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★ SARVODAYA ★

A Monthly Digest is 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 ten 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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A Retrospect Of the Sarvodaya Sammelans

ON the eve of the coming 13th Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chebrol in Andhra on 18th April 1961, it would be appropriate to take a retrospective bird's eye view of the previous 12 Sarvodaya Sammelans.

The FIRST Sarvodaya Sammelan at Rao in Indore in 1949 after the Constructive Workers' Conference at Sevagram in 1948 was a Conference of critical discussions about the situation in the country and the duty of the Gandhian constructive workers. Vinobaji was present, but no definite programme of action could be decided.

The SECOND Sammelan in April 1950 at Angul in Orissa was not attended by Vinobaji, the original sponsor of the Sarvodaya Samaj and the annual Sammelans. The Conference went on for a week with a series of sectional conferences which could not give much light or guidance to the workers.

The THIRD Sarvodaya Sammelan at Sivarampalli in Hyderabad in 1951 had raised enormous hope among the workers on account of the decision of Vinobaji to attend it by walking a distance of about 300 miles from Wardha, consistent with his vow of *Kanchan Mukti* (freedom from money). No specific programme came out of the Conference, but Vinobaji's exhortation to the workers with a *mantram* as it were: "*Anthar Suddhi, Bahir Suddhi, Srama, Santi, Samarpanam*", meaning "internal purity, external purity, bodily labour, work for peace and dedication to God" inspired them with a new enthusiasm and courage in their constructive revolution.

The FOURTH Sammelan at Sevapuri, Kashi in 1952 gave a turning point as the Bhoodan Movement born a few days after the Sevapuri Sammelan had gained a great momentum. Bhoodan Yagna had to be mobilised as a National Movement. The Sevapuri Sammelan decided to work with a target of 25 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan within two years. The atmosphere generated at the Sammelan electrified the whole nation with a second non-violent socio-economic revolution. Besides Bhoodan, a series of *dans* like Sampattidan, Sramadan, Samaya Dan, Buddhi dan, etc. became slogans of the day.

The FIFTH Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chandil in Bihar in March 1953 was one of great anxiety for Vinobaji's health, as Vinobaji was seriously laid down for more than a month. There was a concentrated drive in Bihar to give

an impetus to achieve the target of Bhoodan fixed for itself. With the spiral progression of Bhoodan which had already reached 8 lakhs of acres in the country, and U. P. leading with 5 lakhs of acres followed by Bihar with 2 lakhs of acres, Sevapuri Sammelan marked a climax in the movement. There was an appeal for Sampattidan for enabling the donees of Bhoodan make proper utilisation of the Bhoodan land. Further there was a crystallisation of the political philosophy behind the Bhoodan movement. It was interpreted as 'arousing the *Jana sakti* - a third non-violent moral force of the people uncowed by the violent social outbursts or by the the pressure of the State's legislation. A philosophical and political content of the ideology was made clearer to the Sevaks by Vinobaji's lucid exposition at the Sammelan. Vinobaji expounded *Jana sakti* as the foundation of the new order of society, as against the *Danda sakti* of the State or the violent revolutions replete in history. It assumed a special importance as it was attended by Pandit Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and others.

The SIXTH Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh Gaya, the land of The Buddha on 18th April, 1954 was the fulfilment of the Bhoodan movement. The target of 25 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan was exceeded, but Vinobaji was trying to collect 32 lakhs of acres in Bihar alone, to prove to the world that the land problem was solved at least in one State in the country through Bhoodan. A target of 5 crores of acres to satisfy the landless in the country was fixed as a national programme. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's announcement offering *Jeevandan* for the service of the mission created new enthusiasm among the workers. It was the crowning event of this Sammelan. Besides, Sampattidan yagna took a definite shape as a workable programme at this Sammelan under the guidance of Srikrishnadas Jajuji.

The SEVENTH Sarvodaya Sammelan at Puri in Orissa in March, 1955 is another land-mark in the Movement as a Gramdan Sammelan as a result of hundreds of Gramdans among hill-tribes of Koraput. Vinobaji said that he was not concerned with the target of 5 crores of 10 crores of acres of Bhoodan but that Bhoodan movement was a symbol for world peace and that every land-gift was considered as a vote for it. This sammelan had special importance because the Bhoodan Movement assumed an universal outlook with a tremendous optimism in the coming years. The conference pledged itself to fulfill the Bhoodan revolution in 1957 and establish a social order of State-free society.

The EIGHTH Sarvodaya Sammelan was held in May 1957 at Kancheepuram in Tamilnad. Vinobaji enunciated a four-fold programme for the integration of Bhoodan. Besides Bhoodan he said he would work for the abolition of caste differences, consolidation of Basic Education, and total uplift for villages as his general programme in Tamilnad. Vinobaji fasted for 3 days which he broke singing a couplet of Appar in Tamil: "*Namarkkum Kudiyaalom Namanai Anjome*" meaning "We are subject of none and fear not Death" which expresses the mental state of the saint's spiritual anarchism based on love and courage.

The NINETH Sammelan at Kaladi in Kerala in May, 1957 was held when the Communist Party was at the helm of the State. This can be characterised as a Grama Rajya Sammelan through Gramdan, which had in the meanwhile advanced much in Tamilnad and Maharashtra besides Orissa. Vinobaji's pledge at Kanyakumari on 14th April 1957 that he would continue his waking yatra till the realisation of Grama Rajya gave an indication of our political ideal.

At the TENTH Sarvodaya Sammelan at Pandharpur in Maharashtra in May 1958, *Grama Rajya* became sublimated into *Jai Jagat* or "Victory for the World". Vinobaji characterised it as one of the *Sneha* (love and fellowship) sammelans and appealed to the workers to develop a positive aspect of love by loving the enemy in the words of Christ. Gandhiji's concept at Trusteeship gained a paramount place among the subjects that were discussed with a brilliant exposition by Sri Pyarelal. Gramdan and Shanti-sena were emphasized as the two vital programmes for the nation. An event of significance was the worship at the famous temple by Vinobaji with a French Christian lady and a Muslim sister which was the first of its kind.

The ELEVENTH Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Ajmir in February 1959 is a Shanti Sena Sammelan which stressed its great importance. The rally of a thousand Shanti-sainiks under the lead of Vinobaji who walked about nine miles to his next camp from Ajmir was a great event. Shanti-sena and Sarvodaya paatra for forging the popular sanction for the non-violent revolution were emphasized. Application of the Sarvodaya and Trusteeship principles in the sphere of industries was advocated through a workable illustration of the Bader Commonwealth of England by Mr. Earnest Bader of England, who was one of the distinguished visitors to this Sammelan.

(Continued on page 403)

ORIENTAL IDEAL OF TRUTH

Mahatma Gandhi

[This is an interesting article from the apostle of truth which originally appeared in "Indian Opinion" under date 11-4-1905, published in Volume Four of "The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi—Govt. of India Publication Division to whom we are indebted. — Price Rs 15—available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore.]

LORD Curzon has proclaimed in his Convocation address that "the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western Conception," and that "undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute." We commend the following texts from Oriental Scriptures and Epics and other religions and ethical works on Truth and Falsehood to His Excellency's attention, and if Lord Curzon has any regard for Truth and for the people of this country, as we have no doubt he has, he is in honour bound as Viceroy of India, as chancellor of Calcutta University and as an English gentleman, to withdraw his baseless and offensive imputations:

Cross the passes so difficult to cross. Conquer wrath with peace; untruth with truth — *The Sama Veda, Aranya-gana, Arka-Parva.*

Truth alone prevails and not untruth. Truth is the pathway which learned men tread. It is by this path that the sages, satiated in their desires, have obtained salvation in Him who is the infinite ocean of Truth. — *Mundaka Upanishad, III-I-6.*

The very first injunction given to a disciple after he has taken the sacred thread and entered upon his studies is:

Speak the Truth, observe duty, do not swerve from Truth. — *Taittiriya Upanishad, I-II-I.*

According to Hinduism, Truth is the very essence of Brahma:

Brahma is Truth eternal, intelligence immeasurable. — *Taittiriya II-I-I.*

Speech rests on Truth; everything rests on Truth. Therefore they call Truth the highest: *Mahanarayan Upanishad—XXVII-I.*

There is no duty higher than Truth and no sin more heinous than untruth. Indeed, Truth is the very foundation of Righteousness. — *Mahabharatha.*

Prince Rama is exhorted by a courtier priest to disown his father's promise that he should be banished for fourteen years. But that prince of immortal fame, in the course of his reply points out:

Truth and mercy are immemorial characteristics of a king's conduct. Hence royal rule is in its essence truth. On truth the world is based. Both sages and gods have esteemed truth. The man who speaks truth in this world attains the highest imperishable state. Men shrink with fear and horror from a liar as from a serpent. In this world the chief element in virtue is truth. It is called the basis of everything. Truth is lord in the world, virtue always rests on truth. All things are founded on truth; nothing is higher than it. Why should I not be true to my promise, and faithfully observe the truthful injunction given by my father? Neither through covetousness nor delusion nor ignorance will I, overpowered by darkness, break through the barrier of truth, but remain true to my promise by my father. How shall I, having promised to him that I would reside in the forest, transgress his injunction and do what Bharata recommends. — *Professor Maxmüller's translation.*

Laws of nature are expressions of Truth, and Virtues are but forms of Truth, and all vices are forms of untruth. Bhisma describes them as follows:—

Truthfulness, equability, self-control, absence of self-display, forgiveness, modesty, endurance, absence of envy, charity, a noble well-wishing towards others, self-possession, compassion, and harmlessness.....surely these are the thirteen forms of Truth.—*Mahabharata, Shanthi Parva, CLXII-8, 9.*

Truth is That which Is, and Untruth is That which Is Not. As Bhishma says:

Truth is eternal Brahman.....Everything rests on Truth.—*Mahabharatha, Shanti Parva, CLXII-5.*

Aryan heroes have often declared:

My lips have never uttered an untruth.

In the ASVAMEDHA PARVA Shri Krishna, has stated:

Truth and Dharma ever dwell in me.

Bhishma, speaking of truth and declaring it to be sacrifice of a high order, says:

Once on a time a thousand horse-sacrifices and Truth were weighed against each other in the balance, Truth weighed heavier than a thousand horse-sacrifices.—*Mahabharatha, Shanti Parva, CLXII-26.*

There is nothing greater than Truth, and Truth should be esteemed the most sacred of all things.—*Ramayana.*

Truth ever more has been the love

Of holy saints and God above,

And he whose lips are truthful here

Wins after death the highest sphere.

As from a serpent's deadly tooth,

We shrink from him who scorns the Truth.

—*Ramayana.*

The virtues that bring about unity and harmony, secure peace and calm, and enable a man to fulfil his destiny, were thus stated by Shri Krishna:

Fearlessness SATTVIC purity, steadfast pursuit of wisdom, charity, control of the senses, sacrifice, study, austerity, uprightness;

Harmlessness, truthfulness, absence of anger, resignation, peace of mind, avoidance of calumny, pity for all beings, absence of greed, gentleness, modesty, absence of restlessness:

Energy, forgiveness, endurance, purity, freedom from hatred and from pride,—these are his who is born to the divine qualities, O Bharata. *Bhagavat Gita, XVI-1, 3.*

Right speech is thus described in the Bhagavad Gita, —XVII-15:—

Speech causing no annoyance, truthful, pleasant and beneficial, and the repetition of the Vedas.....this is called austerity of speech.

According to Hinduism, Ishvara himself is Truth. The Devas adoring the Divine Lord, when he appeared as Shri Krishna, broke forth:

O True of promise, True of purpose, triply true the Fount of Truth, and dwelling in the true, the Truth of Truth, the eye of Right and Truth, Spirit of Truth, refuge we seek in Thee.—*Bhagvatpurana, -XII 26.*

The institutes of Manu are dated, according to Sir William Jones, at least 1280 B. C., if not 1580 B. C. The tenfold law, as laid down by Manu, gives some of the qualities needed for the discipline of the mind and reaching the highest Truth, the one reality.

Endurance, patience, self-control, integrity, purity, restraint of the senses, wisdom, learning, truth, absence of anger, are the ten signs of virtue—*Manusmriti, VI-92.*

Elsewhere they are briefly described as follows:

Harmlessness, truth, integrity, purity, control of the senses, said Manu, is the summarised law of the four castes.—*Manusmriti, X-63.*

Manu thus denounces those who are "dishonest in speech:"

All things are governed by speech: speech is the root, from speech they originate; that man verily who is dishonest in speech, he is dishonest in all.—*Manusmriti, VI-256.*

Aryan sacred books inculcate constant practice of righteousness and performance of duty:

The man who is unrighteous, or he who gains wealth by falsehood, or he who ever delights in injuring, never attains happiness in the world. Although suffering from unrighteousness let him not turn his mind to unrighteousness; he will behold the speedy overthrow of the unrighteous, of the sinners. Unrighteousness, practised in this world, does not bear fruit at once like a cow; slowly reacting it cuts off the very roots of the doer.—*Manusmriti, IV-170, 172.*

Let him say what is true, but let him say what is pleasing. Let him speak no disagreeable truth, but let him not speak disagreeable falsehood: this is a primeval rule, — *IV, 138.*

Let a man continually take pleasure in truth, in justice, in laudable practices and in purity,—*IV-175.*

Let him never eat the food of a back-biter or of a false witness,—*IV-214.*

For he who describes himself to worthy men in a manner contrary to truth, is the most sinful wretch in this world; he is the worst of thieves, a stealer of minds,—*IV-255.*

They whose eating is solely for the sustaining of life and whose speech is only to declare Truth, surmount difficulties.—*Hitopadesh.*

There are four sins of speech:

1. Lying, 2. Slander, 3. Abuse, 4. Unprofitable conversation.—*The Ethics of Buddhism.*

Truth and falsehood stand to one another in the relation of a stone to an earthen vessel. If a stone be thrown at an earthen vessel, the latter will break. In neither case it is the earthen vessel that suffereth.—*Sikh Teaching.*

No act of devotion can equal truth; no crime is so heinous as falsehood; in the heart where Truth abides, there is My Abode.—Kabir.

(Price Rs. 15, available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.)

VINOBAJI'S YATRA NOTES

1961 February 4

Ranipatra: Vinobaji addressed a public meeting at Ranipatra, Bihar at the annual function of the Ranipatra Sarvodaya Ashram. He said that the distribution of land through a third agency prevented the growth of a new relationship of love between the donors and recipients of land and he wanted to eliminate the creation of a third agency.

February 5

Purnea: Replying to a questioner at a public meeting at Purnea Vinobaji said that the present government was headed by Gandhiji's men who knew well what their master wanted them to do. But they had ignored his teachings and gone their own way. He said it was easier to persuade the people and influence the Government through them and he was therefore walking among people themselves.

February 7

Kharhia Ghat: Vinobaji arrived at Kharhia Ghat (Purnea) and attended a land distribution ceremony in the evening and distributed danapatras to 95 landless families from 44 villages. In all 126 acres were distributed thus. Purses were presented to him. Land-gifts of some kathas were also offered.

Speaking on the occasion he said that when he used to meditate formerly he used to have only glimpses of God, but now in what he did for the landless he saw God face to face.

February 8

Lakhna: Addressing a public meeting at Lakhna (Purnea) mostly attended by Muslims, Baba said that the movement was based on love which was common to all religions. This was why the Bhoodan movement had a universal appeal. He said that during his tour Muslims of

Malabar told him that he was working according to the teachings of the Holy Quoran. The Christians of Kerala said that he was doing the work of Christ. The Buddhists of Saranath presented him with Dhammapada declaring that he was following the footsteps of Buddha. The Sikhs of Punjab saw in him a follower of Guru Nanak. The Hindus all over India thought that he was faithfully following the Hindu Scriptures.

February 9

Kishanganj: (Last camp in Bihar) Baba addressed his last public meeting in Bihar at Kishanganj. He appealed to the people to let flow the stream of compassion and "Dan" (gift) and not to rest till their pledge to give 32 lakhs of acres of land in Bhoodan was fulfilled. What was more important for him was the work of building "Gram Swaraj" and "Gram Parivar" (Village self-sufficiency and village community) on the basis of Bhoodan.

February 10

Entry into Bengal: He was accorded a grand reception in the morning as he crossed Bihar border at Nullah and set his foot on the *Soil of Bengal*. He was received by Sri Charu Chandra Bhandari, Smt. Ashadevi Aryanayakam and others. Replying to the address of welcome by Shri Bhandari, Vinobaji observed that he entered Bengal not with love alone but with regard and confidence. Later at a reception at Ikarchhaka, Baba remarked that voluntary renunciation of private ownership in land was the '*Bij Mantra*' (Root Mantra) and sharing of the possession was the *tantra* (technique) to reach that goal. With reference to ceiling on land he said that it should constitute no difficulty for Bhoodan.

A land holder of Siliguri Sri Siu Mangal Singh immediately in the meeting responded to Vinobaji's call by gift of 5 bighas of good land out of his 70 bighas.

(Continued on page 397)

The Tripple-Dictum of Gandhiji's Mission.

Acharya Sivaji Bhawe

BAPUJI went to South Africa to practise as a lawyer for maintaining his family. There he saw violent oppression carried on by the Whites on the 'Blacks' i. e. on the whole Asiatics. Not only that he saw, but on several occasions himself was subjected to disgrace, violence and insults. There, he decided to put an end to these coercions.

For that he discovered an instrument—service to humanity. As against the Coercive Power, he set up service to humanity. Coercion versus service to humanity is the first great dictum in his life.

But the Coercive Power had its feet resting on Law. He launched the noble mean—Satyagraha as against that Coercive Law. Thus he sought success in South Africa. Here Satyagraha proved to be the second great dictum of his life.

The Military power is the strength behind the Coercive Law. Without the support of the Force, the Coercive Laws will not sustain. Here again, as against Force, Mahatmaji explored devotion to God. And thence forward to the end of his life, prayer went on daily without a break. While on his way to the prayer grounds, God took him and made him immortal. Force versus devotion to God—this is the third but the noblest dictum in his life.

Devotion to God was meant not simply as against Force, but he felt the necessity of devotion to God in all the daily activities of life; So, devotion to God has to be considered as the noblest dictum in his life.

If cherishing these three dictums of Gandhiji's Life Mission, we pray with the utmost sincerity, we be cautious that there is never any coercion on anybody from us—and we do possible service to humanity, then our life will also be turned to Gold by the '*sparsamani*' (Philosopher's Stone) of Gandhiji's Life.

Gandhiji has said "What is more Golden than Gold? Truth is more golden than Gold." The same underlies the tripple-dictum of Gandhiji's Life. Let us keep these before us and say '*satyameva jayatenanritham*' (only Truth wins, not Untruth.)

(Translated by Smt. A. K. Rajamma Gandhi Tatwa-gyan Mandir, Dhulia)

GRAM-SWARAJYA DAY

A Declaration to be made on 6th April
throughout the country

“WE declare this day to dedicate our energies to the building up of a co-operative, cohesive and homogenous community.

We feel that the primary community should undertake the responsibility and take the initiative to provide the members of the group with the basic necessities of life and enable them to have a feeling of security and freedom within the community.

We declare that none will go hungry and remain without work in the community. We shall provide land to the landless or other village industries and crafts to them towards that end. We shall assess all the available resources of our village and put them to the optimum use primarily for the satisfaction of the basic needs of the community, keeping in view its duty to make adequate contribution towards the requirements of the larger community of what it is a part.

We shall take the necessary steps to diversify our economic life so that our living conditions may be bettered, everybody in the community may get gainful and socially beneficial employment and the large exodus of talent from the village to the already overcrowded cities is prevented. We shall order our social life in such a way that the talents of our youth may find sufficient opportunities to express themselves in a more creative way.

Khadi is the symbol of the non-violent social order. It continues even today to be an article of hope to the most needy and the neglected in the rural areas. We are inspired by the new concept of *Naya Morh*. By its help we would plan the integrated development of the village community. We realise the importance of Khadi and Village Industries in the new set up of an Agro-Industrial community and shall so construct our economic life that they may play their significant role in re-ordering society and ushering therein liberty, freedom and equality to one and all.

That all our endeavours to attain this end may succeed is our earnest desire.”

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Sarva Seva Sangh's Policy Regarding Elections

At its meeting held at Golakganj (Assam) from 5th to 8th March, the Executive of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh approved the following Draft Statement of policy regarding elections. The Draft will come up for discussion and final approval at the meeting of the Sangh on the occasion of the Thirteenth Annual Sarvodaya Conference.

“THE Sarva Seva Sangh believes that it is not possible to establish a non-violent society through political or state power but only through people's own initiative and their organized, self-reliant action. The Sangh has, therefore, decided not to take part directly or indirectly in politics directed towards the attainment of power. Experience gained during the Bhoodan Gramdan Movement has strengthened our belief in *Lok-Niti* or *People's Power* in the place of traditional politics. It has also been considered necessary that the worker who dedicates his life for the cause of Sarvodaya, viz, the *Lok-sevak* should keep himself aloof from politics and elections because, if he joins a particular political party or stands for any election or works actively in support of another, he loses his capacity to gain the confidence and co-operation of all and to influence them.

It is obvious that on a more widespread adoption of the principles of Sarvodaya and the ideas of *Lok-niti* by the people, the administrative structure and the method of election will not remain as they are today. But our experience during the last few years underlines the need of a change in these matters even till that happens. So far as the administrative structure is concerned, it is a matter of satisfaction that attention has been drawn towards the necessity of decentralization so that the masses may be able to become active participants in the democratic process. The scheme of *Panchayat Raj*, even though requiring modification in some vital aspects, is a step in the right direction.

The initiative and active participation of the people is a vital necessity for democracy.

But political parties have strangled democracy, and imprisoned it. Instead of developing the people's strength, they have encouraged in them a tendency to look up to the Government for everything. Although the people have got the right to vote, the interference of political parties has particularly ended their initiative and made a mockery of it.

Once more, we are on the threshold of a general election; the Sarva Seva Sangh feels that the time has come when serious consideration should be given to the necessity of making suitable changes in the present method of election in the interests of making democracy effective. The Sangh puts forward the following suggestions in this respect.

Voters' Councils

At present candidates for election are set up by political parties. What remains for the people is only to vote for one of them. They have no direct or effective say in the functioning of democracy either before or after the voting. If democracy is to be alive and successful, it is necessary that the people themselves should select and set up candidates of their choice. This can be done through Voters' councils organised in each booth. These Councils would also serve as effective means of maintaining constant touch between their voters and their representatives even after the election.

This idea of the people themselves becoming active through Voters' Councils should be widely propagated, on the occasion of the coming elections. Efforts also should be made to bring round the political parties themselves to accept this idea.

Code of Conduct

Even so long as the parties do not agree with this view, they can at least come to an agreement among themselves on a 'Code of Conduct' in order to prevent undesirable practices, the development of a vicious atmosphere and the growth of unnecessary tension during elections.

For example, instead of each party organizing a separate election meeting all candidates may place their respective viewpoints and programmes before the voters from a single platform; personal attacks should be avoided in election speeches; students, boys and girls upto a certain age should not be utilized for election campaigns; undesirable and expensive method of propaganda should be avoided, and so on.

Avoid Contest

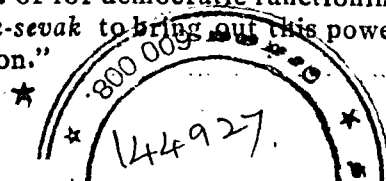
As far as possible, contest should be avoided in elections to *Panchayat Raj* bodies as *Panchayats*, *Panchayat Samitis* and District Boards and other local Government bodies like Municipalities and City Corporations. Efforts should be made to have selections to these bodies by common consent. The functions of these bodies are mostly confined to welfare activities or to the management of local affairs which hardly provide any ground for ideological or party differences. Hence political parties should keep aloof from elections at least to these bodies.

Experiments in Selected Areas

In addition to extensive propaganda among the people for their becoming more effective in choosing their representatives, efforts should also be made to bring this idea into practice in a few selected constituencies where the atmosphere may be favourable for such an experiment. Efforts should be made so that the voters in the area may form their councils and select the candidate or candidates and an election contest is avoided.

In all this work pertaining to the elections, the *Lok-Sevak* should function in the same spirit as a teacher does. The teacher does not aspire for power. The *Lok-Sevak* would therefore, neither himself stand for election nor canvass for any candidate or party.

People's Power and its organised use are essential for the establishment of *Lokniti* or for democratic functioning and it is the task of the *Lok-sevak* to bring out this power and promote its organisation."



Civil Disobedience

BERTRAND RUSSELL

The following is the statement issued by Earl Bertrand Russell explaining the technique of mass Civil Disobedience as a protest against the Polaris missile in particular and against the nuclear policy in general, observed on 18th Feby. last, as reported in our last issue of Sarvodaya. We are indebted to "New Statesman".

THERE are two different kinds of conscientious civil disobedience. There is disobedience to a law specifically commanding an action which some people profoundly believe to be wicked. The most important example of this case in our time is conscientious objection. This, however, is not the kind of civil disobedience which is now in question.

The second kind of civil disobedience, which is the one that I wish to consider, is its employment with a view to causing a change in the law or in public policy. In this aspect, it is a means of propaganda, and there are those who consider that it is an undesirable kind. Many, however, of whom I am one, think it to be now necessary.

Many people hold that law-breaking can never be justified in a democracy, though they concede that under any other form of government it may be a duty. The victorious governments, after the Second world war, reprobated, and even punished, Germans for not breaking the law when the law commanded atrocious actions. I do not see any logic which will prove either that a democratic government cannot command atrocious actions or that, if it does, it is wrong to disobey its commands.

Democratic citizens are for the most part busy with their own affairs and cannot study difficult questions with any thoroughness. Their opinions are formed upon such information as is easily accessible, and the Authorities can,

and too often do, see to it that such information is misleading. When I speak of the Authorities, I do not think only of the politicians, whether in office or in opposition, but equally their technical advisers, the popular press, broadcasting and television and, in the last resort the police. These forces are, at the present, being used to prevent the democracies of Western countries from knowing the truth about nuclear weapons. The examples are so numerous that a small selection must suffice.

I should advise optimists to study the report of the committee of experts appointed by the Ohio State University to consider the likelihood of accidental war, and also the papers by distinguished scientists in the proceedings of Pugwash Conferences. Mr. Oskar Morgenstern, a politically orthodox American defence expert, in an article reprinted in *Survival*, Volume II, Number Four, says: 'The probability of thermonuclear war's occurring appears to be significantly larger than the probability of its not occurring.' Sir Charles Snow says: 'Speaking as responsibly as I can, within, at the most, ten years from now, some of those bombs are going off. That is the certainty. (*The Times*, 28 Dec. 1960) The last two include intended as well as accidental wars.

The causes of unintended war are numerous and have already on several occasions very nearly resulted in disaster. The moon, at least, once, and flights of geese repeatedly, have been mistaken for Russian missiles. Nevertheless, not long ago, the Prime Minister, with pontifical dogmatism, announced that there will be no war by accident. Whether he believed what he said, I do not know. If he did, he is ignorant of things which is his duty to know. If he did not believe what he said, he was guilty of the abominable crime of luring mankind to its extinction by promoting groundless hopes.

Take, again, the question of British unilateralism. There is an entirely sober case to be made for this policy, but the misrepresentations of opponents, who command the

An extraordinarily interesting case which illustrates the power of the Establishment, at any rate in America, is that of Claude Eatherly, who dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. *His case also illustrates that in the modern world it often happens that only by breaking the law can a man escape from committing atrocious crimes.* He was not told what the bomb would do and was utterly horrified when he discovered the consequences of his act. He has devoted himself throughout many years to various kinds of civil disobedience with a view to calling attention to the atrocity of nuclear weapons and to expiating the sense of guilt which, if he did not act, would weigh him down. The Authorities have decided that he is to be considered mad, and a board of remarkably conformist psychiatrists have endorsed that official view. Eatherly is repentent and certified; Truman is unrepentent and uncertified. I have seen a number of Eatherley's statements explaining his motives. These statements are entirely sane. But such is the power of mendacious publicity that almost everyone, including myself, believed that he had become a lunatic.

In our topsy-turvy world those who have power of life and death over the whole human species are able to persuade almost the whole population of the countries which nominally enjoy freedom of the press and of publicity *that any man who considers the preservation of human life a thing of value must be mad. I shall not be surprised if my last years are spent in a lunatic asylum—where I shall enjoy the company of all who are capable of feelings of humanity.*

Courtesy —“New Statesman,” 17-2-61

(Note : Italics is ours.)



(Continued from page 386)

February 11

Islampur: Baba was accorded a rousing reception on his arrival at Islampur in the morning.

During the day he held important discussions with Charu Chandra Bhandari, Ksitish Roy Chowdhury, Member of Sarva Seva Sangh, Mankumar Sen, Chief Editor of Sarvodaya Press Service, and Sri Birendranath Maitra, General Secretary of Malda District Congress. The Governor of West Bengal Smt. Padmaja Naidu, State's Food Minister Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen and Excise Minister Sri Shyamapada Barman met Vinobaji and had discussions with him at the camp. The Food Minister handed over a cheque to Smt. Ashadevi for Rs. 22,000 as a donation from Chief Minister for Assam Shanti Sena Samithi.

February 18

Sonarpurhat: Vinobaji was given a rousing reception when he arrived at Sonarpurhat (West Dinajpur). He said he did not know how long he would have to stay in Assam, Nor did he know what would be his next programme. “It may be a foreign country or the other world” he added striking a note of mystery.

Addressing a prayer meeting in the evening, he said the failure to free human mind from narrow self-interest and attachment to individual ownership would undo ‘Sarvodaya’ and precipitate ‘sarvanash’ (total destruction). Incidentally he remarked that language should not be a barrier to such work.

February 14

Bhimbar: Vinobaji and his party entered Darjeeling district at Bhimbar in the early morning when they were greeted by a large gathering at the Gateway. Speaking with a hoarse voice from which he has been suffering for the last few days, he expressed his hope, that during his 23 day's tour of North Bengal he might be able to enlist at least 50

persons who would give their selfless service for the work of Sarvodaya.

February 15

Bagdogra: Vinobaji who had virtually no sleep during the last three nights owing to acute bronchial trouble walked up over twelve miles from Bhimbar to Bagdogra and reached Bagdogra in the morning. On arrival addressing a gathering he exhorted the displaced persons of Assam "Be Fearless and Follow me to Assam."

He was presented with land gifts of 170 Kathas by the land-owners and a purse of Rs. 753.10 nP. by tea-garden labourers and other people of the locality.

February 16

Siliguri: At dawn Vinobaji entered Siliguri town when he was given a rousing reception. Sri Jagadish Chandra Bhattacharjee, Chairman, Siliguri Municipality who was the first to receive Vinobaji when he stepped in the Municipal area of Banimandir School and read out a welcome address. Girl students also thronged in different places of Bhajeji's route from Banimandir School to Siliguri College.

In his prayer meeting Vinobaji told that he knew Bengal for the last ten years where men like Ram Mohan Roy, Vidyasagar, Rabindranath and others were born and asked Bengalis to enrich India with their thoughts and culture by spreading themselves all over India.

March 3, 1961

Dhubri: Vinobaji crossed the Bengal border and commenced his Assam Padayatra amidst great enthusiasm of all sections of the people of Assam. He was greeted by the Assam Governor, General Srinagesh, Smt. Nagesh, the Assam Assembly speaker, the Pradesh Congress President and Chairman, Vinoba Reception Committee, Smt. Amalproba Das, Development Minister and others. At the meeting held at the border at 7 a. m. Sarvodaya workers of Bengal, who

had followed the padayatra of Vinobaji since February 10th virtually broke into tears at the parting of the Acharya from Bengal. Vinobaji's eyes also were moist as he rose to reply to both the farewell and reception and referred to Bengal's achievements in Bhoodan work.

Resounding success of padayatra has removed all apprehensions about the success of the mission and also added remarkably to the atmosphere and spirit of work for Bhoodan.

Sri Amiya Kumar Das, Chairman of the Pradesh Congress Committee observed in his speech that Vinobaji as an embodiment of Indian Culture, was translating into practice the Gandhian social order.

March 6, 1961

Cooch Behar: "The history of our struggle for independence should be written from Sri Chaitanya Deb," observed Vinobaji at a public meeting. He said that Sri Chaitanya had farsight and he knew the weakness of our society. He tried to eliminate the roots of casteism, untouchability and violence. Other saints had also done this. The heart of the people must be purified first. The pioneers of Swarajya movement are Rammohan, Debendranath Tagore, Dayananda and others who created the field in which Gandhiji became successful.

(Compiled from Press Reports)

A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order

by Jayaprakash Narayan

(Fifth enlarged edition of selected speeches and articles including the inaugural address of the War Resisters' International conference at Gandhigram in December 1960.)

180 Pages] [Price Rs. 1-50
Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Thanjavur, (S. India)

The Last Twelve Annual Sarvodaya Conferences

S. No.	Year and Date	Place	State	President
1	1949, March 9-11	Rao, Indore	Madhya Pradesh	Acharya Kripalani
2	1950, April 6-13	Angul	Orissa	Sri Kaka Kalelkar
3	1951, April 8-11	Sivarampalli	Hydera'ad	Sri Kaka Kalelkar
4	1952, April 13-15	Sevapuri-Kashi	Uttar Pradesh	Sri SriKrishnadas Jaju
5	1953, March 7-9	Chandil	Bihar	Sri Dhirendra Majumdar
6	1954, April 18-20	Buddha Gaya	Bihar	Smt. Ashadevi
7	1955, March 25-27	Puri Jagannath	Orissa	Sri Ravishankar Maharaj
8	1956, May 27-29	Kancheepuram	Tamilnad	Sri Pattvardhan
9	1957, May 10-12	Kaladi	Kerala	Acharya Dharmadhikari
10	1958, May 30-31, June 1	Pandaripuram	Maharashtra	Sri Ramadevi
11	1959, Feby. 7-21, March 1	Ajmir	Rajasthan	Sri Kelappan
12	1960, March, 26-28	Sevagram	Maharashtra	Acharya Harihardas

Alternative to War

Shankarrao Deo.

THE team consisting of officers of both the Governments of India and China has published its report. In fact, there are two separate reports—not one—by the two groups, Indian and Chinese. The facts and figures which the Indian section of the team has marshalled reveal that the Chinese have indulged in recent years in activities which are far from *bonafide*.

India and China, both assert that each is in the right. The question then arises as to how this dispute could be settled? India and China are both 'independent' nations. So far there has been only one method of solving international disputes—as far as possible the Governments on both the sides try to settle the differences by mutual negotiations, but failing this they go to war with one another. War or physical force thus becomes the ultimate arbiter among nations.

Our Foreign Policy

Under the leadership of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru the Government of India has adopted a policy that it will not have recourse to violence to settle its disputes with other countries. As a matter of fact, this policy of the Indian Government is not a policy only of Pt. Nehru or of the Congress party but it would be no exaggeration to say that it is the policy of the whole of the country. It is the logical outcome derived from our past and immediate history, from the various ideals and declarations which we pursued and made during the course of our freedom struggle. The objective of our foreign policy being world peace, India is always opposed to steps which may bring war closer.

The development of atomic weapons has created a situation in which even those who do not consider violence in international affairs to be taboo and are not committed to a policy of nonviolence feel that it is not practical politics to indulge in violence for settling international

disputes. For, the very nature of war has now become such that it can lead only to one result, namely, total destruction including both the aggressor and the attacked.

Hence a righteous war has become meaningless, because even the 'right' would not survive a world catastrophe following war.

If the way of violence has thus become out of date, what is the alternative for redressing or opposing an international wrong? Let us take the present Indo-Chinese dispute. So far as facts and figures are concerned it appears that the Indian case is strong. But China is not prepared to admit it and retrace the steps it has taken which, according to us, constitute injustice. We have seen above that a recourse to violence is neither in keeping with our foreign policy nor desirable or practical. What is, therefore, the alternative sanction?

Moral and Spiritual Sanctions

Besides violence, there may be two types of sanctions—one moral and the other spiritual. So far as spiritual power is concerned, in the present state of development of human society, it is confined to a few individuals. A truth, simply because it is a truth, is not usually grasped by common man. In order to make people see the truth, we have often to take recourse to some other external aid than truth itself.... The fact is that so long as truth is not able to stand on its own power, no other external force will be able to defend it completely. It is a matter of regret that it has not yet been possible for man to do so.

If, therefore, spiritual force is not available, truth will have to take the help of moral force, if it has to avoid its own destruction. And, the destruction of truth is the destruction of man himself.

Moral, sanction is, even at present, used in individual or group relationships on small scales. The present situation demands that man should discover the technique of applying moral force on a collective basis.

Gandhiji discovered Satyagraha as the moral alternative to war. We made use of this alternative sanction in

our freedom struggle and achieved success. India is now free. The time has come when India should take the initiative in the application of the moral sanction in the international disputes, and, as far as possible, try to resolve its differences with its neighbours either by mutual understanding, or failing that, through the weapon of Satyagraha.

But this moral sanction of Satyagraha cannot be used by the government. It is only the people who can do it. The Government of India possesses an army, and even though its declared policy is not to use force in resolving its disputes, if any, with other countries, it is committed to meet any foreign aggression with arms. In other words, the Government of India has not completely abandoned the use of force or army. And, no government can do so, since government means the ultimate sanction of force. Thus the contradiction between Government and Satyagraha is apparent.

Hence, those who wish Satyagraha to be used in international affairs would be mistaken if they think that this should be done through government, since it is only through governments that we function, at present, in international field. The weapon of Satyagraha can be wielded only by the people. Violent and nonviolent, both types of sanction, ultimately reside in the people. But in practice the people have delegated their own power of violence to the government. In other words, the government is a projection of the violence of the people. But their power of non-violence still remains with them. This power, namely Satyagraha, can, therefore, be used only by the people themselves, and not through the repository of their power of violence.

International Satyagraha

But there is one more condition which has to be fulfilled in an international Satyagraha. It would not be sufficient if in such a Satyagraha only the people of one country, namely, those who feel aggrieved, are pitted against the people or the government of another country.

For, it would smell of nationalism... It is, therefore, essential that in international Satyagrahas such people of different countries who have faith in nonviolence should join together.

Satyagraha in the international field would thus mean Satyagraha done not by the people of one country against another, but by the people of different countries joining together.

Even in the field of violence today a situation has arisen in which even force has to be used under the auspices of the United Nations Organization. Even two independent countries are not 'independent' to use force in their mutual relationships, since such a step may easily lead to a more widespread conflagration. Hence the use of the auspices of the U. N. The U. N. is not composed of the representatives of the people but of the representatives of the governments. If the U. N., therefore, wants to resolve international conflicts it can do so only by the use of violence. This is the main cause of the failure of the U. N. in the Congo. Because the U. N. is composed of the representatives of government, it cannot use moral force even if it wants to do so just as the government based upon the ultimate sanction of force cannot do it.

If moral force, is, therefore, to be used in the international field, that is, if peace is to be established in the world, it is essential to form a World Organization of Peoples' Representatives. This is possible only when the present loyalties of race, religion and nation, all give place to the loyalty towards humanity. International Satyagraha as outlined above will give birth to and strengthen this loyalty.

If questions like the Indo-Chinese disputes are to be settled peacefully, the only way to do so is by a World Organization of the Representatives of the peoples taking up such questions and performing Satyagraha in the international field. If in this process, the Nation States are liquidated it would be a desirable consummation, particularly for one like the Indian government which is historically destined to do so since, it has inherited the traditions and ideals of Gandhiji.

—Courtesy "*Bhoodan*" English Weekly, Kashi



A Decade of Acharya Vinobaji's Yatra

1951 March 8th	...	Departure to Sivarampalli,
„ April 18th	...	Pochampalli, the birth place of Bhoodan
„ June 27th	...	Return to Parandham
„ Sept. 12th	...	Departure to Delhi
„ Nov. 1st	...	Mathurai Conference of U. P. Constructive workers and decision to collect 5 lakhs of acres of Bhoodan.
„ Nov. 13th to 22nd	...	Rajghat, Delhi: discussion with Planning Commission.
„ Nov. 22nd to 31st Dec.	}	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh
1952 Jan. 1st to Sept. 13th		Stay in Kashi (70 days)
„ Sept. 13th to Dec. 31st	}	Yatra in Bihar for 839 days
1953 Jan. 1st to Dec. 31st		
1954 Jan. 1st to Dec. 31st	}	Yatra in Bengal (25 days)
1955 Jan. 1st to 25th		Yatra in Orissa
„ Jan. 26th to Sept. 30th	}	Yatra in Andhra including Telangana in Hyderabad.
„ Oct. 1st to Dec. 31st		
1956 Jan. 1st to May 12th	}	Yatra in Tamilnad
„ May 13th to Dec. 31st		
1957 Jan. 1st to April 17th	}	Yatra in Kerala
„ April 18th to Aug. 21st		
„ Aug. 22nd to Dec. 31st	}	Yatra in Karnataka
1958 Jan. 1st to Mar. 22nd		
„ Mar. 23rd to Sept. 22nd	}	Yatra in Maharashtra
„ Sept. 23rd to Dec. 31st		
1959 Jan. 1st to 13th	}	Yatra in Gujarat
„ Jan. 14th to Mar. 31st		
„ April 1st to May 21st	}	Yatra in Rajasthan
„ May 22nd to Sept. 19th		
„ Sept. 21st to Dec. 31st	}	Yatra in East Punjab
1960 Jan. 1st to April 7th...		
„ April 8th to May 12th	}	Yatra in East Punjab and Himachal Pradesh
„ May 13th to June 23rd		
„ June 22nd to July 9th	}	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh
„ July 10th to Sept. 30th		
„ Oct. 1st to Dec. 24th	}	Yatra in Madhya Pradesh
„ Dec. 25th to 31st Dec.		
1961 Jan. 1st to Feb. 9th	}	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh
„ Feb. 10th to March 4th		
„ March 5th	}	Yatra in Bihar
	}	Yatra in West Bengal
		Entry into Assam

(4) Have village industries been started in those villages? And how many workers are working in those villages?

3. Organisation & Shanti-Sena

(1) How many active primary, District and regional units of the Sangh have been formed? Please furnish their detailed addresses along with the names of the principal workers.

(2) Give, area wise number of Lok-Sevaks & Shanti-Sainiks.

(3) What special activities were undertaken by the Shantisainiks of their areas during the recent past?

(4) Relevant information about any other institution of constructive work with which the primary or the district Sarvodaya Mandal has got any connection from the point of view of furthering this movement.

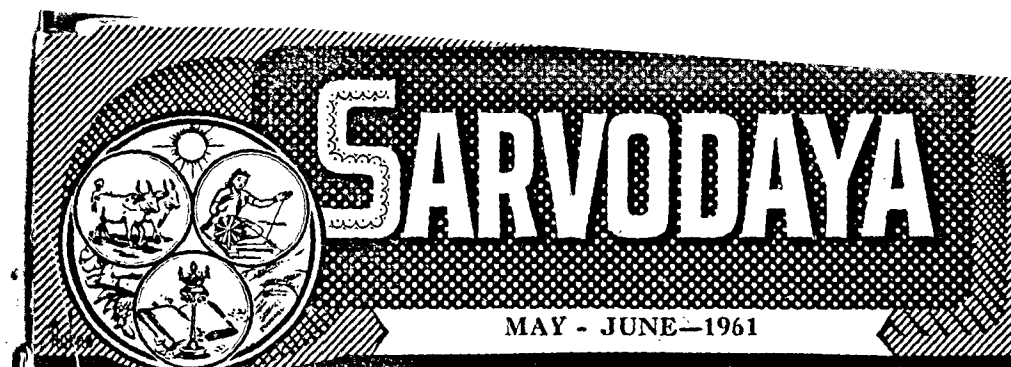
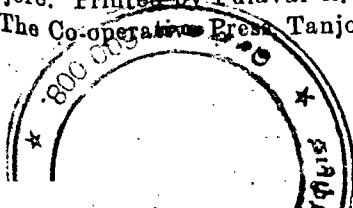
(Adapted from—Bhoodan)



(Continued from page 379)

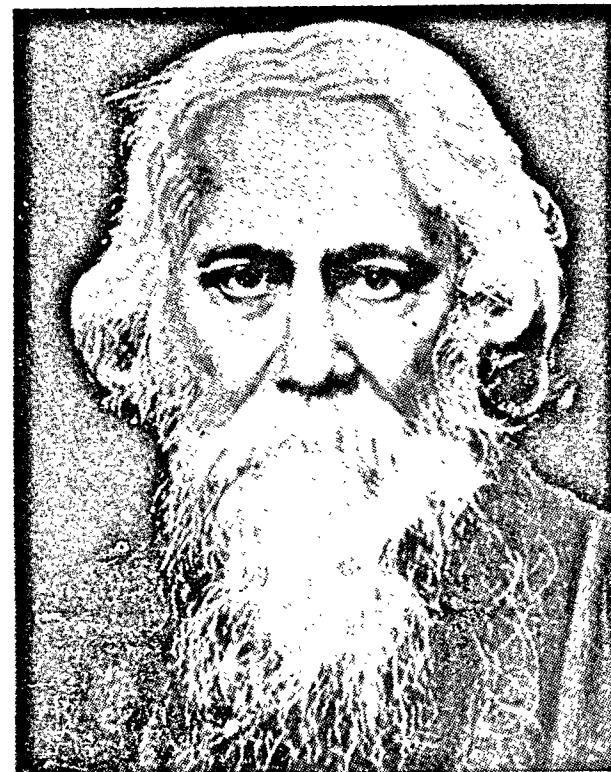
The TWELVETH Sarvodaya Sannam at Sevagram in Wardha in March 1960 with the conspicuous absence of Vinobaji for the first time in the last 12 years appeared as the stock-taking Sannam for the workers, after the First Conference in March 1948. The Statement of the Conference reviewed the general situation in the country and outside world and our attempts and achievement, during the last 12 years of Sarvodaya pilgrimage. The Sannam was an occasion for solemn re-dedication of the workers for creating a new social order through Bhoodan—Gramdan Movement at the sacred place of Sevagram.

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119/20th Issue

Vol. X No. 11 & 12



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A Monthly Digest running its tenth year 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 ten 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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HEAVEN OF FREEDOM

Where the mind is without fear and
the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the World has not been broken up
into fragments by narrow domestic
walls;

Where words come out from the depth
of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms
towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has
not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee
into ever-widening thought and
action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my
Father, let my Country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore,

(GITANJALI.)



THE MESSAGE OF 13th SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

THE proceedings and the statement with the resolutions of 13th Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Unguturu in Andhra on 17, 18th & 19th April 1961 are published in this issue.

The statement has reviewed the decade's progress of the Bhoodan Movement that revealed itself ten years ago in Andhra under the inspiring leadership of Acharya Vinobaj. The statement has stressed on a threefold programme for the year. The first is to concentrate on Bhoodan with a fresh drive as in Bihar and to distribute the land - gifts already received. The second is the mission of peace by trained workers who have taken pledge as Shanti-sainiks (Peace volunteers). The third is the propagation of Lok - niti (the politics of the people based on moral law and service as opposed to the politics of the State based on force and power).

As a first step towards the Lok - Niti favourable conditions and opportunities are offered now through the Panchayati Raj sponsored by the Government in different states and the impending general elections. The Sarvodaya workers have an opportunity to propagate party-

less democracy in the sphere of atleast local bodies from village Panchayat to District Parishad.

There is possibility for intensive education of the electorate in favour of basic, direct, responsible and participating democracy through the Voters' Councils as expounded by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan in his small book. "**Swaraj For The People*" (Published by A.B. S. S. S. Rajghat, Varanasi.) This would be a fitting answer to the criticism that Sarvodaya has no politics. Sarvodaya does not admit bankruptcy in politics but it is a politics of 'creative altruism' through service transcending the politics of the State based on power and *Danda shakti*.

The other programmes of re-orientation of khadi movement (*Naya-morh*) and Grama Sankalp for Gram Swaraj will undoubtedly help in the realisation of Gram Swaraj of Gandhiji's conception and as a step towards Lok-Niti.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the ideal of Sarvodaya and strive to carry out the triple programmes as laid down at the 13th. All India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Unguturu.

* Price one rupee - Postage 25 nP.
available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.

about her feet and legs has almost stopped. And if we do not take care, she will collapse altogether.

To a people famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages. God created man to work for his food, and said those who ate without work were thieves. Eighty per cent of India are compulsorily thieves half the Year.....Hunger is the argument that is driving India to the spinning wheel. The call of the spinning wheel is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love. And love is Swaraj.....

"Why should I, who have no need to work for food, spin?" may be the question asked. Because I am eating what does not belong to me. I am living on the spoliation of my countrymen. Trace the course of every pice that finds its way into your pocket, and you will realise the truth of what I write. Swaraj has no meaning for the millions if they do not know how to employ that enforced idleness.

(The above is from Mahatma Gandhi's reply to Rabindranath Tagore in June 1921) taken from "Gandhi Marg", New Delhi.



VINOBAJI'S YATRA IN ASSAM

Acharya Vinobaji received the largest land gift since his entry into Assam at Nowgong when the two Stradhikaras of Batadarwa Satra, the birthplace of Sri Sankardev, relinquished their right over the entire Satra land of 1,248 bighas. The Batadrawa Satra, nine miles from Nowgong, is the outstanding Vaishnavite monastery in the country established by the followers of Sri Sankardev.

Vinobaji expressed his appreciation of the announcement of the landgift which had maintained the heritage of that illustrious Mahapurusha. He was glad to notice the mass awakening in Nowgong which had been in the forefront of the freedom struggle. He regretted that this awakening was now canalised in a wrong direction of parochialism, casteism and linguism,

Referring to the disturbances in July last year, he said that it pained him to see a narrow outlook in the people in a dynamic world where science had removed differences in space and time and men were aspiring to reach the moon.

In a clarion call to the youth of the country to shun all pettiness and march ahead, Vinobaji said the youth must possess a broader mind and consider the whole world as theirs.

Assam, he said, occupied a strategic position in India's map. She was surrounded by foreign countries like China, Burma, Tibet, and Pakistan and the people of Assam should bind themselves by ties of love and vision.

About 808 cottahs of land donated by 56 persons were presented

by Sri Lilakanta Bora on behalf of the Nowgong Panchayats. Vinobaji received a purse of Rs. 1,163 from the people of Nowgong and another purse of Rs. 9,000 from the Bihar Yuba Sangh.

*

Vinobaji entered Assam on March 5th. During a period of 75 days of yatra he walked through five districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Nowgong, Darrang, and N. Lakhimpur, halting at 73 places. The distance covered is 552 miles, the longest being in Goalpara district.

At the last lap of the yatra Darrang district offered 4 gramdams and N. Lakhimpur district offered 13 gramdams.

Bhoodan of 50,296 Kathas were received from 2,900 donors.

Sampattidan of Rs. 544-10 (monthly money gifts) from 165 donors was received.

Sarvodaya Literature sale amounted to Rs. 12,156 in Assamese language and Rs. 14,492 in other languages.

For Bhoodan journals 89 subscribers were enrolled.

71 Lok-sevaks were registered.

The State Legislature extended hearty welcome to Vinobaji while the Provincial Congress Committee passed a resolution exhorting all its members and constituent committees to extend their wholehearted co-operation in fulfilling the target of Bhoodan in Assam on the basis of one katha per bigha of land.

Vinobaji gets up daily at 2 A.M. and begins his Yatra at 3 A.M. His daily programme continued without change even amidst heavy rains.

*

The essential principle of property being to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labour and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the product of labor, the raw material of the earth.

John Stuart Mill in Political Economy.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS FOR SARVODAYA MOVEMENT

All India Collection Drive from 15th June to 31st July 1961.

Gandhiji's conception of "Swarajya" was mainly based upon peoples' own initiative. He wished that the people must stand upon their own legs, and should carry on their day to day work through mutual co-operation, without depending upon the centralised State or upon the forces of violence represented by the Army. It was with the object of realising this concept of 'Lok-Swarajya' that after the attainment of independence he advised the Congresses to convert itself into a 'Lok-Sevak-Sangh'.

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh is humbly working towards the fulfillment of this ideal of Gandhiji in more than one way. The Sangh has taken up the movement started by Acharya Vinoba for a non-violent social and economic revolution through Bhoodan. It is doing its utmost to develop 'Lok-Shakti', or 'peoples' own strength different from violence and independent from state Power. Almost all the constructive organisations started by Gandhiji have by now merged into the Sarva Seva Sangh.

The Lok-Sevaks form the foundation upon which all work of the Sarva Seva Sangh rests. They are spread throughout the length and breadth of the country engaged in the constructive revolution of building up an independent 'Lok-Shakti' or Power of the people. Primary, District or Provincial Sarvodaya Mandals and the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh are all comprised of these 'Lok-Sevaks'. The activities of the Sangh mainly include Bhoodan and Gramdan, organisation of Shanti-Sena, Nai-Taleem, Khadi and Village industries, 'Go-Seva' (Cow service), etc., and an extensive education of the people which is necessary for the attainment of 'Lok-Swarajya'.

In executing all these activities, no financial help is taken either from the government or from any centralised fund. The help of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi which was being availed of during the early days of the Bhoodan movement, has also been abandoned.

Nearly Rs. 30 Lakhs in all are spent every year by the vari-

ous Sarvodaya Mandals, from the primary to the All-India Sangh, in carrying out all these activities throughout the country. This expenditure includes the maintenance of the thousands of workers living a simple life, publication of periodicals etc., and organisational expenses of running the whole movement.

If we take into account the vastness of the country as well as the comprehensive nature of the work, the above expenditure would appear to be reasonable & essential. Efforts can be made to collect this amount from a few well-to-do people or from some centralised funds and sources. But experience shows that the mass-consciousness which we wish to arouse and the desired 'Lok-Shakti' (Power of the People) could not be built up by depending on such sources. The Sarva Seva Sangh, therefore, desires that in the task of building up 'Lok-Swarajya', it should receive wide-spread support and sanction of the people in general, by way of their small or large contributions. The Sangh has already started the programme of Sarvo-

daya-Parta and Sutanjali, etc., in order to build up popular sanction behind its activities. The Sangh has now decided to seek financial help from the general public, including rich and poor alike. This stand of the Sangh would be found consistent with its fundamental policy and objective. There are millions of people in the villages and in the cities of India who would like to contribute their mite in furthering the Sarvodaya movement. Here is an excellent opportunity for such people to render their active co-operation.

An All India collection Drive is therefore being launched from the 15th of June, to the 31st of July, 1961, to raise public donations for the Sarva Seva Sangh. We earnestly appeal to all people to extend their whole-hearted help and co-operation and contribute generously for Sarvodaya work thus furthering the cause of the establishment of 'Sarvodaya Society'.

Nabakrushna Choudhuri,
President,
A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh.

APPEAL TO MIDDLE CLASSES

WILFRED WELLOCK,
Preston, New Longton, England.

*This is a special message sent for the 13th Sarvodaya
Sammelan held at Unguturu on 17th April, 1961.*

I deeply appreciate your kind invitation to attend your forthcoming Conference, and regret that I can only be with you in spirit, aided, perhaps, by a few comments, in the form of a message which you kindly solicit.

I do this joyfully although my message may not appear to be joyful. We are moving rapidly towards one world, but what sort of a world is it to be? and will it endure? East and West are verily meeting and intertwining; the process of unification is at work. But what is the nature of the unity to be? At the moment the West is dominant. The magnet of its affluence, with all its glamour is powerfully affecting the East, also Africa, and the underdeveloped countries of South America, — yes, even India, with its millennia of spiritual awakenings.

In the course of my life I have perceived the wisdom of medita-

tion; but today it is a lost art. Yet it is the one art that is capable of saving Western civilisation from a materialism that is daily becoming more deeply rooted.

As I sit back and ponder, I see young people with smiling, hopeful and expectant faces looking forward to the thrilling experience of some worthy service, yet I know that ere long the shadows of disillusion will becloud many of those faces; and cause many of the owners to lower their "sights", adopt a more sombre or a more fickle attitude to life and so become de-valued persons.

As a Westerner with some knowledge of India's great spiritual heritage, I had hoped that India might be a means of arresting the disease of materialism that is carrying all before it in the West. Gandhi had opened the way, and profoundly influenced considerable numbers of the more thoughtful people in the West, but the

river that was hoped might follow the stream has not arrived. Of course we had no right to expect it, having failed so badly ourselves. But today, alas, what we now see is that India's "intellectuals" that great body of her Middle Classes has become enamoured of Western materialism, called Prosperity, and appears to be going all out to establish it in India.

India has reached a critical stage in her history. She is about to make one of the biggest and most vital decisions of her life as a great civilisation. In my estimate of the world situation today she is one of the four nations whose course during the next twenty years will determine the world's future and indeed whether or not it will have a future. The other three countries are America, Russia and Britain.

In the making of those decisions India's Middle Classes will undoubtedly play a leading part. History has placed them in a position of privilege. Almost entirely they stand aloof from the nation's physical duties. Their chores are for the most part cheaply performed. But the history of the last forty years, to go no further back, proves that the era of privilege is rapidly drawing to a close.

The ascendancy of Communism and the rapid elimination of Colonialism and financial and territorial imperialism are heralding the dawn of a new era that as yet is largely undefined. On the assumption that there is to be a future, what part do India's Middle Classes propose to play in insuring it? On the whole, they are enamoured of Western affluence, but have they studied its real nature and the ultimate effects of its materialism? If not, they had better sit down and in quietness and take thought:

Every Western industrial country is today in the toils of a boasted expanding economy. Its future is made to depend upon its perpetual expansion, which involves perpetual rises in profits, wages, and salaries, and thus in material living standards all round. Were the expansion to cease, the economy would collapse. Invention and increased automation are perennially at work. That means new gadgets, new industries and increased production, also increased profit which provides the new capital for the industrial expansion. Then, to insure the sale of the increased production, advertising must insure by careful psychological study of various types of buyers how to induce them to buy what they would not normally buy or

desire, and do not need. Should pressurised advertising fail to sell all the goods that are produced, Hire Purchase buying is recommended, and once the habit of possessing and using goods before they are paid for gets hold, it becomes common practice which considerable debt makes it almost impossible to break off.

This latest phase of the Industrial Revolution, thus becomes a closed-in cycle, every segment of which must function like clock-work or the whole economy will break down. The authors of the cycle are neither philosophers, teachers nor saints, but profiteers, big and ever bigger financial corporations, and now increasingly, tycoons.

The process as a whole drives ever widening circles of the public deeper and deeper into the slough of debt and materialism, and the habit of getting and spending money as a WAY OF LIFE, while every increase of spending reduces both the opportunities and the inclination to pursue and cultivate spiritual values. To be in the fashion becomes a major and often the chief interest.

This might well be described as a species of tycoon dictatorship.

The politicians dovetail their policies into this economy, which the centres of learning and culture, and the churches in general, take for granted. But what the tycoons cannot do is to transform a society of mass-minded workers, fashion-ridden women, and well placed Middle Classes into a society of whole persons whose way of life meets the demands of a peaceful world order.

Thus what I see ahead are two mammoth evils: an internecine international conflict for the possession and control of the earth's natural resources in order to meet the rising demands of towering living standards across the world, and for the work markets whereby to purchase them; and the ideological conflict between capitalism and communism for world economic and political control, following a general breakdown of the world's economy.

Today the U. S. A. is consuming almost as many manufactured goods as the rest of the world taken together, while every Western industrial country is feverishly scaling the ladder of Prosperity.

Where, then, lies peace? We cannot attain it by disarmament,

campaigns alone, nor by long, strenuous marches. I favour these efforts on one condition, that they are supported by positive, constructive action to build a society of whole persons. This involves a many-sided revolution including the economic and the spiritual. Only a complete vision of the meaning of peace can save us from the peril of a nuclear world war. Too much present-day pacifism is bog-bound.

Sarvodaya comprehends and embraces both these activities, and I trust the present conference will strengthen the determination to pursue both, and to influence India's Middle Classes who have not yet joined its ranks, to do so immediately. Gandhi saw the Truth, the Truth which alone can save civilisation—world civilisation from self-destruction, a fate that may be perilously near!

THE EARTH FOR ALL CALENDAR

I do not pretend to believe, if you examine the terms strictly, in what is called the absolute property in land. You may toss a sixpence into the sea if you like, but there are things with respect to land which you cannot, and ought not, and dare not do.

John Bright in the House of Commons, March 14, 1868.

Property in land differs in its origin from property in any commodity produced by human labour. The product of labor naturally belongs to the laborer who produced it.....But the same argument does not apply to land, which is not the product of labor, but is the gift of the Creator of the world to mankind. Every argument used to give an ethical foundation for the exclusive right of property in land has a latent fallacy.

Mr. Justice Longfield. Cobden Club Essays.

5TH TAMILNAD SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

SHANKAR RAO DEO'S APPEAL FOR DECENTRALISATION

Concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few at distant capital towns in the country far removed from the villages—the real sources of power — and management of human affairs on a purely impersonal level treating human beings as machines were the two great evils of modern industrial civilization which must be eliminated if real swaraj is to be established, said Sri Shankarrao Deo, addressing the Fifth Tamilnad Sarvodaya Conference at Papanad on June 4. He said that even after 13 years of freedom and execution of two Five-Year Plans democracy had not taken deep roots in the country because the people had not been awakened to the need to manage their affairs themselves without aid from an outside agency. If the villagers could manage their affairs themselves, top heavy administration could be avoided.

The ushering in of Panchayat Raj by legislation, Sri Deo said was a welcome thing but he would like to issue a warning that the reform carried with it risks also. The members of the Panchayat

should take care to discharge their responsibilities in a non-partisan manner without surrendering to political influences.

Speaking on the signification of Satyagraha Sri Deo said it should not be undertaken nowadays although Gandhiji had been forced to offer Satyagraha in the then context for achieving political power.

Sri Deo referred to the reorientation of the Khadi development programme of the All-India Sarva Sava Sangh and said Khadi should not be merely a source of employment to a few but should be part and parcel of a decentralised democratic co-operative agro-industrial rural economy they wanted to build.

Sri Vallabhsawami, former President, All-India Sarva Seva Sangh said the Sangh had resolved to collect public donations for the first time to carry on its manifold activities in which thousands of workers were engaged and on which annual expenditure of Rs 30 lakhs was incurred.

Referring to the move of the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal to offer satyagraha for the restoration of lands to the evicted tenants and achievement of Gramdan in certain cases, Sri. Vallabhswami said the Sarva Seva Sangh was very anxious that if the contemplated satyagraha did take place, it should be true to the spirit of Sarvodaya and free from any ill-will or bitterness and should be launched after obtaining the express permission of Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Sri M. P. Sivagnana Gramani, Leader of the Tamil Arasu Kazhagam said his party had no political ambitions and he could throw in his lot with the Sarvodaya movement without reservation.

The conference, in a resolution, said though the Sarva Seva Sangh was opposed to elections and kept itself aloof from power politics, in the next general elections, it would work to secure the acceptance of certain codes of conduct by all political parties and the formation of voters' councils by the people to elect their own representatives.

Another decision already taken by the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal and approved by the All India Sarva Seva Sangh was announced at the conference. The decision was in Gramdan villages, where community ownership of land and collective farming could not be achieved, because of the recalcitrant attitude of a few mirasdars, every effort should be made to persuade those mirasdars to participate in a common programme and when all their efforts failed, the villagers could launch a satyagraha.

Sri S. Jagannathan in his presidential address said that the land problem could not be satisfactorily solved through legislation imposing ceding or other acts safeguarding the rights of tenants. Political parties instead of placing too much of faith in Government should try to rouse "Jan Shakti". He said village must be made self-sufficient.

Sri. G. Ramachandra Rao from Andhra Pradesh, Sardar Vedaratnam, A. R. Marimuthu, M. L. As., Kunrakudi Adigal, S. R. Subramanyam, S. Vedachalam, T. K. Srinivasa Aiyar and others addressed the conference.

Dr. RAJENDRA PRASADS' SPEECH AT SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

President Rajendra Prasad hinted at the Sarvodaya Sammelan that he would relinquish the Presidentship in a few months' time and he intended taking up Sarvodaya work. Dr. Prasad who was addressing the 13th All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan said that though he did not have the energy to undertake rigorous duties of the Sarvodaya workers, he could make his own contribution to the movement, while sitting at one place.

Dr. Prasad said he was happy that he accepted the intitation of the Sarva Seva Sangh to be present at the Sammelan. For coming over here he had to overcome many difficulties. At one stage it looked as if he might not be able to undertake the journey. But he was happy that he had at last come over to Sarvodayapuram and was participating in the Sammelan. The credit for this should go to Sri Prabhakarji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who had persuaded him.

The President had made it a point to attend all the Sarvodaya

sammelans as it offered him an opportunity to meet old friends and come across new leaders of the movement. On such occasion he recollected the old days when he along with other leaders participated in the conference under the presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. Those were times when the country was facing all kinds of difficulties and knotty problems but they were able to overcome every one of them thanks to the united efforts that they had put in. Also they had confidence in their leader Mahatma Gandhi and were not afraid of following the path shown by him. Even if they took wrong steps Mahatmajji was able to extricate them out of difficulties successfully. Today they were deprived of the able guidance of Gandhiji. But his teachings were still before them. Not only that, the country was also fortunate in still having some of the leaders who had worked with Gandhiji and been trained by him. He said that some of the knotty problems now facing the country were there even in the pre-independence years. They were able to solve them one by one.

Decentralisation Of Power

Dr. Prasad referred to the question of decentralisation which seemed to be catching the imagination of the people throughout the country and said many difficult problems were also created by it. There was a feeling that along with decentralisation more and more power was going to a few hands, defeating the very object of decentralisation.

An example of decentralisation was the General Election. It was true that people had full freedom to choose their own representatives belonging only to a particular party or group so that power was retained in a few hands. He was not saying that with reference to any particular party or individuals but the fact remained that people were losing confidence in themselves and had taken to hero-worship. It was true that even during Gandhiji's time there was considerable hero worship but along with hero worship they also followed the path shown by him and practised truth and non-violence. If these were the conditions in the present day also, there need be no fear. The electorate should exercise its right very carefully and choose only those who were most suitable to represent them.

The President said that at the present time they read reports in newspapers of quarrels among Congressmen themselves for places of position. Unless they put an end to the fight for posts and position there could be no salvation for the country. If people craved for position with the sincere intention of serving the people, there was nothing wrong but, if service to the people meant gaining public position, it was bad.

Referring to the question of decentralisation and production of wealth, Dr. Prasad said that here also there seemed to be a lot of centralisation. It looked as if an amount of centralisation was inevitable because of the way in which we wanted to go ahead with rapid industrialisation of the country, taking the example of the countries known to have the most centralised systems. It was also difficult to take a path different from the one followed in the rest of the world. The question was how to bring about some sort of co-existence between centralisation and decentralisation. Centralisation should be resorted to only when it became most essential.

Dr. Prasad said that there was a lot of talk about ahimsa and non-

violence in the country. This was the greatest contribution Mahatmaji had made not only to India but to the whole world. Today, even if there was a great achievement in technology and science, some of the leaders of the world realised that non-violence was the only way to peaceful living. Nations competing with one another to achieve superiority in armament now felt that it should be reduced by stages. While everybody talked about disarmament nobody seemed to take the initiative.

The President added that he would not be surprised if big nations which had reached perfection in the sphere of armament hesitated to check the use of them. What surprised him was

that even nations which had little or no arms were hesitating to take the initiative. It was time that these countries stopped talking about non-violence without putting it into practice.

Dr. Prasad said that desire and greed for more power was responsible for the race towards armament. When once this desire was stopped, all the quarrels between two individuals, or two nations would cease. Every one would live a contented life. But for achieving control over desires, they should take to decentralisation. This was also the aim of the Sarvodaya workers. They should preach this among the people, in a more vigorous manner.

Recent Publications of A. B. S. S. Prakashan,
Rajghat, Kashi.

Shanti Sena - by Vinoba	...	...	1-50
Thoughts on Assam Disturbances			
by Charu Chandra Bhandari	...	...	1-00
Vinoba : Man and Message by Suresh Ram	...	...	1-00
With Vinoba by Donald G. Groom	...	...	0-75
Report of The Study Team To Yugoslavia 1959	...	...	1-00
Postage extra.			

Available at Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India.

STATEMENT OF ALL INDIA SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

The following statement, embodying the programme for the next year for Sarvodaya workers was adopted by the Sarva Seva Sangh and placed before the Sarvodaya Sammelan. Besides other resolutions on Panchayat Raj Scheme, Compulsory National Service, Naya morh in Khadi Work and Training of workers are given below.

The Sarva Seva Sangh is meeting this time in the land of Andhra where the Bhoodan Movement was born ten years ago.

The Bhoodan movement manifested a new phase of the non-violent revolution. After the death of Gandhiji when a feeling of despondency was prevalent in the country, the Bhoodan Movement took a definite step towards Sarvodaya and generated new hope. Through the ideal and Programme of Satyagraha, Gandhiji had introduced non-violence in the political field and had infused new life into the people through the various movements and programmes of constructive work which he initiated. In the post-independence period Bhoodan has opened the way for bringing about economic equality and for the building up of lok-shakti, or the people's strength as different from the force of violence or from State power.

It is obvious that the Bhoodan Movement has not attained the expected measure of success. Looking to external results, we have not been able to fulfil our target of collecting 5 crore acres of land for the landless or extending Gramdan to the 5 lakh villages of India. However, it must be said that the response from the people was more than commensurate with the effort that was put into the work. It is a unique example in the world's history of an economic transformation of such magnitude through the way of non-violence.

But the success of the Bhoodan movement does not lie so much in the external targets achieved as in the impact it has had on the public mind. This movement has opened out new avenues of non-violent action for the development of lok-shakti of the people's strength, as a result of which a ground has been prepared for the transition from centra-

lized swaraj to decentralized gram-swarajya. An atmosphere for a change in the very basis of ownership and property and in favour of community ownership has been created as a result of Gramdan.

But a change of values in the economic sphere alone is not enough for the fulfilment of our objective. Casteism, communalism and linguism are all obstacles in the way of people's Swaraj. Since the last Conference at Sevagram a year ago certain very deplorable events have happened in the country which should act as a warning to us. The ugly demonstration of provincialism which we witnessed in the Assam riots and of rabid communalism in Jabbalpur, is a matter of serious anxiety for every citizen. These events show how far we still are from our ideal of a nonviolent social order.

But adverse circumstances should act as a further incentive for revolution. The remedy for such incidents lies in a comprehensive education of people, in generating mutual confidence and fellow feeling and a feeling of sacrifice among them. The programmes of *Shanti-sena* and *sarvodaya patra* are capable of generating these virtues. The longing for peace is increasing and positive efforts are also being

made in that direction in different parts of the world. The attention of peace workers of the world has, naturally, been drawn towards India in this connection. They expect strengthening of the idea of world peace and a help in its establishment as a result of the experiments in the non-violence being carried out in India. At its conference held at Gandhigram recently the 'War Resisters' International has mooted the idea of a *World Peace Force*, (International *Shanti-sena*) which increases our own responsibility in the matter.

The surrender of the dacoits in the Chambal Valley was a historical and unique event of the past year. To view the problem of dacoits as one of ordinary law and order is a sign of gross ignorance and lack of intelligent understanding. This problem can be solved only by moral means. The surrender of the dacoits provides a glaring example of how even those whom we consider to be anti-social and wicked react to sympathy and goodness. The events in the Chambal valley point to the nonviolent technique of dealing with evil and crime.

Side by side with our mission of establishing peace in society, we have also to take up a programme of economic and political decentralization for the attainment of people's Swaraj,

In the economic sphere we must emphasize once more upon the promise of securing land gifts and the distribution of land. It is with the transfer of the means of production into the hands of the producer that economic evolution begins. Bhoodan has provided us with a practical programme of such economic revolution. The programme of securing 'one *kattha* per *bigha*' — *bighe men kattha* — which Vinoba has given to the workers of Bihar and which they have taken up deserves special mention in this connection. The success of this latest programme will not only enable Bihar to fulfil its pledge but would also infuse new strength into the movement throughout the country. This programme provides a still more gentle way of reaching the heart of land owners and creating a favourable atmosphere for land gifts. It is desirable to take up this programme enthusiastically wherever possible in the country. After the last conference at Sevagram, land-distribution work was taken up in right earnest. The Maharashtra Sarvodaya Mandal has set a good example by completing the distribution of all Bhoodan land which was fit for giving away. The remaining work of land distribution should be completed this year.

The method of *Gram-sankalp* following the *new turn* given to

Khadi and village industries' work provides a new direction of work for building up *lok-shakti* or people's strength. We have to devote our energies this year in pushing forward this work also. Educative work forms the core of the technique of nonviolent revolution. It is through education alone that we can transform and develop public opinion. The coming general elections provide a suitable opportunity for the education of the masses. It is the policy of the Sarva Seva Sangh to keep aloof from power politics. But the Sangh wants to take advantage of every opportunity for the development of the people's strength. This year the Sangh has taken a solid step in this direction by its resolution on the subject of elections. It would be one of our important programmes this year to create an atmosphere by extensive education of the people for the adoption of a code of conduct in connection with elections and to prepare the people for setting up their own candidates through the Voters' Councils.

We have yet to go a long way for the establishment of a social order free from exploitation and from the centralised State control. We know that the task is not easy but we can make a substantial advance towards our goal through the three-fold programme of

Bhoodan, *Shanti-sena* and *lok-swarajya*.

The Sarva Seva Sangh appeals to all citizens to contribute their might in the great task of building up the people's strength and thus be instrumental in giving practical shape to Gandhiji's ideal of real *Swarajya*.

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Panchayati Raj Scheme

The Government is introducing a scheme of *Panchayati Raj* in the country under which local institutions are being set up. Development work and certain administrative functions also are being transferred to these bodies. The government, has thus, undertaken a programme of administrative decentralization.

The Sarvodaya which is striving for social order also envisages political, economic and administrative decentralization. We want the initiative and the strength of the common people to grow and expect them to plan for the fulfilment of their primary needs so that they may become self-reliant. Ultimately, the primary unit at the village level should assume the largest amount of responsibility and delegate only such functions to the higher organizations as it is itself unable to perform or which it would be considered desirable from the point of view

of national interests and unity to leave to the latter. It is obvious that such a consummation cannot be brought about as a result of a few developmental functions being transferred by legislation to the lower units. For this we shall have to arouse and build up the people's initiative and power from below on the basis of the ideal of *gram-swaraj* and prepare them to undertake the task of creating the new society.

So long as the people's own strength is not developed, there is danger of corruption, casteism and communalism becoming still more rampant and widespread as a result of decentralization from the top.

The little experience which we have so far had of the working of democratic decentralization in the States where the scheme has already been introduced also points to the same conclusion. The present scheme of *Panchayati-Raj*, therefore, requires certain basic alterations from this point of view.

One of the ways to develop the initiative of the people and make them conscious of their power is to leave village planning and execution in the hands of the *Gram-sabha* comprising of all adult men and women of the village. The *Gram-sabha* should become active, should visualize village life as a whole,

should meet from time to time and themselves take decisions on the various problems facing them. The decisions of the *Gramsabha*, the *Panchayat*, the *Panchayat Samiti* and the *Zilla Parishad* (District council) should be taken on the basis of unanimity. The present structure of the administrative services should also undergo drastic change. The right of appointment and control of the services at various levels should be transferred either to the administrative body of the level concerned or to a service commission constituted at the district level.

It is essential for the success of the *Panchayati Raj* programme that the election, composition and functioning of its institutions should be kept free from interference by and the influence of political parties. All political parties should fully co-operate in this task. It must also be clearly understood that political decentralization alone without a simultaneous decentralization of the economic structure will not succeed. An atmosphere of economic equality is also essential in order to foster and maintain community spirit in village society, and hence, villagization of land becomes a necessary step.

If the present experiment of *Panchayati Raj* is not properly

channelized into the direction of real *Gram-swaraj*, there is a clear danger of the masses of India losing faith in democracy itself. It is obvious that Sarvodaya workers cannot remain indifferent towards this programme. It is, therefore, essential that while not losing sight of the short-comings of this scheme of *Panchayati Raj*, we should strive in this context for taking the message of *gramswaraj* to the people and stimulating action along those lines, so that the people of the villages should become capable and strong enough to usher in *Gram-swaraj*.

This basic programme of mass education of not only the common people but also of the workers themselves, the *Panchas* and *Sarpanchas* etc., and of the administrative services. The Executive of the Sangh is requested to take the necessary steps in this connection.

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Compulsory National Service Scheme

A Scheme of compulsory 'National Service' is under the consideration of the Government of India according to which every student passing out of the higher secondary or intermediate examination would have to render a compulsory 'National Service' of at least nine months' duration,

There are two main ingredients of this 'National Service'—military training and at least four hours of manual labour every day in some village development activity.

So far as this 'National Service' aims at acquainting the youth with rural life, creating in them a liking and respect for manual work, inspiring them with a zeal for service and inculcating a sense of discipline in them, it is welcome. But in the opinion of the Sarva Seva Sangh the inclusion of military training, armed drill and instruction in the use of arms in this scheme is not at all essential for inculcating a sense of discipline or service in the youth. On the contrary, from the point of view of the modern science of education, military training is a hindrance in the way of development of true discipline and of an integrated personality. The Sangh considers this part of the scheme to be dangerous and is opposed to it. The fact that this part of the scheme is being applied to young women is all the more reprehensible. It has had no parallel in any other country. The effect that military training and drill is bound to have on the feminine virtues of women would be particularly harmful to society.

The Sarva Seva Sangh does not see any harm in making a scheme

of national service a condition precedent for admission to higher educational institutions viz. the University. On the other hand such a requirement may, to a certain extent, act as a corrective to the one-sided nature of present education. But the indication that the scheme may later on be made compulsory for all individuals of a certain age group and the fact that military training has been made a part of the scheme, makes it appear to be a preparation for the subsequent introduction of compulsory military service. The Sangh considers any kind of compulsory service to be an infringement of the fundamental rights of individual freedom.

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Reorientation of Gram Swaraj

It was Gandhiji's scheme that Khadi and other constructive activities should become the dynamic force for the establishment of a non-violent social order. He also wished that the people of the villages should themselves undertake the responsibility of protection, education and economic well-being of the local community on the strength of their own initiative and determined will side by side with realizing their responsibility as citizens of the larger community. In order to translate this dream into reality, Gandhiji's had place

before the nation in 1945 his scheme of reorienting Khadi and constructive work. Vinoba has been trying during the last ten years to put it into practice. As a result, the necessity of reorienting all constructive work and gearing it to the new purpose has now been generally accepted. The Sarva Seva Sangh and representatives of constructive work institutions have been discussing various aspects of this reorientation at Chalisgaon, Sevagram and Pusa Road and finally decided at the Kora Kendra Conference to give a new turn to all constructive work on the basis of small village units. The Khadi and Village Industries' Committee of the Sarva Seva Sangh and the Khadi world in general have also accepted this policy, and so also the Khadi and Village Industries Commission.

The Sarva Seva Sangh and the Khadi Commission issued a joint appeal to the people to observe April 6, 1961 as the *Gram-swaraj* day in order to give a mass drive to the reorientation movement. A Pledge was also drawn up reiterating the will of the people to take concerted steps for the establishment of *Gram-swaraj*. There was an enthusiastic and widespread response from the people who took the pledge in hundreds of places throughout the country. The Khadi Commission has decided to set up during the

Third Plan period 3,000 units in the country, where efforts would be made to give concrete shape to the ideal of an integrated agro-industrial community. While it would be the primary task of the Khadi and other constructive work institutions to undertake this work, the Sangh exhorts all Sarvodaya workers whether engaged in Bhoodan or other activities to render all possible help in making this programme a success so that the dream of a non-violent social order may come true.

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WORKERS' TRAINING

With the increase in the extent and depth of Sarvodaya ideology, the nature and scope of our work is also expanding. We shall be able to discharge this increasing responsibility only when there is constant improvement in the ideological back-ground intellectual depth and in the capacity to work of all *lok-sevak shanti sainiks* and other Sarvodaya workers engaged in the different activities. It is also essential that their attitudes and feelings also become developed and mature.

In order to achieve this, the Sarva Seva Sangh considers it necessary that a scheme should be prepared whereby every worker goes through a course of training,

whether short term or long term during the next two years. It is also essential for fulfilling the three-fold programme of Bhoodan, *shanti-sena* and *lok-niti* that all workers should get acquainted with the details of this programme

during the next six months through short term courses. The Sarva Seva Sangh requests the Executive Committee to take the necessary action for organizing this country-wide programme of workers' training.

NABAKRUSHNA CHOWDHRY



New President of the
Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh.

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THE THIRTEENTH SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

Suresh Ram, Allahabad.

SEVEN years ago, at the sixth annual session of the All India Sarvodaya Samaj, held at Bodh-Gaya, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while appreciating the voluntary character of the Bhoodan movement, observed that the Government could not sit idle in the matter, had a responsibility to discharge and all intermediaries between the tiller and the Government had to go. During this period, the Governments, both in the Centre and the States, have been quite active and legislations about socialistic pattern, co-operative farming, consolidation of holdings and ceilings in lands have been enacted. But the problem of our landless not only continues to baffle solution but also tends to worsen, as revealed by the Report of the Second Agricultural Labour Inquiry. And even if all the said legislations were duly executed, experts in the Planning Commission admit that hardly seven to eight lakhs of acres of land would be available for the landless. Now, when law seems rather helpless to solve this problem and the method of violence is out of question in

a democratic set-up, what can then be done? The answer to this query was provided at the thirteenth session of the Sarvodaya Samaj, held from 18th to 20th April last, near Unguturu in the West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, under the presidentship of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan.

✽

Stress on Bhoodan

As pointed out in the single resolution issued at this Sarvodaya Sammelan, the Bhoodan Gramdan movement has opened new vistas of work for the generation of Jan-Shakti and paved the way for decentralised democracy or people's real swaraj. The Sammelan, therefore, rightly reiterated the need for greater and renewed stress on Bhoodan. Welcoming the new drive in Bihar, as symbolised by the slogan, '*beegha men Katha*', it called upon the workers to proceed on with Bhoodan work with refreshing zeal and redoubled effort.

✽

Indo-Chinese Dispute

Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, presided over the conference and

his presidential speech is given elsewhere in this issue.

The Sammelan had been preceeded by the meetings of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh from 13th April onwards. Held under the presidentship of the new chief of the Sangh, Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, the former Chief Minister of Orissa, these sittings were marked by thorough discussions, in the light of the work done and experiences gained during the last ten years, on the various aspects of the Sarvodaya movement—Bhoodan-Gramdan, Shanti-Sena, work in the Chambal Valley and Uttarakhand, drive against indecent posters, Loka-Niti, Elections, Gram-Swaraj and Panchayati Raj. The main conclusions so arrived were placed before the Sammelan on the 19th April.

Sri Baidyanath Chowdhury of Bihar urged that Bhoodan was at the basis of all our work and he found that those who had donated lands earlier were again coming forward with their gifts. Sri K. M. Natarajan (of Tamilnad) said that long people's marches were being organised in the Batlagundu taluk of the Madurai district and the response was very favourable.

✽

Shanti-Sena

Describing the three essential features of Shanti-Sena work, *viz.*,

service of the people, recognition of the need for self-control, and call for positive action for peace, Miss Marjorie Sykes, the distinguished pacifist and educationist, showed how the idea was spreading in other countries also and the peace movement was thus gaining ground in U. S. A., U. K., France, Norway, West Germany as also in East Germany and the Communist countries. The peace lovers' proposed march from California to Moscow (crossing the Atlantic by air) was a symbol of the new spirit. Light on the work being done in the Chambal Valley was thrown by Sri Babulal Mittal and on that in the Uttarakhand by Miss Kamala Nautiyal. Dr. Suryanarayana Rao dwelt on the Sarvodaya Patra work in the Krishna and Guntur districts of Andhra where more than fifty workers were occupied in the task and the Telugu weekly SAMYA-YOGAMU was reaching no less than 22,000 homes. How the drive against indecent cinema posters began at Indore was related by Sri Dadabhai Naik. He also stressed the need of taking steps for doing away with indecency in other fields as well.

✽

New Turn In Khadi

Sri Dwaja Prasad Sahu, Chairman of Khadi-Gramodyog Subcommittee of the Sarv Seva Sangh,

asked the Khadi workers to come out of the imprisonment imposed by their own institutions. The unhappy conflict between Charkha and Khadi must go. Under the new dispensation, Khadi must be consumed in the area where Charkha produced it and people should be self-reliant on a regional basis, without which exploitation was bound to continue.

✱

Loka-Niti & Elections

Enunciating the policy of the Sarva Seva Sangh with regard to elections, Sri Siddharaj Dhadda, the renowned editor of Bhoodan remarked that of all public bodies in the country, Sarva Seva Sangh alone had kept itself deliberately from elections. It stood for a real democracy of the people and wanted them to be active and vigilant and have their say. He appealed for intensive work in some selected areas on this basis and examine the potentialities of the application of Loka-niti, or politics of the people.

Dada Dharmadhikari, the distinguished exponent of the Sarvodaya philosophy, expressed his satisfaction at the fact that several thousand workers had gathered for the Sammelan though there was neither any prospect of money, office or power before them and nor was Vinoba present on the

occasion. It showed their devotion to the ideal. But this enhanced their responsibility as well. Theirs was to transform the formal democracy into a true democracy in which everybody would be responsible to his or her neighbour, constitutionalism would yield place to cordialism and legislative taxation to voluntary donation. In the calendar of revolution, said Dada, there was only one date and one hour—the date of today and the hour at hand. Theirs was to take no rest and plunge forward fearlessly.

✱

The Three-fold programme

On the third day was placed the main resolution (referred to earlier) urging the three fold programme of Bhoodan, Shanti Sena and People's Swaraj. In a brief speech on the same, Sri Narayan Desai, the worthy son of a worthy father (late Sri Mahadeva Desai) and Principal of the Shanti Sena Academy at Kashi, quoting Gandhiji, said, that our non-violence should be of such a quality as to enable its lamp burn bright even in the midst of the furious storm of violence. This required the workers to confide in each other and work with a scientific outlook marked by neutrality, accuracy and discrimination.

Sri Shankarrao Deo, the distinguished leader and stalwart gave a remarkable speech explaining the idea behind the resolution. He said that truth was eternal as well as ever new. We, in India, did recognise its eternal nature but were rather oblivious of its refreshing newness. It was Gandhiji who realised this aspect of truth and carried out wonderful experiments in its quest. This enabled him to fathom unforeseen spiritual depths and give to the world the message of moralising politics as expressed through two techniques: (i) Satyagraha as an alternative to war and (ii) Constructive programme as an alternative to civil administration. It was in this background that Bhoodan, Shanti Sena and Gram-Swaraj became meaningful and worthwhile. Generally, it was regarded that power was the only effective instrument of change. But that was an illusion and responsible for continued misery and disparities. The real instrument of change was moral power as built up through genuine and selfless service. Working on these lines Gram-Swaraj would be a reality and the required changes in the constitution of our land would easily follow.

Concluding, Sri Shankarraoji warned that the progress of Bhoodan did not consist in the number of acres obtained but in our

approach to our neighbour and ourselves. Sarvodaya offered the third way in which one identified himself with the community and all dualism withered away.

Then followed a sonorous, Telugu speech from Sri D. Sanjivayya, the energetic chief Minister of Andhra. He said that they were thinking of making Panchayati Raj a real and substantial proposition. They had an idea—not yet decided - of allowing the village panchayats to disburse the land revenue according to their own judgment and needs. He also favoured community ownership or villagisation of land and dedication of all fruits of labour unto the society in the name of God.

✱

This Growing Centralisation !

The last to address the Sammelan was our Rashtrapati, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In a slow, quiet, moving voice - every word pouring straight from the heart - he said that centralisation of power was on the increase and though they claimed to serve the people yet they wanted power. But one had to search one's heart whether one wanted power for service or for self. The answer to this query contained the key to build up the society of Gandhiji's dreams. Again, in the domain of wealth

ane production, centralisation was vigorously a foot and the proccess of rationalisation might result in the establishment of one huge concern for one commodity. We had to strike a balance between centralisation and decentralisation. Further, we talked of peace and disarmament. One could appreciate the difficulty of those who had abundant arms and were unwilling to disarm. But why should they who were not so much equipped, hesitate to take the plunge?

Rajendra Babu pointed out that the real problem was that of our mental attitude and leanings. Success depended upon our capacity to control our senses. The object of Sarvodaya was to inculcate self-discipline, the mastery of spirit over flesh, and readiness to sacrifice. As they worked and thought on these lines, he was attracted to the Sarvodaya Samaj and attended its sessions.

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The Great Announcement.

And in the end, we had the great announcement. Dr. Rajendra Prasad declared that it was true that after his retirement next year he would take to Sarvodaya

work. Though it would not be possible for him to undertake long journeys and heavy tours, he would sit at one place and do what he could in the furtherance of the mission.

Thus came to a close the thirteenth Sarvodaya Sammelan. With their dynamo re-charged, as it were, the workers set out for their home with the resolve to concentrate on Bhoodan in the new background and help the people build up their own Swaraj. Only the future would reveal whether they could stand to the height of the occasion. But what counts is not the immediate fruit captured, but the effort put up, and in that too, the sincerity with which it is put up. And I cannot do better than close the brief review of this Sammelan, for whose success the local people had made donations not only in cash but also in kind and they as well as the authorities had willingly carried out the behests of love of Sri Prabhakarji, our host-in chief, with the message which Vinoba sent for the occasion from his tour in Assam. In the course of it, he said:

"It is ten years since Bhoodan was born. At the end of each decade a new wave of enthusiasm is seen in social activity. Social scientists know this. By

now it is proved that there is no solution to Land problem other than Bhoodan. It is in these circumstances that the Sarvodaya Sammelan is taking place for the second time in Andhra Pradesh — the source

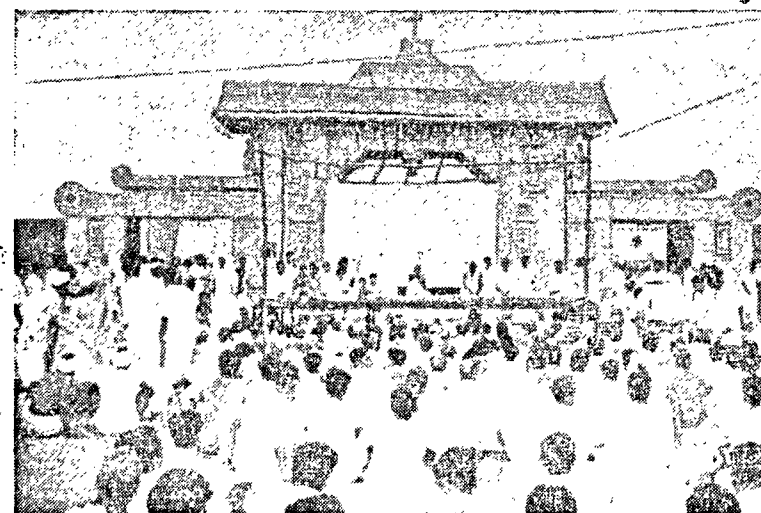
of the Bhoodan — Ganga. I hope that all the Sarvodaya workers, by drawing new inspiration from the Bhoodan Mantra, will lit its fire in every nook and corner of India.

DL—

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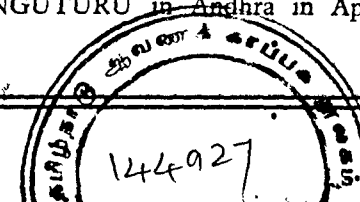
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A VIEW OF THE 13th SARVODAYA SAMMELAN



at UNGUTURU in Andhra in April 1961

F 3



TRANSFERENCE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO VILLAGE

VAIKUNTAH MEHTA'S APPEAL

The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh, Tirupur which had taken over the Khadi work in Tamilnad from the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha three years ago celebrated its Third Annual Day at the Sarvodaya Exhibition ground at Chidambaram on 17th June. Sri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the Khadi and village Industries Commission, presided over the function. The following is the gist of his presidential address.

"There are many institutions in the recent years whose inauguration I had personally witnessed. Though I was not present at the time of the inauguration of the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh, I was with you in spirit" observed Sri Vaikuntlal Mehta while presiding over the 3rd Annual Day of Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh at Chidambaram on 17th June.

He continued "When the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh decided to decentralise its Khadi work and entrust the work in each region to a separate Trust managed by workers themselves, there were doubts about such a policy, but the actual work and performance by the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh during the last 3 years has belied all doubts. Decentralisation is a topic about which something or other is found in the daily newspapers. I would like to speak

about the responsibility for conducting economic activity by the people themselves. It is a real transference of the responsibility of the economic planning, that we are now contemplating. From this point of view the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh has taken a new step in the direction of decentralising itself up to the district level."

Stressing the responsibility of the rural community for decentralisation, Sri Mehta said: "With regard to decentralisation I would like to go further. Our policy of decentralisation will benefit the millions of villagers in the development of their economic and social life. The responsibility will have to be taken over by the rural community as a whole. Unless the village community feels that spinning, weaving and other village industries in their villages are for

their own total welfare and unless they plan their own community life, no amount of the efforts of individuals in charge of the institutions can create the necessary dynamism. The people in the villages of Tamilnad, as elsewhere, do not feel that these Khadi and Village Industries work is their own. If the people do not associate themselves and take the responsibility of conducting these activities, the Khadi Commission itself will not be able to help and the whole edifice of this Khadi work will collapse. This situation should not be allowed to happen at any time.

The Khadi and Village Industries Organization and its workers, have till now, been giving their attention to the business organization of Khadi only. We have now a new responsibility in the programme of "Naya Morh" in transferring this responsibility to the village community itself.

I have been closely associated with the Co-operative Movement for a long time. The slogan is not only "to promote better methods of production and sale" but "to promote a better way of life in the community". It was Gandhiji who instilled in us the new concept of bringing about a

better way of life through he co-operatives. He told us that we should build up the strength of the people from themselves. This is exactly the work before you now in the "Naya Morh" programme.

How to organise the economic and social life of the people? This exhibition will give you an idea. Gandhiji said that Charkha was not the only activity for a Khadi worker. There are many other village industries besides agriculture which should be revived and strengthened.

Sarvodaya Mandals are spreading everywhere with the lead and inspiration of Vinobaji during the last several years. In the beginning, Khadi worker was not interested in hand-pounding etc. There was a general defect of a compartmental mind in all our activities. Even in the Governmental machinery there was a compartmentalism in their attitude and functions. It is to correct this in the administrative machinery that the Community Development Scheme was started. Similarly, the "Naya Morh" programme will also help in removing this defect of compartmental thought and activity among the constructive workers.

We cannot ignore agriculture. Half of India's income is through agriculture. The total income through all the industries is less. Our first duty is to educate the people for "Naya Morh" programme. It is not easy to bring about the change in the rural outlook. They should be educated to realize the place of Khadi and Village Industries to solve unemployment and under-employment in the village community as a whole.

The employment force created was only 5 lakhs in the first plan period. At the end of the second plan, the unemployed in the urban areas was estimated at 50 lakhs. It has now gone up to 75 lakhs when we are just in the

first year of the Third Plan. There is also another fact of increasing population at 2 per cent per annum, on the basis of the recent census. At the end of the 3rd Plan period, the unemployed in the country will be about 150 lakhs. Apart from our ideological outlook we have to face this stark reality. Even from the practical point of view, the organization of the village industries along with agriculture, or in other words, an agro-industrial plan for the village community by themselves, is a matter of urgency. Four fifths of India is villages and 85% of the population live in villages. Let us apply ourselves with all our devotion to this great task of serving the millions in the villages through the 'Naya Morh' programme.

The 14th Sarvodaya conference will be held at Sabarmathi Ashram in Ahmedabad in the month of October 1961 instead of holding it in next summer in 1962 as usual. The summer is felt inconvenient by visitors. The students and teachers are not able to participate an account of examinations. Therefore the change of time to October every year is considered as helpful to all those interested in attending the Sammelan.

LET ME STAND AT THE SOURCE

DEVAK NEVILLE (Norfolk, England)

Let me stand always at the source of things.

If it be love that I seek, then let me stand where love begins in me. Or if it be forgiveness that I need, let me stand in the place where forgiveness flows out from me.

If I seek beauty, let me first find beauty within myself, for then shall I be at one with the inner being of all things.

Let me stand at the source.

For it has come to me that there is within each man and each woman a place where God dwells, a holy place where goodness can be known. Within this inner secrecy of the soul alone can there be any real worship, or living communion.

Truth is like a radiation from the soul. It envelopes the being of Man as the atmosphere envelopes the earth. And wherever Man moves so does his measure of discovered Truth move. He takes it with him like a spiritual atmosphere. His measure of Truth moves with him from place to

place. And no matter where he may seek outside himself he will still see the same things, though perhaps in different garments. He will see the reflection of what he is. He will see the measure of Truth that he knows within himself.

If a man be beautiful within — then will he see beauty. The light of his own being will reveal it. He will pass from place to place with the light from his own soul shining upon all outward things, so that he sees their inner beauty.

Or if a man be at peace within himself — then he will see peace written down beyond the body. For that peace will flow from him, like an atmosphere, sustained by his own being. And others shall breathe more easily in it — as though they had entered purer air.

I say that all Truth is like this.

Here you are — a living organism with Divine power at your centre. Your inner knowledge of that power determines always where you stand. If you remain unaware of it — then you stand

bewildered in a field of results — seeking in vain for truth among the constant change and decay.

But if you become aware of the Divine Centre — then you stand at the source of yourself. You know yourself then. You see yourself as a result, and you know the Cause that brings you into being.

And the light of this truth envelops you, surrounds you like an atmosphere, so that it covers all things that come within your horizon. Thus, instead of seeing 'things' as causes — you see them as *results*. You stand at the source of your own being — and, lo! you are at the source of all things!

Let me stand at the source!

For there is the secret place of the Most High, a place of refuge, a place of love, a place of light, and peace and power.

Within my soul, all things can be made new, for there is the place of everlasting life, untouched by time, unconquered by the world.

* * *
I wish that I could tell men of the joy that waits within them! I wish that I could lead them to the love that is like light—waiting to flow and to reveal, in

its flow, the love and light that animates all things.

How shall I make them see that there is a living temple at the centre of their beings, a realm of Cause, a sanctuary where time is dead and where space is as nothing?

I cannot write down this thing—any more than I can write down Springtime or the dawn, or the light that floods earth and sky.

Yet this thing is true—as true as any loveliness seen or heard or apprehended by men.

We are but the results of God dwelling in us. Once we see this — then we stand at the source of things and God takes charge without the hindrance of our willing and our blindness.

I cannot write it down. But I stand at the source and I see my pen held in God's Hand, as much an expression of Him as the flowers that bloom and die, or the voices of inspired preachers, or the eternal music that has flowed through composers.

Let me stand at the source of things. That is the answer for me. It is the answer for you. It is the only answer to all our problems.

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13TH ALL INDIA SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

While I am thankful to my colleagues for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside over this Sammelan, I am doubtful about the wisdom of choosing a controversial person like me for such a noncontroversial and high position. However, I hope I shall do nothing here that will embarrass any of you. Fortunately it is easy to do so, because according to tradition the opinions expressed from the chair at this conference are entirely personal testaments that commit no one else.

According to tradition, again, the president of the All India Sarvodaya Sammelan is not expected to say very much. Indeed, some of its past presidents made no opening speech at all. Whoever happened to be in the chair, it was Vinobaji who was expected to, and who did, make the central and guiding speech of every session. This was as it should have been. Without his guidance it would have been impossible for Sarvodaya to discover itself in the post-independence India. There was evidence to show that Sarvodaya was fast

becoming a camp-follower of power-politics, and its constructive programme an appendage of official development programmes. That Sarvodaya had an independent and a creative role to play and that non-violence did not only mean a negative avoidance of violence, but a positive application of the force of love in order to transform man and human society, were ideas which would have remained dim and distant ideals, had not Vinoba entered upon the scene and provided us with leadership that is unique in intellectual probity, creative power and spiritual depth.

Unfortunately, since the last Sammelan we are not able to have Vinoba's personal guidance at our deliberations. By purposely keeping away, he is no doubt compelling us to do our thinking ourselves. This, of course, is desirable; otherwise, in the absence of a leader like him the stream of Sarvodaya thought would cease to be internally refreshed and renewed, ultimately drying up in the sterile sands of dogmatic disputation.

But even the absence of Vinobaji need not have occasioned any speech-making on my part as President of this Sammelan. Many valued friends, however, have pressed me not only to make a speech, but to make a prepared and, possibly, printed one.

It is thus, friends, that I venture to place before you a few thoughts for your consideration.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR WORLD PEACE AND THE WORLD SHANTI-SENA

An important event that happened in this country since the last Sammelan was the Conference at Gandhigram of the 'War Resisters' International. It was the first conference in Asia of this vital peace organisation and was attended by a representative delegation of peacemakers drawn from all parts of the world, including Africa. The most important decision, as you might recall that this conference took was in regard to organisation of a World Peace Brigade or *Vishwa Shanti-Sena*.

Unfortunately the forces of peace in the world are not in such

a state of organization that they can easily be mobilised for action. While dangerous developments have been taking place in different parts of the world, it has not been possible to make any appreciable progress, despite the best efforts of the friends concerned, towards implementation of that decision. It has finally been arranged to call a consultative meeting of leading peace-makers next December at Partinico, Danilo Dolci's centre of activity in Sicily. This is undoubtedly encouraging, but exasperatingly slow. However, considering our own rate of progress at home, we have no right to complain.

There was also another, and a more comprehensive idea mooted at the W R I Conference. That was in connection with organisation of a world peoples' body as distinct from a united nation's body, such as there is at present in the form of the U N O. It was pointed out that the U N represents the *governments* and not the *peoples* of the world. For mutual understanding, co-operation and world peace it was more important that the peoples of the world came into mutual contact, than only their governments, which necessarily suffered from serious limitations. It will be recalled that Shri Shankar Rao Deo put forward this idea rather cogently

in a recent contribution to the Bhoodan weekly. Intimations of the same idea have occurred repeatedly in Vinobaji's speeches over the past two years or so.

However, it makes me sad to report that so far no concrete step has been taken to further the idea in practice. It seems to me that in both these matters the Gandhi Peace Foundation could play a big role.

As an instance of people's action against war, should be mentioned the recent civil disobedience movement in Britain against the nuclear bomb under the leadership of the venerable Bertrand Russell, who was recently described by an English writer as the greatest living Englishman after Churchill.

As Shanti-Sainiks ourselves we must, however, admit that all these efforts of the peace-makers of the world are puny when compared with the colossal task facing us all.

It might be useful at this point to take a quick look at the world situation, if for nothing else, to place our work in perspective.

While it would be an over-statement to say that the danger of war has passed, there is no doubt that signs of improvement can be noticed. Both in America and Russia there is a more realistic appreciation of the strength, weaknesses and purposes of each other. Under President Kennedy, America has for the first time realised that neutralism, as between the power blocks (and not between human values and their negation) is also a positive force of detente and world peace. Russia had long ago made its diplomatic peace with neutralism, though it never stopped trying to exploit it for pushing forward its own foreign policy. The Dulles concept of neutralism made it easy for Russia to do so. It is too much to expect the modern states to be guided by anything but real politik. So, the fight between Russia and America for the soul of neutralism is bound to continue, but there is every hope that its violence will abate and it will cease to give off dangerous sparks.

The new American Administration's attitude to the question of disarmament is also a sign of hope. President Kennedy, Secretary Dean Rusk, UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson make up as good a team as America could

gather to tackle this urgent and grave question that so far has been a victim of cold war propaganda. One hopes that Russia, which has asserted its seriousness in this matter so often will seize this opportunity and the two great powers will unite to give some assurance of peace to the anxious and troubled peoples of the world. That would be a more worthwhile achievement than sending a man to the Moon. This has not been said to detract from the astounding success of Russian science.

Other signs of improvement are visible in Laos and Algeria, both grave danger-spots until now. It is hoped that there shall be an early cease-fire in the former and the Loas Commission would soon meet. Algeria seems, at last, to be on the threshold of freedom. We must rejoice at these happy prospects and salute and congratulate all those who have worked toward this end.

Another world event of the utmost significance for peace is the exit of South Africa from the Commonwealth, and the extraordinary consensus reached in the UN Assembly on the question of apartheid. Never were the nations of the world — as many as 93 of

them — so united as on this issue of anti-racialism. The radical change in British policy should be particularly welcomed as a good augury for the early end of racialism — and its twin brother, colonialism — in the whole of Africa. In view of this, it should not be considered extravagant to expect a welcome change soon in Kenya and Rhodesia.

The fires of turmoil are still smouldering in the Congo, but it would not be wrong to suppose that the worst has been left behind.

While these items are on the credit side of the world balance between survival and death, there is much to be listed on the other side. The chief among them is the future of UN itself. Repeated world crisis have shown that those who conceived of the world organisation as an incipient world government, must give up their illusion. It has been established without doubt that no matter how large be the majority behind a UN decision, the organisation cannot function effectively until the two super-powers agree amongst themselves. Prime Minister Nehru, President Kennedy and other world statesmen have described the United Nations as a shield

for the smaller and weaker nations. That it undoubtedly is, and God be thanked for it. But let the naked reality be faced that unless there is a rapprochement between America and Russia, the UN is bound to remain a lame instrument. The urgent need of amending the UN constitution, its charter and procedures to bring them into line with present realities has been universally recognised. But whatever be the amendments the UN is bound to suffer from the limitations just mentioned unless there is a new balance of power in the world, or *unless the substance of power changes from the power to destroy to the power to heal and create*. Much oral energy has been expended in recent months on this shift in the concept of power, but it is clear that for all practical purposes, the older concept still firmly holds the field and the newer is subordinate to the purposes of the other.

There is no need to list here all the debit items in the world balance-sheet. Suffice it to say that it is a staggering list. All the hang-overs of history, the evil outcomes of the division of the world into nation-states, the poisonous waste-products of a predatory and aggressive economic system, human bigotry and simple human greed and ambition—all

these still combine to present a mad-house picture of mutual hate, suspicion and animosity at a time when science and good sense have made them unnecessary.

In this situation the discovery of weapons whose large-scale use has threatened universal destruction has been acting as a deterrent. But some of the best minds in the world are seriously engaged in discovering ways to limit the range of destruction, so that war might still be a reasonable gamble. There is no indication anywhere, except in the small circle of pacifists and believers in nonviolence, that science has rendered war an outmoded instrument of national policy. Every one professes his readiness for multi-lateral disarmament, but no one, not even our own country, is prepared to break the vicious circle and embark upon unilateral disarmament. In the eyes of *realpolitik* that is just plain idiocy. There also does seem to be even in the circle of the peace makers — sufficient awareness of the deep underlying causes of war and their relation to the values and ways of life, such as methods of producing and consuming goods and services.

Thus, friends, the world situation is made up of some light

and much shadow — the light breaking out here and there in patches. One such patch of light happens to be our own movement.

I do not apologise for this brief review of the world situation. I have done so deliberately: first, to put ourselves in perspective; second, because we tend to shut ourselves up within our own narrow four walls. We cannot be world citizens, let us remember, unless we try to understand what is happening around the world.

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Our disputes with China & Pakistan.

Before concluding this brief and rapid review of the world situation, I wish to touch upon the two major international disputes in which our own country is involved: I mean the dispute over Kashmir with Pakistan and the border dispute with China.

At the Gandhigram Conference of the War Resisters' International I had put forward the plea that the dispute with China was a fit case for arbitration. While that plea received wide publicity, there was little public reaction to it.

The criticism, however, was made in certain quarters that there could be no arbitration over aggression. I entirely agree. But my point is that when both countries claim the territory in question as their own and produce evidence to establish their claims, the matter cannot be disposed of by the use of the term aggression. We no doubt believe that the evidence on our side is decisive in our favour. Perhaps the Chinese think likewise about their own case. That only strengthens my point. There is no question of surrender of any one's sovereignty. And as the territory, at any rate in the North West, is uninhabited, there is also no question involved of the will of the people. In these circumstances it seems to be the way of peace and wisdom for both countries to agree to refer the question to arbitration—may be to an individual or a group of individuals or an institution, as might be agreed upon between the two governments. If this peaceful method were to be rejected, it is difficult to conceive of an alternative solution. A negotiated settlement has been found to be impossible so far. And it is agreed on all sides that war between the two countries is unthinkable. What other possibility is left then? None other; it seems to me, than continued stalemate, ill-will and hostility. The longer such a situation lasts the worse for both

countries, for Asia and the cause of world peace and good-will.

May I add at this point that a matter like this should not be made into a foot-ball to be kicked about in the game of party politics. The leaders of all parties should get together to explore the possibility of evolving a common policy in regard to it. It might happen that such a putting together of heads might produce a better solution than arbitration. May be the Sarva Seva Sangh or Vinobaji himself could take the initiative in calling the leaders together. I am not suggesting that such consultation should in any way limit the freedom of the Prime Minister to act according to his own judgment. But, I do suggest that such a procedure would definitely help in arriving at a solution and in lifting this national issue out of partisan controversy.

I have only to make a few brief observations regarding the Indo-Pakistan dispute. I feel as strongly to-day as in 1947 that the partition of India was a foolish step. But, once partition had become a fact, I have taken the view that both countries must respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other, and

forgetting and forgiving proceed to forge bonds of friendship and co-operation that should sooner rather than later draw the two countries as close together as possible. It is my firm belief that no matter what foreign alliances, friendships and aids each country might acquire, neither can live without the other. They are limbs of the same country, mis-called a sub-continent.

Since the advent of President Ayub Khan's administration there had been a rather friendly approach visible on the part of Pakistan. India was not slow to respond. As a result, several outstanding disputes between the two countries were quickly settled one after the other. The biggest among them was the settlement regarding the canal waters. It was a mid scenes of national rejoicing on both sides that the treaty concerned was signed by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan. It was universally hoped after that happy event that relations between the two countries would rapidly improve mutual confidence and good-will would be restored, and the last hurdle too — that of Kashmir—would soon be passed. But for some inexplicable reason the attitude of Pakistan has undergone an unexpected hardening.

Both Pakistan and India were fortunate in having an Ambassador for Pakistan at New Delhi, who combined his deep loyalty to his country with such a broad vision and intense humanity that by his very presence here he created an assurance of good-will and understanding. Mr. Brohi was not a professional diplomat nor a professional politician. He was essentially a man of God, whose spirituality it was that prompted him to accept the noble mission that the President of Pakistan had thought it fit to entrust him with. He was a philosopher who was deeply versed in the philosophy and culture of Islam as well as of Hinduism and was at home anywhere in the world. That such an Ambassador should have found it necessary to relinquish his assignment cannot but be a matter of the deepest regret, both in India and Pakistan. But knowing Mr. Brohi as I do, I have no doubt that while he has relinquished his official assignment he will continue to work heart and soul for the mission of friendship and good-will which he has made his own. I wish to assure him from this platform that there are many in this country who have likewise made that mission their own and they too will continue to work with him and other men of good-will in Pakistan so that our two countries

might soon be bound together in friendship and co-operation.

The recent arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is another indication of the new temper in Pakistan. That such a 'servant of God' in his old age should have no better place than prison in Pakistan fills one with sadness. These remarks might be construed to be an interference with the internal matters of Pakistan; but I have never accepted the view that the cause of human suffering is to be limited by any national frontiers.

The question before us is what we the workers of Sarvodaya can do about this whole complicated business of Indo-Pakistan relations and Kashmir. Obviously, we can do nothing at the political level, except perhaps to emphasise the danger of the policy of drift, and the desirability of adopting a non-partisan approach to this problem. Such matters should receive more of our attention than they have hitherto. There is need to keep in steady touch with these questions, to study them, to understand Government's view-point, and to educate public opinion.

As I have said at the outset, we in the Sarvodaya movement be-

lieve that apart from official relations, peoples of the world should establish between them non-official relations of all possible kinds. It is good that an Indo-Pakistan cultural organization has recently been set up with the blessings of the Prime Minister himself. But our own efforts in this direction are almost nil so far. What is the use of chanting daily the *mantram* of *swadeshi* if we do nothing to establish friendly relations with our neighbours?



Bhoodan & The Problem of Land

Let me turn now to the movement at home and the tasks that would face us in the coming year. You will hear from the Secretary of the Sangh a brief report on the activities of the past year. You will see that not only in the areas with which you are personally in touch, but also in many other areas much steady work was done. In some places there was possibly a set-back. In the past year there were new ideas and new programs taken up such as the *Gram Swaraj* Pledge program and some questions, as for instance in regard to economic decentralization were studied and planning more fully. Yet it is true that we have not been

able to maintain, or to recapture, that condition of mass activity that the movement had achieved in its earlier years. It was natural to my mind, that the curve of mass participation should turn downwards. No one can be running a race all the time. Fatigue is bound to set in which would require a pause for recuperation. We have had that pause now, and as we complete today a full decade of our movement, counting from the day when Bhoodan was born in this same State at celebrated Pochampally on April 18, 1951, we might consider the stage set for another phase of mass activity.

We must however give more serious thought to this matter. While steady day-to-day work, does not need to be clothed in new forms every now and then in order to be revived, mass movements need different slogans different programs, different appeals every time. I doubt very much, therefore, if the Bhoodan movement can be repeated exactly as it was in the first few years.

A habit has grown among us to think of *movement* only in terms of *Bhoodan*, or the other programs associated with it such as *Gramdan* and *Shampattidan*, though the last

never become a movement and the second did so only in Orissa, and to a degree in Tamil Nad and Kerala. Some might go a little further and include in the list the *Shanti-patra* program.

This, however, is a rather narrow concept. In truth, all the various programs together, both intensive and extensive, make the movement. Depending upon different factors and conditions, different items of the program get projected at different times on a big enough canvas to assume the proportions of the mass movement. But all the items are inter-dependent and support each other neither the intensive can succeed without the extensive, nor *Vice Versa*.

It might be added parenthetically that the intensive programs, by definition, cannot assume mass proportions, but nonetheless they are as much a part of the movement as any. And when their results become so convincing and contagious that they begin to be automatically multiplied on a large scale, they become converted from intensive to extensive programs. That is their fulfilment. The task of the movement then is to frame new intensive programs in order that the work of social reconstruction might prepare for another step forward. It need hardly be said here that none of our intensive

programs has gone through this transformation yet, but in some cases their impact has been felt in the surrounding areas. I can instance the Pusa Road area in Bihar and the eleven villages around the well-known *gramdani* village, Berain, also in Bihar. I am sure there are other instances too.

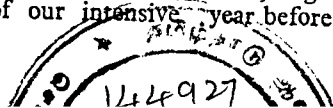
However, what we are mainly concerned with here, at the opening of the second decade of our movement, is how to bring into being a mass movement once again. I have already said that it is not possible to repeat a mass movement exactly in its previous form and have doubted if Bhoodan could be revived again on a mass scale. Collection of land-gifts has never ceased to be an important item of our program nor should it cease to be so in the future. But the question is whether it can be made into a mass movement, again, and if so in what manner. This, to my mind, is possible only in places where some peculiarly favourable circumstances might exist, or are capable of being created. Even then, there would have to be some new feature of the movement that should give it a measure of freshness and attraction. It might not be possible to find or create all such circumstances in every State of the country; which would mean that while Bhoodan would continue to be a vital part of our program, a country-wide mass Bhoodan movement, like that of the early '50's, might not be possible in the year before us. (To be continued)

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