and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself."

"They who lose their lives shall find them."

"I came not that ye might have life but have it more abundantly".

"If ye continue in my word ye shall know the TRUTH, and the TRUTH shall make you free."

It is fitting to add these words of Gandhi: "TRUTH IS GOD and GOD IS TRUTH."

The fundamental law of life is thus all-out self-giving in a self-chosen vocation, prompted by the love of God, of Truth, and of one's neighbour. Such labour fulfils the deepest urges of the soul, and expresses the deepest Truth of one's being. It achieves maximum spiritual growth and maximum service to mankind. The purpose of knowledge is to increase life, achieve self-realisation at higher and higher levels, and the wealth of a wide range of happy human relationships.

But let this fact sink in: the truth of every one of the above injunctions is rationally demonstrable. They were not so, when first uttered, but today they are.

This law of self-giving, translated into international policy would achieve national self-realisation through national and self-giving to the underdeveloped countries, and international co-operation with all nations. The outcome would be a peaceful world.

The foregoing injunctions translated into policies would transform aggressive economics into peace-promoting ones, and open the way to a policy of industrial and social decentralisation as the first step towards the

extension of personal responsibility in industry, to the local economy, and thus to the achievement of a valid democracy.

But how is the break-through from the present order of things to the proposed new order to take place? One thing is certain, it will not take place by any world agreement; there are far too many self-interests involved for that to happen. When big moral and spiritual issues are at stake, the initiative for action must come from private, independent persons or small groups of like-minded people. When some headway has been made, collective and eventually Government action may be possible. Good news quickly spreads, and in due course the first flickers of a world revolution could be seen in many lands.

The question therefore arises: which country, in the circumstances, of today is most likely to make the switch from the materialistic, aggressive, fear-ridden and war promoting way of life of our time to a new creative era of whole, free men, and whole, free societies? The United States? Russia? Britain? or India?



THE TALISMAN:

Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, try the following experiment:

Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will he be able to gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj or self-rule for the hungry and also spiritually starved millions of our countrymen?

Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away.

—M. K. GANDHI

(Continued from page 16)

found working till now in all countries including America and Russia, and they could be controlled in the interest of social progress. He urged all political parties and leaders to give up their sectarian approach and adopt a human attitude which would recognise the democratic values of life. It would be accepted by all that if a new society had to be developed, efforts should be made to prevent centralisation of the type that was taking place in Russia or America. If society were to be organised on a democratic basis there should be basic decentralisation and a minimum of centralisation.

There was a growing feeling among the people. Sri Narayan said, that though Swaraj had come there was no change in their relation to the Government. They were quite indifferent whoever was in power, because they were not trained to take up responsibility. The democracy they had established now was top-heavy. It should be built up from the grass-roots if it was to succeed. Otherwise people would be kept in a condition in which they would be prepared to accept any form of dictatorship. Material prosperity could not be achieved rapidly enough under a democracy and there was the danger of the people saying. "Take away the democracy and give us bread."

In reply to the question why he did not place all his views on the future Indian polity, before the Constituent Assembly, Sri Narayan said that even if he had chosen to give his views, it was very doubtful if he would have expressed the views held by him now. As a socialist then he had belief in the Western form of industrial civilisation.

In regard to the contention that the village could not be an adequate or satisfactory primary unit, Sri Narayan said that it was a hard fact that 80 per cent of the population of India lived in villages and it could not be ignored by the Constitution-makers. He suggested that

the villages which were mere hamlets should be grouped into a primary unit with a population of about ten thousands. The communities should develop voluntarily, attracting professional and technical men to the villages. The new kind of community should not resemble the present cities or villages but should combine in it what was best in both. The cities should be divided into small communities which would develop their own individuality. The cities should become a federation of small corporations.

When his attention was drawn to the failure of the khadi campaign in the villages, Sri Narayan said that it was at present designed only as a supplementary occupation for villages. It did not bring them a full wage. He suggested that improved methods of spinning should be introduced and the campaign should be reintroduced in villages.

Miss S. Vijayalakshmi proposed a vote of thanks.

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Enlightened Revolution

The wisdom of Lawmaking and Parliaments has been applied to creating the most wretched and senseless distribution of property, which mocks alike at human nature and the principles of justice..... The best warrant of a happy outcome lies in free, unrestricted discussion by spoken and written words. This activity has no limits. In this arena truth must always be victor.....Men will feel their situation, and the restraints that shackled them before vanish like a deception. When such a crisis has arrived, not a sword need to be drawn, not a finger to be lifted up in purposes of violence. The adversaries will be too few and too feeble to be able to entertain a serious thought of resistance against the universal sense of mankind.

—W. GODWIN (*Polit. Justice*).
from a collection by Carlyle Potter, England.

Late S. K. George

Devendra Kumar Gupta

SRAMPICAL Kuruvilla George—the apostle of “Sarva Dharma Samanatwa” (equal reverence for all religions) and the founder Secretary of the “Followship of Friends of Truth” breathed his last on the 4th of May at Gandhigram. Only a week earlier the annual general meeting of the FFT was held in his presence and a souvenir volume was presented to him on his sixtieth birthday when many of his friends and admirers had gathered. He was in very bad health, no doubt, and had been invalid for the last two years from a wasting nerve disease, but we never knew that the end would come so soon. His loving wife and crusading companion Mary George had dropped down four and a half months earlier. Still the lone warrior though having lost all faculties of speech or movement was able to perceive and hear what went around him and one could notice a faint glimmer of a smile when something significant was said. His was a life of struggle for truth unalloyed and he suffered all persecutions with a smile that charmed even his adversaries and won his friends and admirers the world over.

Born in a Syrian Christian family of Kerala at Kottayam he grew up in the best of religious tradition and education and was to be an ordained priest but his free enquiry and open mindedness came in the way. He later became a college professor but during Gandhiji's satyagraha movement challenged the Indian Christian church. He issued in 1932 a manifesto entitled ‘India in Travail’ condemning the British Government and appealing to all the Christians to take part in the civil disobedience movement for he pointed out that ‘Gandhiji's satyagraha was Cross in action. For this he had to resign his secure post in the college and he joined Babu's ashram at Sabarmati, and devoted himself to the service of the masses. 1938–39 he spent in Manchester College, Oxford and there he got his book ‘Gandhiji's Challenge to Christianity’ published by the Allen and Unwin, London, with a foreward by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

He believed that the way to the realisation of the kingdom of God on earth is the way of the Cross—that of suffering love. He wanted a christianity liberal and vital. An Indian Christianity linked with India's past and sharing her present travail would give a lead to Christianity not only in India but all over the world.

In 1942 he started an Inter-Religious fellowship in Kerala and wrote a book on Jesus Christ about which Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyyar said, and this he reiterated in the last F. F. T. conference too, that he had learnt more of the real character of Jesus from George than from anyone else.

What better choice could there be for the Vishwa-Bharati than that of George to ask him to take up the C. F. Andrew's Memorial Institute? The story of the Bible was written by George here. He worked in Shantini-ketan till 1950, but left the institution when military training was accepted in its curriculum. He came to Wardha and joined the College of Commerce and was there till 1955. It was during this period that he took up the work of the F. F. T. which had been started under the blessing of Bapu on the following basis:

1. of reverence for all religions, implying thereby a frank acceptance of the fact of variety in man's growing apprehension of truth;
2. of silent worship; and
3. of united brotherly action on non-violent lines.

George had another responsibility during his stay in Wardha. The Madhya Pradesh Government appointed George as one of the six members of the Christian Missionary Activities Commission. The Christian world was up against this nomination of a man who in their view was not a true Christian. The Catholics boycotted the Commission in some places and a case was filed in the Supreme Court of India against the State of Madhya Pradesh. The Commission submitted their report after serving for two years. George has been greatly misunderstood and abused by Christians on account of his membership of this Commission.

He resigned his college duties and went to rest in his village but later joined as editor of 'The Gandhi Marg' but his health was not good and he became practically invalid due to the disease in nerves. The great man is no more to day but his life of truth and words of wisdom will ever act as a beacon light to all seekers of truth.

* The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ

By Late S. K. George.

Price Rupee one. Postage 25 nP.

Write to: Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

India's Great Need

Esme Wynne Tyson, Sussex, England

SINCE his return from China Viscount Montgomery has written a series of articles on his talks with her rulers in the British Sunday Times. In one printed on June 19 he discussed India's difficult position in regard to this large, powerful nation whose greatest power, as he points out, lies in its unification, national and ideological under a determined, convinced leader. Ninety per cent of China's 650 millions, he tells us, firmly believe in Communism. Can Nehru, he asks, provide an ideological answer which will unify his 400 million people and give them a sense of purpose as strong as that of the Chinese?

As Rene Fulop-Miller showed so clearly in his book, LENIN AND GANDHI, there is just one answer to Leninist or Marxist Communism, and that is Gandhism, since these terms stand for the eternal antithesis, the material versus the spiritual hypothesis. Therefore in departing from some of the most fundamental rules of Gandhism Prime Minister Nehru has most unfortunately abandoned the one ideology that can be successfully opposed to Communism, and, with it, a purpose strong enough to bind those together who believe that man's destiny is to be something more than a hard-working social insect. Even while Bapu walked the earth, Nehru was said to have been shocked by, and uncommitted, to his essential discipline of *brahmacharya* from which *ahimsa* and *satyagraha* stemmed. And that is why he finds himself today helpless before the vital over population problem, and only able to suggest the degrading panacea of the materialistic West--artificial birth control, instead of advocating Gandhiji's dignified evolutionary method of self-control and voluntary abstinence. Again, his political departure from the policy of *ahimsa* made it obvious to thoughtful watchers in the West that he was abandoning the one answer to scientific materialism, i. e. the spiritual hypothesis; the conviction that man is essentially a spiritual being who should be occupied not with revolution but with evolution, or the shedding of his animal nature, and that compassion, non-violence, purity and spirituality should replace utilitarianism, violence, animalism and materialism. But the general public of both East and West are never taught these things which were

discovery of 35 full time local workers. The groups are made up of two or three workers from outside joined with as many local people as possible. Each group operates in a ward and usually a place for the night and food is found in that ward. Mid-week reports revealed good response in most cases, where good local workers have been found. Part-time volunteers are being found to collect the grain from the Sarvodaya Paatras. They are being called-Friends of Sarvodaya. A few workers are coming forward. In one area where mill workers live—a labour colony of 10,000 very well constructed by the I. N. T. U. C. there is a very good response.

The news that Vinoba is coming to Indore opens every group and association to Sarvodaya workers. There is a keen desire to know what it is all about and what is involved in becoming a Sarvodaya Nagar (city). The main fear expressed in all quarters is that Indore will respond to Vinoba, give him a tremendous welcome, accept the Sarvodaya Paatra etc., but that it will only be superficial and after Vinoba has gone life will revert to normal.

It is a great opportunity for Indore which should not be missed, and it is a splendid opportunity for the movement to have Vinoba's attention, concentrated on the needs of the city and on the problem of industrial life.

There will be opposition and already few people have started a *Makan Dan* (Building Gift) movement in rather a bad spirit. They are demanding that rented houses should become the property of the occupants. But on the whole there is general goodwill and co-operation from all sections of the people.



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A Sampatti-dan from England

MR. S. Carlyle Potter, 42, Crescent Road, Kingston-on-Thames, England is one of our esteemed readers of *Sarvodaya* in England. He wrote to us a few months ago that he was pleased with our magazine and enquired us if we would accept any gift for purchase of land for the landless as he has no land in India, to offer. We replied that we could accept gifts as *Sampattidan* for helping the poor beneficiaries of Bhoodan with wells, agricultural implements, etc. We were surprised to receive recently a cheque for £200 (Rs. 2656) from Mr. Carlyle Potter with the following letter:

"I would like you to earmark this sum for sinking wells or buying seed, half and half or if one is more urgent than the other say £125 and £75. I leave to you and your friends to apportion..... I don't merit much thanks for my gift as I have had a legacy or have plenty for my simple needs."

Along with his letter he sent us his two old publications (now out of print) for reproduction in *Sarvodaya* or reprinting. One of the books is "*Reflections on Political Justice*" being selections from the writings of William Godwin. One of these is given in this issue of *Sarvodaya*.

The other is "*For Liberty*" containing quotations from the world's thinkers like Kropotkin, Herbert Spencer, Godwin, Bakunin, Thomas Paine, Bernard Shaw, Shelley, Chesterton, J. S. Mill, Proudhon and numerous others on Government, Political power and democracy, freedom, co-operation and Society without Government. All these quotations are well arranged under seven chapters. They emphatically condemn the power and co-ercive force of the State and the party politics and eloquently plead for a society without the coercion of State based on individual freedom of man and voluntary co-operation.

This is a typical letter from many of our foreign readers of *Sarvodaya* who have been more attracted by the ideal of *Loka Niti* as against *Raja Niti* and by the ideal of a *Sarvodaya* Society without the coercive force of the State, which are implied in Bhoodan Gramdan movement.



THE Fourth Sarvodaya Conference of Tamilnad was held at Padiyur near Tirupur on the 11th and 12th June. This is one of the few oldest traditional centres of spinning. Thousands of Charkhas were discovered to be plying here even in the early stages of the Khadi movement. This is a chronic famine area where nature is cruelly testing the people by denial of even normal rains for years together. In spite of this over 10,000 village spinners in the area contributed at as. 4 each as a token of acceptance of the Sarvodaya ideal which was printed in the receipts issued to them. This is an unique and admirable feature. The Conference was inaugurated by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan on the 11th. It was presided over by Sri K. Arunachalam. Two Ministers of Madras State, Sri Kunrakkudi Adigalar and Sri Sivagnana Gramani addressed the conference.

After the inauguration by Sri Jayaprakash, the first day's proceedings were more like an extension of the Symposium held at Madras on J. P.'s. "Reconstruction of Indian Polity". On the second day, the workers discussed in groups the various problems and the new programme for the year. The following five-fold programme was decided. (i) Distribution of Bhoodan land (ii) 3 lakhs of Sarvodaya paatras and 3 lakhs of yarn hanks as token of acceptance of the Sarvodaya ideal and collection of Rs. 10/- each from the urban friends of Sarvodaya (iii) mass pada yatras and (iv) work for model Sarvodaya society in an area of 5 lakhs of population (v) intensive sales of Sarvodaya Literature and magazines in the Sarvodaya Literature (11-18 September) campaign.

Talks on Sarvodaya in Germany

Dr. T. R. Anantharaman of Bangalore and Smt. Hema Anantaraman are now in Germany. Dr. Anantaraman along with his research work at the Max Planck Institute for metal at Stuttgart is giving many lectures on Sarvodaya, Gita and the Upanishads. He has already given 15 talks and 4 jointly with Smt. Hema in Stuttgart and other places. The audience everywhere has shown the greatest interest in the Sarvodaya movement by putting numerous questions. Dr. Anantaraman has been interviewed by the Press and the Radio on Sarvodaya. In both the places the question was put to him as to why, a scientist like him is so much interested in religion and philosophy. Dr. Anantaraman writes that it is a pity that the West

continues to think in terms of opposition or contradiction between science and spirituality and that he is trying to explain to them Baba's famous equations: *Science + Spirituality = Sarvodaya*, (2) and *Science - Spirituality = Sarvanash or total destruction*.

International Camp at Visvaneedam

An International Students' Sarvodaya Camp was organised under the auspices of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Bangalore, in Vishvaneedam from the 15th May to 4th June. 45 students attended. Among those from outside were one from Austria, one from Switzerland and four from Africa. Almost all were University students. The daily programme consisted of about three hours of manual labour about 4 hours of study, discussions, lectures and village visits etc. Some of the main topics discussed were: Work Camps, their place in the development of the country; Gandhian ideology-its influence on Society; Bhoodan Gramdan Movement; Sarvodaya ideology etc. Sri K. C. Reddy, Sri Morarji Desai, Prof. Yamunacharya, Sri Vallabhaswamy, Sri Krishna Sharma, Dr. Behenan, Sri B. D. Jatti, Dr. Susila Nayar, Sri T. Ramachandra, delegates from Israel and a few foreign scholars residing in the area were among the principal guests and speakers. The Y. M. C. A., and other organisations in Bangalore extended their help. Sri Cherian Thomas was in charge of the camp.

Sarvodaya Yatra in Kerala

In 44 taluks of Kerala 72 batches did pada yatra from 1st to 15th May. There was a seminar at Trichur on 16th May. Sri E. Ikkanda Warriar presided. It was resolved to make prohibition a success in all parts of Kerala. A prohibition committee was formed.

Sri Kelappan stressed the aim of the seminar and said: "This Sarvodaya foot-march has awakened the public of Kerala. Though we have to solve each and every problem, we should give more attention to prohibition. At the same time we have to awaken the non-violent *Jana Sakti* of the people. The Sarvodaya workers must give greater importance to truth and justice than to civil disobedience." The yatra parties sold Sarvodaya literature for Rs. 2246 enlisted 348 subscribers for Bhoodan Kahalam, installed 5000 Sarvodaya paatras, formed 185 Sarvodaya friends-groups and 11 prohibition committees during the fortnight.

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SARVODAYA IN TOWNS AND CITIES

THE entry of Vinobaji in the city of Indore on 24th July last has focussed the attention of the country on the new programme of creating model cities of Sarvodaya. Vinobaji's sole programme in Indore till the end of August is to make it a model city of Sarvodaya. He was given a tremendous welcome by the people as he entered Indore.

Vinobaji appeals to the people to give an indication of the earnestness of their desire for the peace and welfare of all by installation of Sarvodaya patra in each home. Every home will offer as much of grain as the handful of the smallest child daily for the maintenance of the workers who dedicate themselves for the service and the peace of the city. He has appealed to the people to maintain the city clean and take up the work of cleaning themselves.

Even as Vinobaji was appealing for one sixth of the land from every landowner for the landless and part of the earnings as Sampatti-dan, now he appeals to every businessman to offer one-sixth of the monthly expenses of his home for maintaining the peace workers.

Besides the Sarvodaya patra and the duty of making Indore a clean city he has placed a five-fold programme.

1. Part-payment of the salaries of all workers in the form of grains.

2. The consideration of taking over the management and control of all educational institutions from the Government;

3. Agreement among political parties for a common programme of municipal welfare on a non-party basis.

4. The heart-search by every individual as to how far he is a party to the exploitation of others and changing his way of life to achieve the end of all exploitation itself.

5. Contribution of a part of their monthly family expenses for Sarvodaya workers as Sampatti-dan by the business people.

The programme that Vinobaji has laid for Indore city is equally applicable for all the small and big urban centres in the whole country and it is now for the Sarvodaya workers to concentrate on this urban programme to make every town, small or big emulate the model city of Indore which Vinobaji is striving to create. ★

Jesus, The Greatest Economist of His Time

Mahatma Gandhi

I VENTURE to think that the scriptures of the world are far safer and sounder treatises on the laws of economics than many of the modern text-books. The question we are asking ourselves ... is not a new one. It was addressed of Jesus two thousand Years ago. St. Mark has vividly described the scene. Jesus is in his solemn mood. He is earnest. He talks of eternity. He knows the world about him. He is himself the greatest economist of his time. He succeeded in economizing time and space—he transcends them. It is to him at his best that one comes running, kneels down, and asks:

“Good Master, What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?”

And Jesus said unto him:

“Why callest thou me Good? There is none good but one, that is God. Thou knowest the Commandments. Do not commit adultery. Do not kill, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness. Defraud not, Honour Thy Father and Mother.”

And he answered and said unto him;

“Master, all these have I observed from my youth.”

The Jesus beholding him loved him and said unto him;

“One thing thou lackest. Go thy way, sell whatever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven—come, take up the cross and follow me.”

And he was sad at that saying and went away grieved—for he had great possession. And Jesus looked round about and said unto the disciples:

“How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God”.

And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and said unto them:

“Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!”

Here you have an eternal rule of life stated in the noblest words the English language is capable of producing. But the disciples nodded unbelief as we do to this day. To him they said as we say today :

"But look how the law fails in practice. If we sell and have nothing, we shall have nothing to eat. We must have money or we cannot even be reasonably moral."

So they state their case thus. And they were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves; 'who then can be saved'. And Jesus looking upon them said;

"With men it is impossible, but not with God, for with God, all things are possible".

Then Peter began to say unto him;

"Lo, we have left all, and have followed thee".

And Jesus answered and said :

"Verily I say unto you, there is no man that has left house or brethren or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children or lands for my sake and Gospels but he shall receive one hundredfold, now in this time houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and land, and in the world to come, eternal life. But many that are first shall be last and the last, first."

You have here the result or reward, if you prefer the term, of following the law. I have not taken the trouble of copying similar passages from the other non-Hindu scriptures Perhaps the strongest of all the testimonies in favour of the affirmative answer to the question before us are the lives of the greatest teachers of the world ... Jesus, Mahomed, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramakrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over, and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot. ★

(From the Navajivan booklet "What Jesus Means to me"
—Price 35 nP.—available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.

Dacoits and their Surrender

Acharya Vinoba

FOR the last 9 years I have been carrying on *pada-yatra* in different parts of the country. I am sure you know that presently I am coming from what is called as the dacoit-infested area. You are well aware with dacoits - their nature, their method of working, their cruelty and how they rob and ruin. For, I was told by the local shop-keeper that dacoits came here recently in broad day light, remained from nine till twelve and during this brief period of three hours they took away two lakhs of rupees by dint of threats. I was also told that the police slipped away at that time. Dacoits have done such deeds at various places. But recently when I was in the Bhind-Morena districts, twenty of them came to me. By God's grace, their attitude was changed and they surrendered their arms before me.

One of them lived in Bombay. His name is Lachchi whose head carried a prize. He had amassed a lot of money and was residing safely in Bombay. The police could never catch hold of him. But when he learnt that a Baba had come to ask the dacoits to detract from their wrong path and adopt the right course, he decided to leave Bombay for good. Others who surrendered lived in the area where I was moving. My co-workers had met them and given them the message of peace. But Lachchi had come from Bombay. None had approached him. And he was regarded as very dangerous. He went straight to his home one day and then saw me next day together with his wife and children.

In the heart of every man dwelt the spark of the divine. Therefore, the dacoits of to day can be the saints of tomorrow. One meets such instances in the lives of Chaitanya, Nanak and others. This phenomenon is possible in these days also, in what is known as *Kali-Yug*.

Conversion of Dacoits

Strange observations are being made about the recent surrender. Some people say that the dacoits have surrendered either because certain concessions would have been

promised to them or because they would have felt demoralised on account of police oppression. Such views are held because man feels within himself that what is not possible with him is not possible with others too. He wonders when his own heart is not changed and he cannot renounce his evil ways, how others can. But he fails to grasp the simple truth that the inner voice fashions the world without. There is the famous case of Tukaram who spent first 21 years of his life as a householder. Then his wife passed away and he had to undergo many hardships. But today Tukaram is worshipped in every home of Maharashtra. He has become one with God. People may say that Tukaram took to *sanyas* and attained salvation because he had to suffer a lot. But they ignore the obvious that there are people who have suffered ten times as much and yet they are entrenched in the meshes of the world. Assuming for the moment, however, that Tukaram's was not a realised soul and that vicissitudes of fortune drove him towards God, likewise it can be assumed that oppression and torture turned the dacoits towards me. Thus if misery leads to atonement of sins, it does not lessen the value of the latter. Suppose, again, somebody's son is dead and he renounces his life of pleasure and luxury. One may say that his son's death altered the course of his life but virtually he has not changed. Be it as it may, but this attitude is of little avail to anybody. It has no meaning.

The cause of this cold reasoning is that to day we do not really want any good thing to happen. We, therefore, do not like to place our trust in anything. This is so not because our heart is bad, but because our worldly experience has hit us hard.

I believe that the heart of the dacoits has truly been converted. Their surrender is real, though it may be because of their realisation that theirs was a wretched or dog like existence. It cannot be gainsaid that the people have been relieved from the atrocities at least at the hands of those who have surrendered. It is the grace of God.

To whom should Credit go ?

The credit for all that has come to pass in the Chambal region must go to God cent per cent. But if this credit is to be distributed, then the major share must go to those dacoits who surrendered. Next come the police who made this possible. For they could easily stop this thing from materialising if they so chose. Thirdly, there are also devoted comrades and co-workers who went into the thick of the jungles at the risk of their life and conveyed the mission to them. Lastly, therein is my little self which deserves one Naya Paisa of credit. No more! And that too I have surrendered at the feet of God, whereafter I have come to Rajasthan as a free man.



Money and Robbery

Just think over that you parted with two lakhs of rupees within three hours on account of fear. Had you kept this money in a bank you would not have lost it like this. You lost it because you locked it in your boxes. Kabir, of immortal memory, has sung that when there is water in the boat and money in the house, wisdom demands that you should cast it out by both the hands. As it is dangerous to have the water in the boat it is dangerous to keep money within the house. Money must remain with the society. When there is more of it in the house, you must donate it generously by both the hands. Instead of enclosing it in bones, wealth should be utilised for developing different types of industries in the society.

These days jewellery has crushed our womenfolk and made them cowards and slaves. They do not regard them as chains because they are made of gold. But if instead of making jewels or ornaments you had used the money for building bunds or wells, could the dacoits have taken it away? Had they desired to run away with the harvest worth ten thousand rupees they would have required a number of carts to load it. But money requires no conveyance. It may be easily robbed away.

Fear and Tyranny

When I was in that area a man came to me crying. He carried a letter from a dacoit that he should pay the latter a sum of three thousand, otherwise he would be killed. He expressed his helplessness to me as he had spent seven to eight thousand rupees for his daughter's marriage. I asked him not to worry and inquired of him whether he regarded the dacoit to be more powerful than God and whether it was possible for him to die without God's will. He could die only if his *prarabdh* (fate) has destined. It is on this faith that I move about fearlessly in the country. Should anybody cut me into two, both of my pieces would go on moving. But I would die only when my *prarabdh* would come to a close.

We should cast off all fear. The tyranny of the tyrants will continue as long as we are afraid of death. The soul never dies. This is the great truth taught by the Vedanta in India, but has not materialised in life. I am not at all interested in that I should ask anybody to protect himself against any dacoit or that I should try to reclaim any dacoit. I told the dacoits that they would not be subjected to torture and that they would get justice.

Tahsildar 'Singh's mother came to me. She was in tears. She asked me whether Tahsildar Singh's life would be saved. I replied, "Tahsildar Singh would not die until his *Prarabdh* did not end." I declared the same in my public meeting. But the press reporters omitted the word 'until' and reported that Vinoba held that Tahsildar Singh would not die. I regret this omission on their part. I always say that death is in God's hands alone and that is why I am not interested in the cancellation of anybody's death sentence. God has decentralised many activities. But this one—of man's age—He has kept in His exclusive charge.

Well, you may harbour fear of certain things, but not this fear of death. It must go. I explained this thing to

* son of the well-known dacoit chief, called Man Singh.

the dacoits. Now you of this village have got an experience of a certain conduct of the dacoits. I have got an experience of another kind — of their atonement and surrender. I told them that they must confess all crimes that they had done and refute what they had not. They promised me to do so. Their trial would determine their success. It is all in God's hands.



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My Army

Acharya Vinoba

I HAVE an army of 30,000. Though the number of soldiers in the national army is as high as 5 lakhs, our army, in spite of its numerical handicap, is stronger than the armed forces. It is their devotion to selfless service that has enhanced the power and prestige of the army of constructive workers. And if we can impart proper training to our militia, they would give still better account of their work.

Some say that our workers are mercenary. I consider this charge to be absolutely baseless. Nobody can work without food and they who have got families to be looked after, should be given the means by which their families could be maintained. They who come to us come with a great deal of good intention. Even the highest type of Yogi requires something to eat. If calculated, it would be seen that the Khadi workers, even if some of them have to take a bit more to maintain their families, do not on the whole get any exorbitant emoluments.

When I used to work in the ashram, I was fortunate to have the protection of one big personality who used to travel widely and give publicity to my work. I did not have contact with any outsider. The great soul used to send people to me. It was due to his grace that I used to get enough strength without moving about in various places. Likewise, the workers sitting in a particular place and serving within a particular area need the help of moving-workers.

Three types of Workers:

I am moving about and propagating an idea. Now one might come to me and ask if any concrete work is being done anywhere according to my plan. In that case what should I reply? Should I say that ours is only an ideal—an Utopia? No, we should have some substantial thing with

us to experience our pattern of education. I can ask him to join my 'padayatra'. But that is not enough. There should be some centres where Talim is methodically imparted and where its inner spirit and philosophy has come to the surface. Therefore, the moving workers need the help of stationary workers. It is also necessary that some workers though stationary would occasionally move about and the moving workers sometimes take up a compact area and work within that limit. We want some such moving-cum-stationary workers also. If the work of the stationary workers is not given proper publicity, then it would gradually fade out. Hence, we need moving workers. Similarly, stationary workers are also essential so that the idea propagated is visible through some concrete work. There is also need for some moving-cum-stationary workers. Thus, in all, we require, three types of workers.

No party possesses such a vast army today. The various parties have no doubt, their workers, but they are meant for working in the elections or on such other occasions. None of them have such a standing army of workers, ready to serve all the twenty-four hours. If anybody else can claim to have such an army of workers, it is the Government; but their army lacks the strong bond of brotherhood so markedly evident in us. They have got official tie alone. Ours is not only a fellowship of brotherhood, if we ponder a bit we will find that we are colleagues working for a common goal with love and mutual affection as our guides.

Gandhiji's Scale:

Amongst the many things that I learnt from Gandhiji, his emphasis on seeing the good qualities of others and finding fault only with one's own self have cast a deep impact on me. He used to say that we should magnify our shortcomings and belittle those of others. I wanted to know as to why I should have such a distorted view of things and not see everything in its proper perspective. He clarified his stand with the help of an illustration and

said, "While drawing a map one needs to fill up some scale. This scale in a particular case might be say, 1"-17". Now in a map drawn according to this scale what would you consider the one inch on the map? Surely you will have to accept it as seventeen inches. What we actually do is-to magnify the little faults of others and exaggerate our small virtue. Therefore, he wanted that we should both be little other peoples' fault and our virtue. This scale of observation suggested by Gandhiji should be the guide for our workers.

I often say that everybody's life can be compared with a building. There are walls and doors and windows in a building. Even the poorest man must have one door in his hut. And the rich might keep innumerable doors and windows in his mansion, but there must be some walls also. The proportion of walls might vary from building to building but there must be some opening in every house. And if our purpose is to get into the house, we must approach the door. But if we try to enter the room through the walls, we are sure to face a headlong collision. The evil in man is the wall and the virtue is the door.

If you intend to get access to the life of others through the faults, then a crash is evident. On the other hand, if you choose the path of virtue, then you would definitely enter into his life and touch his heart. We should keep ourselves aloof from the evils of all and see that their virtues are brought to play. Thus we and through us the entire society would be benefitted from their virtue.

Courtesy—Amrita Bazaar Patrika, Calcutta.

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A Retrogressive Bill

Esme Wynne-Tyson, Sussex, England.

THE Report made in Indian Opinion (April 15th) on the passing of the Prevention of cruelty to Animals Bill in the Rajya Sabha, New Delhi has just come to my notice. It reads:

"Two major changes which the Minister for Food and Agriculture, Mr. S. K. Patil, accepted in the Bill, as reported by a joint committee of Parliament, were designed to allay any apprehension on the part of Muslims that the Bill would interfere with their religious beliefs. By the first change the House deleted the Clause enabling the proposed Animal Welfare Board to take measures 'whether by means of propaganda or otherwise, to eliminate the sacrifice of animals'. Mr. Patil also introduced a new clause which made it clear that the killing of any animal in a manner required by the religion of any community would not be an offence under the Act. ... On the question of experiments on animals for scientific purposes, Mr. Patil assured that the proposed committee to control such experiments ... *would not interfere with the research.*" This last sentence means that the land of Gandhiji, once known and revered for its humaneness, is now capitulating to the scientific demands, which are already dehumanizing the West, and agreeing to practise the barbarities considered necessary to so-called 'progress'.

The Report in Indian Opinion is headed, CONCESSIONS MADE TO THE SENTIMENTS OF MUSLIMS, and the assurances made in the Bill that Islam's religious practices will not be opposed might seem to exemplify the tolerance towards other religions upon which the Hindus have always prided themselves. But surely there is a limit to toleration? Cannibals by religious conviction still exist in this world, but if they came to countries under civilised governments they would most certainly not be allowed to practice their 'sacrificial rites'. Why, then, should India, who has been so recently reminded

by Gandhiji that the true meaning of animal sacrifice, which has been perverted and materialised by the priest-hoods, is the annulment or 'slaying' of the animal instincts, such as greed, lust and treachery, within man, give permission to the continuance of this primitive, barbaric custom? To do so is to return to a concept that the civilised man has long outgrown, and to prevent that spiritual evolution which Gandhiji, like other great thinkers, believed to be the one aim of human life, for without the saving grace of compassionate love, it is impossible for man to evolve to a higher species. We have only to turn to pages 196-197 of his book, MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH to know how the Father of the Indian Nation felt about animal sacrifices. There he describes the stream of sheep going to be offered up to Kali-(and this without the 'humane killer' insisted upon by the conscience of even non-religionists in the West). He writes that, at the temple, "we were greeted by rivers of blood. I could not bear to stand there ... To my mind the life of a lamb is no less precious than that of a human being ... I hold that, the more helpless a creature, the more entitled it is to protection by man from the cruelty of man ... It is my constant prayer that there may be born on earth some great spirit, man or woman, fired with divine pity, who will deliver us from this heinous sin, save the lives of the innocent creatures, and purify the temple."

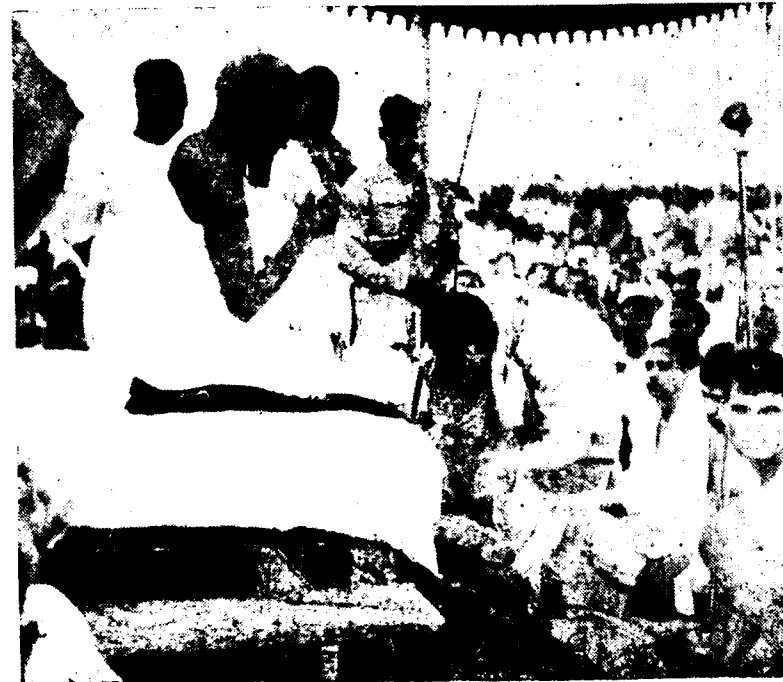
Surely not just one person, but all the humanitarians in India should demand that a practice, which is a disgrace and shame to their government and country, should come to an end?

It is significant that it was an orthodox Hindu, a man who had evidently been trained into irreverence for life by the priestly sacrifices made to Kali, who assassinated what some of us consider to have been the greatest and most evolved man of this century, thus confirming the constant argument of western humanitarians, that unless it applies the rule of *Ahimsa* to the lesser creatures, mankind can never be trusted to preserve and respect the life of its own species.

If India is ever to assume the spiritual leadership of humanity which, in Gandhiji's lifetime, she seemed likely to do, she must insist on the law of *Ahimsa*, which is really the practice of the Golden Rule to which all religions give lip service, being practised within her borders.



The Miracle of Chambal valley



The dacoit, Teg Singh is surrendering himself and the arms to Acharya Vinobaji.

Who Will Speak?

This was received from Mr. Erick S. Hansch, Director of Portland Extension of the Henry George School of Social Science, Oregon, U. S. A., as an introduction to his special article under the title - "The Indian Village Economy—The Germ for India's Bright and Happy Future" published in the Sarvodaya of June 1960.

In this atomic tyranny
Of blood and brains, who frames his speech
To leave both friend and foe so free
That manhood is evoked in each?

Who, in this bewildered hour
Of barbed intellect and strife,
Can act out of the heart's full power,
Can forge and wield the fine-edged knife

Of steeled and tempered consciousness,
To utter words so true and sharp
That they can cut the emptiness,-
Can pierce, like tones plucked from a harp,

This stagnant moil of reeking air,
This farce of unreality,
That dupes the peoples to despair
And soddens their humanity?

Who can aim the heart's blade true
And cleave the tawdry veil asunder,
With all his human stature, who
Can speak with lightning and with thunder,-

Can walk erect, wide-eyed with death,
And waking foil the wraiths of terror,
Can summon thoughts with living breath
To grapple with the hords of error?

And when the faithful are accused,
The wise deserted and denied,
When the humble are abused,
The free beset from every side,

Who will speak in such an hour,
Who, in the face of shame and death,
Will act out of the heart's full power,
Speak the truth with living breath?

Arvia MacKaye Ege.
(from *Journeyman's Almanac*, 1958)

My Experiments In the Art of Living.

(XVI) Is America Equipped for World Moral Leadership?

Wilfred Wellock, England.

TODAY mankind awaits the moral leadership of a great nation. Is any nation spiritually big enough to give it? Is America?

The two Dinosaurs are engaged in a two-fold titanic struggle for world leadership - in the military and the economic fields. Russia believes she has succeeded in the former field, and hopes to achieve an equal success in the latter. In this situation she would like America to agree to the abandonment of the military conflict, even to the extent of total disarmament, but since she has openly declared that her ultimate aim in achieving world economic leadership is world communism, there is little likelihood that the U. S. A. will agree to this proposal. The paramountcy of the ideological clash between these two Powers is a fatal stumbling block to their belief in each other's sincerity.

To judge from Russia's big advances in industrial output, and from her achievements in the field of nuclear armaments, it is not unreasonable to suppose that she may in due course raise her living standards to America's levels and even exceed them. Should that happen she will parade the fact all over the world and emphasise its importance with the sole intent of bringing the whole world into the Communist orbit.

At this moment the two Dinosaurs are dogging each other's footsteps in every area of the under developed world, to establishing friendly, co-operative relationships and a degree of appreciation of and respect for their respective social and economic systems.

It is therefore clear that the Krushchev switch from military to economic rivalry takes the nations not one step nearer to world unity and world peace. Instead, it is causing both Dinosaurs to intensify their search for the perfect, nuclear killer and destroyer of a civilisation.

The only alternative to international suicide is a civilisation with a spiritual content and with the whole man at its centre, to supersede the economic, fragmented mass-man of our time.

At present, the chief obstacle to America's moral leadership of mankind is FEAR, fear of Russia or, more precisely, of her communism. No other Western country fears communism to the same degree. We have nothing to compare with it in Britain, probably because there exists in Britain a belief, or feeling that in the worst of cases a workable understanding with Russia could be reached. This belief is being strengthened by the speed with which Britain's Colonial Empire is being liquidated.

Contrary to the view generally held in the United States, the quality of American democracy is not as high as is supposed. For example, America's foreign policy is primarily determined by a group of prosperous Senators, together with a group of the heads of America's big financial corporations which have the ear of every American Government. In this small power-group lies the hub of American foreign policy, and besides it American democracy is impotent, and often bewildered. With the aid of the press, the fear of communism which paralyses the mind of the Pentagon, is successfully carried to the base of American politics.

It is the fear of the loss of this immense financial-political power, which is tantamount to a modified dictatorship, that is the chief determinant of Russo-American relationships. The above-named group stands in sharp even fierce, opposition to the small group which controls policy in communist Russia. A victory to either group, would mean the downfall of the other group. That is the crucial issue.

The world has not been able to understand the reason for the immense power that was conceded to Joseph McCarthy but a few years ago. It has latterly been revealed

that McCarthy was a monster of egoism, bluff and ignorance, and that with few exceptions his "cases" were fantastic shams. He got away with them for the reason that a rabid fear of communism reigned in high places. While McCarthy's campaign was raging, I was travelling from state to state on a lecture tour, and I shall never forget the state of frenzy which I witnessed everywhere. Many people were genuinely, indeed seriously alarmed. They spoke to me in whispers, privately. Suspicion was everywhere rife. Radicalism of the most moderate order was a public peril. Hence the almost complete lack of opposition to McCarthy's madness. If I had not witnessed these things I should have found it hard to believe that they did or could happen. I now know that they can occur again and given certain conditions, will.

I have pondered this McCarthy episode very much, because it deeply disturbed me. I tried to find the reason for its happening, and to some extent I think I succeeded. The first thing I was sure about was that it was due to the tremendous emphasis that is placed on the material aspects of America's civilisation, and more or less from the apex to the base of American society, although it is most powerful at the top. One does not need to look very deep to discover that the right of a tiny minority of people to make unlimited sums of money by whatever business they take up, and thereby to determine not their own lives only but those of many, many millions of people in humble circumstances, including industrial workers is the primary right or value of democracy. Also I am convinced that this condition arises from the unique nature of her history. No other country has had such a history. She started from scratch, and built up her civilisation mainly with immigrants from Europe. They came from many countries and mainly were a very mixed crowd: people who were running away from trouble, sometimes of their own making, sometimes from religious or political persecution; people who were in extreme poverty and were ready to take a chance in another country; others who felt like making an adventure. Then, as people

succeeded in making a living, and later a better living, they sent letters back home, which brought immigrants of a different type, who had some prospect of making good. And so it went on. The people who "struck oil" usually stayed where they were, those who didn't moved on until they also met with success. So the Trek West began which has continued to this day. It is now petering out in the forests of Oregon, where the lumber industry is being carried on in much the same spirit as in the early pioneering period.

Now this was a long process, and in it the major aim was first to make a living, and then to make a fortune. But as wealth increased, the settlers began to think about other things than making money. They built churches and schools, and it is interesting to find almost everywhere in America that colleges are religious foundations, denominational institutions, although they are now all or almost open to receive students of any denomination. But the desire to make a pile of money rarely abated, nor has it done since to any great extent.

My first visit to America was in 1926. I was on a lecture tour, and there is no better way of getting under the skin of a people than talking to them and listening to their comments and questions in public meetings. In 1926 America was the land of the "almighty dollar". I had never before experienced a cash atmosphere. But here it was, and it intrigued me. People loved to talk about money, even to tell one how much they had made, also how and where. Their stories were of exploits which they had enjoyed, and the great Trek West was full of them. It was an interesting experience.

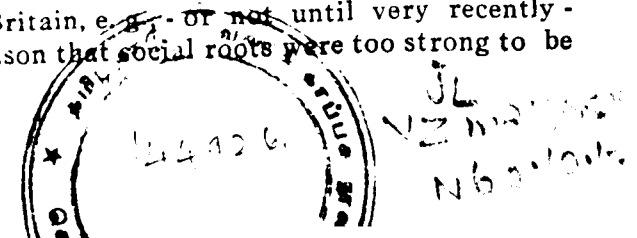
My second visit was exactly twenty years later. But what a change! The dollar was still important, indeed, more important than ever, but nobody boasted about it. The pursuit of it was keener than ever, but not for the pleasure of getting it nor for making a fortune, but because they had needs for it. The American people had entered, the era of an expanding economy, and of the spenders

paradise, free from the restraints of a narrow puritanism. The new materialism was in full swing.

America is now demonstrating that there is no limit to the multiplication of wants and desires, if the other nations would but take heed! To an outsider, American habits appear to be very extravagant. They did to me until I began to see them copied here in Britain. To what lengths these habits will go before a halt is called - if, that is, extravagance is not to lead to degradation and death - one cannot say, although the very high death-rate from coronary thrombosis is causing a large number of people to cut down their intake of rich foods, especially fatty foods. Other diseases also are being related to articles of diet. Certain it is that the American people are scared by the view of many doctors that American food is lacking in vitamins, whence they are taking fabulous quantities of a wide variety of vitamins in tabloid form, mostly synthetic.

One can also say that in thinking circles the need for restraint in all manner of spending is keenly recognised and persistently exercised. One hears on every hand in thickly populated urban areas expressions of discontent with the rush of American life, its fever to get money and its urge to spend it, and of longing to have done with it all and to live in peace and quietness. It is possibly the growth of such discontent and such longings, that will bring salvation.

Another factor that leads to a sense of restlessness and dissatisfaction is the lack of social roots. The long pioneering period, together with the upheavals of the Industrial Revolution, caused a tremendous amount of labour migration, a process that has characterised American life ever since. In every area of the United States, when one or more industries fall off and cause a labour surplus, numbers of people leave immediately to go to areas where labour is required. That habit has never taken root in Britain, ~~or not~~ or not until very recently - and for the reason that social roots were too strong to be easily torn up.



At the same time as I can testify from my American experiences, there is a widespread longing for deeper social roots in the United States. It is thus a factor that may tell in favour of a fundamental change in the character of American civilisation, once that issue comes into open discussion as a result of social tendencies which threaten the country's integrity and stability.

Another disintegrating factor I have observed is the falling off of home gardening. In 1926 I found beautiful home gardens almost everywhere. People were proud of them and enjoyed gardening as a hobby. But during my two visits in the fifties I was not only surprised but disappointed to discover that home gardening had almost completely gone out. 'Backyards', as they are called, had been transformed into rough lawns, and hardly a flower or vegetable was to be seen. The car had a great deal to do with this. The first physical effect of car driving is to lose the habit and the desire to walk, and the second, apparently, is to lose the habit and desire to tend a garden. I regard this change as at least a minor spiritual calamity.

It may be that the new habit, now almost universal, of eating canned and frozen vegetables has had something to do with the decline in home gardening. But here again I was distressed to see the passing of the art of preparing food for the pot and the table by stream-lining it from the field to the canning factory or the "deep-freeze", thence to the Super-market and finally to the kitchen shelf. I contemplated the number of chemicals that might have gone into the food on that mysterious journey, first in the soil, then by sprays, later by preservatives, and later still by way of vitamin tablets, mostly synthetic, which most Americans appear to believe are necessary to rescue them from a physical condition in which a considerable percentage of the population are doomed to undergo a major surgical operation sooner or later. Indeed the American health chart provides data for serious study. No other nation is so heavily drugged, while the fear of a major surgical operation is almost as powerful and as widespread

as the fear of communism. A famous American psychiatrist informed me that the consumption of drugs in the United States had now reached a level that was causing alarm even among drug manufacturers. It is generally accepted in America that frozen food retains all its vital qualities, but it is my experience that it lacks the full flavour of fresh, organically grown food. The difference could be due to the use of chemical fertilisers. The subject is so important that it deserves careful investigation.

These facts sent my mind back to such matters as walking, and cooking, and to the healing and recuperative power of using one's limbs, doing and making things with one's hands, even preparing, and growing, vegetables. If I stood up in an American home and said I was going out for a walk, I was the cause of utter dismay "A walk? Why, you're crazy. Where do you want to go? I'll take you!" And one lovely Saturday afternoon I witnessed in great consternation a healthy girl of 11 years persuade her father to get the car out to run her two blocks to her friend's home! That incident made a profound impression on my mind. I found it indicative of trends which may have a far bigger influence on America's future than appears on the surface. I often say to myself "beware stream-lining!"

I will mention two more issues. First, the perpetual depressing effect on people's minds of considerable Hire Purchase indebtedness. Very often one can almost measure it, it is so pronounced. Indeed it now affects large numbers of what we in Britain call the Middle Classes, and even scholastics, the people surely, who ought to be the mainstay of those rights and values that are the backbone of a nation's freedom, of its intellectual and spiritual vitality. And at last I see it coming to Britain also. It is a fact that is destined to exercise a great influence on the future of Western civilisation.

The second issue is the spread of spiritual starvation as the result of transferring bigger and bigger percentages of rural populations to the big industrial cities. The extended use of very powerful tractors and other machinery in the growing of crops has thrown into idleness so

great a percentage of farm labour that even villages have become a rarity. All one now sees are a few farmsteads scattered over vast stretches of the countryside. I have addressed Sunday meetings in churches in such areas. One may get as many as 100 people who bring their food with them for a "basket lunch", and what lunches! I have never seen anything to equal them. The reason is that it is a great social event. In talking to the people afterwards I perceived their plight. They suffer from social starvation, while their sons and daughters work in city schools, offices and factories when they would much prefer to be in their native localities. Could civilisation be run that way. And why not? They come home for their vacations, but have to return to crowded streets and the rush of a life which leaves no time for the mediative quiet of the countryside, with its cultivated fields, its cornstacks, its birds, streams and hearty country gatherings of many kinds.

Here we come to the heart of America's biggest social problem, although far too few realise what that problem is, even though they suffer from it. It is sad to reflect on the enormously high concentration of America's vast population in industrial cities, while millions of acres of beautiful country are denuded of human spirits, minds and hands that could turn it into a few thousands of beautiful "villages" in constructing which, architectural layout, and other cultural and artistic factors would play their due part in constructing something new in the modern world, a civilisation of great beauty and high quality and peopled by whole human persons.

The United States has within her reach an! power, the material wealth and the intellectual ability to make that transformation. What she fails to realise is that by accepting that objective and going all out to achieve it, she would change the spiritual atmosphere of the entire world. Russia would know, and every country would know, that no national aim could be more excellent or praiseworthy than this one, and that rivalry in this field

could be for no other objective than adding maximum spiritual value to what would then be recognised as the enduring expressions and manifestations of the human spirit.

This is the switch which the world needs and awaits, often in fear and trembling. All that is needed are a few spiritual giants to strike the trial and pursue it. If no spiritual giant appears, civilisation will fail in its most critical hour, and terminate in the ignominy of spiritual bankruptcy. The United States has the material wherewithal to do this, and ample latent intellectual and spiritual power, but she lacks vision, the vision and understanding that would set her genius on the right track. Big vested interests are producing feet of clay, and clay sticks to clay, whence feet lose the power to advance. Then there is that vicious spiral of an expanding economy, so perfectly organised: invention, more production, advertising, Hire purchase financing, more consumption, - all operating in perfect rhythm. But as the material spiral ascends, the spiral of spiritual reaction descends. There is no escaping the problem: can it be solved?

An outstanding united effort towards a new creative era and a truly democratic civilisation which would manifest the genius of her people is what is now needed. Such creative periods have occurred in the past in many parts of the world. The time is now ripe for a new one, and one that will appeal to every people, to every race, what be its professed religion, for mankind is now moving towards an era of common ideas, aims, principles and values. What they now need is the unity which only an all-embracing spiritual vision can give: the unity of a way of life whose order is peace. The alternative is the clash of what are essentially materialistic economic and social systems, despite religious and ideological professions and the final catastrophe of a nuclear war.

America's expanding economy, no less than Russia's, and, indeed Britain's is inherently aggressive. Under it her

demands for the earth's raw materials will rise at ever-increasing rates, and likewise her demands for world markets whereby to pay for them. Less than thirty years ago the United States was practically self-supporting in raw materials, whereas today she is becoming increasingly dependent upon outside supplies, a fact that is carrying her into the front line of competition for the earth's resources. For that reason she takes careful note of every discovery of new sources of supply, and offers reasonable terms for the right to exploit them, while Russia, looking on, counters the move with other proposals. So the ideological battle proceeds in ding-dong fashion and will so continue until wisdom and vision make the switch to the spiritual order that is peace and concord, and yet material sufficiency.

One further American characteristic I would mention. I have left it to the last because it is outstanding and, I may add, unique. No other nation possesses it to any thing like the same degree. She possesses the ability to make big decisions suddenly and to act on them and get away with it! Indeed the American mind seems to take delight in giving the world the shock of a big idea, even at considerable risk, partly, no doubt, because she always knows she can afford to should the worst happen.

So what about it, America?

Here is where your genius will conquer Russia, if given a chance!

(To be continued)

A Few Books by Wilfred Wellock

Gandhi As A Social Revolutionary	0-75
India's Social Revolution :	
Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba	0-75
New Horizons	2-00
Which Way America?	
Which Way Britain?	1-00
Not By Bread Alone	0-25

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.

The One Man Pada-Yatra

Gerhard Tschannerl (Austria)

The writer is an young Engineer from Austria who has come to India for studying the Sarvodaya movement. After spending seven weeks in Visvaneedan, Bangalore, he walked with Sri Kutty in his Yatra. Here is a graphic description of his experience in the "one man's yatra" of Sri Kutty in Karnatak.

ON 15th July a small group gathered for morning prayers in front of the temple in Melkote, a famous place of pilgrimage 30 miles north of Mysore, and inaugurated the 3rd Karnatak padayatra of Shri Kutty with a walk around the temple-walls. The small town was still sleeping when the friends accompanied us a short distance and then, with their wishes of good luck, Kutty and I were alone on the country track.

He made some remarks about how pleasant it was to walk in the early morning but it had no importance: we both were thinking about something else. I could only accompany him for a few days and afterwards he would be alone on his padayatra from village to village, covering whole Mysore State in the course of one year.

When Vinoba was touring in the state in 1957/58 he called Shri Kutty and Shri Areyar to his side and said:

"Like Jain sanyasins you should undertake a non-stop walking tour of all the districts of Karnatak, spreading the message of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya. As the blood circulates through the body you must continue to move through Karnatak all the days of the year." Since then they had walked twice around the state, selling literature worth Rs. 16,000.

This time Shri Areyar could not come. Kutty, in spite of the difficulties in padyatra alone, decided to start. He wrote to Vinoba about his fate and got the reply which encouraged him like tender words spoken by a mother to her child:

"Do not think you are alone; the Supreme is everywhere in you and around you, no matter where you go. Be aware of this and you will never feel lonely."

Sarvodaya Demonstrated:

In most of the villages in Mysore State Kutty is already known. Once Vinoba had said to him joking:

"Your work can be measured by the number of houses you can go and take food," and there was not one village where we had to leave hungry. This hospitality surprised me every time, though I knew already from hundred instances the excellence of the Indian people in this virtue.

With a cordial "*namaskara*" a mat was quickly spread on the verandah of the house and inquiries made about our tour. After washing our dusty feet we settled down comfortably and chattered about Vinobaji's whereabouts, the surrender of the dacoits, affairs of the village, the Gita, and the delay of the rains this year. It was not so important to narrate the latest achievements in Bhoodan and Gramdan or to give an exact definition of Sarvodaya; the man who has renounced wealth and family life and who is trotting now through the country demonstrates better than all words can prescribe the spirit of Sarvodaya. The mind of a peasant is simple; he grasps the depth of things much easier than we who need sophisticated explanations.

Distribution of Land:

Besides the personal contact, the main object of this *padayatra* is the distribution of the land donated in previous years. Most of the gifts are less than 1 acre but came generally from not so well-to-do farmers. I find the distribution of land as important as the donation. To collect land without distribution seems to me like a decision to take one's bath without fetching the water for it. The decision itself is very good but does the body become clean through it? In the same way the land has been donated in order to distribute it.

The donors must but naturally become disappointed and think: "They preached to me Sarvodaya; I under

stood it and gave some land. Now nobody comes to take it. What then was the use of my giving it".

How nicely can the good intentions of the donor be further developed into a bond between him and the donee. Whenever we came into a village where land had already been distributed, people at once told us, "The land is under cultivation; come and see," as if they wanted to say: "Look what good Bhoodan has done."

Once, while distributing acres of land to an unmarried fisherman and his sister, we had a pleasant incident when the fisherman expressed his eagerness to cultivate the land but did not know how to get the bullocks. The donor suggested to collect 1 or 2 Rupees from every house. Dissatisfied with this proposal, a farmer said to the donor:

"You have given the land, it is your duty to give the bullocks also. When you invite somebody for dinner you won't give him only rice and ask for the *dal* at the doors of the neighbours; you will give him the *dal* too."

During the first 5 days we distributed cultivable dry land to 7 persons, in average 1 1/3 acre per head. As it is rainy season most of the farmers are in the fields and we often had to wait for the donors until evening. Among them, when asked to give the promised land for distribution, was one who gave not only the land but also the seeds, and promised to arrange for the bullocks. Others parted readily from their soil, but thought it sufficient work on their part. Sometimes donors said: "I am prepared to give the land but it is bad. What would be the gain of giving it?" One blankly denied to have ever given land; one even had died and the government had confiscated his property.

To find out the person most in need of the plot, the villagers gathered around us, sometimes only a few, sometimes the whole village. The one or the other might make a suggestion with personal interest and the discussion would become a bit louder; but they always came to a decision without our interference. When the forms were

filled up and signed - the mostly illiterate receiver of the land giving his thumb-print - the moment had come where the donor solemnly handed over the document to the donee. Then the assembled peasants even forgot for a while to gaze at me and the expression on their faces revealed that a spark of the flame of Sarvodaya had entered their heads. Kutti shouted "jai jagat" and slowly, as if released from a ban, the people began to move and chatter again.

The Real Joy

In the meantime it had become dark and they brought a lantern; the talk went on about Vinoba and German goods. A heavy thunder-storm approached and we had to move into the house. Here and there the water penetrated the roof; I tried to read the "Talks on the Gita". Outside some late farmers were running in the stream of water which has been the street before, the plough on their shoulders. They did not need to drive the bullocks as these were also eager to reach the shed. Later our host brought some *ragi rotis* with *chattni* and a little butter.

Next morning all the farmers were eager to go to the fields as the long desired rains had fallen. We were soon left alone and continued our march across the moist land.

When I asked Kutty for the driving force behind his going on *padayatra* and undertake so much hardship, he grinned for a moment, but at once became serious and looked on the floor, as he usually does when thinking. Suddenly he lifted his head and began to talk in quickly pronounced phrases, interrupted by too long intervals.

"Real joy can only be experienced through service. To mingle with the country-folk and to help them - it makes me happy; it also gives constant opportunity to watch oneself and to correct one's actions. And it is the Sarvodaya movement which gives the largest working-field. Only think: the uplift of all; what a glorious enterprise full of interest, joy and adventure, what a tremendous possibility of spiritual growth. That is why nothing else attracts me as much as this movement."

When I climbed into the bus again after one week of *padayatra*, though tired, I felt a bit guilty of letting Kutty continue alone. Walking like usually with his head bent to the ground, an unstitched cloth covering his shoulders and a short lungi wrapped around his hips, I saw him once more from the moving bus. Two bags, heavy with Sarvodaya literature, were hanging down from his broad shoulders. They rub always in the same position; Kutty's hands do not obey his commands - he suffers from progressive atrophy. I cried a hearty "jai jagat" out of the bus-window and then his figure disappeared from my sight, leaving him behind on the country track. ★

Mansingh and his Dacoit Gang



General Yadunath Singh, Military Secretary to the President of Indian Republic and Chairman of Public Service Commission, Kashmir plays an important role in meeting the dacoits in the Chambal ravines. He is here in their midst in explaining the position.

The Greatest Gandhian of Them All

During the last nine years of Vinobaji's pada-yatra since the dawn of Bhoodan there have been hundreds of incidents and events of revolutionary character which drew the attention of the World. But nothing has attracted so much of universal admiration and encomium from the Press and public as the wholesale surrender of some of the leading dacoits in the Chambal Valley in May last. The article in "The Eastern Economist" Delhi, has paid the highest tribute which is given here, acknowledging our indebtedness.

THE dramatic news this week of the surrender of nineteen of Madhya Pradesh's leading dacoits to Acharya Vinoba Bhave during his "pada-yatra" in that state has touched the soul of India in an unmistakable Gandhian way. Here in Delhi, where the Gandhian message is visibly in decline, the victory of the greatest Gandhian of them all has restored faith, so to speak, in an age which seemed to be irrevocably in the past. Many worldly-wise Indian politicians have been shaken to the core by the vigour in which the Gandhian message is now being worked in a truly non-Gandhian environment by best of the Gandhians. Many of those who never knew the depth of the Gandhian touch, or the spell it could hold over men, have suddenly awakened to the fact that there is in Acharya Vinoba Bhave a man of almost like spiritual force with the Master. Even the great Master himself did not touch the hearts of men who have lived a life of banditry, dacoity and murder so powerfully as this man. All at once it has come to be realised that the Gandhian message in Acharya Vinoba Bhave's hands can be as vigorous as it was twenty years ago in the hands of one of the greatest men of this century. Few people have hitherto recognised Acharya Vinoba Bhave in that class of greatness. They may or may not be right in this estimate, but at least one is certain now that the Gandhian message can come to life in another's hands.

In essence, of course, the Gandhian message is the recognition of the reality of the invisible power of both divine and human love, and the morality that it engenders. This is at the heart of every great religion and in one sense or another, has been the by-product of the lives of saints down the centuries. But the application of these

lessons to politics on a massive scale was first demonstrated in India only in the Gandhian age, unless one considers, as one well might, the tremendous conversion of the Emperor Asoka himself, who might have been described as the greatest of the Gandhians before Mahatma Gandhi. What has been Acharya Vinoba Bhave's achievement is that he conceived the current single-handed operation, in which he was also its sole instrument. No one in authority in any state Government ever believed he would have this success with dacoits, who have now wept at his meetings and have surrendered their way of life which has as deep roots in their being as it has had friendly environment in the ravines of the Chambal Valley. Thus has an old and powerful message been given new content; the Acharya has given them peace literally from the sword. But it has been by no means an easy peace, for these men face trial now for very grave offences, the maximum penalty for some of which is death.

The efficiency of this tremendous instrument in the hand of this remarkable man may not, and should not, deprive us of the capacity to employ other methods where men of equal greatness and equal power to convert and bind are not present. In other words, the power of love and the power of punitive methods by the police or military will need to be continued separately. Nevertheless, as Acharya Vinoba Bhave has said in his dignified way, the methods of the police are not necessarily as efficacious as his own; in the long run, force, particularly when it is employed in the name of the State, does not solve problems. Thus a perilous balance has to be held between the power of the Gandhian message which has been demonstrated and the forces of law and order organised in an administration seeking justice in its own, somewhat blind and perhaps mechanical, manner. But when the Prime Minister of India returns one hopes that, as the disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, he will find some means by which he can broaden the message which he has been unable to carry to the Indian people by himself. Or may it be that when administrative organisation spreads on a large scale, the grand spirit of the individual will cease to work equal miracles? India seeking for a path of peace in this momentous month can at least draw comfort from the fact that here is some Indian salt ... which has not lost its savour. Perhaps we might even have some of it left over at this time of stress for a stricken and divided world.



The Universal Wave of Moral Resistance

Vera Brittain

("Adapted from a Peace News Pamphlet "The Meaning of Aldermaston" or "Dissent by Demonstration, or Assent Through Experience" published by the Peace News, London.")

The Meaning of Aldermaston

BENEATH clear April Sunshine the marchers in their thousands poured into Trafalgar Square, some limping and footsore, but others remarkably impervious to the wear and tear of four days on the road. Above them waved banners from many parts of the world, carried by delegations representing British towns and villages, and far countries as distant from one another as India and Ghana. The organisations involved ranged from the University of California to religious contingents which included Anglicans, Catholics, Methodists, Unitarians, and the Society of Friends.

The marchers were said to have stretched for seven miles along the road between Aldermaston and London, and took two hours to file into the Square. So well organised was the demonstration that everyone appeared to be accommodated by the end of the afternoon, though before the marchers arrived the well-wishers and Easter Crowds who welcomed them appeared to fill all the available space. Even the sober Times reported that at one moment the total numbers amounted to 60,000 persons, and might even have reached 100,000.

The Wave of Moral Resistance:

After nearly forty years the international peace movement which began with the societies that supported the League of Nations has developed a new phase of life. The change is perhaps comparable to that which occurred early in the century in Britain, when militant suffrage stole the headlines from the more decorous constitutional feminism which sought to educate and persuade, or later in India when Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Campaign inherited and

increased the impetus brought by the earlier workers for national freedom.

Education and persuasion are essential processes: no sudden advance is possible over ground which has not been prepared. But in every campaign a moment comes when a few crusaders realise that their tactics must change. Such a moment is now recognisable the world over in the steadily growing minority campaign against war. A way has suddenly been found by which masses of ordinary men and women who have long been silenced can become articulate. So far they are articulate mainly in terms of one idea only - dissent to human execution by governments armed with the lethal power of the hydrogen bomb.

Within the past three or four years, a world-wide crescendo of endeavours similar to the Aldermaston march has not only brought encouragement to the small groups seeking on their own initiative to break through the importance and frustration imposed on them by power-wielding governments which have not condescended to consult them, but has provided evidence of comparable thinking by widely-separate organisations and individuals whose only link has been the power of example.

A Chain of Moral Resistance

The purpose has not always been identical. The bus boycott organised in Alabama by Martin Luther King, like similar and more officially hampered boycotts in South Africa, was a protest against racial segregation and not, like most recent instances of non-violent action, against the H-bomb and nuclear testing. But each of these episodes has been a phase of resistance against the war waged on humanity by the possessors of power, and whatever the precise objective, the technique has been similar:

In Britain, the practice of protest marching against nuclear weapons began in 1957, when two thousand women wearing black jackets or armlets (in token of mourning for their government's determination to manufacture the H-bomb) walked in pouring rain, humble fore-runners of

this year's Easter Monday crowds, through London to Trafalgar Square. Since then non-violent protests of many kinds, individual or collective, have multiplied all over the world.

In 1958, Albert Bigelyw, an American following the inspiration of Britain's Harold Steele, sailed his ketch, *The Golden Rule*, from California via Hawaii towards the nuclear-testing zone in the Pacific.

That same spring 700 marchers converged on the United Nations Head-quarters in New York after walking 90 miles from Philadelphia.

Almost simultaneously occurred a demonstration in Frankfurt, Germany where the social Democratic Bundestag Member, Dr. Gustav Heinemann addressed 4000 people on the theme "Atomic armament is a deadly experiment."

Dr. Martin Niemoller has conducted vigorous protests again at nuclear arms for Germany, and Nobel Prize-winner Otto Hahn has announced that he will not work on atomic weapons.

Also in 1958 came the first Aldermaston March, and at the end of that year the non-violent campaign, led by Michael Scott, against the missile base at Swaffham, Norfolk.

In June, American Earle Reynolds with his yacht *Phoenix* continued the protest of Albert Higelow and later a Fellowship of Reconciliation Member, Kenneth Calkins, organised a demonstration comparable in character to Aldermaston and Swaffham, though the members were smaller, at the I. C. B. M. base near Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Simultaneously a massive group of peace-marchers in Japan, where Hiroshima and Nagasaki remain perpetually in the forefront of the national consciousness, spent a month in walking from Hiroshima in Tokyo 4 Japanese march against the establishment of American missile bases in Japan is now promised, which will last for several months and absorb one-third of the whole Japanese population. ★

Non-Co-operation with the State in War Taxes

MISS Eroseanna Robinson, 35 years old, a welfare worker, was sentenced to the reformatory from Chicago early in the year to serve a one year sentence for contempt of court. She had refused to produce records of her financial affairs as ordered, when the government was trying to get her to pay her incometax. She like other "Peacemakers" objected to paying income-tax because 80% of the money goes for military spending.

When she was taken to the Federal Prison for women in Alderson she refused to take her meals. The administration kept her alive by having her fed through a tube. This went on continuously for over three months.

Early in May about eight "Peacemakers" consisting of men and women, both white and negro set up tents near the prison walls and fasted in front of the main gate with signs carrying such slogans as "No Tax for War" and "Peace is the Only Defence" ... This was intended to draw the attention of the public to the objects of the peacemakers and in no way to bring about the release of Miss Robinson.

In the meanwhile the Judge who had sentenced Miss Robinson had called for an interim report from the prison. As she had become a burden to the medical facilities of the reformatory and as he felt she had already been punished sufficiently, he ordered her release.

The eight Peacemakers who were picketing the prison gates were taken unawares of the release and managed to overtake Miss Robinson at the Railway Station before she was put in the train by the Prison authorities. All of them had a gay celebration of the unexpected release of "Miss Robinson". In her statement after release she said:

"My imprisonment has been the ugliest and most beautiful of my experiences. The total demonstration of Peacemakers, of which my imprisonment was a part, was a milestone. I am convinced now more than ever of the need for increasing non-participation in the government's militarization activities. I am going to look for work soon and will accept only work from which no federal income tax is withheld. While in prison, I received a letter from the Internal Revenue Service in Chicago containing fictitious amounts representing my earnings in 1956, 57, 58. In a few days, I will get off an answer of refusal to pay."

(Condensed from The 'Peacemaker', Cincinnati, U.S.A.) ★

Madhya Pradesh

IN order to prepare the background for Vinobaji's Programme in Indore City and the neighbouring area of Maheswar and Dharampuri, intensive pada-yatra was carried out there in the second fortnight of June. Besides Madhya Pradesh workers, friends from U. P., Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra also participated in it. Prominent among those who joined it were Messrs Donald Groom, Appa Saheb Patwardhan, Shanta bhen Narulkar and Thakurdas Bang. About hundred workers went from door to door in 26 wards of Indore city. They were able to sell Sarvodaya literature of about Rs. 2500/-, enrolled 165 subscribers of 'Bhoomi-Kranti' (Hindi weekly from Indore) and 464 subscribers of 'Bhoomi Putra' (Gujrati tri-monthly.) More than 275 youngmen gave their name for working part time and 6,215 Sarvodaya Patras were introduced. Including the earlier 3000 Patras, the total number of Sarvodaya Patras in Indore comes to 9,215.

Vinobaji arrived in Indore on 24th July 1960. He proposes to spend some five weeks here and explore the possibilities of giving a shape to Sarvodaya work in the city and vicinity.

Rajasthan

Diverting his route after Shivapuri, Vinobaji spent 18 days in Rajasthan, from 22nd June to 9th July. During this period he received about 300 acres of land and three Gramdans.

Sri Gokulbhai Bhatt accompanied him throughout the yatra. In Rajasthan, Vinobaji exhorted the people to remember their triple virtue - courage, devotion and work for the non-violent revolution. On 10th July, he re-entered Madhya Pradesh.

Bihar

Bihar is the most prominent province on the Bhoodan map of India. Recently, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan undertook three week's pad-yatra in the Gaya district. The workers of Hazaribagh district held their district Sarvodaya Conference at Giridih under the presidency of Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari, the well known Sarvodaya veteran of Bengal. Again, workers of Tirhut Division (which includes the districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga) organised a workers' assembly in which Sri Ram Deo Thakur presided. It was a free gathering in which workers exchanged notes.

A group of Shanti-Sainiks from Bihar has gone to Sikkim to study situation there. It is led by Sri Vidya Sagar of Patna. It went to Gangtok and contacted leaders of different political parties, as also Sri Appa Saheb Pant. This team or mission of peace has received warm reception. It would study the actual state of affairs.

Uttar Pradesh

As decided by the Uttar Pradesh Sarvodaya Mandal, Sri Sunderlal Bahuguna (of Tehri district) is organising Shanti-Sena work on the India-Tibet border region. Accompanied by him Sri Om Prakash Gaur, Secretary of the U. P. Sarvodaya Mandal, went on a visit of the area to obtain a first hand information of the situation. Sri Sarla Behn, the distinguished English disciple of Gandhiji working at Kausami in Almora, was also with them.

At the instance of U. P. Shanti-Sena Committee, a branch office of the Chambal Valley Peace Committee (the head office being at Bhind in (Madhya Pradesh) has been established at Bah in the Agra district. Sri Bhagwat Singh is in its charge. A meeting of the Chambal Valley Peace Committee was held at Bah on July 3, 1960.

A Seminar on decentralised social order was held at Kashi from 16th July to 23rd July last under the presidency of Sri Shankarrao Deo. Prominent among those who participated were Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Dada Dharmadhikari, Sri Anna Sahasrabuddhe, Sri Thakurdas Bang, Sri R. K. Patil, Sri Achyut Patwardhan and Smt. Vimla Thakar.

An intensive pada-yatra programme is being carried out in Kashi city. It began on 10th July and will come to a close on 11th September next. Workers led by Sri Karan Bhai and Nirmala Behn Deshpande, go from door to door and convey Vinobaji's message of turning Kashi into a Sarvodaya city.

The U. P. Pad-Yatra party, led by Sri Pujari Rai, covered the districts of Hardoi, Lucknow, Rae Bareilly and Pratapgarh in the month of July. It entered Allahabad district on 13th July on twelve days' programme.

Workers of the Gandhi Ashram assembled for their annual meeting at Meerut on July 8th and 9th. They discussed ways and means of making Khadi an instrument of true non-violence and village Swaraj.

Tamilnad

One hundred and thirty-five acres of Bhoodan lands in Erode taluk donated to the Bhoodan movement by 35 landholders, were distributed to 57 landless ryots, with extent ranging from 22 cents of wet land to five acres of dry lands, at a function held on 1-8-60, at Chavadi maidan in Chennimalai (20 miles from Erode), under the auspices of the Erode Taluk Bhoodan Committee. Sri Shivaji Ganesan, the film actor, distributed the 'Dhana Pathram', to the above 57 ryots. Sri S. Jagannathan, Chairman, Tamil Nad Sarvodaya Mandal, presided over the function.

Sri V. S. Murugesan, bhoodan worker, Chennimalai, welcomed the gathering and traced the progress of the bhoodan movement in Erode. The bhoodan workers were able to get voluntary contribution of about 800 acres in this taluk.

Sri S. Jagannathan, in his presidential address, congratulated the bhoodan workers of this taluk for having taken steps for the distribution of bhoodan lands to landless ryots. About 9,000 acres of lands had been contributed in bhoodan movement, in Coimbatore district, but the actual distribution of lands was done in Erode taluk alone, for which he appreciated the services of bhoodan workers here.

Sri Sivaji Ganesan, said that he commended the bhoodan movement started by Vinobaji, for the help of the poor landless people in the society. The rich persons should consider it their duty and responsibility to help the poor.

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We appeal to readers who appreciate the usefulness of this Digest to introduce it to their friends and help in wider circulation. Foreign subscribers are requested to send subscriptions through Postal orders, Bank drafts, and International Postal Coupons and not to send us currency notes as many do, since they cannot be cashed under the currency exchange law.

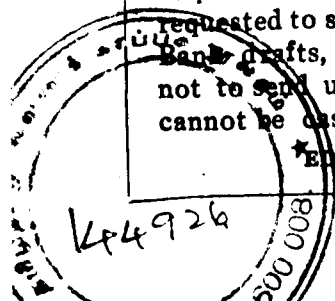
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