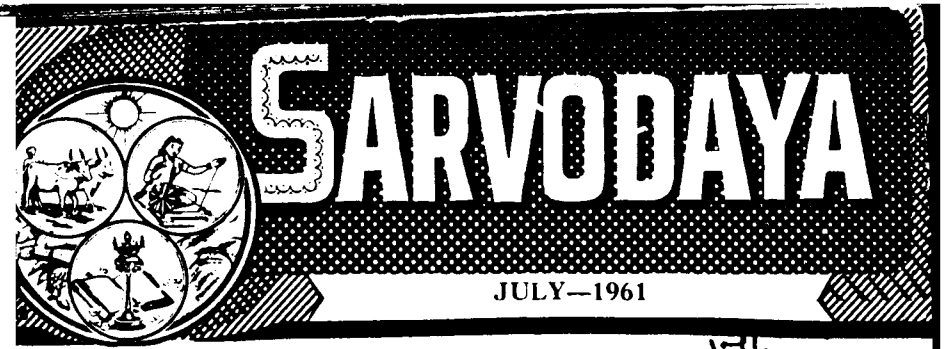




JULY-1961

121st Issue

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Vol. XI : No. 1

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वर्धा सी.पी.

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SARVODAYA

TO READERS OF SARVODAYA

WE regret for the delay in the publication of this number of 'SARVODAYA'. The change in the printing arrangements will involve delay in the publication of the next number also for which we request the readers to bear with us.

The next number for August will be despatched on the 20th August.

Mg. Editor.
SARVODAYA.

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ELEVENTH YEAR OF SARVODAYA

WE are highly grateful to the friends all over India and outside whose continuous encouragement has made it possible for us to venture on the eleventh year of "Sarvodaya" with this issue.

The concept of Sarvodaya is as deep as the ocean and as expansive as the sky. One can dive into its depths for precious pearls or fly to its dizzy heights - in the words of Vinobaji.

It was in 1948 March at Sevagram that the Sarvodaya Samaj of world fellowship of all those who believe in truth and non-violence was founded as the fittest memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. Vinobaji has been exploring the field of non-violence for a new form of application in the socio-economic field in free India. On April 18th in 1951, he says that he had the real darshan of non-violence at the first gift of Bhoodan at Pochampalli. His speech on the tenth year of Bhoodan movement which has great significance is published in this issue. He had already appealed in his message for the 13th Sarvodaya Sammelan in Andhra to the Sarvodaya workers to draw inspiration from the Bhoodan mantra and to carry its message to every nook and corner of India.

In his Presidential address Sri Jayapraksh Narayan has stressed on the Panchayati Raj, propagation of direct democracy through voters' councils and Shanti Sena besides Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sampathidan and Sarvodaya Patra.

Sarvodaya thus is no longer a vision or an Utopia but has varied practical programmes applicable in the socio-economic and political spheres through the dynamics of non-violence. In the armoury of non-violence there is no other means but persistent persuasion and appeal by thought, word and conduct to reason and heart of man at a moral and spiritual level. Non-violence aims at the radical change of values attached to the mind which will bring about a total transformation of man for regaining his freedom and dignity and peace of the world.

Sarvodaya rededicates itself to the sacred mission for the propagation of non-violent ideological revolution and we pray that God may grant us enough faith and strength in this eleventh year of our Sarvodaya pilgrimage.

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LAWFUL POSSESSION

Mahatma Gandhi

POSSESSION implies provision for the future. A seeker after Truth, a follower of the Law of Love cannot hold anything against tomorrow. God never stores for the morrow; He never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment. If therefore we repose faith in His providence, we should rest assured, that He will give us every day our daily bread, meaning everything that we require. Saints and devotees, who have lived in such faith, have always derived a justification for it from their experience. Our ignorance or negligence of the Divine Law, which gives to man from day to day his daily bread and no more, has given rise to inequalities with all the miseries attendant upon them. The rich have a superfluous store of things which they do not need, and which are therefore neglected and wasted; while millions are starved to death for want of sustenance. If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want, and all would live in contentment. As it is, the rich are discontented no less than the poor. The poor man would fain become a millionaire, and the millionaire a multi-millionaire. The rich should take the initiative in dispossession with a view to a universal diffusion of the spirit of contentment. If only they keep their own property within moderate limits, the starving will be easily fed, and will learn the lesson of contentment along with the rich. Perfect fulfilment of the ideal of non-possession requires, that man should, like the birds, have no roof over his head, no clothing and no stock of food for the morrow. He will indeed need his daily bread, but it will be God's business, and not his, to provide it. Only the fewest possible, if any at all, can reach this ideal. We ordinary seekers may not be repelled by the seeming impossibility. But we must keep the ideal constantly in view, and in the light thereof, critically examine our possessions, and try to reduce them. Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service.

From 'Voluntary Poverty' pp. 7-8.

a latest booklet of Navajivan House, Ahmedabad.

THE ORIGIN AND ACHIEVEMENT OF BHOODAN

Acharya Vinoba

18TH of April has got a special significance for the Bhoodan movement. Ten years ago, on this day, I got the first land-gift. I can never forget that day. For, on that day, I came face to face with non-violence. I reached that village in the course of my trek in Telengana. Prior to that I did not even dream of Bhoodan. Telengana, in those days, was, as if, invaded by terror. Many land-owners had been slain. Everyone seemed to be frightened. The army had also been posted there to ensure law and order, which entailed millions of rupees of expenditure from the public exchequer.

Under these circumstances I reached Pochampalli and visited the village. In course of my round in the village I went to the area inhabited by the 'untouchables' also. And the 'untouchables' told me their sad tale. They had neither land nor any occupation to fall back upon and, therefore, they wanted 80 acres of land in which they could labour. I placed this demand of those 'untouchable' brothers before the villagers and a friend readily

responded with a generous contribution of 100 acres. This incident marked the beginning of the Bhoodan movement. From that day onwards I have been asking for land for the landless. And my walking tour is continuing.

Often I am asked that how long would I carry on this daily walking tour? My reply is: so long as God will continue to give me necessary strength or so long as this work is not completed. Immediately, I am told that what can an individual do? But never do I give any thought to such questions. I knew that I was born alone and alone shall I leave this world. Before setting out for collecting landgifts I made this resolve that I am to carry on this work irrespective of any help I might or might not receive from any quarter. Such decisions cannot be taken without any living faith in God.

Gradually, many friends joined me. Some four to five thousand workers worked for this movement. Some four and a half millions of acres of land were received from six lakhs of donors. This is no

mean achievement. But it is true that we have not been able to solve the land problem of India. We shall have to work hard to reach our goal. We shall have to reach every village, calculate the requirements of each of the landless labourer and then get land for them. Every villager should take up this work.

That there is not enough land in our country to provide with land to everybody, is not morally correct. If there is dearth of land, the quantum of contribution might be small. A person having more may contribute according to his mite. The father, irrespective of his economic conditions, feeds his children. A rich father might provide with all that his child wants and a poor father might not be able to compete with him. But the fact remains that the poor father would do his maximum to feed his child. Therefore, every person should contribute something from whatever he has.

I have come to Assam with this message. Ten years ago the first Bhoodan meeting in Pochampalli did not draw such a big gathering. There was a spark of light. It would have gone in vain if I was unable to recognize its significance. It is true that people have donated land even prior to the Bhoodan movement. But such donations were either for religious or educa-

tional institutions. But to get land for the poor and the landless by merely asking for it is an act without any precedence.

There are one hundred millions of families in this country who are landless. Calculating at the rate of five acres per family, we decided to have five hundred million acres of land. People used to ask me as to how many years I would require to collect this land. And I used to say that if you, I and all of us put in our labour, sooner or later, the target could be achieved. I will not be perturbed even if this target is not achieved. For, I know a man treading on the path of virtue is never defeated.

Now, we have received four and a half million acres of land in all out of which one million acres have been distributed to the landless labourers. The rest also will gradually be distributed. Once again, we are asking for land and it is a hopeful sign that we are getting it too. We need not consider the target of five crores of acres as very ambitious. There should be nothing impossible if only a joint effort is made. The little achievement we have made so far is not at all negligible. It is, in fact, inspiring. Till today, no political party or organization of this country has been able to distribute one million

acres, nay, not even half as much of land to the poor. The Congress swears by the landless labourers and the P. S. P. the Communist Party, and the Jana Sangh—all are for giving land to the tillers. And the government also promises to provide the landless with land. But the combined contribution of all these agencies also is not to the extent of one million acres.

Thus, we see that the Bhoodan movement has surpassed the combined effort of the government and the political parties. Never do I entertain pessimism in my heart. For, I have seen that His blessings are more in comparison

to the quantum of labour put in for the Bhoodan movement.

How many persons have devoted their time for Bhoodan? In relation to our effort, the result achieved is spectacular. Therefore, today this is my humble prayer to God: My Lord, never have Thou forsaken me. I do not expect more than the amount of labour I put in. But I pray to bless me with more devotion and to enhance the devotion of my colleagues also. Direct those who are not our comrades today, to join our ranks.

(Adapted from Bhoodan)

Vinobaji on Satyagraha in Bhoodan

On a request for clarification about the place of Satyagraha in Bhoodan movement Vinobaji has expressed his views in a letter in Hindi addressed to N. Ramaswami, Editor, Sarvodaya. A free rendering is as follows:

"I agree with you that Satyagraha cannot be resorted to for liquidating individual ownership of land.

"Whatever can be done in the sphere of Bhoodan I am indicating by my own work. In case there is need for Satyagraha why should I not myself resort to it?

"As regards illegal evictions I had pointed out, even when I was in Bihar that Satyagraha could be launched against them. That would, however, have to be done carefully.

"There is a field for Satyagraha where established values are disregarded.

"Should leaders of society have basic differences on any subject, it cannot be made an issue for Satyagraha, but it becomes one for popular education. Vinoba's blessings."

NOTES ON INDIAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

E. F. Schumacher

The following "Notes on Indian Development Problems" was received from Shri Shankarrao Deo, Chairman of the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Rajghat, Varanasi. The author is at present Economic Adviser of the National Coal Board of Great Britain. By birth a German, he emigrated to England in early 1937 and accepted British citizenship in 1946. He was Economic Adviser with the United Kingdom Control Commission from 1946-50. For sometime, he also served as Economic Adviser under the Burmah Government. Deeply religious, he views economic development in terms of cultural development and wrote a paper on "Economics in a Buddhist Country" while he was in Burmah. The Gandhian Institute of Studies, says Shri Shankarrao Deo, will take up the task outlined by Mr. Schumacher in his Notes.

1. Without any pretension of statistical accuracy let us think of India as divided into two parts: a small number of 'metropolitan areas' inhabited by about 15 per cent. of the population, and the great 'rural economy' or 'rump economy', including more than half a million villages and thousands of towns of various sizes, containing about 85 per cent. of the population. I suggest that it is the inter-action of these two parts, their action upon one another that requires most careful study.

2. There appears to be evidence that each part is poisoning the other. The advanced industries in the metropolitan areas

are tending to kill off all non-agricultural production in the 'rump economy', while a flight from the land into the metropolitan areas creates quite unmanageable problems in these areas which no feasible amount of industrialisation seems capable of mastering.

3. It may be suggested, therefore, that the primary purpose of national economic planning should be the inhibition of this process of mutual poisoning. This means that the progressive destruction of non-agricultural production in the rump economy, through irresistible competition from the metropolitan areas, must be stopped and must be replaced by

a systematic development of non-agricultural production throughout the rump economy.

4. It is not sufficient to aim merely at a development of agriculture. The deepening poverty of the rump economy, containing 85 per cent. of the population, is primarily due, I suggest, to the progressive destruction of non-agricultural production, the decadence of agriculture itself being the inevitable result of the cultural starvation due to this destruction. Agriculture alone cannot sustain a fully human life; it thrives only when in contact with industrial crafts of all kinds and when vivified through cultural influences coming from thriving towns nearby.

5. Modern industry tends to congregate in the metropolitan areas. Nothing succeeds like success; the more industry there is already, the easier it is to start new enterprises. This tendency is noticeable all over the world. In England, there is a tendency for London to attract all industries not strictly tied to a special location and to grow into a vast conurbation with a diameter exceeding a hundred miles. The United States is tending to develop three enormous centres, for which they have coined the word megalopolis, one along the

Eastern seaboard from Washington to Boston, one around Chicago, and the third centred on Los Angeles. In Mexico, the planners seem to have woken up to the fact that most of the 'development' automatically takes place in and around Mexico City, while most of the non-agricultural production in the rest of the country is dying off. Such developments are grave burdens to rich countries; but they spell utter misery for millions of people in poor countries.

6. It must be clearly understood that agriculture alone can produce a decent standard of living for a sizeable community only in very special circumstances: (a) agricultural output per person must be very high, which is rarely attainable unless the ratio of land to people is exceptionally high; (b) in addition, there must be a large market for agricultural products in the cities, so that the farmer can cover all his non-agricultural consumer needs by exchanging his food surpluses for town-produced goods and services. But this presupposes that the rural population is small in relation to the town population, as it is in Britain, United States, or Germany, or else that there is a large food export trade. As these conditions are rarely given, the general rule is that rural com-

munities can be prosperous only when they engage in a great deal of non-agricultural production, so that most of their consumers' needs can be covered without having to exchange food surpluses with the towns.

7. Applying these notions to India it is abundantly clear that there is no hope of even a remotely tolerable standard of living for about 85 per cent. of India's population unless there is a great development of non-agricultural production *outside* the metropolitan areas, throughout the length and breadth of the rump economy. This is so because (a) Indian agriculture does not show a high productivity per head and is unlikely ever to attain it, as the ratio of land to people is highly unfavourable; (b) the proportion of rural to town population is such that, even if each farmer could produce a large food surplus for exchange against town goods and services, the market in the towns would not be large enough to accommodate all the farmers.

8. Rapid industrial development in the metropolitan areas, although giving the appearance of achieving welcome increases in the 'national income', is a deadly danger to the well-being of 85 per cent. of India's population as it almost inevitably leads to a

further extinction of non-agricultural production in the rump economy. The danger is all the greater because the metropolitan areas are connected with the whole of India by means of a modern transport system, so that the 'natural protection' possessed by distant rural communities or minor towns is exceedingly small.

9. The Third Five-Year Plan shows no real awareness of the problems here discussed. There is some lip-service to "balanced regional growth" and it is even proposed to set up "about 300 new industrial estates of varying sizes during the third plan period and to locate them as far as possible in small and medium sized towns." But the general tendency of the plan can only be a further intensification of development in the metropolitan areas and hence a further desolation of the rump economy. The plan is conceived in terms of industries, leaving location more or less to the pull of (so-called) natural forces. What India would need, however, is a plan conceived primarily in terms of location, leaving the choice of industry more or less to local initiative and requirements.

10. Before we can come to even the roughest outline of such a plan, we have to come to a view

on the size of the planning unit. The Third Plan, in a sense, takes the whole of India as the unit, determining what "India" is supposed to need (this is the same as saying that it leaves location more or less to itself). An alternative proposal is to take the "village" as the planning unit and to think of "India" as a great confederation of villages. (It appears that those who plead for village development are in fact thinking, not of individual villages, but of "development blocs" with about 50,000 inhabitants each). I am not convinced that either of these conceptions is realistic. "India" is altogether too big, while the "village" (however defined) is too small. I think the criterion for the choice of size must be a cultural, not an economic one; for the ultimate purpose of economic development is culture (in the comprehensive sense) and not mere economics. The unit to be made the direct object of development effort should be large enough, I suggest, to sustain an institution of higher learning. The village is too small for the development of a fully human life: it needs to be linked to, and inspired by, a market town. But even the market town gives insufficient scope and needs to be linked to, and inspired by, a district centre. The village can support a primary school; the

market town a secondary (or grammar) school; but the district centre can support an institution of higher learning, without which a vigorous intellectual life at the two lower levels cannot be sustained for long. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the problem of agricultural poverty and rural misery is essentially and primarily a cultural problem. Those who talk simply in terms of agricultural implements, fertilisers and so forth are missing the decisive point: if Indian agriculture were as good as it might be by its own best methods—never mind about modern techniques imported from the West—it would be very much more productive than it is now. Why is it not? This is a problem of cultural decline and intellectual starvation; the undoubted capital starvation is itself a derived phenomenon.

11. These considerations lead me to the suggestion that the proper planning unit for India would be a "district" with something like one to two million inhabitants, consisting of a thousand or so villages, a number of market towns, and a fairly substantial district centre or capital. This means, ideally speaking, that India would be seen mainly as the sum total and confederation of some 200 to 300 such districts.

Each district would be made the object of economic development with the immediate aim to become as self-supporting as possible in all the main fields of consumer needs—food, clothing, housing, implements, and education (up to something like technical college level). This implies that the authorities of each district will have to be the principal authors and executors of their own development plans; they will have to base themselves on local materials and local methods, planning to meet local needs.

12. What would be the role of the central government and of the state governments? I think their role should be mainly to give certain initial impulses and to offer technical assistance. The central government should give the maximum of financial assistance from central funds, but with the minimum of "strings attached". If loan funds are made available from the centre, interest and amortisation payments should not flow back to the centre but accumulate as "counterpart funds", available as a revolving fund for further use, in the district centre.

13. As a corollary of the fostering of district development, the central government should consciously and deliberately curtail

and impede the development of further industry in the metropolitan areas. This could perhaps best be done by the imposition of substantial turnover taxes in these areas as well as transportation taxes for all goods sent from metropolitan areas into the districts to compete with local products there. The proceeds of these taxes should be used primarily for district development.

14. If planning is on a district basis and if its primary aim is to meet the basic needs of the district from local resources by local methods, there will be little temptation to go for giant factories employing machinery of Western origin. Hence Indian import needs could be kept low enough to be covered by exports. Generally speaking, the aggregation of district development plans should not give rise to a foreign exchange deficit for India as a whole and their implementation should, therefore, not depend on India receiving substantial aid from abroad. (Aid may none the less be needed to complete a number of projects already started under earlier plans.) It is my own personal opinion that a country that makes development plans which utterly depend on the receipt of substantial foreign aid is doing such damage to the spirit of self-respect and self-reliance of its

people that even in the narrowest economic terms, its loss is greater than its gain. It seems to me essential, therefore, that development plans should be capable of going forward without aid of any kind (excepting only "aid through trade"), and that any aid which is none the less received should

merely serve to speed up and overfulfil the adopted plan.

15. The above is not more than a very rough and preliminary outline of a basic conception. It is not a plan, and a good deal of detailed work would be needed to turn it into a plan. Who will do the detailed work?

MESSAGE FROM PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru telegraphed the following message to the 13th Sarvodaya Sammelan :—

"I had hoped to attend the meeting of the Sarvodaya Sammelan in Andhra Pradesh. I am sorry, however, that I am unable to do so. I have not always agreed with some of the views expressed on behalf of Sarvodaya, but I have always attached value to them. They represent an approach which attracts me in many ways; even though it might not always fit in with some of the policies we have pursued. I think that this Sarvodaya aspect deserves to be emphasised. In this way it will help our own thinking and affect our policies. We face complicated and tremendous problems in India and it is desirable to examine them from all aspects. More particularly, it is necessary that we should not forget some basic values which Sarvodaya seems to represent. I send my good wishes to the Sarvodaya Sammelan."

NEW DELHI,
April 14, 1961.

Jawaharlal Nehru

THE TRAINING OF THE SHANTI - SAINIK

Marjorie Sykes

Vinobaji has proposed that all who give their names for the Shanti-sena should be encouraged to undergo a course of training. He also has made some suggestions about the nature and content of this training. Recently, courses for Shanti-Sainiks have been started in Kashi, and the plan and syllabus have been published in Sarvodaya journals.

When a person signs the Shanti Sena pledge, he desires and resolves to spend his whole life and strength in the service of peace. He has understood the need and the demand of the times, and he feels his personal responsibility to do his share towards meeting the need. The purpose of the training course is not to arouse his enthusiasm; his enthusiasm is already aroused. The course must be planned to help him to translate his enthusiasm for peace effectively into action.

This aim has two aspects, which we may call as the personal and the technical. The technical part is comparatively easy: in order to be effective as a helper in emergencies, the Shanti-Sainik needs certain kinds of skill. Swimming, cycling, first-aid, fire-fighting,

etc., come under this head. Such things are included in the Kashi syllabus, and they are good and useful things. But by themselves, they are only tools, and a non-violent force would find them as useful as an armed force. They do not constitute the primary part of the training, but are secondary to its personal aspect. It is this personal aspect which Vinobaji emphasizes whenever he speaks about the subject.

Recently our Prime Minister referred to "discipline and the power of working together" as "military" qualities which it is important for the youth of the nation to imbibe. If these qualities belong to the good soldier in war, it is even more true that they belong to the good soldier of peace. "Discipline is the very heart of non-violence," says Vinoba, and every Shanti Sainik ought to study carefully the kind of discipline which is expected of him. It is a deeper and stronger discipline than that of the war army, because it springs up and grows from within, and is not, like ordinary military discipline, imposed and enforced by outward force. The same can be said of the second quality, the power of

working together. An armed force acts together under the orders of its general; the members of a non-violent army act together in responsible freedom, carrying out united decisions in mutual trust and understanding. Vinoba's writings on Shanti-Sena contain many passages in which he expounds and illustrates the nature of the inner discipline and freely given co-operation needed by the soldiers of peace.

The personal training of the Shanti-Sainik must therefore be directed towards strengthening these qualities. It must aim at helping to know himself better, and particularly to recognise in himself those habits of thought and conduct which interfere with his self-discipline and prevent him from working in full harmony with other people. This means that the training must include living with others in a self-directing, self-disciplining community. The writer believes that this experience may be most valuable and challenging when the face-to-face community is quite a small one, so that each member has to meet the challenge of working with people who may not at first seem very congenial to him.

Vinoba mentions in one of his speeches four or five specific ways in which nonviolent self-discipline

may be strengthened. They are: (1) the practice of the power of silence, (2) the use of devotional music, (3) the practice of perseverance in service, of steadily keeping on with necessary tasks unweariedly and without a time limit (4) the practice of orderliness in small things and big, (5) the practice of inward tranquillity.

The plan of daily living in the training community should provide a place for all of these. Their studies should enable the Sainiks to become acquainted with the methods of inward discipline which the great masters of the spiritual life have discovered and taught. This applies especially to points 1 and 5 and also to a large extent to point 2. With regard to points 3 and 4, the training course should include special programmes, in addition to the daily routine, designed to help the Sainiks to measure and increase their own power of endurance and habits of orderliness, both in the physical and in the mental sphere.

It is obvious that the period of training should give the new Shanti Sainik the chance to go as deeply as he can into the practical and spiritual meaning of the six-fold pledge he has taken. The syllabuses now being followed in Kashi can be seen to be based very largely on this principle. The

director of the training will need to be always alert to the practical bearing of these pledges on every aspect of the students' lives, from the most apparently trivial household arrangements and personal habits to the widest questions of service, sarvodaya and gramswaraj. This will need to be done not only in general terms, but in its applications to the particular qualities and circumstances of every individual student. In fact the task of preparing the soldier of peace

is so overwhelmingly great that one could only dare to undertake it at all with this thought in mind: In this training camp, I may be Director in name; in reality I know that I too am under training, I too am a learner. As each batch of students comes and goes, the standard by which I must measure our progress is that I myself should have learned, through living and working with them, a little more of the discipline of peace.

THE MESSAGE OF VINOBA

It is ten years since Bhoodan took birth. 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 Bhoodan Ganga. I hope that all the Sarvodaya workers, by drawing new inspiration from the Bhoodan Mantra, will lit its fire in the nook and corner of India. What more message can I give than this? In fact my Pada-yatra itself is the best message. Nevertheless, I wrote a few words in fulfilment of the wishes of my colleagues.

IN ASSAM TOUR,
8—3—1961.

JAI JAGAT
Vinoba.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

AT THE 13th ALL INDIA SARVODAYA SAMMELAN

(continued from the last issue of Sarvodaya.)

Fortunately, as you know, a number of circumstances have combined in my State, Bihar, to embolden us not only to launch upon a mass Bhoodan movement, but also to fix a date, December 3, the next birth day of President Rajendra Prasad, by when to fulfil our target the slogan, '*Beeghe men Kattha*,' (one Kattha in a Beegha of land) has a special meaning and relevance in the context of Bihar. You will remember that in the course of his nation-wide *pada-yatra*, it was Bihar that Vinoba had selected where to demonstrate that, if the effort was seriously made, it was possible to solve the problem of landlessness by the process of persuasion. At that time it was calculated that if 32 lakhs of acres of arable land were collected, that should be sufficient for the landless tillers of the State. Accordingly, that was the target fixed and it was universally agreed upon. The drive that followed was so intensive and all inclusive that at one stage even the Bihar Legislative Assembly was specially closed for a week in order to allow

the peoples' representatives to go to their constituencies and work for the fulfilment of the target. Vinoba himself stayed as long as 27 months in Bihar. As you will recall nearly 21 lakhs of acres were collected as a result of that inspiring mass effort. That was one of the high lights of the movement which had sent a thrill through the entire length and breadth of India and had even crossed over the seas and the peaks of the Himalayas.

Much has been made of the fact that a large part of the land then collected is unfit for cultivation. Even if that be so, it should not be forgotten that up to date far more land has been distributed in Bihar, or in the country as a whole, through Bhoodan than through legislation or any other means. But, as a matter of fact, it is not possible even now to say definitely what part of the land donated is really uncultivable. At least one Bihar donor, the largest among them assured Vinoba only the other day that every acre of his donate

lands was fit for cultivation. That perhaps implied that if any part of his land-gift was really found to be worthless, he would donate other lands in its place.

Be that as it may, when Vinoba left Bihar at the end of 27 months, we had hoped that we would collect on our own the remaining 11 lakh acres. But while a few thousand acres have been collected since, our hands have been more than full with distribution of the vast acres already collected, rehabilitation of thousands of Bhoodan donees and with other programs of the movement that came quickly in the wake of Bhoodan, such as Gramdan, Gramsamkalpa, Shanti-Sena, etc.

It was in this background that Vinoba re-entered Bihar on his way to Assam, and the astute social psychologist that he is, on the very first day he reminded the State, its leaders, its sarvodaya workers, its political parties, its constructive organizations, the hundreds of thousands of Bhoodan donors and donees, the Gram-dani villagers, the Khadi spinners and weavers and all others of the unfulfilled pledge. That reminder went home. Voice came from all sides, acknowledging the debt to be paid. No less a person than the late Dr. Shri Krishna Sinha, the then Chief Minister of the State, hurried to Vinoba's camp

to assure him personally of his full support. Other political leaders followed suit. Vinoba took advantage of the psychological situation and keeping in mind that Rajendra Babu had his home in Bihar, fixed upon the President's next birth-day to be made the ceremonial occasion on which the people of the State should present him with gifts of the remaining 11 lakhs of acres as a token of their love and regard for him. Poignancy and emotion were to be further added on to the gesture by the fact that next December 3 would be almost the eve of Rajendra Babu's retirement from the highest office in the land.

The slogan '*Beeghe men Kattha*' owes its origin to Vinoba's aptitude for mathematics as well as for coining phrases. Making an on-the-spot calculation he showed that if 1/20th of the total cultivated area of the State were collected in land-gift, that would be just sufficient to fulfil the target of lakhs. And then the dry mathematical fraction, 1/20th, easily became transformed in Vinoba's rich mind into '*Beeghe men Kattha*' — a simple, meaningful and attractive slogan, easily understood by all and easy also of implementation!

During the earlier drive, the emphasis was on collection: the

distribution was to follow and was to be made by the Bhoodan workers. Perhaps that was not very wise. Anyhow, this time Vinoba has added a new feature that has made the program far more attractive to the landowners and far less burdensome for the Sarvodaya workers. He has advised that the donor himself should distribute his gift to whomever he wished, provided the recipient was landless and prepared to cultivate the land himself. This makes the giving more satisfying and eliminates all the plodding work that is necessary for distribution and that clogs the movement. It is difficult to imagine all the above dramatic conditions being re-produced anywhere else. However, there might be other favourable conditions found in other States. For instance in Assam, Bhoodan had never been tried on a mass scale. mainly because Vinobaji had not visited the State until recently. With his presence there it might be possible to develop it now, but 'Beeghe men Kattha' might have no relevance to the Assam situation.

There have been criticisms galore of Bhoodan. Some of them were constructive and we have learnt a great deal from them. Others have stuck on its forehead the label, failure. Yet others have heaped on us ridicule. Sometimes

they have picked upon a phrase used by one of us in the process of evaluation and adduced it as an incontrovertible proof of whatever their own thesis might be.

The Achievements of a Decade

I have no desire here to enter upon any argument with these critics. The achievements of a decade of the Bhoodan movement, even after making all the allowances for its faults and failures, are truly remarkable. They have demonstrated the efficacy of the method of *ahimsa*, at any rate, in this sphere of social life. It is true that neither the larger problem of land, nor the lesser one of landlessness, has been solved; but (a) Bhoodan has done more for the landless than any other agency and (b) through its offshoot, Gramdan, which might be called the fruit of the Bhoodan tree, it has concretely shown how the larger problem of land in the peculiar conditions of India can be solved. For after a careful study of the problem, I have come to the conclusion that unless all the arable land in the village becomes common property of the village community, not only would the land problem remain intractable, but so would also remain the problems of economic, political, social and cultural advancement of the village. The present sys-

tem of land is the greatest single factor responsible for class and caste divisions in the village, for exploitation and litigation, for the co-existence in rural society of want and wealth, security and insecurity, education and ignorance. Because there is so little land in the country in proportion to the evergrowing population, it should cease to be a source of personal gain and become a means to serve the common good: to provide food for all the village. This is only possible through community ownership and management of village lands. The great contribution of Gramdan is that it has already accomplished this, or most of this. On this account there has been a remarkable growth in some of the Gramdan communities not only of the material aspects of their life, but also of the social, cultural and ethical.

Gramdan has been, and must be, a voluntary program. It might be recalled that its progress at the beginning, particularly in Orissa, Tamil Nad and Kerala was remarkable. It was when the movement was still on the crest that the well known Yelwal Conference was held in which the President of India, leaders of the Congress, the PSP and the Communist Party, the Prime Minister and other ministers of the Union Government, Chief Ministers of several

States, Vinobaji and representatives of the Sarva Seva Sangh had participated. Perhaps that was a most unique conference ever held in this country. Happily, the Conference was able to agree upon a common policy in regard to Gramdan and a joint statement was issued commending it and calling upon the people to lend it their full support, and also emphasising the desirability of close co-operation between the Gramdan and Community Development movements.

That Conference was another highlight of our movement and Vinobaji was so moved by it that the next day he went so far as to say that we had at last emerged from darkness into the dawn of a new day. It proved to be a false dawn, however. I have no doubt that if the sentiments expressed in the joint statement had found expression in action and a concerted effort had been made, there could easily have been fifty, instead of five thousand Gramdan villages in the country. The rest could quite confidently have been left then to the momentum so created.

Agrarian Socialism

Perhaps the reason why the concerted effort was never made was that political parties and their leaders do not have real faith

in the power of persuasion. In fact they often say so. Their faith really and truly is in legislation. If this assumption is right, let me point out to the political leaders — particularly to those who profess socialism—that Gramdan has opened for them a royal road to socialism. The three major parties of the country the Congress, the PSP and the CPI all profess to be working to establish socialism in India. There are also smaller socialist groups working towards that end. What is socialism in the agrarian context of our country? From what little knowledge I have of socialism, I can think of only one answer. Neither abolition of landlordism is socialism, nor fixation of ceilings, nor securing tenants in the possession of their lands, nor consolidation of holdings, nor crop-insurance, nor any or all of the land reforms enacted or talked about. Agrarian socialism in this country has only one meaning: community ownership and management of land (the latter not necessarily meaning collective farming, though it might well do so). If this aim is to be achieved by legislation, the appropriate law might be framed and enacted, transferring land from private lands to the Gram Sabha.

It might be said that such legislation is impossible because

there would be massive opposition to it. That of course is true. But I am not suggesting immediate legislation. Among other things that would be undemocratic. The democratic process requires creation of public opinion prior to legislation. Now, if the three major parties combine and jointly or severally, as they desire, carry on a campaign of mass education, it should not be difficult within a short period to create a massive support, from amongst the rural population itself, for such a measure. After all, the percentage of land-owners whose interests might be adversely affected by villagisation of land is bound to be very small. Besides villagisation, as conceived of here does not mean expropriation of the property of the better-off farmers.

First, these farmers too will have their proportionate share in the villagised lands. Secondly, for the lands taken from them over and above their share, the law should provide for proper compensation to be paid to them over a number of years by the village community itself from the produce of the land. Therefore if the program is properly explained to the cultivation, there is no reason why they should be opposed to it, particularly when it could be shown that it

measure was desirable in the interest of all-round development of the village community.

The present is an election year. Let all the socialist parties now give serious thought to this proposal and put it in their manifestos.

If the socialist parties neither work whole-heartedly for Gramdan, nor for legislation on these lines, the conclusion would be inescapable that they were not serious about what they profess.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding, let me make it clear these are entirely my personal opinions, though I cannot conceive of either Vinobaji or any of my colleagues being opposed to any one villagising land under full democratic conditions; in other words, with the support of the electorate. Vinobaji has often said, speaking of redistribution of land, that if that happens through Bhoodan he would dance with joy, but if it happened through legislation he would still be happy.

For our part, Gramdan would continue to be the sheet-anchor, because our interest is not merely in economic reform—though that certainly is one of our important objectives—but, also in the psychological process involved

aiming at the substitution of co-operative, in place of competitive, values of life. Voluntary villagisation of land, i. e., Gramdan, achieves both these ends, whereas legislative villagisation secures only one of them—the economic. The reason I have ventured to throw this challenge to the political parties is that they express such scepticism about the power of persuasion and profess such utter faith in the power of legislation.

Whither India?

May I now draw your attention to the general situation in the country? While I find no reason to take an alarmist view, I think you will agree that the situation is full of anxiety. We have made progress in some directions, but have slipped back in many others. Events have taken place that have rudely reminded us that the task of national integration, for the greater part, remains unfulfilled. Linguistic patriotism has often asserted itself over national patriotism. Communalism and caste-ism have too often bared their ugly teeth. Ordinary human feeling and decency have too easily become the common casualties amidst all this madness.

The message of Sarvodaya, which is the message of love, is

no doubt, the single major answer to this frightful challenge. But, alas, we are so few and the quality of our love so inadequate! Has it not been found that in the midst of the strife, some of us have not been able to keep their head? But I am convinced that there is no other force than the force of love that can weld India into a nation, or rather into a community, emotionally integrated and united in the pursuit of common ideals. At these annual meetings, when we have such a fine opportunity of communion, let us draw strength from one another and vow to purify our hearts so that we might be capable of using that wonderful force of love.

That, however, is only half our task. We have also to learn how to use that force more effectively. Vinobaji is our great teacher in that field. He has shown us two concrete ways in which to do this: (a) propagation of the *Shanti-patra* and (b) organization of the *Shanti-Sena*. Through the *Shanti-Patra*, the message of peace, can be taken to every home. That can play a powerful part in paving the way for the force of love. Unfortunately, our achievement in this respect has been rather disappointing. But, it is lucky that we have an opportunity, not being far from Tenali, to

learn from our Andhra friends, particularly from Dr. Suryanarayana, how to make of the *Shanti-patra* program, a mass movement.

By his service in normal times, and peace work in times of strife, by his preparedness to lay down his life if necessary, the *Shanti-sainik* strengthens the force of love. But his number, counting both those registered and unregistered, is too small, and the forces he has to contend with are overwhelming. Obviously, in the next year we must exert our fullest to push forward the *Shanti-sena* program. But no matter how much we add to our number and that cannot but be rather limited in the present circumstances, the task would still be found over-whelming.

What are we to do then? I do not pretend to have an answer. Two things are clear: (a) we must give far more attention to these problems than before; commission competent persons to help us in studying and understanding them in a scientific manner so as to discover possible remedies and (b) take the initiative in getting together at all levels—local and top—persons and institutions to make a comprehensive and all-out attack on the hydra-headed demon of disintegration.

The Politics of Sarvodaya

We generally think of ourselves as having nothing to do with politics. Others also have the same view of us. Let us stop to examine this 'dis-interest' in politics. What does that mean? That means, of course, that we do not belong to any political party, do not and shall not, take part directly or indirectly, in any political contest for position or power. But does it also mean that we are not concerned with what is happening in the political field: with the working of our democracy and its various institutions. If democracy were to be in peril, if there were danger of political chaos, of dictatorship, shall we sit back smugly and twiddle our thumbs on the ground that we have nothing to do with politics? Perhaps, it is not understood clearly that our policy not to be involved in party and power politics is meant precisely to enable us to play a more effective and constructive part in moulding the politics of the country. We say it is not *Rajniti* and *Lokniti* in which we are interested, but we do not seem to appreciate the full implications of that statement.

Our philosophy of *Lokniti* should tell us that the answer is to inculcate self-confidence in the

people, to give them the opportunities and the resources to manage their affairs themselves, to train them for the task, and in this manner create and strengthen the foundations of our democracy. It seems to me that we do not fully appreciate the dimensions of this task. There is no doubt that we are trying our best to establish *gram-swaraj*. But the number of the villages concerned is small and there seems to be little hope in the near future of their number shooting up very high. If, therefore, we do not succeed in the near future in developing a mass movement of *gram-swaraj*, how do we answer that challenge after all?

Let me put another question: What about those matters that pertain to levels beyond the village? In how many areas or zones, no matter how small or big, are we trying to experiment with *lok-swaraj*? In hardly a handful. No, my friends, our effort is too inadequate. Whereas the situation demands a mass movement of political building up from below, we seem to be content with our extremely meagre efforts. These efforts indeed, are valuable, because they would serve as models and standards of comparison. But they cannot do duty for a mass program.

Panchayati Raj

Panchayati Raj has already been introduced into several States, and will soon be introduced into the others. I am not suggesting that in its present form it is all that we would wish it to be. But of three things I am certain: it is not a make-belief and an attempt to draw wool over the eyes of the people and, in the name of political decentralisation, to enhance the power of the bureaucracy and the government; two, it is capable of indefinite improvement; three, if it fails, our own *gram-swaraj* program will be doomed.

It is my emphatic view, therefore, that we should throw ourselves heart and soul into the Panchayati Raj movement, which even now is a people's movement as much as an official program, but which is bound to become, as time passes, more and more of the former. Our participation in this movement should be on two levels: one, on the level of study so as to help in removing the defects in the Acts and the Rules; two, on the level of what might briefly be called *lok-shikshan* (social education and training) and *lok-shakti*, i. e., creation of the necessary competence among the people. To the extent we succeed at the second level, we would be effective at the first.

In this manner if a concerted effort were made to make Panchayati Raj a success, I feel that sooner than many would dare to hope to-day, the whole political climate in the country could be changed and a new feeling of self-confidence created. The present challenge could thus be largely met.

According to the present scheme, Panchayati Raj is to rise only up to the district level. In my *Swaraj For The People* I have argued at some length why in the interest of fuller and less expensive democracy, it should be extended right up to the top, i. e., to New Delhi. Many of the country's leaders including the Prime Minister and Acharya Kripalani, have from time to time spoken in favour of an indirect system of election. The latest to do so was the Congress President, Shri Sanjeeva Reddi. I hope, therefore, that our proposals in that behalf would receive their serious attention. The Sarva Seva Sangh might take the initiative in this matter and contact the political parties. Let me say that the details of the proposals made in this behalf in my pamphlet should be taken as nothing more than a basis for discussion.

I hope also that now that the pamphlet in question has received

the general approval of the Sangh, you would make it one of your major jobs in this year to create public opinion in its favour. This being an election year, the minds of the people are likely to be specially attuned to political education.

In regard to the General Election, the Sarva Seva Sangh has put forward rather revolutionary ideas. I have also dealt with them in my tract. It is our view that the present method of setting up candidates limits democracy, because it limits the freedom of choice of the voters. Therefore, we have put forward the proposal for setting up Voters' Councils for selection of candidates. In view of the fact that many people are said to be fed up with the struggle for power between parties, factions, and ambitious politicians, and, more fundamentally, because of the fact that the method suggested by us gives more power to the voters and frees them from the domination of the parties, it should not be difficult to put the idea into practice, at least in a number of selected constituencies. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the Sarva Seva Sangh has decided to make this attempt. Here then is another program for you of great potentiality and significance.

Lest there be any misunderstanding, it should be made clear

that it is not our intention that the Sarva Seva Sangh or the Sarvodaya movement should set up or support any candidates, or have anything to do with the elections in that sense. The Sangh's resolution makes that absolutely clear. Ours is merely an educative role: we shall try to explain our point of view to the voters, and if it appeals to them, it will be entirely their job to put it into practice.

It is no doubt gratifying to know that there has been an increase in the national income of as much as 40%, in the last ten years. But those of us who work in the villages and daily come into contact with the common people are hard put to it to discover any corresponding improvement among them. It is a pity that our economic dialogue with the government, our planners, and our experts gets always bogged down in discussion about centralization and decentralization, the obscurities of the theory of self-sufficiency, the right and wrong attitude to science and technology and so on and on. The experts and the planners have had all their own way. But the obstinate facts of poverty, unemployment, starvation-rather, scarcity, because since *swaraj* the word starvation, if not starvation itself, has been rigorously banned-

persist shamelessly to stare in the face. We are prepared to admit that all our fanciful theories are wrong or out of date and that by insisting upon humanisation of economics we are acting as sheer romantics. But the people want food and jobs and want to live differently from the animals. How are the planners to give all that to be people? Has any one the right to produce plastics and rayon and synthetic rubber as long as people are hungry and naked? What does planning mean and economic growth, and whom are they meant to serve?

By all means more wealth must be produced and produced as efficiently as possible. But in a poor and starving country is it not urgent that it is so produced that it reaches the people without delay? To use Vinobaji's expressive word, why should the people be made to wait for wealth produced at the top slowly to *percolate* down to them? And how long should they wait, and by what trick of planning and statistical economic growth would the explosive force of their accumulated suffering be prevented from detonating? In the West, competent economists have computed that it took anywhere from a hundred to two hundred years for the fruits of industrialisation to reach the labouring classes.

May be this lag-period could be reduced under our socialist dispensation—though, looking at the share-out of the surplus value in the public sector,—there is no ground for such a hope. But even granting that was possible, can the desperately needy millions of this country wait even fifty years? Will democracy have any chance then, or Sarvodaya?

Perhaps our planners are doing what others have done before. But in the West, economic growth was far more organic, indigenous and evenly distributed than in our country. Here when a huge population with too little land living on a bullock-cart economy is suddenly confronted with imported automation economy, the problems of growth assume an entirely different complexion, requiring an entirely different treatment.

I do fervently hope, therefore, that on the eve of the 3rd Plan, there would be some fresh thinking on this question. There seem to me to be only two possible alternatives: (a) either to produce wealth as efficiently as possible in a few centres and keep the rest of the country more or less on subsidies or (b) produce wealth in every home and hamlet and township. That is to say, either a few have to be employed and the res-

kept on doles; or all are employed and make some kind of living.

Looking at the problem from the eyes of 80% of the people, that is, the rural people, Khadi and village industries have hardly touched the fringe of their problem; small-scale Industries have hardly entered their field, and large-scale industries have done more harm than good. For us, the rural folk, this division of industries has no meaning. What we want is a massive program of rural industrialisation, for which purpose I suggest that the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the Small-Scale Industries Board be merged into one comprehensive and coordinated Rural Industries Commission. For the urban areas, the S. S. I. Board might function as might be required. It should be the task of that Commission to help as fast as possible in the development of the present purely agricultural economy of the villages into a balanced agro-industrial economy in such a manner that urban exploitative

interests do not get a foot-hold into it and the mass of the rural population is able to participate both in its workings and benefits. Incidentally, such a rural development, I am sure, would produce a salutary effect even in the urban sector.

Before I conclude I must salute our Andhra comrades for the wonderful job they have done in organising this Sammelan. The most remarkable of their achievements is undoubtedly the wave of co-operation that they have been able to arouse among the people of the neighbouring villages. Particularly praiseworthy is the offer of *Shramdan* by a large number of persons every day in order to help in constructing this Sarvodayapuram, as also the generous gifts of over two thousand bags of rice plus other grains and articles of food. We are beholden to the people of this area for their love and co-operation and offer our heartfelt thanks.

Jai Jagat.

THE MILLIONAIRE

Noshir Bilpodiwala

We met in a club, the millionaire and I.

He spoke to me patronisingly about the art of making money.

"What do you do with all your money?" I asked.

"I use it to make more money," he replied.

"What for?"

"in order to make still more money."

"but what for?" I persisted.

He leaned forward and with a shade of curiosity enquired:

"are you mad?"

"are you?" I retorted.

The old man bent his head and through the gold of his teeth, drawled:

"An amusing fellow. I don't think I've ever met any one like this before."

He evidently considered himself quite normal.

"And what do you do with yourself?" I asked.

"I make money." He said simply, shrugging his shoulders.

"And how do you make money?"

"It's quite simple. You see the farmers produce goods.

I deliver them to the markets. Then just figure out how much money I must leave the farmer, so that he won't starve to death, and be able to keep on working.

The balance you transfer to your current account. Quite simple", he explained.

"And are the farmers satisfied?"

"Not all of them I presume." He said with childlike simplicity. "But then people are never satisfied. They say you always find cranks who keep grumbling".

"Does not the Government interfere?" I ventured with a little diffidence.

"The Government?" he echoed; rubbing his forehead thoughtfully, he said: "Oh you mean those fellows at New Delhi? No they don't bother me. Except for the stupid taxes, they don't much come in my way. You see. I fit in their plan of mixed economy."

"Sometimes," he continued, "they make some un-necessary row about my charging a high rate of interest, that is, to the farmers. But as I am a millionaire, I can afford to pay them. How do you manage that?"

"Very simple! You offer a loan to those in need and surprisingly enough, they will agree to pay any rate of interest you ask for." create disturbances, troops must be called and then they know who's the boss."

I digressed a little.

"Which are your favourite books?"

"The check book and the ledger."

"I beg your pardon," I apologised, "I meant who are your favourite authors or which poets do you like?"

"Why should they be liked?" he queried.

"Is there any work of art you like best?" I changed over.

"I don't have to like art. I just buy it," he explained.

"I am aware of that", I hurried on, "but perhaps you have some views on Art and what you expect of it."

"Oh of course I know what I want from art.....Commercial art is my favourite subject. I am of the opinion that advertisements must contain the most attractive colours. They must lure you from afar and lead you at once to where they wish."

I felt that it was time to end the interview. Not all heads can stand being trampled upon. I rose.

"Oh you are going?" he asked.

"Yes," I said, "but perhaps now that I am leaving, you might

"How much do you charge?"

"Oh—some times 35% some times 40% and sometimes some blokes even agree to pay 60%."

"But isn't that against the law?"

"Be practical, young man," he advised. "We usually give a loan of Rs. 500/- and get a signature of debt for Rs. 1000/- If the debtor does not pay up quietly, the Law invariably protects us."

"I think the Government, ought, sometimes to forbid downright robbery."

"Now now," he objected. "That is idealism." The Government has no right to interfere in private affairs."

"But is it private affair when one exploits many?" I required. "Exploits?" he was amazed. "Are you by any chance a communist?" I assured him that I wasn't; none the less I felt quite embarrassed at my own naivete, and his superior wisdom.

"What we need, young man," he sermonised, "is Law and order in the country. Our people must remain docile as they are. They must respect the Laws. If they

tell me what after all, is the sense in being a millionaire?"

He began to hiccup. Perhaps this was his way of laughing.

"Its a habit," he cried when he had caught his breath.

"What's a habit?" I hesitated.

"To be a millionaire....its a habit."

"Then you think opium addicts and millionaires are of the same order.

This remark must have offended him.

"I think you are ill-bred," he snapped.

"good day" said I and left.

On my way home, I pondered:- Our present day. Morality is the

guardian of the rich. The guardians of Law and order, protect the hoardings of the haves, and inside the havenots, we thrust a host of principles that are to become rooted in the brain and crush all ideas that operate against inequality and injustice.

The capitalist very sincerely preaches "Thou shalt not steal," but seldom does he realise that the hoarder is the father of the thief.

Every body behaves more or less respectably, and against the drab background of this stolid life, confined within the narrow compass of the old puritan morality....and I still muse—"What after all, is morality?"

Swaraj For the People

(by Jayaprakash Narayan)

A booklet presenting the propositions and arguments of "Reconstruction of Indian Polity" is a guide to Sarvodaya workers to educate the people in 'direct, basic responsible and participating democracy'

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA,

TANJORE.

NEWS AND NOTES

World Peace Brigade Conference

The following persons have come forward to act as Sponsors of the Conference to establish a World Peace Brigade, to be held from Decr. 28, 1961 to and including Jany. 1, 1962 at Brummana High School, Brummana (near Beirut), Lebanon: Iwao Ayusawa (Japan), Vinoba Bhawe (India), Martin Buber (Israel), Josue de Castro (Brazil), Bernhardt Jensen (Denmark), Kenneth Kaunda (N. Rhodesia), Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika), Edmond Privat (Switzerland), Tiber Sekelj (Yugoslavia).

War Resisters' International — Indian Section

The idea of the International Peace Brigade has been taking more concrete shape. Preparatory Committee with distinguished sponsors is organising a preliminary conference from December 28, 1961 to and including January 1, 1962 at the Friends' High School, Brummana (outside Beirut) Lebanon. Sri Devi Prasad, Secretary of the War Resisters' International — Indian Section, Sevagram, Wardha will be attending the War Resisters' International Council Meeting. He sailed from Cochin on 17th June.

Shanti-sena Vidyalaya at Kashi

The first session of the Shanti-sena Vidyalaya which is the first of its kind concluded on 24th June. Sri. Narayan Desai, Principal of the Vidyalaya gave a report of the first session. Dada Dharmadhikari in his valedictory address advised the Shanti-sainiks to deal with everyone with great respect and love which was the key to their success.

The second session will begin from 15th August with a duration of four months. The signing of the pledge is not a necessary condition for admission and the trainees can sign the pledge after the completion of the course, if they so desire. The travelling, boarding and lodging expenses will be borne by the Provincial Sarvodaya Mandals for the trainees if deputed by the Mandals. Students joining independently should bear all the expenses. The cost of training will be borne by the Sarva Seva Sangh. The last date for application is 31st July and admission will be closed on 20th August.

Vinobaji's Yatra in Assam

During Vinobaji's yatra in North Lakhimpur district from 12th May to 12th June 36 Gramdams, Bhoodan of 54,549 Kathas from 12,800 donors, and offers of Sampattidan of Rs. 662 per month were received. 11,516 houses installed Sarvodaya patras and 98 new Lok-Sevaks and 14 Shanti-Sainiks were registered. Cash donations of Rs. 8,862—72 were received.

Earlier in April Srimati Pushpalata Das, M.P. announced to Vinobaji that she would give up party politics and dedicate herself for Sarvodaya after the completion of her present period.

Madhya Pradesh Sarvodaya Sammelan

The fourth Sarvodaya Sammelan of Madhya Pradesh was held in Kamtara in Hoshangabad district under the presidentship of Shri Nawakrishna Chowdhary from 11th to 14th June. As Nawababu had to go to Assam to meet Vinobaji in his absence Sri. Thakurdas Bang presided.

Sri. Deep Chand Jain, the Secrerary of the Pradesh Mandal gave a report of the activities. According to the report Bhoodan received was 3,97,712 acres from 57,593 donors. The land distributed was 1,13,618 to 31,608 families. 1,30,067 Acres of Bhoodan were considered unfit for distribution. Total Gramdan villages numbered 140.

Shri. Bang strongly contradicted the general feeling among the workers that no bulk land-gift could be expected any more. He pleaded for mass pada-yatra with the donors, donees and the villagers on the lines pursued in the previous year in Betul and Wardha districts.

Sri. Nawakrishna Chowdhary in his presidential address, observed that the country was passing through a critical stage. Fissiparous tendencies have found a free passage into the hearts of the people through communal, linguistic and religious platforms which shattered the unity of the people. He exhorted the Lok-sevaks to select a compact area where 15 or 20 of them should work in a spirit of brotherhood. Then alone, he felt, the Lok-sevaks could influence the society.



122nd Issue

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Vol. XI : No. 2

Message on Independence Day

“From today you have to wear the crown of thorns. Strive ceaselessly to cultivate truth and non-violence. Be humble. Be forbearing. The British rule no doubt put you on your mettle. But now you will be tested through and through. Beware of power. Power corrupts. Do not let yourselves be entrapped by its pomp and pageantry. Remember, you are in office to serve the poor in India's villages. May God help you.”

*Mahatma Gandhi—“The Last Phase” Vol. II
by Pyarelal—Navajivan Publication.*

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SARVODAYA PRACHINALAYA TANJORE [S.I.]

SARVODAYA

A Monthly Digest running its eleventh 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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SARVODAYA

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AUGUST 1961

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A MESSAGE FOR SARVODAYA

*

Vice President
India

New Delhi
August 8, 1961.

No. VP-24/2173-61

Dear Shri Ramaswami,

All-round development of all people is the aim of Sarvodaya. It can be achieved by forbearance and understanding.

With the best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. Radhakrishnan

*



VINOBA JAYANTHI - GANDHI JAYANTHI

Sarvodaya Literature Campaign

Nabakrushna Chowdhary, (President, Sarva Seva Sangh)

Once again Vinoba - Jayanthi and Gandhi - Jayanthi are approaching. In addition to the usual programme for the celebration of these occasions, it is requested that a special effort should be made during the period from September 11, (Vinoba's birthday) to October 2, (Birthday of Gandhiji) to enlist subscribers for Bhoodan periodicals and sell Sarvodaya literature.

Apart from the Hindi weekly "*BHOODAN YAJNA*" English weekly "*BHOODAN*" and Urdu fortnightly "*BHOODAN - TAHRIK*" published by the Sarva Seva Sangh, and English "*SARVODAYA*" and Tamil "*Sarvodayam*" monthlies published by Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, Bhoodan periodicals are published in almost all principal languages by the various provincial Sarvodaya Mandals. Sarvodaya literature is also available in all languages.

The widest possible circulation of our periodicals, and books is essential for advancing our cause. They are one of the most potent instruments for changing men's ideas which is the foundation for the establishment of a non - violent and peaceful Social Order, briefly termed Sarvodaya.

As the philosophy of Sarvodaya is creative and not static, what becomes necessary is to study its implications again and again for implementing it in day - to - day affairs in the light of new thoughts, that reaches us through various Bhoodan periodicals. I hope that all Sarvodaya Mandals, *Lok - Sevak*s and constructive - work organisations throughout the country will chalk out a detailed plan of a concerted drive for enlisting subscribers and selling literature during the period between Vinoba-Jayanthi and Gandhi-Jayanthi and execute the same with *Vigour* and determination.

THE MEANING AND NEED OF PRAYER

Mahatma Gandhi

"I am glad that you all want me to speak to you on the meaning of and the necessity for prayer. I believe that prayer is the very soul and essence of religion, and, therefore, prayer must be the very core of the life of man, for no man can live without religion. There are some who in the egotism of their reason declare that they have nothing to do with religion. But it is like a man saying that he breathes but that he has no nose. Whether by reason, or by instinct, or by superstition, man acknowledges some sort of relationship with the divine. The rankest agnostic, or atheist does acknowledge the need of a moral principle, and associates something good with its observance and something bad with its non-observance. Bradlaugh, whose atheism is well known, always insisted on proclaiming his innermost conviction. He had to suffer a lot for thus speaking the truth, but he delighted in it and said that truth is its own reward. Not that he was quite insensible to the joy, resulting from the observance of truth. This joy, however, is not at all worldly, but springs out of communion with the divine. That is why I have said that even a man who

disowns religion cannot and does not live without religion.

"Now I come to the next thing, viz., that prayer is the very core of man's life, as it is the most vital part of religion. Prayer is either petitional or in its wider sense is inward communion. In either case, the ultimate result is the same. Even when it is petitional, the petition should be for the cleansing and purification of the soul, for freeing it from the layers of ignorance and darkness that envelope it. He, therefore, who hungers for the awakening of the divine in him must fall back on prayer. But prayer is no mere exercise of words or of the ears, it is no mere repetition of empty formula. Any amount of repetition of Ramanama is futile if it fails to stir the soul. It is better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart. It must be in clear response to the spirit which hungers for it. And even as a hungry man relishes a hearty meal, a hungry soul will relish a heartfelt prayer. And I am giving you a bit of my experience and that of my companions when I say that he who has experienced the magic of prayer may do with-

out food for days together but not a single moment without prayer. For without prayer there is no inward peace.

"If that is the case, some one will say, we should be offering our prayers every minute of our lives. There is no doubt about it, but we, erring mortals, who find it difficult to retire within ourselves for inward communion even for a single moment, will find it impossible to remain perpetually in communion with the divine. We, therefore, fix some hours—when we make a serious effort to throw off the attachments of the world for a while, we make a serious endeavour to remain, so to say, out of the flesh. You have heard Suradas' hymn. It is the passionate cry of a soul hungering for union with the divine. According to our standards he was a saint, but according to his own he was a proclaimed sinner. Spiritually he was miles ahead of us, but he felt the separation from the divine so keenly that he has uttered that anguished cry in loathing and despair.

"I have talked of the necessity for prayer, and there through I have dealt with the essence of prayer. We are born to serve our fellowmen, and we cannot properly do so unless we are

wide awake. There is an eternal struggle raging in man's breast between the powers of darkness and of light, and he who has not the sheet-anchor of prayer to rely upon will be a victim to the powers of darkness. The man of prayer will be at peace with himself and with the whole world, the man who goes about the affairs of the world without a prayerful heart will be miserable and will make the world also miserable. Apart therefore from its bearing on man's condition after death, prayer has incalculable value for man in this world of the living. Prayer is the only means of bringing about orderliness and peace and repose in our daily act. We inmates of the Ashram who came here in search of truth and for insistence on truth professed to believe in the efficacy of prayers, but had never up to now made it a matter of vital concern. We did not bestow on it the care that we did on other matters. I awoke from my slumbers one day and realized that I had been woefully negligent of my duty in the matter. I have, therefore, suggested measures of stern discipline and far from being any the worse, I hope we are the better for it. For it is so obvious. Take care of the vital thing and other things will take care of themselves. Rectify one angle of a square, and

the other angles will be automatically right.

"Begin, therefore, your day with prayer, and make it so soulful that it may remain with you until the evening. Close the day with prayer so that you may have a peaceful night free from dreams and nightmares. Do not worry about the form of prayer. Let it be any form, it should be such as can put us into communion with the divine. Only, whatever be the form, let not the spirit wander while the words of prayer run on out of your mouth.

"If what I have said has gone home to you, you will not be at peace until you have compelled your hostel superintendents to interest themselves in your prayer and to make it obligatory. Restraint self-imposed is no compulsion. A man, who chooses the path of freedom from restraint, i. e. of self-indulgence, will be

a bonds slave of passions, whilst the man who binds himself to rules and restraints releases himself. All things in the universe, including the sun and the moon and the stars, obey certain laws. Without the restraining influence of those laws the world would not go on for a single moment. You, whose mission in life is service of your fellowmen, will go to pieces if you do not impose on yourselves some sort of discipline, and prayer is a necessary spiritual discipline. It is discipline and restraint that separates us from the brute. If we will be men walking with our heads erect and not walking on all fours, let us understand and put ourselves under voluntary discipline and restraint."

From 'In Search of the Supreme.'
pp 174—176.

(A latest publication of Navajivan Trust, available at Sarvodaya, Tanjore.)

TO OUR READERS

"The Experiments in the Art of Living" of Mr. Wilfred Wellock, serialised in Sarvodaya are under print as a book. It will be published in October.

As the Press is preoccupied with the printing of this book the publication of "Sarvodaya" is being delayed. We hope that the next issue of September will be published on 10th September as usual.

—Editor.

THE POWER OF LOVE WITH FAITH

ACHARYA VINOBA.

EIGHTEEN months ago I was scaling the peaks of Kashmir. In my trek I had often to cross through dense forests. One day I came in contact with a forester. He was explaining the science of forest preservation to me. He informed me that a forest with trees of varied nature] develops very fast. A forest consisting of a particular type of tree only is slow to grow. I found that the forests of Kashmir were the living testimonies of this truth. Therefore, I immediately concluded that this land of ours was also a combination of many kinds of trees. India is prosperous because there are scores of religion, caste and community in this country. And this is the reason why this country would maintain its prosperity in future also.

Assam is, in a sense, a miniature India. The condition of the province reminds us of the unity that lies under the apparent diversity of India. Assam is inhabited by people speaking various languages. Apart from Assamese and Bengali — the two major languages of this province, there are various tribal languages also. Over and above, businessmen and labourers from almost all the

provinces of India have made Assam their home and they speak their respective languages. There are Hindus, Muslims and Christians here. Thus Assam is the abode of various religions, communities and languages. I am sure that this cosmopolitan character of Assam would lead to its immense prosperity and in course of time this north-eastern frontier of India would be one of the best provinces of this land.

The various types of trees constituting a forest have a natural relation of peace and harmony. Our society should also exhibit this natural harmony. The individuals of a society should cultivate mutual love. The people here, who have the rich heritage of diversity, should be intelligent enough to derive benefit from the varied characteristics of their province. Without that intelligence, diversity would lead to all sorts of tension and friction.

Button of Faith for Love

More than once have I told that love is like electric power. How can one be benefited if he does not know the technique of pres-

sing the button? Simply the existence of electric line is not going to help a man. Love is the electric power and faith is the button. Press this button and thereafter the immense power is at your command. Love is there all through the world. What we lack in is faith. And this lack of faith is the reason behind the apparent inaction of the power of love.

Therefore, what we need in Assam is mutual confidence. The power of love would come to the fore with the magic touch of faith. I have a simple prescription of my own to commission mutual confidence. I have advised people to transform the whole village into a single family. It is nothing difficult for Assam. For, ninety five per cent of the population of Assam lives in the villages and the cities of Assam have not been able to draw more than five per cent of her population. The population of this province is hardly ten million and there are some twenty four thousand villages in all. Most of the people of Assam live in small villages. It is very easy to convert each of these small villages into a single family. What the villagers have to do is to absorb the landless people into their families. They have to give a portion of their land to their landless brethren.

Response to Call for Bhoodan

For the last ten years I have been preaching this message. In Bengal also I found the people ready to offer land gifts. Six years ago, when I had been in Bengal, for the first time, I did not find the people so responsive. But this time I found the people were eager to share their land with the landless. The workers of Bengal are also enthused with the spirit of their mission. One should appreciate the context of this new spirit visible in West Bengal. The Government there has fixed up ceiling in agricultural land and 25 acres is the maximum quantum that a family can retain. Land in excess of the ceiling has vested with the Government. In the district of Jalpaiguri I found that large tracts of land have been taken over by the State Government; And yet the people there profusely responded to my call. My experience of West Bengal is being repeated here in Assam too. People give a sympathetic hearing to me.

I have advised the workers of Assam to arrange to distribute the land immediately after it is received. The second point is, I accept good land alone and charge the donor with the responsibility of distribution. This accelerates the pace of distribution. The

distribution of the Bhoodan land that has remained undistributed is also expected to be completed in course of my present tour.

I hope that the village people will live and work in close collaboration and thus increase the strength of their village. The Indians know it very well that their stay in this world is not for a very long period. Since our span of life is short we should see that like air, water and the sunshine

land is also made available to all. I have no doubt that the people of Assam would also understand this simple truth.

Land, money or buildings — nothing, not even this body of ours, would go along with us when we bid good-bye to this world. This is the inevitable end of man. Therefore, we should try to earn as much of love as possible; for, nothing but this love would follow us the last day.

—O—

VINOBAJI IN ASSAM

Acharya Vinoba, who is intensifying his padayatra in North Lakhimpur, is expected to devote more time to his mission of achieving "Zilladan" which would facilitate the starting of "Nirmal Khetra" and he may extend his stay in Assam. Vinobaji, in the course of his speeches, quoted from the writings of Mahapurusha Sankardev and Madhabdev and said: The Gramdan movement was, so to say, nothing but a fragment of those preachings and appealed to all sections of people to follow the teachings of "Mahapurushas" to lead a peaceful life and to condemn violence and conflicts for all time to come. In explaining the ideals of Sarvodaya, he outlined the structure of "Gramswaraj" as free from the prejudices of caste, creed, colour, community or party-politics. Till June 12, he has already been offered 42 villages and 14,666 kathas of land and sampattidan of Rs. 357.70 per month from 149 donors.

Gramdan Bill Select Committee Members in Assam, came to North Lakhimpur in order to ascertain the views of Acharya Vinoba. They had three hours' discussion with him at his camp in Duliapathar, 35 miles from North Lakhimpur on June 29. It is learnt that Vinobaji gave his blessings to the bill and asked the members to see that no legal defects clog the operation of the provisions of the bill against the objects of the Bill.

Propagation of Sarvodaya Literature

MESSAGE FROM VINOBA

DURING the course of the last ten years of my Bhoodan - Yatra, I have felt that there is a great demand everywhere for Sarvodaya literature. The various 'isms' have proved their inability to satisfy the Indian mind. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that Sarvodaya workers have almost failed so far to demonstrate the application of Sarvodaya philosophy in their lives, the attraction towards the ideals of Sarvodaya is increasing day by day. This is the characteristic of *Yug Dharma* or the call of the Age. This craving of the people is not artificial. As a bird finds solace on return to its nest after the day's flight so does the Indian mind seek solace in Sarvodaya literature. Under the circumstances, it is the duty of Sarvodaya workers to carry this literature to every home. In fact, this should be one of their daily programmes. But in addition to this, it can also take the form of a special intensive campaign during a particular period. From this point of view, the Sarva Seva Sangh is considering the proposal of devoting a period of about three weeks, every year, at the commencement of winter, for an intensive drive for spreading Sarvodaya literature. Tamilnad has already started the experiment and it has been a success. I hope, this step of the Sarva Seva Sangh will be welcomed by the people.

The periodicals play an important role in literature. The periodicals reaching regularly in various places would carry constant inspiration to the people. Hence, particular attention should be paid to popularise Bhoodan periodicals.

Camp: Dhemaaji,
Dist: North Lakhimpur,
August 4, 1961.

VINOBA'S 'JAI JAGAT'

WORKING CLASS AND SARVODAYA

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

WHEN the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the I. N. T. U. C. were formed, it was hoped that Gandhiji's idea of Sarvodaya would be introduced in the labour movement of our country and that would mark the beginning of a new kind of Trade Unionism.

But unfortunately, that has not happened. The basic characteristic of all the three major Trade Union Organizations—the Indian National Trade Union Congress, the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha—remains what it was. Therefore all these organizations are alike, as far as I am concerned. With this clarification as regards my approach to labour problems I wish to speak of trade unions in general, whatever may be their affiliations. I hope I can assert without any fear of contradiction that the Trade Union Movement is rather in a deplorable state in our country today.

We are faced with the problem of economic and industrial development. We have to make rapid progress. The Trade Unions should now work more actively than they did a decade or two ago.

Otherwise, there will be no survival. It will be a question of life and death to them. The working class has to play a vital role in this context. I, therefore, wish to make some practical and objective observations.

Two Patterns

There are two patterns of industrial development. One pattern took a fairly long time under the aegis of private enterprise—Capitalism. The classic example of this is England and other west European countries. Later, the U. S. A. and Japan also followed suit. But in Japan free enterprise was tempered to a large extent feudalism, both social and cultural, which we call feudal habits for over fifty years.

Japan industrialised herself earlier than many European nations, and during that period free enterprise was to a very large extent, as I said, mortified by the feudal society. This was one pattern of development. In this process, labour was shamelessly exploited. Workers had to work for fourteen to sixteen hours a day and wages were very meagre.

Later, trade Unions were formed and the battle of the working class was fought. Thus social consciousness was aroused and largely it was the trade unions that mitigated the rigour of exploitation, long hours of work, etc., although it cannot be said that fetters were completely removed. The peasantry on the other hand was also shamelessly exploited.

There is another pattern of development which flourished under totalitarian regime either Communist or Fascist. The Fascist did not speak in the name of race, nation and such other egos. But in Communist countries, they swore by the working class; under totalitarian regime again there was exploitation of the working class and peasantry, which Karl Marx called Primitive accumulation. The exploitation of the peasantry was through the state buying the produce at a cheap rate.

The working class had long hours of work, and it was compelled to accept this condition as a result of political propaganda. The State justified its measures by saying the workers must work hard, that they must tighten their belts and so on, but much of it was political propaganda. However, in neither case, totalitarian as well as the Capitalist

regime, the same thing happened. It has not led emancipation of the working class.

Now our country is on the verge of industrialisation. How are we to develop our country in order to catch up with the West? We have been under-privileged, under-employed and have been starving. If this continues, we would perish as a nation. Therefore, we want to develop more rapidly than under the Communist Feudalistic or the totalitarian regime.

Ours is not only a democracy, but a social democracy. In it there can be no shameless exploitation of the working class. This is a very difficult task to end this exploitation. Unless workers in this country rise to the occasion it will be all the more difficult to do it.

In place of capitalism, there is now the State in the Public Sector. I feel that the workers should shoulder more responsibility for running industries and essential services.

To start with, I do not propose to put the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the working class. But a great part of responsibility should be on the trade union workers, and the workers who are engaged in industries.

The pertinent question is : Where and how does Sarvodaya come into this picture ? I think Sarvodaya is perhaps the only solution we have.

Last year, we had the strike of the Government employees. The workers who struck in those days were not the employees of the private profit seekers — the capitalist. They were working in the public sector, nationalised sector, the socialist sector. And yet, they were forced to go on strike. Six lakhs of workers struck work, may be only for a few days ; but they did.

It shows that the problem of labour, the problem of industrialisation and the problem of development are now solved. If you remove capitalists from the management side and substitute them by the State, every thing remains the same.

In a totalitarian state, like Russia, strikes are prohibited because they think there can be no strike in a workers' state.

I do not think that in our country a vast majority of our people will welcome totalitarianism, and certainly not the working class. Therefore, mere socialisation or nationalisation of industry and commerce or a change in the Board of Management

which is made up of high officials, does not seem to be the solution of the problem.

What then is the solution ? What is the Sarvodaya point of view ?

Dichotomy

Under Sarvodaya, there will be decentralised economy and thus decentralised democracy. I am not saying that there will be no heavy industries under the Sarvodaya social Order. It will be there, but it would all be decentralised to the extent possible. The main pattern of industrialisation will be with emphasis on small industries. Sarvodaya workers know that land alone cannot yield a high standard of living, therefore, the industrial development of the country on a decentralised basis is what is necessary.

Sarvodaya asserts further that it wants to create a situation in which the master and the workers cease to exist. We want to abolish the dichotomy of the present economic set-up—the master and servant. It is the master and servant in the private sector; and in the public sector it is called the State and workers. Such a state of affairs should go.

How shall we abolish this ? We find this difference existing

even in socialistic countries in England, we find that the workers of the British National Coal Board have no voice in matters of policy. But in Yugoslavia—whith is a 'protestant' Communist State that has protested against the Pope on Moscow—they have tried to solve the problem to some extent. There is compulsion there, because it is undoubtedly a dictatorial regime. But the approach there is different. The State there says that the workers have to manage industries. Therefore, the relationship between the management and the workers has improved.

In Yugoslavia, I visited a factory which manufactures electrical parts. There the workers managed industry. They make decisions with regard to policies. While doing so, they are quite cautious about their steps. Because, if they take a wrong decision only they will have to suffer. They appoint the Managing Director and can even overrule him in matters of management, leaving alone questions involving policy.

Happy Departure

In Western countries, however, this is not the case. The workers there refuse to take part in management. The trade unions there say: What have we to

do with that ? Management is a concern of the State ! We are here only to fight for the rights of the working class and not to manage the industry."

This attitude towards industry on the part of the working class as well as the trade unions, is not commendable. It will perpetuate the difference in manual relationship, and for ever the management will be on one side and the working class on the other.

Fortunately, the example of Yugoslavia is a happy departure. In case, there is a deficit in industry, the workers have to make a cut in their wages.

In Sweden, which is the richest among the socialist countries, I asked the Director of Swedish Mines whether the workers shared the problems of management with surprise in his face, he replied, "Why should they have to worry about the problem of management ? I alone have to worry about them all the time. They will plan their vacation and the new flats they have to purchase ; but they do not bother about the problem of management."

This kind of thing will perpetuate the difference between the management and the working class all the time and, notwithstanding the improved lot of the workers,

the differences will remain as strong as ever.

Yugoslavia affords a commendable example of how class differences can be done away with retaining at the same time the responsible character of the labourers.

In the earlier stages, of this movement, in one of the public enterprises the workers' councils there began to distribute profits in such a way that very little was invested back in industries. A great deal of their earnings was distributed in terms of wages. That meant killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. So the higher authorities and the Union leaders educated workers to enable them understand their responsibility. There was no law in that country to prevent them from doing so and, therefore, it was necessary that the working class was educated to the extent that they would conduct better management.

They were taught that in the initial stages they had to put more into the reserves, which meant more employment and more prosperity at a later stage. They were told that that was the time of investment so that they would have the greater prosperity in future; therefore the workers were requested to plough back the gains into the industries.

This is exactly what Sarvodaya wants to achieve, for Sarvodaya also pleads to remove the dichotomy of labour and management. The working class and those in the management have the same interest in the particular concern. This change of outlook to be brought about will solve many labour problems that trouble India today.

In Belgrade, I was put up in a good hotel. I asked the waiters to whom the hotel belonged. They said it belonged to them. "We work here and manage the affairs of the hotel; it belongs to us." This is the proper attitude. The working class must feel that industry belongs to them.

Dictatorship

In Yugoslavia they did it under dictatorship. By force of decree promulgated by the Government, workers were compelled to take up the management, and they had no option. But in India, conditions being different, we need not bluntly copy dictatorial methods.

Here, we have to have initiative from the labouring class for sharing the responsibility of management. The same principle applies to the workers in the public as well as the private sectors. The authorities must also change their attitude towards the working class and end the present

dichotomy. Both should feel that their interests are the same.

Reorientation—the Prime Need

A Reorientation in our labour movement is the prime need of the hour. There is a bill under preparation that all strikes should be banned in the public sector and in the essential services. No doubt, the move is more undemocratic. At the same time, I expected the workers will agree that there should be no strike in the essential services.

The workers have a responsibility to the people also. If transport, communication and other essential services are stopped it would be a great hardship to people. What will be their answer for that? How are labourers going to explain such untold sufferings of the man in the street? Hence, there must be arbitration.

As regards ever-increasing prices in our country and the hardships workers have to suffer, the advocates of Sarvodaya have suggested that the remedy lies in paying a part of the wages in kind. If one needs five pounds of rice a day, one should be supplied with that and the value of the grain will not change even if market prices vary.

Summing up my arguments, I should like to request the working class of our country to make a beginning by changing their attitude towards the present employer-employee relationship. The workers are not mere employees, they are responsible citizens producing the goods the country needs. Therefore, they should cast away all narrow selfish interests and co-operate in sharing the responsibility of management and production. (S. P. S.)

TO OVERSEAS SUBSCRIBERS OF SARVODAYA

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 Mg. Editor, Sarvodaya, Tanjore, Madras State, India.

NON-VIOLENT DEFENCE BY MUSIC

HEINZ KRASCHUTSKI, Berlin

IT was in the last days of April 1945. I myself was still absent from Berlin. In our house there were my wife, our 20 years old daughter, and three old ladies of over 70. I was in jail in Spain at the time. The Russian Army has just finished the conquest of Berlin, which took them much effort and cost them the loss of some 10,000 men.

The Russian soldiers had gone through terrible hardships. They had had to fight their way step by step, from Stalingrad to Berlin, some 2,000 miles. They had seen their home country deliberately devastated, in Ukraina all mines drowned, all industrial plants blown up, all villages with their wooden houses burnt down. Many of their womenfolk, mothers, sisters, friends had perished. They had clenched their fists, thinking of revenge.

Many of them had been absent from home for years. Distances in the wide country made it impossible to send soldiers home on leave. They had never been together with women.

Suddenly, the war was over. They could relax. And for many

a young man in such circumstances, brutalized as he was, not by his own fault, without having met a woman for years, relaxation was not imaginable without having a girl by his side.

Discipline broke down in the victorious Russian Army. In groups of ten to fifteen, the soldiers broke into the houses of the Germans, in search of women.

How could the women defend themselves? Most of them would shriek or yell, when the Russian soldiers hammered at the door. Then they would break the door, rush in, and do with the women what they wanted to do. Many women were violated in those days.

We ought not to be too severe with those men. It was not their fault that they had been taken away from their villages, their families, their sisters and girl friends, at an age when sexual desires are strong. They also were victims of the war, the same as the women who were raped in those days.

When the Russian soldiers hammered against the door of our

house, my wife would not shriek, but open the door in a friendly attitude. She could not speak with the Russians, not knowing their language, but she ushered them into the drawing room. She knew: Russians are very fond of musics, and these men had not heard any for a long time. She made signs to the Russians to sit down. Then she opened the piano. Let Beethoven, Bach, Schubert take care of the defence of this house of this young girl!

The old German masters of musics did their duty. The Russians remained for over two

hours, deeply moved by what they had missed so long. Then they rose, thanked for what they had been given, and left.

Other Russian parties came. The piano was very busy in those days. Later on, the Russians came already not in search of women, because they had been told by others that in this house they were received with friendliness and good musics.

Anyhow, in our house no woman has been raped, no property been stolen. Once more, the non-violent way of defence had proved to be the best.

EQUITY AND NOT EQUALITY

I do not want arithmetical equality, but I do want equity, or such equality as, for instance, the five fingers of the hand have. These five fingers are not equal in dimensions, but they all work in full co-operation and together perform innumerable tasks. Again their inequality is not as disproportionate as it would be if, say, the smallest finger were an inch in length, while the largest one was a foot.

—Vinoba.

THE TAGORES AND MAURITIUS

B. Bissoondoyal M. A. (Cal.) Mauritius

MAURITIUS is the tiny South Indian Ocean island that is not far from the French colonies Reunion and Madagascar, one of the largest islands in the world.

This little island too was a French possession. Hence it is that it resembles Canada in this that although it forms part of the British Commonwealth of Nations it has not yet let die its love of the French language. For the last 160 years or so it is being ruled by the British and, curiously enough, it is French that is spoken by its heterogeneous population.

It is mostly through French writers that Mauritius read the poets, philosophers and saints of modern India. Before receiving Radhakrisnn's *Hindu View of Life* we had been reading its French translation.

Andre Gide who was himself to win the Nobel Prize, translated Tagore's *Gitanjali* into French. As soon as our public libraries received the French translation of that work it began to be read by all the elements of the population. The admirable preface was appreciated at once. Gide admits that Tagore, so to say, belonged to the long line of Vedic poets. It will

not be out of place to quote this passage of the preface: "I have spent much longer translating certain of these poems than Tagore spent writing them. It seemed to me that no thinker of modern times deserved more respect, I might almost say devotion, than Tagore. I took pleasure in humbling myself before him as he had humbled himself to sing before God."

Mauritians had been hearing about the Vedas for half a century. A Hindu merchant had come over here in the seventies of the last century and had written much about the Vedas. Then came the Arya Samaj.

It was, however, left for the works of Gurudev to enable us to have a glimpse of the Vedas and the Upanishads. Gide guided our steps and we tried to understand Tagore.

All of us were shocked when the news of Gurudev's death was received. The late poet Robert Edward Hart spoke feelingly of one who had been interested in us right from his early days.

It is known only to a select few that Gurudev had read some of

the poems of Leoville L'Homme, another Mauritian poet, and had liked them much.

Robert Edward Hart Said that the bird would no more clip the air with its beautiful notes.

And that was precisely the time when the world needed most the wisdom of that Indian sage.*

That was not the first time that a comparison was drawn between poets like Tagore and birds.

In 1881, the *Hindu Patriot* wrote: "(Tagore is a) writer who belongs to a nest of singing birds, and to whose credit it may be said that amid great temptations they have made literature and poetry the vocation of their life."

Tagore has here been read much more after he passed away than when he lived. There was a desire to know each and every detail of his life. It is in Mauritius that the glaring errors in the short biography of the poet included in *One Hundred Great Lives* (1) were first detected. Stressing the point that every lover of literature, be he Indian or not, is bound to read Tagore

and the Vedas, A. Masson, a journalist, wrote on 22-4-58: "My sons will know and like the sensual spiritualism of Tagore and the introspections of the Vedas"

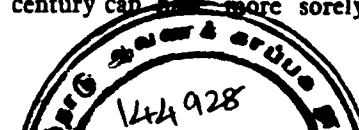
Mahatmaji's tragic death was another shock that reminded us of the immense loss sustained by modern India. To us of Mauritius India is the country of Tagore and Gandhi. India's bereavement was in some way the bereavement of Mauritius too. Both her sage and her saint were no more.

Duhamel, a French writer and member of the French Academy, landed here on the fatal day. He observed that the genuine Indians were in mourning.

A century and a half earlier, another French who was far greater than Duhamel and Gide, was being read throughout the world. He had written *Paul and Virginia*, a short novel that had been translated into all the principal languages of Europe. When Tagore was a lad, a Bengali version was being published serially by the *Abodhabandhu*. Like *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Treasure Island* and other children's classics

* If no poet in this century has so moved and lifted the hearts of mankind, no century can ~~have~~ more sorely needed a wise man from the East.

—John Masefield.



Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul and Virginia found favour with countless young readers. "It was much appreciated," writes Prof. P. R. Sen in *Western Influence in Bengali Literature*, by and had a considerable share in impressing the youthful mind of Tagore, as had been again and again acknowledged by the Poet."

The latter wrote in *Jivan Smriti*:—"There is no end of tears that I shed on reading the beautiful Bengali translation of the European story of Paul and Virginia. Ah, that strand, where was it—on what sea! What cocoanut grove was that, flurried by sea breezes! What mountain valley was there, whereon the goats were grazing! What a soul entrancing mirage lay spread, under the noonday sun, on the Southern veranda at Calcutta! And what a love was there, in a Bengali boy, for Virginie (for in the Bengali version the French name is preserved) with her head tied in a coloured kerchief, in

the grassy wooded patha of that solitary island!"

Mauritius or the Isle of France was the solitary island that had inspired Saint-Pierre. How proud are Mauritians of their cocoa-nut grove and their mountain valley that have had a Tagore among their admirers!

Eighteen years before the birth of Rabindranath Tagore, the world learnt that Dwarkanath Tagore was interested in Mauritius. Some Indo-Mauritian historians have for sometime past been doing research work. One of them has found that *Fisher's Colonial Magazine* (1) carried an article on "Dwarkanauth Tagore" (for such was the spelling then) in which it was stated that he "introduced the system of sugar-cultivation practised in Mauritius."

Dwarkanath was interested in one thing and Rabindranath in another. Both, however, have given praise.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF BHOODAN

The Hindustan Standard, Calcutta writes as follows:—

ACHIEVEMENTS of the Bhoodan movement since its inception about a decade ago are not unimpressive. More lands have been made available through the movement for distribution among the landless than by land reform or any other agency. Landless labourers have derived much greater benefit from it than from any legislative measure or agrarian movement. Such material gains apart, of fundamental importance is the radically different approach of the Bhoodan movement to the land-tiller relation.

What bhoodan emphasises is unity between ends and means. It is as much rooted in the realities of the life in rural India as legislations for land reform or agitation for redistribution of land. The professed objective of all is same—to turn the land as far as possible to the man who tills it. But legislators have faltered because of conflicting interests contending for their rights. Agitation for land to the tiller has been of little avail for similar reasons. Yet reformers as well as agitators still swear by realism and dub bhoodan as the dream of an unsophisticated idealist.

Early successes of the bhoodan movement show that it is very much rooted in *firma terra*. Rich and poor alike have made an outright gift of a part of their possessions. They may not have been fully convinced of the evils of a possessive economy. But it is clear that they realise that sooner or later a change is going to take place in the existing inequitable character of society. Unless there be a change in the outlook of a donor such extensive gifts are not possible. It is the bhoodan movement's faith in man's capacity to change that contributes to its success.

Man's first reaction to any legislative measure or agitation against any age-old practice is more often than not hostile. But the hostility is not so much against the contemplated change as against the coercive action by which it is sought to be brought about. That human society has survived many radical changes in all spheres of life is indicative of man's unlimited adaptability. Nevertheless, he still endeavours to resist any change that is imposed on him. It is this part of reality which the reformers and agitators

' BHOODAN '	GANDHI MARG
A Weekly organ of the Bhoodan Movement.	A Quarterly Journal of Gandhian Thought edited by
Editor: Siddharaj Dhadda	G. Ramachandran
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Bhoodan, A. B. S. S. S.	Gandhi Smarak Nidhi,
Rajghat, Kashi.	Rajghat, New Delhi.

often ignore. But the bhoodan movement's primary emphasis is on the individual himself. It traverses the path of persuasion and enlightenment. The path is not an easy one. But there is no short cut to social changes without strifes. Clashes and conflicts in the process of change give rise to other problems which may take away much of the benefit of the change itself. Hence the superiority of the approach of the bhoodan movement.

The main difficulty with the movement is non-availability of workers with the requisite quality and character who would go to the people with conviction and faith. The movement has failed to strike root in places where the intelligentsia tend to be rather cynical. The movement is, therefore, likely to remain restricted for the time being in places where people are not slaves of a set of fixed ideals.

Electoral Pyramid from Village Councils

"The Chief contention of Vinoba Bhave, Jayaprakash Narayan and other Gandhians is party alignments split the village unnaturally into feuding segments which have no relation to its acute, intimate problems. Why divide the village electorate along party lines during the choice of a member of the parliament, who will go to remote New Delhi to support or not support Nehru's economic plan or foreign policy, and then transfer these divisions into village elections where the important, in fact almost only, consideration should be whether members of the village panchayat, or council, possess qualities of leadership, arouse trust, and can solve day-to-day down-to-earth problems.

Vinoba and Jayaprakash therefore propose party-less village council elections. The village councils of a district will then elect a district council. The district councils of a county will elect a county council. A group of county councils will elect a state council, and state councils will elect a federal council or parliament—the central government.

When Gandhiji sketched this electoral pyramid to me in 1942 I told him this was the Soviet system (the Russian word "Soviet" means council), to which he replied, "I didn't know that." The Russian Soviets were actually very democratic institutions until, soon after seizing power in November, 1917, the Bolsheviks used compulsion to make them tools of totalitarianism. Such a danger would have to be avoided if the scheme were applied in India."

Louis Fischer in — *The Sunday Standard* — May, 21, 1961.

WHO IS VERILY, THE BRAHMANA?

[Vajrasucika Upanisad thus discusses and describes the true character of a Brahmana and it is valuable in that it undermines Caste by birth. — S. Radhakrishna.]

WHO is, verily, the Brahmana? Is he the individual soul? Is he the body? Is he the knowledge? Is he the deeds (previous, present or prospective)? Is he the performer of the rites?

Of these, if the first (position) that the *jiva* or the individual soul is Brahmana (is to be assumed), it is not so; for the individual's form is one and the same in the large number of previous and prospective bodies. Even though the *jiva* (the individual soul) is one, there is scope for (the assumption of) many bodies due to the stress of (past) *karma*, and in all these bodies the form of the *jiva* is one and the same. Therefore the *jiva* is not the Brahmana.

Then if (it is said) that the body is the Brahmana, it is not so; because of the oneness of the nature of the body which is composed of the five elements, in all classes of human beings down to the *candalas* (out-castes) etc. on account of the perception of the common features of old age and death, virtue and vice, on account of the absence of any regularity (in the complexion, of the four

classes) that the Brahmana is of the white complexion, that the Ksatriya is of the red complexion, that the Vaisya is of the tawny complexion, that the Sudra is of the dark complexion and because of the liability of the sons and others (kinsmen) to becoming tainted with the murder of a Brahmana and other (sins) of cremating the bodies of their fathers and other kinsmen. Therefore the body is not the Brahmana.

Then (if it is said) that knowledge (makes) a Brahmana, it is not so; because among Ksatriyas and others there are many who have seen the Highest Reality and attained wisdom. Therefore knowledge does not (make) a Brahmana.

Then (if it is said) that work (makes a) Brahmana, it is not so; for we see that the work commenced in the present embodiment or accumulated during the previous or to commence on a future embodiment is common to all living creatures and that good men perform works impelled by their past *karma*. Therefore work does not (make) a Brahmana.

Then (if it is said) that the performer of religious duties is a Brahmana, it is not so; for there have been many Ksatriyas and others who have given away gold. Therefore the performer of religious rites is not the Brahmana.

Giving away gold is an act of religious duty.

Then, who, verily is the Brahmana? He who, after directly perceiving, like the *amalaka* fruit in the palm of one's hand, the Self without a second, devoid of distinctions of birth, attribute and action, devoid of all faults such as the six infirmities, and the six states, of the form of truth, wisdom, bliss and eternity, that is by itself, devoid of determinations, the basis of endless determinations, who functions as the indwelling spirit of all beings, who pervades the interior and the exterior of all like ether, of the nature of bliss, indivisible, im-

measurable, realisable only through one's experience and who manifests himself directly (as one's self), and through the fulfilment of his nature, becomes rid of the faults of desire, attachment etc. and endowed with qualities of tranquillity, etc. rid of the states of being, spite, greed, expectation, bewilderment, etc. with his mind unaffected by ostentation, self-sense and the like, he lives. He alone who is possessed of these qualities is the Brahmana. This is the view of the Vedic texts and tradition, ancient lore and history. The accomplishment of the state of the Brahmana is otherwise impossible. Meditate on *Brahman*, the Self who is being, consciousness and bliss, without a second; meditate on *Brahman*, the Self who is being consciousness and bliss without a second.

The Principal Upanisads
edited by S. Radhakrishnan.

TEMPER

"When you are in the right, you can afford to keep your temper and when you are in the Wrong you cannot afford to lose it."

G. C. Larimer.

(This is prominently exhibited on a board in Gandhiji's room in his cottage at Sevagram.)

THE EARTH FOR ALL CALENDAR FOR AUGUST

The following are a few of the extracts from a valuable book with the above title compiled by Ernest Crosby and published in New York with a treasure of quotations for each day of the year.

August 12

You are in this world as strangers. Go north or south or east or west, and wherever you stop or you will find a man to chase you away crying, "This is mine". And after you have gone through all the countries of the world, you will come back knowing that there is nowhere a poor bit of land where, as a matter of right, your wife can bring forth her firstborn, where you can rest after tilling the soil or where your children can bury your bones.—
THE 48 BE LAMENNAIS,
Paroles d'un Croyant (1834) Chap. IX.

"This dog belongs to me," said these poor children; "that place in the sun is mine!" Behold the beginning of all usurpation upon earth!—*RLAISE PASCAL, Penes, Article VI., Sec. 53.*

August 13

Then he says: "If I am born into the earth, where is my part? Have the goodness, gentlemen of this world, to show me my wood

lot, where I may fell my wood, my field where to plant my corn, my pleasant ground where to build my cabin."

"Touch any wood or field or house-lot on your peril," cry all the gentlemen of this world; "but you may come and work in ours for us, and we will give you a piece of bread"—

Emerson, *The Conservative*.

August 15

It was in vain anyone repeated, "I built this well; I gained this spot by my industry." Who gave you the boundaries? It might be objected, and what right have you to demand payment of us for doing what we did not require of you? Are you ignorant that numbers of your fellow-creatures are starving for want of what you possess in superfluity—*J. J. ROUSSEAU, Essay on the Origin of Inequality Among Men, part II, p. 20.*

August 16

The right of inheriting property is a law of men; it was established

Continued on page 64.

Letters from Overseas Friends

"Sarvodaya" has been bringing us into contact with many friends in different countries. Here are excerpts from some of the recent letters.

Mr. Robert Steele of Boston University :

..... I surely would never wish to risk missing a copy of "Sarvodaya". It continues to be a strong and meaningful publication..... Best wishes always.

* * *

Dewachter Gerard, Tangier, Morocco :

Always very happy when I receive "Sarvodaya". From first to the last all the content is very good. With this I am with the thought in India with Vinoba and all the good men who are dedicated on this work. My best wishes and thanks for the good time I have when reading the precious (Sarvodaya) and Long Life for Acharya Vinoba.

* * *

Mr. R. Cullis, Sydney, Australia :

..... Let me say that "Sarvodaya" is a really wonderful little magazine, to which I look forward each month, being my only contact with Gandhian thought. It is really excellently produced and one of the most exciting things about it is that it represents direct evidence that Gandhiji's thoughts are not confined to the East, but have penetrated deep into the West, which leads one to hope that the present bitterly divided world is but a transitory stage that one day may lead to the universalism of which he dreamed.....

* * *

Mr. Stanley C. Potter, England :

Please take out of enclosed £ 10 enough.....to devote to the fund for buying seeds. Having some money I do not need for my frugal way of life, I cannot think of anything more worthwhile than to help Vinobaji's great work.

Mr. Jack Bloomfield, Berkshire, England :

Enclosed is cheque for £ 2—10—0 as my subscription for "Sarvodaya". Whatever is in excess of the cost of the magazine, please devote to whatever cause you think fit.

* * *

Mrs. Dagmer Sarkar, Pfallaz, Germany :

I consider the ideas expounded in your paper as well as the articles of Mr. Wellock so valuable, enlightening and fascinating, that I suggest to translate them into German, either for offering them to be reprinted in a German leading paper or to be published in form of German Sarvodaya Magazines."

—

AKHILA BHARATH NAI TALIM WORKERS' CONFERENCE

Under the auspices of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, the next Akhila Bharat Nai Talim Workers' Conference will be held from Sept. 9th to 11th at Pachmarhi M. P. The following subjects will be discussed. (1) Progress and Development of Basic Education in different States and the Programme envisaged in the 3rd Five year Plan. (2) The programme of Teacher—Education (3) Post—Basic Education and (4) Programme of Samagra Nai Talim. Pachmarhi is 32 miles from Piparia which is a railhead on the Howrah—Bombay—Via Allahabad route, about 67 miles from Itarsi. Delegates intending to attend should immediately address to the Conference Secy., All India Nai Talim Workers' Conference, Sevagram, Wardha, with a remittance of Rs. 5. Railway concession at single - fare for double journey for delegates is likely to be available, for which efforts are being made.

—Radhakrishna, Jt. Secretary, Sevagram.

NEWS AND NOTES

Hiroshima Day Rally

Earl (Bertrand) Russell, British philosopher and leading anti-nuclearist, faced possible prosecution after a Hiroshima Day protest meeting in London's famed Hyde Park on Aug. 6. As he was addressing a crowd of 2000 in the park on disarmament and Berlin to mark the 16th Anniversary of the Hiroshima atom attack a Police Inspector, backed by 100 advancing constables, asked him to stop using a microphone. When he continued to speak the Inspector took the microphone away. Organizers and Police told them that Earl Russell and three other officials would be charged for contravening Hyde Park regulations banning use of microphones.

The anti-nuclear "Committee of 10" presided over by Lord Bertrand Russell, began an Hiroshima Day vigil at the Cenotaph in Whitehall at 7 am. to commemorate the thousands of Japanese who died when the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on 6-8-45.

Tokyo marked the 16th anniversary of the world's first atomic explosion with simple requiems at the exact spot where the bomb fell and destroyed the city. Mayor Shinzo Hamai placed on the atom bomb monument in the city centre the names of 120 people reported to have died from the after effects of the nuclear blast during the past year. One thousand doves were released.

A 71 year-old Hiroshima man, said to be suffering from the after-effects of the atom bombing of the city in 1945, who was admitted to the Hiroshima Atom Bomb hospital in June last year, died on the 5th Aug.

Gandhi Peace Body to Join War Resisters

The Gandhi Peace Foundation, a sister organization of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, will join the organization of world war resisters in forming an international peace brigade to intervene and secure a solution for all political and social conflicts in the world through non-violent methods. Giving this information at a news conference

in New Delhi, on June 29, Sri R. R. Diwakar, chairman of the Nidhi, said that the Sarvodaya leaders, Acharya Vinoba and Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, would be the Indian sponsors for the proposal. The decision to form the brigade was taken at the last international meeting of war resisters at Gandhigram in South India in December. Details were now being worked out and the proposal would be given a final shape at the next meeting of the war resisters at Beirut this year.

Vinobaji Invited for Anti-nuclear World Conference

Mr. Cannon Collins Chairman of Nuclear Disarmament Campaign told Sri Sundar Kabadi, Special Representative of Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, that at his invitation Vinobaji has lent his name to calling a broad-based conference in London some time in September. This international conference is being planned on a cultural level on the lines of the Pugwash conferences which have been held for the last two or three years among East and West scientists.

Mr. Collins said: "I have succeeded as far as getting Vinobaji to be one of the sponsors. I will now take the next step to invite him to come to London if his other commitments permit him to do so. I am also anxious that men like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari should participate in such an international conference. They will be invited in their personal capacity. No one will come as a delegate."

The object of the conference will be to discover, firstly, elements in our present situation which make disarmament apparently impossible and, secondly, measures of agreements which will allow certain steps to be taken to start disarmament.

Others who have lent their names to sponsor the conference are Earl Russell, Mr. J. B. Priestly, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Dr. Karl Bath, WHO Professor of Theology, Switzerland, Ilya Ehrienburg noted Russian writer, Chief Luthuli of Africa and two American Professors.

(Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta)

SOME OF THE LATEST PUBLICATIONS

1. 'Swaraj for the People'—by Jayaprakash Narayan : Published by Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh Rajghat, Varanasi—Price Re. 1.

This is a timely publication in a condensed form of the original thesis and arguments of "Reconstruction of Indian Polity" a paper presented by Jayaprakash Narayan and which was discussed at several seminars held at important places last year. This condensed book will serve as a guide for the practical programme during the ensuing elections for propagating the principles of 'direct, responsible, basic and participating democracy'.

2. 'Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur'—by M. K. Gandhi : Navajivan publication, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2-50.

This contains 289 letters of Mahatma Gandhi, selected and edited by Amrit Kaur, which brought infinite solace as well as hope and guidance to her, and these will serve as a treasure to all.

3. "My Non-violence" - by M. K. Gandhi: compiled and edited by Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhyaya—price Rs. 5. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Gandhiji's speeches and writings on Non-violence have been already published in two volumes of over 1,000 pages by the Navajivan Publishing House. Since these are beyond the reach of the common reader Sri Sailesh Kumar Bandopadhyaya has done a service in condensing and abridging by careful editing and bringing the essence of the two volumes into a handy volume of less than 400 pages. This is priced at Rs. 5 only to bring it within the reach of all.

4. A Hand - Book of Khadi Costing - by C. V. Prabhakaran and published by The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh, Gandhinagar, Tirupur, Price Rs. 2.

The costing of khadi cannot be computed on a physical basis but purely on ethical basis. The price structure - is dependent on the

progressive increase in the wage for the artisans on the principle living wage enunciated by Gandhiji in 1934 and the progressive reduction in the percentage of overhead charges by economy and efficiency and increased turnover. Therefore the costing of khadi is diametrically opposed to the basis of cost accounting which is an intricate and complicated process in other commodities. The cost of khadi would depend upon the courage that the organisers take to go up with paying more wages and fair price to the raw materials like cotton and the preparedness of the consumers to bear the rising price. The costing of khadi is dependent upon several nebulous conditions of living which can be met only on the ethical basis and not on physical data.

Still we should congratulate the earnestness and courage with which the author with the support of the Sarvodaya Sangh has ventured on this laborious and voluminous task of compiling this remarkable Hand—Book. This will surely stimulate the the workers in the field of Khadi as it serves a basis for deep study of this aspect of Khadi which has not seized the attention of the workers till now to study with a scientific mind.

5. The Reality of Religion : by Jehangir M. Shapoorjee Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Private Ltd. Rs. 6.

The author indicates in this book a glimpse of an ideal life that can be realised in thought, word and deed leading to peace and happiness for the individual, society and the world. The author gives anecdotes from his actual contact with many saints of all religions who have affirmed the essence of all religions; A valuable book for the aspirants.

6. Sarvodaya Sammelan Souvenir: Published by Sri. Ch. P. V. Murthy Raju, M. L. A., Vice-chairman, Reception Committee, Sarvodayapuram, Ungutur, Andhra: edited by Lavanam and others. This is published in Telugu and English with several valuable articles and photos; Price Rs. 2.

7. Report of a Study Team on Democratic Decentralisation in Rajasthan : This is a report of a small team with Sri R. K. Patil, G. G. Mehta, A. D. Pabaney, Kodanda Rama Reddy

and Sri. Dharampal on the working of the Democratic Decentralisation through the Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan. The team was organised under the auspices of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, (AVARD) New Delhi. The team spent nine days in two groups with the facilities offered by the Government of Rajasthan. This is a valuable report to be studied by all interested in the Panchayati Raj the success of which is bound to lead to the consummation of the Sarvodaya Social Order. Price Rs. 1-50;

Available at the AVARD, Pataudi House, 8, Canning Road, New Delhi.

Continued from page 57

for their welfare and can only be continued on that condition. He who, at the beginning of society, staked out a piece of ground, and threw there some seed which nature had spontaneously produced elsewhere, could never have obtained on this title alone the exclusive right of holding the ground for his descendants forever.—NECKER (afterwards Louis XVI's Minister of Finance), *Essay on the Corn Laws* (1775), *Oeuvres Completes*, Vol. I, p. 142.

August 21

Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two—to the

Almighty God and to all the children of men that have ever worked well on it, or that shall ever work well on it.

—THOMAS CARLYLE, *Past and Present*, Book III, Chap. 8.

Everyman, as an inhabitant of the earth, is a joint proprietor of it in its natural state.

—THOMAS PAINE, *Agrarian*

Justice, Paine's Writings, Vol. III, pp. 28 330-31.



SARVODAYA

SEPTEMBER—1961

Volume XI

176 123rd Issue THE REGIS Number

Sarvodaya - The Call of the Age

“During the course of the last ten years of my Bhoodan - Yatra, I have felt that there is a great demand everywhere for Sarvodaya literature. The various ‘isms’ have proved their inability to satisfy the Indian mind. On the contrary, in spite of the fact that Sarvodaya workers have almost failed so far to demonstrate the application of Sarvodaya philosophy in their lives, the attraction towards the ideal of Sarvodaya is increasing day by day. This is the characteristic of *Yug Dharma* or the call of the Age. ...Under the circumstances, it is the duty of Sarvodaya workers to carry this literature to every home.”

—VINOBA

(From a message for the nation-wide Sarvodaya Literature Sales Campaign from Sept. 11th to Oct. 2nd.)

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA TANJORE

SARVODAYA

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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,
Tanjore, Madras State, India.

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SARVODAYA

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All India
Sarvodaya Literature
Sales Campaign

From 11th September
VINOBAJI'S BIRTHDAY

To 2nd October
GANDHI-JAYANTHI

*

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*



Sarvodaya Literature Campaign

VINOBAJI suggested four years ago to devote a few weeks in a year to conduct a campaign for sale of Sarvodaya literature and for enrolling subscriptions for Sarvodaya periodicals throughout Tamilnad. Eleventh of September was an appropriate day for inaugurating such a campaign. It is the birthday of Vinobaji. It is also the anniversary day of the great Tamil Poet, Subramania Bharathy, widely celebrated in Tamilnad. The campaign ran for a fortnight. The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal, The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh and the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya jointly organised the campaign.

The Community Development officers with their staff, the constructive institutions, Basic Teachers' Training Schools, educational institutions and Sarvodaya workers made a combined effort to carry the message of Sarvodaya everywhere by organising exhibitions and house to house sale of Sarvodaya literature, discussions and discourses by eminent persons, and elocution and Essay Competitions among students simultaneously throughout Tamilnad. Great enthusiasm and a new tempo for Sarvodaya ideal and programme were witnessed on an unprecedented scale. The Campaign appeared to be a Sarvodaya festival. The Second Campaign in 1959, and the third in 1960 were more successful with new features.

While preparations for the Fourth Sarvodaya Literature Campaign in Tamilnad were going on we were overwhelmed with joy to see the appeal of Sri Nawakrishna Chowdhary for conducting a nationwide Campaign for Sarvodaya literature Sale from 11th September, the birthday of Vinobaji to 2nd October, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. This appeal and Vinobaji's special message appeared in the last issue of Sarvodaya.

There is indeed a weariness of 'isms' and a hearty reception for Sarvodaya literature among the people. Let us hasten to concentrate in sowing the seed of Sarvodaya ideal and programme of non-party, and non-power character through the Sarvodaya literature and the periodicals with the twofold purpose of arousing the consciousness or Janasakthi of the masses and awakening the conscience of the intelligentsia for the creation of a new Sarvodaya order of society based on truth and non-violence.

JAI JAGAT!

COUNT TOLSTOY

MAHATMA GANDHI

IT is believed that, in the western world at any rate, there is no man so talented, learned and as ascetic as Count Tolstoy. Though he is now nearly eighty years old, he is quite healthy, industrious and mentally alert.

Tolstoy was born of a noble family in Russia. His parents had enormous wealth, which he inherited. He is himself a Russian noble man, and has, in his youth, rendered very good service to his country by fighting gallantly in the Crimean War. In those days, like the other noblemen of his time, he used to enjoy all the pleasures of the world, kept mistresses, drank and was strongly addicted to smoking. However, when he saw the carnage and bloodshed during the war, his mind brimmed over with compassion. His ideas changed; he began a study of his own religion and read the Bible. He read the life of Jesus Christ which made a deep impression on his mind. Not satisfied with the then current Russian translation of the Bible, he studied Hebrew, the language in which it was originally written, and continued his researches into the Bible. It

was also about this time that he discovered in himself a great talent for writing. He wrote a very effective book on the evil consequences of war. His fame spread throughout Europe. To improve the morals of the people he wrote several novels which can be equalled by few books in Europe. The views expressed by him in all these books were so very advanced that the Russian clergy were displeased with him, and he was excommunicated. Disregarding all this, he kept up his efforts and began to propagate his ideas. His writing had a great effect on his own mind. He gave up his wealth and took to a life of poverty. He has lived like a peasant for many years now and earns his needs by his own labour. He has given up all his vices, eats very simple food and has it in him no longer to hurt any living being by thought, word or deed. He spends all his time in good works and prayer. He believes that:

1. In this world men should not accumulate wealth;
- 2 no matter how much evil a person does to us, we should

- always do good to him. Such is the Commandment of God, and also His law ;
3. no one should take part in fighting ;
 4. it is sinful to wield political power, as it leads to many of the evils in the world ;
 5. man is born to do his duty to his Creator ; he should therefore pay more attention to his duties than to his rights ;
 6. agriculture is the true occupation of man. It is therefore contrary to divine law to establish large cities, to employ hundreds of thousands for minding machines in factories so that a few can wallow in riches by exploiting the helplessness and poverty of the many.

These views he has very beautifully supported by examples from various religions and other old texts. There are today thousands

of men in Europe who have adopted Tolstoy's way of life. They have given up all their worldly goods and taken to a very simple life.

Tolstoy is still writing with great energy. Though himself a Russian, he has written many strong and bitter things against Russia concerning the Russo-Japanese War. He has addressed a very pungent and effective letter to the Czar in regard to the war. Selfish officers view him with bitterness, but they, and even the Czar, fear and respect him. Such is the power of his goodness and godly living that millions of peasants are ever ready to carry out his wish no sooner than it is spoken.

(From Gujarati)

Indian Opinion, 2-9-1905.

Courtesy :- The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. 5 of Publication Division of Government of India, New Delhi.

The periodicals play an important role in literature. The periodicals reaching regularly in various places would carry constant inspiration to the people. Hence, particular attention should be paid to popularise Bhoodan periodicals.

Vinoba

LOVE THINE ENEMY

Subramaniya Bharati

*Love thine enemy, heart of mine, Oh!
Love thine enemy.*

*Hast thou not seen the shining flame
Amidst the darkening smoke?
In foeman's soul lives Krishna, whom
As Love the wise invoke.*

*Oft we have preached to men that God
In all that is doth shine.
Why, then, my heart, 'tis God that stands
Arrayed as foemen's line.*

*Dost know that limpid pearls are found
Within the oyster vile?
Hast seen on dunghill, too, sometimes
The starry blossom smile?*

*The heart that fans its wrath, shall it
The Inner Peace possess?
The honey poison-mixed, shall it
Be wholesome nevertheless?*

*Shall we who strive for Life and Growth
Lend thought to Sad Decay?
'Thine evil thoughts recoil on thee,'
So do the wise ones say.*

*When Arjun fought, 'twas Krishna whom
He faced, disguised as foes;
'Twas Krishna, too, that drove his car
In charioteering pose.*

*Strike not the tiger threatening thee
But love it, straight and true;
The Mother of All hath donned that garb,
Salute her there, too.*

*Love thine enemy, heart of mine, Oh!
Love thine enemy." (Original in Tamil)*

From 'Subramania Bharati'—A Memoir—by P. Mahadevan
Price Rs. 3—available at SARVODAYA, TANJORE.

VINOBAJI'S APPEAL TO FILM PRODUCERS

(The following is from a letter written by Vinobaji to Sri. Sriman Narayan, member of the Planning Commission.)

I have learnt from newspapers that the censoring of films is now being done a little better than before under the direction of the Government and that film producers have launched a virtual campaign against this slight tightening up. I am pained at this report.

You know that I have repeatedly stated that I am not opposed to the film industry. On the contrary it can prove to be a good medium of education as well as entertainment, provided it is regulated and planned properly. As Ruskin had observed every industry ought to keep before it the public good as one of its objectives. Within this broad objective there can be a place for fair profits also but it would be intolerable in this age of science, if the film industry is guided solely by the profit motive and does not care for the public good even when the harm that is being done to the public is obvious.

I would go a step further and say that if the film producers continue to have this attitude it would be regarded as dangerous to allow an Industry which exercises such a powerful influence on

the public mind to remain in the private sector.

You know that I am not opposed to Private Sector. On the contrary (in a Sarvodaya Society) there would be cent per cent opportunity for the private sector and cent per cent scope for the public sector as well. The Sarvodaya mathematics postulates that both added together will also add up to 100 per cent. Hundred plus hundred is equal to hundred — this mathematics has not been postulated by any University, but we have accepted this formula. It would therefore be deplorable if we are to consider whether the film industry should continue to remain in the private sector or not.

I do not have any conservative or outmoded notions about what is decent and what is indecent in films. I insist on scientific thinking in these matters. All my colleagues know this. It was painful for me to launch a Satyagraha against indecent posters; but I was forced to do that. Posters are but the external symptoms of an internal malady.

Along with the curb on posters, censoring of indecent films and

Continued on page 71

SHANTI SENA MANDAL MEETING

A meeting of the All-India Shanti-Sena Mandal was held on August 11 and 12 under the presidentship of Sri Nabakrushna Choudhary. The following are some of the main decisions arrived at the meeting :—

(1) To create a favourable atmosphere for national integrity of India an effort should be made to prepare a Peace Pledge and get it duly signed by crores of people. In this Pledge, the citizen will say :—

“all the differences occurring between citizens, groups of men, institutions and organisations be resolved peacefully is the minimum requirement of a cultured society. I will, in no way, apply physical violence in my neighbourhood or in any part of India.”

The final phase to this Peace Pledge should begin with the approval of the different political leaders of the country.

(2) The routine of Lok-sevaks and Shanti-sainiks should include the following distinguishing features :—

- (a) They should have regular contacts with the people of their vicinity and understand the questions facing them.
- (b) They should have special contacts with the peace-lovers of the locality.
- (c) They should have a knowledge of disruptive and fissiparous tendencies working in the locality.

(3) The Training Scheme for the ensuing year was adopted.

(4) The Headquarters of the Shanti-Sena Mandal will remain at Rajghat, Kashi and a branch office at Kasturbagram, Indore.

Continued from page 70
indecent songs is also necessary. I am therefore happy that the Government is now attending to this matter. I would appeal to

the film producers to adopt a co-operative attitude and give a lead in building up a healthy and dynamic younger generation in the country.

APPEAL TO READERS

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya is the Southern Branch of the Publication Department of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Rajghat, Kashi.

It has been publishing a Tamil monthly 'SARVODAYAM' for the last 14 years, with annual subscription of Rs. 3/—

The English Sarvodaya monthly is running its 11th year.

The detailed statement showing the number of titles of Sarvodaya literature published and sold during the last 10 years is given on the last cover page.

The Tamil and English journals are working at a loss for want of sufficient circulation. No commercial advertisements are accepted on principle and therefore, there is no other source of income except the subscriptions paid by friends and the price paid by the casual purchasers. The total number of copies printed per month is on an average only 1500, out of which about 800 copies are for regular subscribers in India, besides about a hundred in other countries; about 500 copies are being sold by the Railway bookstalls and other agencies. The present annual loss can be avoided only if the total circulation is doubled.

We, therefore, appeal to every one of the readers who appreciate the usefulness of this small journal, to kindly help with at least one new subscription or with a gift subscription in the name of friends and relatives in India or abroad. Gift subscriptions for friends in other countries are accepted in India at Rs. 6 per annum as a special case.

Editor, Sarvodaya.

SARVODAYA - THE GOOD OF ALL

Jayaprakash Narayan

BHOODAN is not a sectional rural, national movement, though it may have local application. It is universally applicable to the entire human race. It aims at the good of all which includes my good also. It does not exclude my personality. If everyone's good is achieved your good is also automatically achieved. When it does not exclude any one, then what justification can there be for any individual to remain aloof from it or to have objection to it? Lack of correct understanding of the Fascist ideology of this movement can only make one say that one is not interested in it. Everyone of us should say that we are for Sarvodaya i.e. the good of all. What is good for all is good for me also.

Why should we want good of all? Is it at all possible? There are two answers to the first question: One is psychological and other practical; The psychological answer is that this difference which we experience today is only an appearance, and an unreality. In reality, all of us are one. We may have different bodies, different complexions, different occupations, different nationalities etc. All these differences are there. But we are

human. My Real "I" and your Real "I" are the same. I am something different, my body, hand, eye etc. That "I" by whatever name you call it is one. It is the fundamental truth. Because of this fundamental reality which lies under diversity, we should desire the good of all. My good is your good and your good is mine. If I suffer you suffer too. If I go down you also go down. If we understand this fundamental unity, we would automatically desire the good of all.

Now the practical answer: Suppose an epidemic breaks out in your city can any one say that I have taken all necessary precautions that it does not come to my house? No one is sure of that. The only guarantee, the only perfect insurance against the epidemic is that your city is completely free from it. If you have both the rich and poor, happy and unhappy at the same time in society, can anyone be sure that even though one is happy today, one may not be unhappy tomorrow? One who is rich today can become poor tomorrow. A nation which is proud of its wealth today can it be sure that it will be the same to-

morrow? Hitler challenged the whole world single-handed but we all know that he had to commit suicide at the end. We have witnessed the rise and fall of nations in history. There cannot be only a fall or a rise. So long as there are happiness and unhappiness, wealth and poverty in society you will not be sure what you will be tomorrow. So even in your enlightened self interest you should form a society in which every one's self interest is secured. If there is educated unemployment in India, you may not know that your son will be a prey to this disease. You will be sure of employment only when unemployment is banned from society. So the good of all is a guarantee of our own individual good. So, for our own good every-one should work for Sarvodaya.

Good of All

What is the good of all? There are thieves, black-marketeers, exploiters in society. One might ask as to how you can talk of good of these people? Do you want to give freedom to all these? There is no doubt that these people today are doing wrong, they have gone astray, they have lost their way, and are following a path of

evil. So their good consists in weaning them away from that path and not in punishing them. We should change the circumstances so that people may not go wrong. If your son falls into bad company, there is every possibility that he may go wrong, But it is not the boy who is responsible for it but the circumstances in which he has to live. A poor man who has to save his children starving is driven by hunger to steal. Evil circumstances induce people to commit evil acts. We should treat them just as we treat sick persons in hospital. Give them love and achieve the good of them. Modern law says that punishment is not good. What are you going to achieve by punishing the evil-doers? By hanging such persons you are hanging and condemning yourself. In Russia there is no mercy for political offenders, they receive the most barbaric and brutal treatment which deserve strongest condemnation from all. But criminals in Russia are treated as citizens. They are given opportunity to correct themselves, they are put to work. Just like that rich people in society can also be given opportunity to correct themselves. Accumulation of wealth is not possible by virtue. That is why Christ said, "*It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man*

to enter the Kingdom of Heaven". Christ would not condemn anyone unnecessarily. Everyone of you present here, like to amass as much of wealth as possible and become multimillionaires. Even the poor people want to be rich. But we all know that wealth cannot be amassed except by exploitation. We are all middle-class people and we certainly take more than what we should; so we are also exploiters.

Every man is born with certain potentialities and tendencies of good and bad qualities. Our good consists in our being guaranteed fullest possible scope for the development of all virtues in us. If we are given this opportunity everyone can achieve his good. How can this be done? Let us take the history of Europe. There was feudal society in Europe for a hundred years; then there were conflicts, and revolutions, in which feudalism was finally defeated. One character of feudalism is that every individual was bound by certain obligations; there was no freedom for the individual. So concepts of "*Laissez faire*" to let everyone do what he likes and to let everyone go wherever he wants came to prevail. The idea of freedom was expressed through bourgeois revolution or capitalistic revolution. It was assumed that if everyone is given

freedom to work for his own good, then automatically good of all would be achieved. Adam Smith was its prophet. He was a revolutionary in his own times. But history of the last 200 years is a tragic failure of "*Laissez faire*". Theoretically the worker was free to move wherever he wants, free to choose his occupation. But in practice, if he did not accept the wages offered to him, he had to starve. One of the greatest literary figures of this age, Anatole France, has written that "bourgeois law, in its majestic equality permits the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges to beg or to steal". The history of last 200 years is a history of new limitations, new regulations placed on the freedom of individual. Workers had to work for 18 hours a day in the factories. So the factory laws came into existence. All these regulations have accumulated into three different political systems—(1) Welfare State (2) Socialist State, (3) Communist State. There are degrees of limitations in each of these three systems. If everyone is working for one's own good, the good of all can never be achieved. It can be possible only when everyone works not for one's own good but for the good of society. Can anyone claim that good of all is achieved either in the Welfare State or in the Socialist or Com-

munist State? They do not achieve the object for which they have been made. It can be achieved when everyone works for the good of all, voluntarily and not compulsorily. When there are two sections in society, compellers and compelled, what good can be achieved of those who are compelled? What guarantee is there that those who have this power to compel will use it for the good of all? So we must create a society where there is no need for compulsion. Vinobaji has said that human beings are not sheep and we do not want mere shepherds. I am saying this not because any saint has said it, but because I have come to that conclusion by studying history, that if we work for our own self-interest it cannot be achieved and there is no guarantee that it will be achieved for ever.

Bhoodan—Gramdan

Bhoodan — Gramdan concerns everyone of us. There is an idea that human happiness, peace and well-being can be achieved only if we give up the idea of self-interest and come to believe that our own good can be achieved only when we achieve good of all.

This is a very simple and noble idea. All great teachers of the world have said this. But it has to be practised. Bhoodan—Gramdan movement is an attempt to practise this idea. It has to be started somewhere. India lives in the villages. If villages rise, India will rise. So Vinobaji started this movement in the villages. People often ask that cities being the centres of culture, education, business and politics etc. why didn't Vinobaji start this movement in cities? But it is applicable to cities also.

The message of Bhoodan is that you should share whatever you have, land, property, intellect, etc., with your neighbours. Ultimately every village will become an enlarged family. Then every nation, then the whole world would become one family. We have to practise this idea. It may be possible for saints to practise it alone. But for common people Bhoodan and Sampattidan are the first steps. It is only partial sharing. But Gramdan is total sharing at least of land to be followed by sharing of other things.

WHICH WAY PEACE MOVEMENT?

Marjorie Sykes

DURING my young childhood then occurred the 1st World War. Then I was a little child in England. My father was a school teacher. He after a great mental struggle decided to join the army and went to the fighting in France. He came back safe. I remember when I was growing up and learning about world affairs, my father used to talk about his experiences in the War. When the peace treaty in 1919 was being negotiated he said if there is a war in which nations treat each other then there will certainly be another world war when my son grows up to manhood. And exactly when my brother was 28 he faced the 2nd world war. Father used to say "I will not have anything to do with war any more". He talked very little about the war days, experience but it was clear that that suffering was terrible. These days people think that the terribleness of the war has reached to unbearable limits but I feel that the same held good in 1914-19 too. I wonder if there can be any increase in the suffering of the humanity then what it has been exposed during the world wars of this century. So

to my mind, in the 1st world war, people suffered no less than the 2nd because psychologically there can be no comparison nor worse.

Nationalisation and

Internationalisation:

Now the movement of Pacifism or World Peace grew at the time of the 1st World War itself and during these 45—50 years it has grown. The realisation of oneness of the world had begun to dawn upon the thinking people as early as the beginning of this century. The forces of Unity and the forces of division have been working simultaneously and concurrently. During the 1st world war narrow nationalism was lustily encouraged but at the same time the first glow of international feeling was also felt. In my school days during the 1st world war the five flags of the allied nations were unpulled and respected. This was a step in thinking beyond one's narrow nationality. Thus the horrors and futility of the war brought about the birth of such international bodies in Europe as the war Resisters International, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Vo-

luntary Service and the like. In the years following the 1st world war these ideas thrived among the youth. At the same time the ruthless repression of liberties of the vanguished people like the German hardened the hearts of the German youth and what followed was the nurture and flowering of an extreme type of nationalism namely Nazism. This was a terrible phenomenon and the reply to it can be only a more and all embracing feeling of internationalism.

World Map Has Changed !

We find today a movement in which people discard the narrow political boundaries of the country to which they belong and that the patriotism of the nation is fast becoming obsolete. The world Union forces are coming to a head and a wider and more international outlook is developing. The question of peace will be decided by what forces sway the minds of the people. This critical decision is to be made not only in Europe and America but also in Africa and Asia. Probably this will be decided in Asia only. The geography of the world has changed completely now even small countries count greatly. Countries like Congo and Angola which were unknown have come

to the fore in deciding world events. Hence there is no country, which we can call as insignificant and therefore consciousness for world peace is to be evoked in all countries. It is heartening to note that the immense number of new minds that are getting alive to the Peace Movement.

Gandhi Showed the Way !

The international organisations which were working for world peace in many countries preached non-conscription in army and resistance to compulsory militarization. But they did not apply themselves so much to the causes of War — the unjust economic and social justice Gandhiji pointed out to the European Peace Movement that they accepted the basically unjust order in which roots of war are born. He showed to them these roots. As the movement for peace matured in the west they became more and more alive to the connection between Peace and Social Justice. Take for instance the WRI (War Resisters International). It is devoted to the finding and curing of the root causes of war. This is a whole new horizon.

The unhuman divisions between man and man are the roots of wars. This has to be fought along with the militarization that

manifests due to these causes. Thus Gandhi showed a positive side to the resistance to militarization programme that the peace bodies were practising. This was the programme of constructive work — the social and economic programme to end all exploitation of man by man. Thus the secondary programme of resistance against practices which are inconsistent with the building of peace was complemented by the primary step of constructive programmes.

Progress in Peace Work :

After the 1st world war there was a great deal of talking about peace movement by now the progress in the movement is that people want action. This new feature is very hopeful. The great public demonstrations for peace in many countries that are being organised by these bodies which believe in non-violence are now attracting larger and larger number of people. In U.K. the Aldermaston March is organised every year on Easter. Aldermaston is the main military research station 70 miles from London. Peace People gather there and silently protest against militarization and then they proceed on foot march to London. This year 50,000 people took part in this 7 day Pada Yatra.

Two years back when I was in London I met the people who

organise these marches and found that they were young men and women of 20—22 age group. In U.K., U.S., Germany and many other places I find the younger generation is getting eager to act for peace. The elder people help them but it is the young that lead. They want to express by action that "We want Peace".

In India :

Recently there was held an international seminar at Dharmasala in which 14-15 countries of Asia were represented. They came together and discussed "What action can I take to help forward the cause of peace". The young Canadian who organised the camp told me that 200 practical suggestions came out of this meet. Thus this new thing will grow and develop in India too. There are three things we have to do :—

1. The level of international affairs of the country : we must be able to solve them peacefully. Until we are able to solve our international problems, people can ask, "what are you doing to apply 'peace rules' to your trouble spots?" One level at which we must build peace is in our international affairs. When we seek for a direct action in the field of economic and social injustice it is here that

we need to apply non-violence most. We must evolve a basically peaceful social and economic condition in India.

2. At the level of individual life in all our affairs we must try to solve problematic issues by discussion and reasoning and not by force. Only absence of war is not peace but managing our affairs by resorting to reason than by force is the direction in which we must strive. This path has risks but let us be brave to take risks in the right direction. A person who gets angry when his position is challenged and fights for it is not working for peace. The man who can settle quarrels both in individual cases and in wider spheres amicably, creates the spiritual bases for the movement of peace.
3. In the case of international questions we must have a clear outlook. The claims of national sovereignty is one of the causes of war and patrio-

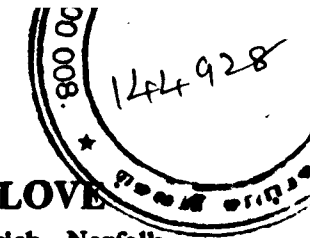
tism is stressed to support one's country be it in the wrong or right. But we should humbly and clearly point out when our own government is in the wrong. This may lead us to dangers but we should be prepared to suffer the consequences. Democracy is the right to express one's opinion and it should not be used to suppress truth if the same is against the selfish interest of a group or a nation.

We all have specially beloved places to which so many of our tender feelings are attached. This is a natural and right feeling. I still remember and love the village, I was born and brought up in. But this feeling of affection that we may have for a place or an epoch must not be exploited by political powers for their selfish ends to incite passionate feelings to narrow down our outlook. *The wider we will make our outlook the more we will work for world peace.*

S. P. S.-Indore.

'BHOODAN' A Weekly organ of the Bhoodan Movement. Editor: Siddharaj Dhadda Annual Sub: Rs. 6 or 12 Sh. or 2 S Bhoodan, A. B. S. S. S. Rajghat, Kashi.	GANDHI MARG A Quarterly Journal of Gandhian Thought edited by G. Ramachandran Annual Sub: Rs. 5 10 Sh. 2 S. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi.
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THE MEANING OF LOVE

Derek Neville, Itteringham, Norwich, Norfolk.

[N that lovely passage that is to be found in the 11th chapter of Isaiah, verses 1-9, it is the last verse that especially touches upon a profound truth. It says: "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea." The first thing to be noted about this verse is that it makes a statement and then gives a reason for that statement. It describes a result and then tells us the cause of that result. It says that because the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the LORD — because of that fact — "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain."

In other words, in this verse we are told as clearly as it is possible to be told that when the earth is filled with the knowledge of the LORD, nobody will want to hurt or destroy anything.

This ideal state may seem to some of us to be very far away, but it must be remembered that any ideal state envisaged for a world or a nation must first be made a reality in the lives of individuals. For this world will only be perfect when its individual members are themselves

capable of perceiving perfection at the heart of everything.

Thus we are able to bring this vision considerably nearer than we might imagine. We do not have to wait until there is a perfect world in order to put into practice the great principles of truth and of love that are the very foundations of the Kingdom of heaven.

We should look at this verse again and apply it to the individual life. Then we shall see that as soon as an individual is filled with the knowledge of the LORD — at that point such an individual does not want to hurt or destroy anything at all. He may sometimes be obliged to destroy something — but it is not because of a desire on his part to do it, but only because it seems to be the only possible thing to do.

It has always seemed to me that this deep reverence for the rest of life is one of the most fundamental things in the life of the spirit. I remember many years ago now John Moreton telling me that there would never be an end to war until people had stopped killing the animals

for food. I thought he was going a bit far at the time. Although I myself was a vegetarian - I did not feel that the matter had much to do with the cessation of war.

But John Moreton was right. When we go down deep enough into the root of things, we come to this verse in Isaiah where an unerring finger is laid upon the whole problem and where it is clearly stated that when we are filled with the knowledge of the LORD we do not want to hurt or destroy.

God is love and when we are filled with a knowledge of that great love, we must at the same time be filled with a deep and abiding reverence for all life. Love is a creative inward desire for the highest good of the rest of creation. It is a desire that is far deeper than thought, far wider than the compass of any human mind. It is a desire that results in an interior knowing without any valid mental reason for the same. It is a desire that is not chained to logic but is brought about because of the awareness of the unity at the heart of creation. To be filled with the knowledge of the LORD is to be filled with the knowledge of love. One cannot know love by means of the mind. To know love is to experience it. The knowledge of love must be a

deep interior knowledge whereby the spirit of man meets the spirit of the LORD.

When this takes place, so that the love of God is operating within the soul of man, so that the soul of man is now sending forth a positive dynamic desire for the good of all creation — how can that man want to hurt or destroy? It is an impossibility! There may come a moment in his life, when because he can see no other possibility if he is to act for the good of all, he is obliged to hurt or destroy. For instance, he may feel obliged to weed his garden, and as he does so on some summer's afternoon, he cannot help but be conscious of the uprooted weed that must now droop in the heat and die or be cast aside to be burned on some bonfire. He cannot be blind to the beauty and perfection of the little flowers that have to die just because they are in the wrong place at the wrong time. But in this very atmosphere of compassion and reverence he can find his peace. I am not sure of the quotation, but I have heard it said that Albert Schweitzer has pointed out that a farmer may plough up a field and still be in harmony with life, whereas anybody who picks a single flower in thoughtlessness or waste is out of harmony with life. I think

this is very true. When we are filled with the knowledge of the love of God, we cannot thoughtlessly hurt or destroy other forms of life. The wayside flower or the leaves of the tree become holy to us, and we know them to be vessels of the divine life — not to be plucked without thought and cast aside. As to the possibility of killing the birds or animals thoughtlessly or for our own selfish ends — this becomes an impossibility.

Indeed it may be truly stated that such things are possible only when we are not filled with the knowledge of the LORD, only when we push aside that knowledge and conveniently forget it. It is for this reason that if in any country such as Britain men and women had to kill their own animals in order to obtain their meat — then I would unhesitatingly suggest that 95 per cent of them would become vegetarians! Very few people indeed would be prepared to take the life of another creature in order to eat it. And of those who were so prepared, very few would be able to continue doing so for long.

To be filled with the knowledge of the LORD is to be filled with an all-embracing love that takes in the rest of life. It is a love that sees deep down into the heart of

the universe, a love that can make one individual at one with another able to feel as another feels, and to see with the eyes of another. It is a mysterious power because it is not confined to individuals. It is a love that looks out and enters into the being of a creature, feels as the creature feels and sees as the creature sees. Or it is a love that enters into the herbs that grow, the trees, the roots of things. It is not a blind love that misses imperfections altogether, or that sees imperfections as lasting for ever. It is a love that sees a struggling world, that does not miss the pain and the darkness, the mistakes and the follies of those that struggle towards the light—but it is a love that at the same time sees the light to which things move, and longs to lift up all travellers into that light. That is what love is — a desire to help each other part of creation into its true fulfilment and into the awareness of the knowledge and the glory of the LORD.

And that is why those who are themselves filled with the knowledge of the LORD cannot hurt nor destroy thoughtlessly or needlessly. They live to bless and to heal and restore, and it is the operation of such lives that will bring peace on earth and show us the kind of world to which Isaiah refers.

TWO WHO COULD HAVE BEEN FRIENDS.

Heinz Kraschutzki, Germany.

(1) The German Soldier

It was in Summer 1916 that a British nurse, Miss Edith Cavell, was sentenced to death and executed by a court-martial of the German Occupation Army at Brussels, Belgium. She had helped young Belgians to get out of the country and join the Belgian Army in France.

I got news that some incident had happened at that execution, and started an investigation. It was not before 30 years had elapsed that I learned the truth.

Miss Edith Cavell was led to a cementary for civilians, there she had to sit down on a chair to which she was bound. The execution squad took their stand some 15 steps in front of her, rifles down. The lieutenant gave order to lift the rifles. Eleven rifles went up, pointing at the heart of the woman, one rifle remained down. The lieutenant took out his pistol and said: "Rammler, will you obey?" The soldier Rammler said: "No, Sir." At this, the lieutenant killed the soldier Rammler with his pistol, then he ordered: "Fire!" and Miss Edith Cavell was killed by eleven rifles,

Rammler had heard the voice of his conscience, which forbade him to fire against a woman. He gave his life rather than to disobey that voice.

When I had found out this, I published it in "Peace News", London. I got several letters from England. One wanted to know, whether I could perhaps find out the family of Rammler, but my efforts were unsuccessful. Another Englishman wrote me: "Miss Edith Cavell has a monument in England, for her patriotism. Why is there no monument for Rammler?"

(2) The French Soldier

It was in the first months of 1945. The French Army penetrated into the Black Forest, South-Germany.

In one small village, situated in a narrow valley, the men were nearly all absent, in the Army. But the women, with their children, were in the street, to have a look at their new masters.

The French cars stopped at the centre of the village, and the soldiers stepped out of them

At this it happened to one young soldier, that a hand grenade, that was hanging at his belt, was caught by a nail or something, and began to burn. He knew that now an explosion was imminent, but what could he do? He yelled "Attention!", but the women in a German village do not understand French. They did not move. Could he throw the hand grenade away? But where? It was in a narrow street, with women and children all around. So he did the only thing that could save those women, he pressed the burning hand grenade against his own body, and that against the lorry.

There the explosion took place. He was torn to pieces and died immediately. But the women and children of the so-called enemy were safe.

The name of the French soldier is not known. But the people in the village will never forget him.

The French and the Germans have often been called hereditary enemies. But there were those two soldiers, one of each nation, for whom the voice of their conscience meant more than anything else. If they had met in life, would they not have been friends?

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GOVERNMENT AND BHOODAN

THE First Five Year Plan recognized the importance of the Bhoodan movement which gave to the landless workers an opportunity to obtain land which was not otherwise easily available. The Second Plan has emphasized the need to provide wider opportunities to agricultural workers and has recommended that detailed schemes should be drawn up in each State for their resettlement on land. Lands which will become available from Bhoodan will be included in these schemes. While special personnel for organizing the resettlement of the workers will be required, the resources needed for development should be available from the allocations made in the Plan for agriculture, National Extension and Community Development, village industry and other programmes.

The Second Plan characterised the Gramdan movement as an important step in the direction of co-operative development of the village economy. It observed :

"The practical success which is achieved in the development of Gramdan villages will have great significance, for co-operative village development elsewhere in the country. Co-operative villages should receive

in special measure the various forms of assistance specified earlier for co-operative farming societies. Two other aspects need to be emphasized. In these villages, land revenue should be collected through the village panchayats. Secondly, depending on the form in which individual rights are held under the village community, credit and other assistance should be made available either to individuals on the strength of security which the community can furnish or on the basis of shares which individuals hold in the village lands. Such adaptation in existing revenue and co-operative legislation as are required for the transformation from individual to co-operative or community holding of land should be carried out."

The Government recognizes the usefulness of the movement and render such assistance as is compatible with the ideals of the movement. A number of States such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh have enacted legislation to facilitate the distribution of the donated land. In Bombay, Kerala, parts of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, adminis-

trative instructions have been issued to facilitate the donation and distribution of land.

At the Sixth Development Commissioners' Conference held at Mussourie in April 1957, it was decided that Gramdan villages should receive preference in the establishment of Extension and Community Development centres. It has been further agreed to integrate the programme of Community Development with that of Gramdan. This will foster the growth of social cohesion and will inculcate the spirit of collective interest in the field.

In the Yelwal Conference in Sept. 1957, it was agreed that the closest co-operation was desirable between the Community Development movement and the Gramdan movement. The matter was discussed in detail by a working group in the Ministry of Community Development and after further considerations at the Development Commissioners' Conference held at Mt. Abu in May 1958, certain decisions were arrived at for bringing about closer co-operation between Bhoodan and Community Development movements.

By the end of December 1958, about 44 lakh acres of land had been received in Bhoodan. Out of these, nearly 8 lakh acres had

been distributed. The number of villages donated as Gramdan was 4,570, Orissa leading with 1,960.

Besides assisting the movement through legislative measures, the Central and State Governments have also given it financial aid. For instance, the Ministry of Home Affairs has approved a scheme of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh, costing Rs. 94 - 15 lakh for the Second Plan Period, for a comprehensive development of villages donated under the Gramdan movement in Koraput, Ganjam and Balasor districts of Orissa. These villages are predominantly inhabited by members of the scheduled tribes. The Government of India is contributing Rs. 68 lakh of the sum required, the rest being found by the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and other non-official organisations. The Ministry of Home Affairs also gave an outright grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Orissa Government during 1955-56 for the development of Gramdan villages in Orissa.

Similarly, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture sanctioned during 1957-58 a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs as financial assistance to 10,000 landless agricultural workers settling on Bhoodan lands in Bihar. This included a sum of Rs. 22,50,000 as subsidy and Rs. 7,50,000 as loan.

Continued on page 88

A MESSAGE FOR SARVODAYA

Dr. Vempati Suryanarayana, Tenali.

Any one who has even a slight experience in the field of journalism knows how difficult it is to run a journal of this kind in these days when the generality of people are fond of cheap, light and frivolous literature.

The country today is passing through a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It is proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the world cannot bear the strain of a Violent War in this age of Atomic Weapons. Nevertheless, the world is fighting shy of settling its problems through peace, truth and nonviolence.

Under these circumstances, the urge of the hour is worldwide propaganda of the cardinal principles of truth, love and compassion. Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sarvodayapatra, Santi Sena and last but not the least-Lok Nithi are the means to bring about the new values of life.

Vinobaji insists that all constructive workers should spare no pains to educate the public in the right directions through the medium of all languages.

SARVODAYA has just been struggling against so many odds to do that very thing in the English speaking public both in India and abroad for the last ten years.

May the Editor's efforts meet with the success the journal richly deserves in the years to come! May SARVODAYA inspire people to subscribe to it in larger numbers and enable them to enrich their knowledge in the art of right thinking and living.

Continued from page 80

In addition to the above-mentioned grants, the Ministry of Community Development has undertaken to supply certain Bhoodan and Gramdan literature during 1958-59 to block headquarters, training centres and village libraries at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,25,000.

Financial assistance has also been given by the various State Governments.

—From "*Land Reforms in India*"
— a Govt. of India publication, priced at 25 nP.

SARVODAYA OR SOCIALISM?

Esme Wynne-Tyson, Sussex, England.

AT the present time, Britain is said to be going through a financial crisis. But the situation is really more serious than that. It is an exposure of the shaky foundations of the Welfare State, which was started by taxing the wealthy up to the hilt, and, in the case of landowners, sometimes out of existence. This compulsive, Robin Hood method of robbing the rich in order to give to the poor, was naturally bitterly resented by the majority of its victims. To lessen the economic gulf between rich and poor was a worthy and ethical aim, but to impose appalling taxation upon a large section of society without its consent was the wrong means of achieving the right end. The right means is now being exemplified by Vinobaji in his advocacy of Sarvodaya.

About two years ago, in an article entitled *Sarvodaya and Bhoodan* printed in *Sarvodaya*, P. Natarajan, M.A., Professor of History, wrote: "Sarvodaya is derived from the Sanskrit word which means all round progress. It was coined by Gandhiji in 1908..... It teaches the moral that God provides for all. Sarvodaya promotes all-round progress of

the individual, and also the uplift of the society... Every Champion of Sarvodaya is a crusader in the noble cause of uplift of the society." In this definition 'uplift' is the key word. This appears to be the great and vital difference between Sarvodaya and Socialism, for the latter ensures that everything is levelled down, quality being continually sacrificed to quantity. The taste of the unevolved masses prevails in the press, in films, in radio and television programmes and in the general culture, which is, in almost all departments, greatly inferior to that of 30 or 50 years ago. Those once known as Upper Classes seem often to be busily trying to outdo the common man in his commonness. Religion is considered reactionary, only to be tolerated when it doesn't interfere with the individual's private life. The animal facts of life, about which people used to preserve a decent reticence, are everywhere paraded. Words that were once used only by the lowest elements of society are now openly used and printed in books and newspapers. Voices have coarsened, especially those of the children who receive a standard education at free schools. People

who show any signs of refinement are accused of being 'squares'. To earn a living, it is necessary to come down to the level of the mentalities of the vast majority. In such a society there is little place for quality, or for inward improvement. It is easier to descend than ascend. The classes once known as 'Upper' no longer set the high standard that they did in the Victorian times, and, lacking models, the proletariat do not attempt to improve themselves inwardly. The urge to betterment, which is the evolutionary urge in all men, finds expression, in this era, in demanding only external improvements, and a worship of gadgets and commodities. It is a selfish, grasping society which does not seem to understand that the wealth originally gained by robbing the rich is not inexhaustible, and that a Welfare State founded on such means can only be maintained by the increasing labours of the beneficiaries. Instead, the demand is continually for a larger pay packet and less hours spent in earning it—a situation which, at last, is being recognized as untenable.

How much wiser and better is the Sarvodaya method of upliftment! Where the founders of the Welfare State demanded

money of the reluctant wealthy at the point of a Tax form, Vinobaji *persuades* the rich man to do the will of God in providing for his poorer fellow men. He raises the wealthy to altruism at the same time as he raises the poor from their penury. On the one side there is beneficence, on the other, gratitude. Both classes of society are therefore united and uplifted by this method. It may take longer, but it is safe to prophesy that it will last longer, for its foundations are morally sound. Let us hope that impatience—the argument that Sarvodaya takes too long, and that some sort of compulsion would be quicker—will not spoil the idealistic plan of Gandhiji and Vinobaji, who, like the wise men of all time, know that good ends are never finally achieved without the employment of good, moral and non-violent means. A persistent policy of ever-increasing compulsion, which is violence, has brought humanity to the verge of extinction, and therefore an alternative must be found and practised if mankind is to survive. Sarvodaya not only provides this alternative, but it aids the process of spiritual evolution which both Tolstoy and Gandhiji believed to be the air of life. Socialism, with its perpetual sacrifice of quality to equality, makes it impossible.

EARTH FOR ALL CALENDAR FOR SEPTEMBER

(Extracts from the book compiled by Earnest Crosby and published in New York)

September 1

Wandering on through notches which the streams had made, by the side and over the brow of hoar hills and mountains, across the stumpy, rocky, forested and bepastured country, we at length crossed on prostrate logs over the Amonoosuck, and breathed the free air of Unappropriated Land.

—H. D. Thoreau, *Week on the Concord & Merrimac* (1849) p. 414.

September 2

The earth in its natural uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, the common property of the human race.

—Thomas Paine, *Agrarian Justice* (1797) *Paine's Writings* Vol. III p. 329.

September 11

Do you know any honest men who have a will of their own among your neighbors? If not, set yourself to seek for such; if any, commune with them on this one subject, how a man may have sight of the Earth he was made of, and his bread out of the dust of it—and

peace! And find out what it is that hinders you now from having these and resolve that you will fight it and put an end to it.

—John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, Vol. II., End of letter 16.

September 21

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another keeps;
The robes ye weave another wears;
The arms ye forge another bears.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley,
Song—To the Men of England.

September 22

The plowman plows, the sower sows
The reaper reaps the ear,
The woodman to the forest goes
Before the day grows clear;
But of our toil no fruit we see,
The harvest's not for you and me;
A robber band has seized the land,
And we are exiles here.

—Edward Carpenter, *The People To The Land, Chants of Labour*, p. 51.

Satyagraha in Tamilnad against Eviction

A non-violent direct action against eviction in Muthirulandipatti, one of the 42 Gramdan villages in Melur Taluk, Madura District, was launched by Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal on August 19. 52 Persons including 4 women were arrested. On 20th, viz. the second day, 61 persons including 2 ladies were arrested. Sri A. Kanakasabapathy, an active Bhoodan worker in the area and Sri V. Balakrishnan of Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal Office were also arrested. The whole of Melur Taluk was surcharged with the atmosphere created by the non-violent satyagraha against eviction. Hundreds of villagers were full of enthusiasm to join the fight.

This is the history of the problem in brief:

One absentee - landlord from Melur, who has interest in this Gramdan village, advised the original land-lord to sell away all his land of 2.50 acres. He himself purchased a patch of land and made two others of the same village, who had not joined the Gramdan fold, as owners of the 90 cents on which there was this tenancy trouble. The trouble over this patch of land in the matter of tenancy is 3 years old. Compromise was also made last

year. But later the villagers were dragged to the court where the Judgment went against them in the absence of any record as the land-lords generally do not give anything in writing for the tenancy rights.

In this village of Muthirulandipatti, the land-lord with the Court Decree in his favour, planted Plantains in one of the plots and gingele in another, simply to oppress the villagers of the Gramdan village. They now resorted to Satyagraha by entering into the plots to retain their tenancy rights.

The first batch of Satyagrahis entered the plot of land on August 19 led by Sri Sangilia Pillai, a veteran congressman since 1920, Convenor of Madura District Shanti-sena, singing Ramdhun and shouting slogans 'Gramdan is our objective'. About 185 satyagrahis were arrested till 25th August. The police resorted to lathi-charges. The first group who entered the plot started manuring and watering the trees. In another field where gingele crops had grown, the second batch started reaping. It was at this stage that the Police intervened and took them into custody. This kind of Satyagraha went on for a

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MELUR SATYAGRAHA - AND AFTER

S. Jegannathan, Secretary, Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal

THE eviction is only a fringe of the land problem. It is the final stroke of the land-lords to squeeze out the cultivator as a 'Cooly or Pannaiyal'. Once an independent farmer in possession of his own land becomes a dependent tenant to the non-producer. Then he is driven out to the abject slavery as a Cooly or Pannaiyal! This is the sad story of thousands of tillers of the soil.

Muthirulandipatti people have been resisting the eviction from the particular land for the past 3 years. It is the Gramdhan spirit which brought them together and gave them the united strength to fight out the injustice. When the decision of the Munsiff Court confirmed the eviction they had no other go except resorting to Satyagraha. It is self-suffering on the part of villagers. The peasants are considered to be the last vanguard of revolution, but they stand

foremost in a nonviolent revolution and it is quite suited to their tradition and culture. Muthirulandipatti is the first of its kind to raise in revolt against the injustice in a nonparty and nonviolent way. There was no party string attached. 329 Satyagrahis participated. The Land-lord came forward for a compromise and it was a victory to the people. The particular land under dispute was given by the landlord to the Sarvodaya Society for cultivation.

This is just a beginning towards an end. This process of transferring the land of the absentee landlords or non-producers to the society should continue. In Muthirulandipatti village itself 153 acres are owned by outside non-producers. Some of the Gramdhan Sarvodaya Co-operative Societies are appealing to the absentee landlords to transfer their lands to the society. They have also written to the Government regarding this

Continued from page 92

week. We are happy to say that ultimately there was a peaceful settlement among all those concerned on the 25th August.

Vinobaji expressed his surprise at the lathi charges made by the

police in his telegram, and he advised the Satyagrahis to strictly adhere to nonviolence in thought, word and deed. Sri S. Jaganathan and his colleagues were staying in Melur guiding the Satyagraha Movement.

matter. These villages can be self-sufficient in food and clothing only when these lands come under the management of the societies. It is hoped that the landlords would realise their responsibility and transfer the ownership of the lands when the society offers to purchase the lands, or for the time being at least the tenancy right to the society. This will ensure to stabilise the society. Production is sure to increase by this adjustment.

Acharya Vinobaji has also recently declared in a statement to the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal

that the lands belonging to the absentee landlords should be available for cultivation to the Gramdhan people and the Gramdhan society should undertake to pay the fair rent according to the Government Act. It is not right on the part of the land-lords to bring in outside labour for cultivation.

Acharya Vinobaji has also written a personal letter to Shri Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras requesting him to take action with regard to the problem of the lands belonging to absentee landlords in Gramdhan villages.

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Conference in Lebanon For World Peace Brigade

A Conference to establish World Peace Brigade will be held at the Brummana High School, outside Beirut in Lebanon in December. Michael Scott, Chairman of the Conference Preparatory Committee in London, says that their effort is a novel peace-making one and that the implications of the World Peace Brigade concept will be a dramatic step forward for the forces of peace and commonsense. He appreciates the favourable reaction of the Lebanese Government.

The sponsors of the Conference are :—

(1) Vinoba Bhave (2) Danilo Dolci of Sicily, (3) Prof. Leopold Infeld, the Polish Pugwash Scientist, (4) Kenneth Kaunda, African leader in Northern Rhodesia, (5) Dr. Martin Luther King, Leader of the racial integration movement in the U. S. A., (6) Prof. Georgi Nadjakov, Chairman of the Bulgarian Peace Committee (And Vice-Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for the Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy), (7) Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Indian Sarvodaya leader, (8) Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, (9) Dr. Martin Niemoller of West Germany, and (10) Alan Paton, the South African author.

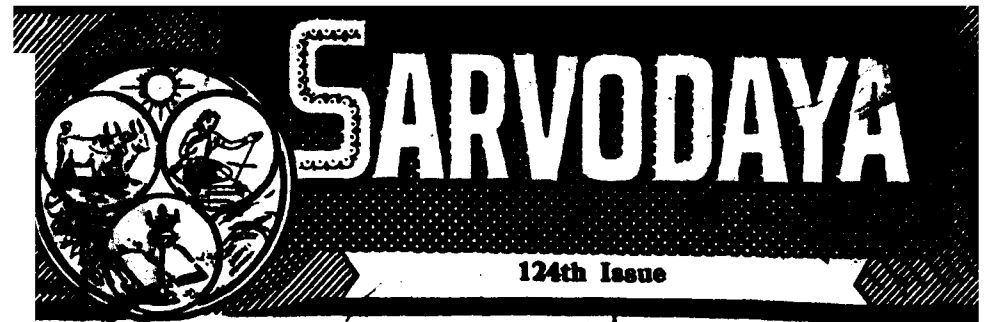
International Conference in London in September

An International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament on non-governmental level, will be held in London from Sept. 14 to 18. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan is expected to attend the Conference. A number of distinguished persons like Bertrand Russell, Albert Schweitzer, J. B. Priestley, Vinoba Bhave, Prof. Lange, Martin Luther King, J. H. Holmes and Narman Thomas, are its sponsors. The list includes 3 persons from Soviet Union, 6 from the U. S. A. and 5 from Great Britain.

The Conference will consider Nuclear disarmament in relation to total disarmament, with special emphasis on the question of how to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and what steps can be taken to persuade those countries possessing them to abandon them. This will also discuss problems standing as barriers to nuclear disarmament and try to remove distance between the East and West.

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Volume XI

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Number

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M. K. GANDHI
(Young India, 8-12-1921.)

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Vinobaji's Health

According to a press report from Jorhat Vinobaji suddenly became unconscious in his yatra on the morning of the 3rd. Oct. when he was at Konamukh area Sibsagar district. He was immediately taken to his camp at Jhanjhi High School and was examined by Civil Surgeon of Jorhat. According to his medical bulletin Vinobaji was suffering from bronchial catarrh and there was no anxiety. Vinobaji is reported to have expressed his desire to depend solely on nature cure without taking any medicine. Though Vinobaji looked tired he attended the evening prayer meeting as usual.



THE NEW KHADI EPOCH

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday is being celebrated over the country. The appeal issued by Sri V. L. Mehta, Chairman of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and Sri Dwaja Prasad, Chairman of Khadi Gram-Udyog Gram Swaraj Samiti for appropriately celebrating the Jayanthi is published in this issue.

The production and sale of Khadi has made tremendous progress in the recent years with substantial help from the Government through Khadi and Village Industries Commission in the form of loans and grants as well as rebate to consumers on the purchase of Khadi.

In spite of this quantitative achievement we are compelled to make a critical evaluation as to the results in the ideological aspect of the Khadi movement. We are faced with the same issues which Mahatma Gandhi placed before us in September 1944. After long discussions a programme of thorough reorientation of the Khadi work was evolved by Gandhiji.

After seventeen years the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh have faced a similar situation again in the process of Khadi Work as in 1944 and have courageously decided upon a programme of a "New Turn" or 'Naya Morh' in the whole form and structure of Khadi and Village Industries activities.

In this context it would be appropriate to recall here the last message that Gandhiji gave for his Charkha Jayanthi in 1947 to guide us as a beacon light in working the 'Naya Morh' to speedy success.

"One Epoch of Khadi has ended. Khadi has achieved something for the benefit of the poor. Now we have to demonstrate how the poor can be self-supporting, how Khadi can become the symbol of non-violence. That is our real work. Our faith in this has to be demonstrated."

SPINNING AS A SACRAMENT

Mahatma Gandhi

AN American writer says that the future lies with nations that believe in manual labour. Nations are tired of the worship of lifeless machines multiplied *ad infinitum*. We are destroying the matchless living machines, viz. our own bodies, by leaving them to rust and trying to substitute lifeless machinery for them. It is a law of God that the body must be fully worked and utilized. We dare not ignore it. The spinning wheel is the auspicious symbol of *sharir-yajna* — body labour. He who eats his food without offering this sacrifice steals it. By giving up the sacrifice we became traitors to the country and banged the door in the face of the Goddess of Fortune. The numerous men and women in India whose bodies are mere skeletons bear witness to this.

(*Young India* — 8—1—1925)

In these verses is contained for me the whole truth of the spinning wheel as an indispensable sacrament for the India of today. If we will take care of today, God will take care of the morrow:

Do thine allotted task!

Work is more excellent than idleness:

There is a task of holiness to do,
Unlike world-binding toil, which bindeth not
The faithful soul; such earthly duty do
Free from desire, and thou shalt well perform
Thy heavenly purpose. Spake Prajapati—
In the beginning, when all men were made,
And, with mankind, the sacrifice — "Do this!
Work! sacrifice! Increase and multiply
With sacrifice! This shall be Kamadhuk,
Your 'Cow of Plenty', giving back her milk
Of all abundance. Worship the Gods thereby.
The gods shall yield thee grace. Those meats ye crave
The gods will grant to Labour, when it pays
Tithes in the altar-flame. But if one eats
Fruits of the earth, rendering to kindly Heaven
No gift of toil, that thief steals from his world."

Coming Age of Science and Spirituality

Acharya Vinoba

(Speech on his birthday, the 11th September in his yatra in Assam)

IT is our good fortune that our land has been blessed with a large number of saints, scholars, devotees and holy men. Saint Madhavadev of Assam has sung that that person must be very unfortunate indeed who being born in India is yet inclined towards the baser sensual pursuits. Many others have said similar things. It is this heritage of ours which is most valuable. Ours is a fertile land. We sing of it as being 'well-watered and productive' '*Sujalam Supalam*'. But there are countries in the world which are richer and more fertile. We sing of the glories of the Ganga, the Yamuna and the Brahmaputra. But there are much bigger and mightier rivers in the world. Hence the true merit of India does not lie in its being well-watered or fertile but in its having always being hospitable and sweet-spoken. It has ever remained smiling amidst adversities and hospitable through attacks. There were many periods in her history when, the country was subjected to exploitation and injustice, but it always maintained its serenity and composure and exuded good-will for others. As our great poet Rabindranath said, 'Whether Aryans or non-Aryans, all are welcome here.' The reason is that there has been a great spiritual discovery

Continued from previous page

Who eat of food after their sacrifice
Are quit of fault, but they that spread a feast
All for themselves, eat sin and drink of sin.
By food the living live; food comes of rain,
And rain comes by the pious sacrifice,
And sacrifice is paid with tithes of toil:
Thus action is of Brahma, who is One,
The Only, All-pervading; at all times
Present in sacrifice. He that abstains
To help the rolling wheels of this great world,
Glutting his idle sense, lives a lost life,
Shameful and vain.

(The Song Celestial Ch. 3) *Young India*—13—10—1921.

in this country. The sages of India have proclaimed their experience and conviction about the unity of all mankind, nay, of all living beings—the whole animate and inanimate universe. This is our greatest heritage and our greatest treasure. "We are world citizens".

This is what the *Rigved* said and for the last 10,000 years the people of this country have subscribed to this ideal. India gave birth to incarnations of compassion like Gautam Buddha, to great philosophers and sages like Kapilmuni and a host of other great men in various different fields. It is difficult to name them all. India also produced the *Upanishads* and gave an unparalleled message like that of the *Gita*. These are our real assets and riches.

Recently, I have repeated one thing again and again, which our leaders have also taken up. I have asserted that the age of little cults and narrow religions is over and that parochial politics has become out-dated. Henceforth these things will not do; it is only spirituality and science which will rule.

Although I cannot say it with certainty because I do not have enough knowledge of history, I think India is the land of spiri-

tuality and the west is the cradle of science. The coming age is the age of science and spirituality;

If science were to function under the guidance of spirituality, we could, I hope, bring heaven upon the earth. I have a great belief in spirituality, and an equal belief in Science. The one is the knowledge of the universe and the other, the knowledge of the inner soul which is the speciality of India. At one time India excelled in science too, but in modern times, science has flourished in the West. We shall have to learn it from there. As a matter of fact, we should forget this difference of the East and the West. This whole universe belongs to us and we belong to the universe. Nothing short of this will now find acceptance in the world. It is for the propagation and realization of this truth that I am going about asking for land.

Whatever I know of myself, I feel that there is nothing like my individual life now left. It is true that I exist as an individual entity. I also eat and drink—and this will go on till death. But I do not now feel any personal desire or craving within me. I may make mistakes in speech or in behaviour and I

realize them too. But they do not cause any anxiety to me now. If I grasp the hand of some young boy or girl to support myself while walking, I feel the divine touch. It is difficult to express this in words. It is a matter of experience. I shall, no doubt, live so long as I am destined to, but I now feel that my sole mission is to serve the Universal Being through the service of the country.

I have said 'this country' not out of any partiality for it but because my own capacity is limited.

I have lived in India all these years; I have dimmed my eyesight in the study of all the Indian languages. I have swum in its literature like fish in water. Should I now go elsewhere to serve the world? It is my conviction that owing to the development of science I shall not have to roam about the universe to serve it.

I have a feeling within me that just as science has made it possible for ballistic weapons to be directed

toward their targets thousands of miles away, similarly it should be possible as a result of spiritual discipline to influence the whole world from one place. Of course, it would require complete purity of the heart.

I am, at present, walking in one corner of the world and even in one corner of India. But I do not feel for a moment that I am away from my abode among the people. Even this human feeling within me is transitory. It comes and goes and even when it comes it transcends all racial, provincial or linguistic differences. The only thing I experience is that all are human beings.

I am now 66, but I have never had occasion to complain that God has given me any suffering. I have always had happiness as my lot. I cannot describe in what abundance I have received affection from those of old and the modern, from those afar and those near. I cannot repay even a part of it. I can only bow my head in gratitude before all.

Courtesy—"Bhoodan"

Bertrand Russel's Appeal and Statements

The world is made to open its eyes to the imminent danger to itself by nuclear arms by the well organised mass marches and meetings and 'sit-down' demonstrations conducted in England by the Direct Action Committee of 100 under the leadership of Earl Bertrand Russell. Earl Russell's recent arrest and his statement on a week's imprisonment for refusing to be bound over have drawn universal encomium. His call for world-wide protest, statement before the Court and his message while entering Jail given below echo the intense agony and repugnance of the whole humanity against the statesmen trifling with the deadly weapons of destruction.

I Appeal for World - wide Protest

"Most people in this country as well as in other countries appear to be unaware that the Governments of East and West are solemnly preparing by mutual vituperation to create a general state of mind in which the public will acquiesce in a large scale nuclear war. A nuclear war would wipe out Europe completely and North America as a component of civilization.

"If it were not happening, I should have thought it inconceivable that ministers hitherto uncertified could calmly contemplate this wanton and merciless disaster. Yes it is so.

"Statements have recently been made on both sides on the Iron Curtain claiming that in a nuclear

war the side to which the speaker belonged might achieve victory. This is utter nonsense and must be known to be non-sense by those who utter it unless they are criminally ignorant of things which it is their duty to know.

"The peril is imminent and deadly. Before the end of the year we may all be dead, you, your children, if you have any, your wife or husband, your friends and all who make up the population of your neighbourhood and your country.

"If you do nothing during the coming weeks of crises you will have your share in the blame. You will have your part in the crime of killing all those you care for.

"The Governments can be stopped in their mad folly but they can only be stopped by a vast

movement of protest in which all sane men and women must take part.

"The time may be short. Action must be now or it may be too late. The one thing for which we must stand is that the differences between East and West, whether about Berlin or any other issue, must be settled by negotiations and not by war, for, war in the nuclear age can leave nothing standing that either side could possibly desire.

"It is your duty in this moment of supreme danger to do all that lies in your power to bring some spark of reason and humanity into the minds and hearts of those who control the destinies of East and West."

II

Statement before the Court

"Ever since the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th 1945, I have been profoundly troubled by the danger of nuclear warfare. I began my attempt to warn people by entirely orthodox methods. I expressed my fears in a speech in the House of Lords three months after the bombs were dropped on Japan. I called together scientists of the highest eminence from all parts of the world and am now Chairman of their periodic meetings. They

issue wise and reasoned reports concerning nuclear warfare, its probable disastrous results, and ways of preventing its occurrence. No newspaper notices these reports and they have no effect either on Governments or on public opinion.

The popular Press minimizes and ridicules the efforts of those working against nuclear warfare, and television, with rare exceptions, is closed to us. In recent months one television company, and only one, offered me two minutes for general platitudes, but when I said I should wish to speak on Berlin the offer was withdrawn.

It has seemed to some of us that, in a country supposed to be a democracy, the public should know the probable consequences of present Great Power Policies in East and West. Patriotism and humanity alike urged us to seek some way of saving our country and the world. No one can desire the slaughter of our families, our friends, our compatriots and a majority of the human race in a contest in which there will be only vanquished and no victors. We feel it a profound and inescapable duty to make the facts known and thereby save, at least, a thousand million human lives. We cannot escape this duty by

(Continued on Page 126)

PARTYLESS BASIC DEMOCRACY

Shankarrao Deo.

AT the time of the first World War it was a general belief that henceforth the path of democracy would be cleared, and the problems of capitalism and imperialism that face the various countries of world would be solved. For, that was the slogan of the warring parties. But the consequences were just the opposite and Fascism, Nazism and, later on, Communism came to the fore. All the aforesaid "isms" were the reactions of war. In fact, all of them proved to be detrimental to the spirit of democracy. The theory of self-determination was born at that time and it was implemented in a few countries too. Democracy was established in a few of the countries. But today, we find that all the countries of Eastern Europe where democracy was established at that time are now under communist influence. At present about one third of Europe has accepted Communism.

After the defeat of Germany in the first world war people generally believed that peace would dawn on earth. In the meanwhile Hitler unfurled his identity and the second world war was started. Even then people thought that it

was the last war and perfect peace would reign hereafter. A concerted effort was made to defeat the nightmare of Hitler. But today the world condition is such that at any moment a fresh war may break out between America and Russia. The whole world is terror-ridden. How to avoid the impending holocaust is the problem of problems facing all the nations of the world. The first world war started with the firing of cannons and ended with aerial bombardment. And the second world war started with bombardment and ended with the explosion of atom bombs.

Now in case the third world war breaks out, it will probably start with Hydrogen bombs and no one knows with which weapon it would end. It is also doubtful whether anybody would be living on our planet to put in record the whole episode. Almost all the scientists of today believe that the entire development work carried on in all the lands is destined to doom. All the countries whether they are capitalist, communist or democratic are identical in this respect, irrespective of the fact that their back-ground and language may differ. They are one in this matter; for, their ultimate sanction is one

and the same. It is Hydrogen Bomb—the means of total annihilation.

England is a democratic country. And it is believed that democracy in its best form functions there. But there too, a civil disobedience movement is going on against the Government under the able and inspiring leadership of Bertrand Russell.

In a nutshell, our latest experience shows that nowhere in the world, democracy in its true form, has been established. For, brute power and law are incapable of bringing about a revolution or basic change. This is not the way to mutual understanding, affection and co-operation based on love. And the goal of true democracy is this co-operation and relations based on love.

India too, has accepted democracy to be her ideal and wants to pursue this end. We also want to strengthen Indian democracy.

One of the main functions of democracy is to eradicate the wide-spread clash between self-interest and the welfare of all—this very difference breeds strife, rivalry and exploitation. Now this clash cannot be done away with legislation; because the lawmakers themselves are the representatives of the vested interests and it is

they who show their keen interest for such legislations. The main principle that governs democracy today is that the welfare of the society or the good of all is inherent in the process of individual self interest. For, it is argued: is not the society a collective entity of individuals?

But the above is a wrong proposition. So long as one does not care for the welfare of others and is not ready to sacrifice his own welfare for that of others, real democracy cannot come into being. This fellow-feeling and spirit of sacrifice cannot be generated by legislation or through the fear of punishment. This can be possibly through compassion and compassion alone.

The greatest challenge that faces democracy today is the present method of election. The present-day election methods have, instead of uniting human hearts, driven them apart. For, today elections are fought not for rendering service, but for power. It is this intoxication of 'power' that affects the whole society. Lincoln has defined democracy as 'Government of the people, for the people and by the people.' But the definition of Lincoln requires certain amendment and the word, 'government' should be replaced by 'management.' People should

manage their own affairs. This is the ideal form of democracy. Holding of elections might be necessary for this purpose. But in that case election will cease to be a contagious disease and it would be devoid of its dangerous characteristics.

Democracy, then, would no more be a fight between the political parties, it would rather become a system based on willing co-operation.

It has been said by a philosopher that the work which was initiated by Buddha was carried on by Mahatma Gandhi. What is that work? It is social reorientation through compassion and expansion of the kingdom of compassion in all the spheres of society. Gandhiji tried to introduce compassion in our mutual relations too. He brought about such a change in our social fabric that social transformation was possible without taking recourse to legislation. Human values like truth and non-violence etc., were, so far, but means to attain individual salvation. Gandhiji made them tools capable enough to make this material life rich and happy. Truth, according to him, was fundamental human unity. His many-fold constructive work has meant for translating these human values into action.

It was the genius of Gandhiji that introduced Truth and Non-violence in politics too. This is the greatest contribution of Gandhiji not only to India but to the cause of Democracy as well.

Thirteen years have passed since we achieved independence. Two five-year plans have been completed and the third one is about to be implemented. But our unemployment problem remains where it was. Nay, it shows an upward trend. However our Constitution may guarantee that everybody should be employed and none should remain unfed, just the reverse is the reality. It is claimed that our national income has increased but the per capita income shows an ever downward trend. No doubt, wealth is being created in the country, but it is a paradox that the man in the street cannot utilize it. The rich are growing richer and the poor becoming poorer. The rich have failed to help the poor and the relief given through the Plans is not reaching to the lowest strata. Thus our planners are also haunted by the problem of helping those who are most needy.

How long will the people wait? Only political freedom cannot satisfy them. Even truth today has to appear before them in the form of bread, or else, it would

not be welcomed. While it is true that man cannot live without bread. People would even be ready to sell their freedom for bread. Communism and other forms of dictatorial government are there just beyond our frontiers. It is, indeed a great challenge before democratic India.

In the whole world power, prosperity and all other things have been concentrated in a few hands and the people have also developed a mentality of looking to the centre. In France, De Gaulle is held in high esteem for they believe that it was he who saved France from a great crisis. A similar question is also posed in India— 'Who after Nehru?' It is a strange thing that a country with 400 millions of people should face the question of finding out Nehru's successor.

It clearly denotes that our entire thinking is dependent on Delhi. The problem of getting rid of this mentality is the challenge before Indian democracy.

There are, indeed, many other national problems. Although they affect the entire nation we need not try to find a solution for them from the centre, nor it is desirable to frame laws and implement them from above. Every problem, should be tackled on regional level, the initiative coming from

the local people. This is a better method, for, the people are capable of solving those problems. The very realization of this potentiality of the people would set everything aright. A man finds himself incapable of solving a problem when his range of approach is very wide. The tragedy lies in the fact that the principles have wide implications and so are the problems; whereas the sphere of precept is limited. Hence, this gulf between principle and practice. The utility of Gramraj lies in bridging this chasm.

India is fortunate that there is congenial atmosphere for setting up small communities. For, here is a country where the villagers have got an existence independent of the cities.

The industrial civilization of today has the potentiality to become world civilization but it is prone to destruction. Village culture is essential to introduce non-violence in all the affairs of the world.

That is why the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh has welcomed the Panchayati Raj programme of the Government. Gram Panchayats should be formed in each village and all the problems of the village and the region, such as law and order, food and maintenance and education etc., should be

looked after by the Panchayats and the Panchayat Samities. Then alone it would be considered that true democracy has been established.

We should guard against one danger. We should be careful that in no way Panchayats are used to acquire power. The Panchayati Raj programme is not for sharing power, its aim is to establish an order based on love and co-operation. If these Gram

Panchayats become prototype parliaments and assemblies, ridden with intrigues and factions, then they would end in enhanced strife and rivalry, and would lose their significance. Gram-panchayats should emerge as centres of social morality. The law of "Love thy neighbour" should reign there supreme. This is what is expected of the Panchayati Raj scheme and the Sarva Seva Sangh welcomes it with this end in view.

Six Acid Tests For Panchayat Raj

The first test is whether or not the Panchayat Raj is making better utilisation of the government staff and the resources that are being placed at its disposal. The second is, whether it is promoting national priorities of its own. The third is whether it is dispersing initiative both vertically and horizontally—vertically means a higher institution to the institution next to it; horizontally means to voluntary institutions of people as many as there are, laterally. If it is a village Panchayat, the village panchayat must try to get programmes implemented through associate voluntary institutions of people at the village level. Otherwise, we shall eventually encourage totalitarianism. The next test is whether or not there is better understanding of democracy in the people and whether or not there is better competence in our representatives and in our Government servants. The next is whether or not panchayat raj has been able to mobilise the idle resources, particularly the man-power resources in the villages. Last but not least is the test whether or not it has been able to ensure social justice, viz., assistance to the weaker sections of the community.

From a speech — Sri. S. K. Dey, Minister for the Community Development.

Shanti - Sena—The Peace Army of India

Asha Devi Aryanayakam

THE conception of Peace Brigade or a Peace Army was first placed before the Indian people by Gandhi in 1938. He was then engaged in the great experiment of reconstructing Indian national life non-violently. The movement for political independence was only a part of it. The monster of communal tension had just begun to rear its ugly head and the Peace Army was Gandhi's answer to the problem. With his characteristic straightforwardness, he placed his proposal in a down-to-earth practical form without any philosophical introduction.

"Some time ago I suggested the formation of a Peace Brigade whose members would risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially communal. The idea was that this brigade should substitute the police and even the military. This sounds ambitious. The achievement may prove impossible."

Gandhi then suggested the volunteers' qualifications which are mentioned by Donald Groom in his contribution to this issue of the *War Resister*.

"Let no one understand from the foregoing that a non-violent army is open only to

those who strictly enforce in their lives all the implications of non-violence. It is open to all those who accept the implications and make an ever-increasing endeavour to observe them. There never will be an army of perfectly non-violent people. It will be formed of those who will honestly endeavour to observe non-violence."

(Harijan, 21—7—1940)

But, apparently, the Indian people were not yet ready for this programme in the evolution of non-violence. Gandhi with his passion for honesty admitted it himself.

"Some time ago an attempt was made, at my instance, to form Shanti Dals (Peace Corps) but nothing came of it. This lesson, however, was learnt: that its membership, by the very nature of such organisations, could not be very large."

There was, however no place for frustration or disappointment in Gandhi's experiments in non-violence. The last years of his life and his glorious death, itself, were dedicated to the work of peace-making in the areas of communal disturbances in East Bengal (East Pakistan now), Bihar and

lastly Delhi. We have, therefore, his example before us as the first "Soldier of Peace" or, the first "One-man Peace Brigade." There were others also—unknown soldiers of peace at their lonely posts, here and there.

The second phase of our non-violent movement began in 1951 under Vinoba's leadership. The Peace Brigade idea, which had grown slowly from the living seed sown by Gandhi, put forth its shoots into the light when the first five soldiers of peace were enrolled by Vinoba in the summer of 1957. Since then, the movement has developed slowly as an integral part of the Sarvodaya movement, under the direct guidance of Vinoba. There is increasing recognition that in India and the world today, peace-making or peace-building is the most urgent task before humanity, needing a band of dedicated disciplined full-time workers.

The number in India is not yet very large, but the ultimate objective is an Army of 700,000 full-time soldiers or servants of Peace—assisted by groups of "Associates of Peace" in every village and every ward of a town. The workers of non-violence in India are convinced that they cannot—they dare not—rest until they have carried the message of the "Peace Army" to every man

and woman in India—and have established in every Indian Home the "Vessel of Peace" (*Shanthi-Patra*), a humble earthen pot where the youngest member of the family will daily place a handful of grain or the smallest copper coin as the symbol of the consent of the family to the ideal of a Peace Army. Incidentally those humble gifts for peace will also help towards the maintenance of the army.

What of the day-to-day programme for the "soldiers" of the Peace Army? It should be a programme of service, directed towards the removal of injustice, oppression and fear in the political social and economic fields, in individual and family life, in employer-employee relationships in industry, by the method of non-violence. The Peace Army is fully engaged at all times, and not only in the times of conflicts.

India's Shanti Sena is only at its initial stage of development. It has yet to grow in quality and numbers, in disciplined service and understanding of world problems. We have yet to evolve techniques of recruitment, training and maintenance of this army of Non-violence. Yet we are working in the faith and hope that this is an answer to the challenge of the growing might of violence in the world today.

Courtesy: *The War Resister*.

93-rd CHARKHA JAYANTI

(Appeal to Buy Khadi)

FOR years past, the country has celebrated 2rd October, the birthday of Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, as a national event. Gandhiji wanted this day to be observed as Charkha Jayanti. Charkha and khadi have indeed been the main-spring of our national awakening and form the basis of Gram-swaraj. Even after India attained independence and various programmes of industrialisation were launched, charkha and khadi have continued to be one of the principal avenues of earning a livelihood for many among the rural population who constitute 80 per cent of our people and have demonstrated their potentiality to exert a stabilizing influence on the rural economy. Khadi and other village industries are an integral and essential part of national planning and will remain so for a long time to come in view of their potentialities to provide a strong base to our predominantly agricultural economy, and take us quickly towards the goal of an agro-industrial society. New techniques are now being introduced in the sphere of khadi and village industries. These will naturally lead to an increase in production.

It is the duty of everyone in this country, whether he lives

in a city or a village, to understand the significance of the role of khadi and village industries in our national life and appreciating this to use khadi to the maximum extent possible and thus to help in the spread of its benefits.

The Gandhij Jayanti should be celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the country. Programmes for celebrating the Jayanti on October 2 should be organised by Gram-panchayats, Development blocks, Block Panchayat Samitis, (District Boards) parishads, schools, colleges, universities and other public institutions.

Let everybody buy at least one set of Khadi clothes and put on khadi on the occasion of the Jayanti celebration. This would be the most fitting way to cherish the memory of the Father of the Nation and to carry his message to every home in the country. These efforts would enable us to proceed in the direction which Gandhiji had envisaged for the nation.

Vaikunth L. Mehta,
*Chairman, Khadi & Village
Industries Commission.*
Dhwaja Prasad Sahu,
*Chairman Khadi Gramodyog
Gram Swaraj Samiti.*

Gandhi and The Deepening World Crisis

G. Ramachandran

THE shadow of another world war has deepened over humanity. Everyone knows that such a war would drive the world into annihilation. During many years the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. have deliberately piled up weapons of destruction of incredible magnitude. Within a few days, even hours of the start of a war, either of these powers can fling upon the other nuclear explosives which can wipe out their countries, turning their boasted civilizations and ways of life into scorched deserts of death. Not only that, but the after-effects will mean the stunting and perverting of what may be left of millions of human beings into monstrosities. There is nothing to prove that there would be anything Christian about the nuclear weapons of the Western democracies nor anything Socialist about those of the Communist block. Both the great powers and their allies are playing the identical diabolic game of naked and brute violence up to the limit of their capacity.

Behind us stand uncounted centuries of human endeavour for progress, culture, civilization and peace. We know something at least of traceable history from the

Buddha to Gandhi. We have had the great religions and their ethical systems. We have listened to the compassion of the Buddha, the love of Jesus, the philosophy of the Vedanta, the faith of Islam and, last but not least, the invincible non-violence of Gandhi. We have had great cycles of culture, which have come and gone leaving their mark upon the human mind. Poets, philosophers, architects, painters, sculptors and musicians have added to the stature of man and pulled him up to higher levels of living. Above all, the progress of science has revolutionized life, alleviating pain and liberating man from disease and poverty. And yet, why have we come to the brink of a precipice without parallel in human history? In seeking an answer to this question there flashes into our memory something that Gandhi wrote in 1925 in the pages of *Young India*. He was almost defining the seven deadly evils of the modern world. They were politics without principles, wealth without work, pleasure without conscience, knowledge without character, commerce without morality, science without humanity and worship without sacrifice. Gandhi was evidently looking at the

sharpest outlines of life when he drew up this formidable list of evils gripping the world today.

The Belgrade Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-aligned Nations could do nothing more than to plead with President Kennedy and Premier Krushchov to come together and negotiate to avoid war. By a cruel irony of fate or an equally ruthless stroke of strategy Russia had already broken the ban against further nuclear tests even before the Conference met; and hardly had it ended when America did the same. Here is competition in the colossal misconduct of two great powers. The horrible race is now once again on. One wonders if it is not already too late to stop the irresistible drag towards the precipice. Just as the two leading powers are unable to extricate themselves from the coils of their own karma, the Non-aligned Nations have also given an exhibition of their helplessness. It is certainly good to plead with Russia and the United States to come together to negotiate for peace. The Belgrade Conference has done well to press for this in full strength. But this was exactly what some of the identical leaders of Non-aligned Nations tried to do at the United Nations some time ago—and nothing came of it. It

is too much to hope that by simply bringing President Kennedy and Premier Krushchov to talk to each other world peace would be brought appreciably nearer. They did meet some time ago in Vienna and it is just that meeting that started the widening of the cleavage. We have had nothing but explosions and counter-explosions of temper since then. What the Belgrade Conference should have given thought to is the question of forging political and moral sanctions which would make it difficult, if not impossible, for the two great powers to plunge the world into war. The extreme urgency of the crisis was realized at Belgrade, but there was neither the moral vision nor the political courage to warn Russia and the United States that all the Non-aligned Nations would be compelled to treat the aggressor as the enemy of mankind and to employ every available non-violent sanction against it.

Alas, there was no Gandhi nor the full and unafraid voice of Gandhi at the Belgrade Conference!

There is no doubt that the issues of disarmament and peace will come up vigorously at the next session of the United Nations. There will be strong and brilliant speeches and perhaps some little

lessening of the present tension. The leaders of the Non-aligned Nations might succeed in pushing away the crisis for a time, however brief. But the time is more than ripe to face up to the challenge of forging every possible sanction to make war impossible now and hereafter. The question of total disarmament can be evaded any longer only at the peril of every other measure that might be devised to bring or preserve peace proving infructuous or jejune. Anything else than a firm decision for total disarmament will be cowardly evasion and a shameless betrayal. If the next session of the United Nations will not commit every participating nation to the program of total disarmament it would soon find itself travelling on the same journey which led the old League of Nations to utter bankruptcy and self-defeat. The least that the Non-aligned Nations can do if the great powers do not agree to total disarmament, will be to withdraw from the United Nations and to give the call for a world Disarmament Conference outside the aegis of the U. N. O. Ultimately it will not even be the Governments of the Non-aligned Nations but their people who will have to band together to resist war as the greatest of all evils in the world today. If the peoples from the non-aligned

countries would sound the bugle of total resistance to war, there can be no doubt that even the peoples of the countries of the great powers will rally to their side, creating a World Peoples' Revolution in favour of peace. At the movement we are all like the little birds making their nests in the crater of a volcano which might explode any moment. Let no one treat with contempt the attempts that are being made by the Pacifists and the War Resisters in Europe and America and by those who are building up the Santi-Sena in India to awaken the common people everywhere to stand together to resist war. To treat such attempts with scorn will be tantamount to saying that the people everywhere count for nothing in the terrible gamble into which their Governments have entered in blind self-interest and ruthless competition to get the better of each other. The people count today and will count more with every day that passes. All power is with the people, and once the people fully realize the danger of war in the present world-context they will either compel their Governments to accept the inevitability of total disarmament here and now or tear them down as obstacles to the peace of the world.

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No world teacher has a more significant message for the world today than Gandhi, the invincible Captain of Non-violence. In resisting the evil of war in the world today we must study once again the techniques evolved by him for uniting millions of people in the non-violent revolution to achieve world peace. We repeat that we must not rest content with asking Government to save the world but mobilize the conscience and will of peoples everywhere to resist war. When we attempt to do this truthfully and fearlessly we shall at once find Gandhi at the top of the

columns, marching nimbly along and leading us to peace and liberation. Only those who knew Gandhi or have very carefully studied his life and work can share in this seemingly impossible faith. But let us remember that during his lifetime Gandhi marshalled millions of the common people in India in the non-violent revolution which compelled the British to withdraw from the country. He taught us scientifically the techniques for uniting masses of people for non-violent direct action. We must now readopt them to meet the present world crisis.

—(S. P. S.)

REVERENCE FOR LIFE

"All true knowledge passes on into experience. The nature of the manifestations (of life) I do not know, but I form a conception of it in analogy to the will-to-live which is myself. Thus my knowledge of the world becomes experience of the world. The knowledge which is becoming experience does not allow me to remain in face of the world a man who merely knows, but forces upon me an inward relation to the world, and fills me with reverence for the mysterious will-to-live which is in all things. By making me think and wonder, it leads me ever upwards to the heights of reverence for life."

"Ethics consist, therefore, in my experiencing the compulsion to show to all will-to-live the same reverence as I do to my own. There we have given us that basic principle of the moral which is a necessity of thought. It is good to maintain and to encourage life; it is bad to destroy life or to obstruct it."

— Albert Schweitzer.

from Reconciliation Quarterly, Second Quarter 1961.

MAHATMA GANDHI —

AS OVERSEAS INDIANS SEE HIM

Prof. B. Bissoondoyal, Mauritius

THE abolition of slavery in the British Empire and elsewhere created the demand for Indian labour in the colonies.

The first Indian emigrants went out to the French island of Reunion in 1830. Four years later Mauritius began to receive Indian immigrants.

There was no desire in the Indian immigrant to see new lands. He had been duped. The recruiting agent had told him in the Indian bazar that in the colonies he would shake the pagoda tree.

Little did he know that he would be made to replace the slaves that had been manumitted. He was virtually in a prison.

Mahatma Gandhi was a liberator. As soon as he reached Africa he threw in his lot with the immigrants.

The first immigrants that the European colonies had received came from Kerala, Pondicherry and Chandarnagar. Mahatmaji had to pick up Tamil to make himself understood or rather to understand his countrymen.

He soon got into trouble, went to prison. There it occurred to

him that the prison life of the immigrant must on no account be forgotten. The prisoner's cap became the famous Gandhi cap. As long as this headgear is preserved an episode of Mahatma Gandhi's struggle will be remembered.

The immigrant was illiterate. Everyone who came in contact with him tried, like Mahatmaji to understand his mother tongue. Indian traders had acquired experience enough in Mauritius to enable them to deal with the Indian labourers that were being sent from India in ever increasing numbers. Some of them left Mauritius for South Africa.

The Indian immigrant prized his religious customs. Divali, Holi and other festivals were celebrated wherever he went. He preferred the Indian shopkeeper to the non-Indian one because he feared he might not be served in the proper way.

Mahatmaji shared that anxiety of being served food that was pure and permissible. This accounts for the fact that in Mauritius oatmeal porridge was served when he was at the

Gubernatorial palace at Le Reduit. His early association with the members of the Vegetarian Society in London too explains his lifelong preoccupation with dietetics. He has written several books to guide all those who wish to know what diet suits the human being most. He has been quoted by the late Sadhu Andrews as saying, "I heartily dislike liquor-drinking, meat-eating, and smoking....." He would be the last to attend cocktail parties. He too set great store by the Indian customs and manners. The first articles he wrote were on the Indian festivals and food. He was rightly inspired in thinking that the average British reader would know the Indian only by knowing how they ate, what they ate and how they celebrated their festivals. These festivals are nothing if they are not the philosophy of the Indians in a nutshell. The necessity of religion was stressed by him. He wrote once:

"No work done by any man, however great, will really prosper unless it has a distinctly religious backing."

When he opened the doors of the Phoenix Ashram the joy of the Indian immigrants knew no bounds. They realised that, like Kanva Rishi who thousands of years earlier, came out to Egypt, according to the Bhavishya Purana,

this modern sage had reached South Africa to bring India closer to that continent.

The inmates of the South African Ashram had their first contacts with the Indians of India when they were welcomed by Swami Shraddhananda at his Gurukula. Karmavir Gandhi was addressed as Mahatma Gandhi. It is the Arya Samaj that is responsible for the popularity of the new appellation. It was customary with them to use the epithet 'Mahatma' when referring to the venerable figures that had done much for the uplift of their fellow beings. Mahatma Hansraj was one of them and Mahatma Munshi Ram another. As the following passages from *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* will show, when Mahatmajji met Swamiji for the first time the latter was still Mahatma Munshiram:

"It was a positive relief to reach the Gurukul and meet Mahatma Munshiramji with his giant frame. I at once felt the wonderful contrast between the peace of the Gurukul and the din and noise of Hardwar.

The Mahatma overwhelmed me with affection. The *Brahmacharis* were all attention. It was here that I was first introduced to Acharya Ramadevji, and I

could immediately see what a force and a power he must be."

Mahatma Gandhi had a good word for every great Indian he came across. He had not the superiority complex that leads one to look down upon everybody.

His weekly carried articles not only written in English but also in Gujrati, Tamil and Hindi. If it is borne in mind that those were the days when no Congressman in India would dream of expressing himself in any Indian language it will be readily admitted that Mahatmajji had taken a revolutionary step.

He was in Mauritius in 1901. He was putting up at the Oriental Hotel housed in a building that had been erected in early 1810, i. e. a few months before the capture of Mauritius by the British who had 9,000 Sepoys to second their efforts. The motor car had not yet appeared in Mauritius. A carriage and pair placed at his disposal enabled him to see the beautiful sights that attract tourists. The Indians of Mauritius remember the very names of the horses that pulled the historic carriage. One was called *Gulnar* and the other *Lord Roberts*. He stayed from October 30, 1901 to November 19.

He was given a reception in Port Louis, the capital of the

island, when he made it his duty to deliver one of his speeches in an Indian tongue. His tiny turban excited curiosity but he would not go in for a hat even when he was told that he would be welcomed at the Supreme Court by the members of the bar who all wore hats.

The speech he made has been reconstructed.* The various papers that were then extant could only give extracts from it. From that reconstructed speech the reader gathers that our guest knew that the Indian immigrant had given a good account of himself here.

At first some of us were driven to the conclusion that his words of praise were only the customary gesture given by a guest to his hosts. Later it became apparent that the young barrister had been reading every book about Mauritius that came his way. In the first volume of "The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi" Mauritius is mentioned thrice. *The Mauritius Almanach* that was published regularly down to the early forties, is a mine of information that every student of history depends upon. It had found its way to Africa in the closing years of the last century. He

* See *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. III.

gives a long extract from it in the "Memorial to Mr. Chamberlain".

He who advocated giving the Indians of South Africa a square deal, took infinite pains to present their case in a forceful way. Mauritius had by that time given the right lead. Hence it is that on 10-10-1895 M. K. Gandhi wrote :

"The Indians have in no part of the world attempted to gain political supremacy. In Mauritius, where they are in such large numbers, they are said to have shown no political ambition. And they are not likely to do so in Natal, even though they may number 400,000 instead of 40,000."

And again :

"There is evidently no trouble in Mauritius, although the Indian population is twice as large as the general population, and the Indians in Mauritius belong to the same class as the Indians in Natal."

We had measured the Mahatma by our yardstick. We were blissfully ignorant of the fact that he was no flatterer. He used to tell his hearers in good round terms whatever he had to tell them.

Here again he resembled the villager whose love of truth, simplicity and straightforwadness compels admiration.

In his speech he had said that the Indian immigrants were responsible for the great quantity of sugar produced in Mauritius.

Two decades or so after his visit to this island, he met some Christian missionaries in Madras. He told them, amongst other things, that if it was because of the success that the Swadeshi movement scored that Lancashire was hit, Mauritius too had not been spared.

"Natal, a British Colony, protected its sugar by taxing the sugar that came from another British Colony, Mauritius. England had sinned against India by forcing Free Trade upon her. It may have been food for England but it had been poison for this country." (*)

Mauritius was, to him, a sugar island that owed much to its Indian element.

(To be Continued)

(*) *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, by C. F. Andrews, London, 1949, p. 125

A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA

The writer is Mr. S. Kuchar, Adelaide, South Australia. He has been closely following our monthly Sarvodaya since its beginning as "The Khadi World". We are giving below a portion from one of his recent letters which will be of interest to our readers. He says that he felt inspired by the article of Nishor Bilpodiwala in July number of "Sarvodaya".

TODAY I went to the city to do some business and collect my post. I met some women, girls and boys on the streets selling the badges, in other words collecting money. That organized action was undertaken by Society for Preventing Cruelty to Animals as such snobbish movement is called in western countries. When one boy proposed me the badge I just asked him what that is for, what that means. He explained to me things well known to me. With my fingers I took him under the chin asking :

What did you eat this morning?
Pork chops and sousages with toast—he replied.

Of what chops and sousages have been made?

Of meat — he replied.

Where the "meat" comes from?

From killing the animals, you know!

Yes, I know, but listen: through the butcher or by yourself you

torture and kill the animals, you inflict to them pain and death, you murder them and that is the peak of all curelties! Are you a man, or just an abnormal beast?

He closed his eyes and his face turned all red radiating a warm feeling of shame. Good-bye I said and went. I hope I have put the seed of God's law into a good soil, I think it will germinate and develop to its fulfilment. On the other corner an elderly woman proposed me the badge again. I asked her the same naive questions and proposed :

Would you like to come along with me and I shall show you the cruelty. She agreed and I took her to the nearest window of DELICATESSEN-Shop (delicacies). There on the window rested a hord of all sorts of sousages, salames, bacons, skeletons of roasted chickens and pigeons, rabbits, tongs, pig and cangooroo's tails etc. I pointed it to her with my finger asking : what this is?

—Meat,—she replied.
what is meat?

Killed animals, I like meat myself, I enjoy it very much.

What about cruelty and murder you inflict to the unfortunate animals?

We use a way of killing which prevent the cruelty!

Dear madam, I replied, the act of killing is the worst cruelty of all. Isn't it? ... And now, you torture and murder animals and collect the money for prevention of cruelty to animals. I don't see any logic in such behaviour and way of life. It seems to be an awful insanity, Are you really Christian?.... By the last words her face turned pale with anger and she shouted out.

But still you will buy a badge or not?

No I said, I don't support insanity.

She started to swear at me and I just turned and went. On the other side of the street I looked back in her direction and there I saw once again dreadful deformed face, blind bespectacled eyes, false teeth, bent by deformed spine, dull, stupid, perverted by the means of cosmetics, sexual indulgence, diseases, drugs, clothes—a true incarnation of hebrew—ellenistis (European and anglo-saxon) "civilisation". Oh woman oh boys, and girls I don't envy you for, your fate and final punishment is no secret to me.

On my way home, collecting my post I met among other letters a "SARVODAYA" magazine from July 1961. At home when I listed it through I met a dialogue THE MILLIONAIRE by Noshir Bilpodiwala. In my life I had many such dialogues and discussions but I never write them down. Noshir inspired me to do so and this letter is the product of this inspiration.

'BHOODAN' A Weekly organ of the Bhoodan Movement. Editor : Siddharaj Dhadda Annual Sub: Rs. 6 or 12Sh. or 2\$ Bhoodan, A. B. S. S. S. Rajghat, Kashi.	GANDHI MARG A Quarterly Journal of Gandhian Thought edited by G. Ramachandran Annual Sub : Rs. 5: 10 Sh. 2\$. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi.
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Earth For All Calendar for October

The problem of private ownership of land has been a serious subject for reflection by eminent men of the world during the past many centuries. A friend in England who has been watching the progress of the Bhoodan movement and reading "SARVODAYA" has kindly sent us a valuable treasure of collections of sayings on this subject admirably edited and compiled by Ernest Crosby under each date of the calendar. A few selections are given below for the current month of October.

October 1

Of course, whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated.

—R. W. Emerson, *Man, the Reformer*, Misc. p. 190.

October 5

Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the whole of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse into private hands.

—Herbert Spencer, in 1850, *Social Statics*, Chap. IX.

October 6

We now speak of property in land; and there is a difficulty

in explaining the origin of this property consistently with the law of nature; for the land was once, no doubt, common; and the question is, how any particular part of it could justly be taken out of the common and so appropriated to the first owner as to give him a better right to it than others; and what is more, a right to exclude others from it. Moralists have given many different accounts of this matter, which diversity alone, perhaps, is a proof that none of them are satisfactory.

—(Archdeacon Paley, *Moral and Political Philosophy* (1758), Book III, Part I, Chap. 4.)

October 9

To such a point have we been brought by an artificial system of society, that we must either deny altogether the right of the poor to their just proportion of the fruits of the earth, or afford them some means of subsistence

out of them by the institution of positive law.

—(Sir Walter Scott, *St. Ronan's Well*, Chap. XXXII. Note. G)

October 14

"Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

—*Genesis XIII, 9* (Words spoken by Abraham to Lot.)

October 16

His next task, and indeed the most hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new division of their lands. For there was an extreme inequality among them, and their State was over-loaded with a multitude of indigent and necessitous persons, while its whole wealth had centered upon a very few.

—(Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*.)

October 21

Before any effectual social renovation can take place, men must efface the abuse which has grown up out of the transition from the feudal to the more modern state; the abuse of land being held as absolute property.

—(Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography* (1855), Vol. II. Sec. 10, p. 119)

October 23

Land never was private property in that personal sense of property in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please.

—(J. A. Froude, *History of England*, Vol. I, Chap. I, p. 20)

October 27

See yonder poor, o'er-labored wight,

So abject, mean and vile,
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil;
And see his lordly fellow-worm
The poor petition spurn,
Unmindful tho' a weeping wife,
And helpless offspring mourn.

—Robert Burns, *Man was made to Mourn*)

October 29

All roads were free to each,
and everyone
Had common use of all
beneath the sun;
The earth, as mother of
Mankind confessed,
Was glad to nurse her children
at her breast.

—Seneca, *Octavia*, Act II., Scene I)

October 30

The Land is Mother of us all; nourishes, shelters, gladdens, lovingly enriches us all; in how many ways, from our first waking to our last sleep on her blessed mother-bosom, does she, as with blessed mother-arms, enfold us all!

—(Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book III, Chap. 8.)

October 31

Thus human society insists that its members should love the earth which they inhabit together; they look upon it as a common mother and nurse.

—(Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux (1627-1704), *Politique Tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte*, Book III., Art. 2, Proposition 3 : *oeuvres*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 2.)

Your Little Temple and Church

Dr. Frederick H. Ferris, Canada

There is a little Church I know
Not very far away
You'll be surprised to hear of it
Yet see it every day
You need not walk to reach the Church
No riddle this, but true;
Nor wonder on what street it is,
That little Church is you.
Is not your noble brow the tower,
Your eyes the windows bright,
Your heart the Sanctuary lamp
That casts its crimson light?
Is not your voice the organ sweet
That sounds the hymn of love
Your holy thoughts the altar pure
Whence God comes from above?
Is not your soul, your precious soul,
The tabernacle white,
And your poor body not the veil
That hides Him from your sight?
Your tongue the table of the Lord
Your lips the open door,
Your prayers the tinkling of the bell
Your humble mien the floor?
Then place your hand upon your breast
A thousand times a day
And in Your own dear little Church
Oft loving visits pay.

(Continued from Page 104)

submitting to orders which, we are convinced should not be issued if the likelihood and the horror of nuclear war were more generally understood.

Non-violent civil disobedience was forced upon us by the fact that it was more fully reported than other methods of making the facts known, and that caused people to ask what had induced us to adopt such a course of action. We who are here accused are prepared to suffer imprisonment because we believe that this is the most effective way of working for the salvation of our country and the world. If you condemn us you will be helping our cause, and therefore humanity.

While life remains to us we will not cease to do what lies in our power to avert the greatest calamity that has ever threatened mankind."

III

Message while entering

Brixton prison

To all, in whatever country, who are still capable of sane thinking or human feeling:

Friends,

Along with valued colleagues I am to be silenced for a time—perhaps for who can tell how

soon the great massacre will take place?

The populations of East and West, misled by stubborn governments in search of prestige and by corrupt official experts bent on retaining their posts, tamely acquiesce in policies which are almost certain to end in nuclear war.

There are supposed to be two sides, each professing to stand for a great cause. This is a delusion — Kennedy and Khrushchev, Adenauer and De Gaulle, Macmillan and Gaitskell, are pursuing a common aim: the ending of human life.

You, your families, your friends, and your countries are to be exterminated by the common decision of a few brutal but powerful men. To please these men, all the private affections, all the public hopes, all that has been achieved in art and knowledge and thought and all that might be achieved hereafter is to be wiped out for ever. Our ruined lifeless planet will continue for countless ages to circle aimlessly round the sun un-redeemed by the joys and loves, the occasional wisdom and the power to create beauty which have given value to human life.

It is for seeking to prevent this that we are in prison.

14th All India Nai Talim Conference

Resolutions Passed on 9th - 11th Sept. 1961

It was the Vision and foresight of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, that placed Basic Education as a programme of National Education. After the experience of the last number of years the country has now accepted Basic Education as its pattern of National Education. In order to develop the programme properly, evaluate its progress periodically and make adequate guidance available, it is desirable that efforts be made to consider these issues at an All India level.

This conference urges the Government of India to set up a National Council of Basic Education composed of Officials and non-officials. Such coordinated efforts of both officials and non-officials will pave the way for the development and progress of Basic Education. The conference requests the Sarva Seva Sangh to co-operate in the constitution of such a council.

This conference expresses its hope that State Governments will constitute Boards of Basic Education composed of officials and non-officials in line with the National Council to help, guide, evaluate and develop a programme of country-wide Basic National Education.

There are a number of individuals and voluntary institutions engaged in the work of Basic Education in different parts of the country. It is necessary that these workers get opportunity to meet each other and discuss problems of mutual concern. Such exchange of experience and thought will enrich each other and help in the spread and progress of Nai Talim.

The conference is of the opinion that a working group be set up drawing representatives from each State. This working group should meet at least twice a year and one such meeting should be with Acharya Vinoba Bhave so that his guidance and inspiration is available to the cause of Nai Talim.

The conference authorises the Chairman to constitute a working group. The Chairman of the conference will be its Chairman and Sri Radhakrishna, Joint Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh its convenor.

This conference considers it to be of great importance that the responsible officers of the State Education Departments whose duty it is to administer and develop Basic Education, should be fully conversant with its principles and methods.

Anti — Nuclear Campaign

~~Mass~~ Arrests in London

Over 1,100 people, including two playwrights and Canon John Collins, the Preceptor of Paul's Cathedral, were arrested here last night for defying a police ban on anti-nuclear weapons demonstrations in Trafalgar Square. Mr. John Osborne (author of 'Look back in anger') and Shelagh Delaney (author of 'Taste of honey') were among the hundreds charged as London police fought a winning battle to confine demonstrators to Trafalgar square. Most of those arrested were members or supporters of the Direct Action "Committee of 100", a splinter group of Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The Committee announced, following the jailing last week of their leader, the 89-year-old Philosopher and author, Earl (Bertrand) Russell, that it would stage a march on Parliament Square as a protest against nuclear weapons. Britain's Home Secretary, Mr. R. A. Butler promptly empowered the police to place a 24-hour ban on any demonstration in the vicinity. The demonstration which was going on after midnight of Sept. 18, began shortly after five p. m. yesterday, when hundreds of demonstrators tried to leave

Trafalgar Square and march the half-mile to parliament Square.

A 1500-man cordon of police flung around Trafalgar Square prevented this and everyone who tried to break through was promptly arrested. The police action in confining the demonstrators to Trafalgar Square largely defeated the avowed purpose of the Committee of 100 — to stage a sit-down protest in the shadow of the British House of Commons.

Hindu, dated 19-9-61.

* *

Earl Russell Released

Earl (Bertrand) Russell, the eminent 89-years-old philosopher and writer who was jailed last week for his part in a 'ban-the bomb' sit-down demonstration in London, left Brixton prison early on 18th September. He had been sentenced to seven days imprisonment after refusing to be bound over to keep the peace.

Lord Russell issued a statement declaring an international resistance movement against nuclear war. The statement said: "At any moment of any day the slightest miscalculation can bring nuclear war. Rockets are poised at a few minutes notice, H-bombers are continually in the air, radar is totally unreliable."

Hindu, dated 19-9-1961.

Contd. from previous page

Nai Talim Conference

It would therefore welcome the organisation of seminars at regular intervals in which groups of such officers may meet with Vinobaji for study and discussion. The conference requests the Ministry of Education, Government of India to arrange for such seminars in consultation with the Sarva Seva Sangh.

SARVODAYA

A Monthly Digest running its eleventh 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 Bhodan 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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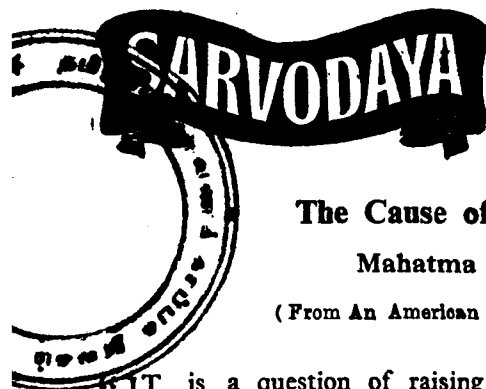
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San Francisco to Moscow Peace Marchers

The historic march of a selected team of 13 Americans of Peace marchers from San Francisco to Moscow started on December 1, 1960. They were followed by a few more in Britain, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and West Germany on the way and the marchers reached Moscow on October 3, 1951. After picketing a military barracks they held a vigil in Red Square. They addressed the University and after a meeting with Mrs. Khrushchev they left Moscow on October 8. They walked for ten months about 6000 miles across deserts and mountains crossing six national frontiers including the "Iron Curtain". The marchers appealed to the ordinary people in every country to take personal action and to work for the unconditional Renunciation of arms by their own country. The peace marchers have awakened the civilised world from their torpor to see the imminent danger to humanity and organise united opposition to any kind of modern war.



Mania for Mass Production

The Cause of World Crisis

Mahatma Gandhi

(From An American Journalist's interview)

"It is a question of raising the standard of living of the people", observed Ford. "Do you feel, Mr. Gandhi, that mass production will raise the standard of living of the people?"

"I do not believe in it", Gandhiji said, "there is tremendous fallacy behind Mr. Ford's reasoning. Without simultaneous distribution on an equally mass scale, the production can result only in a great world tragedy. Take Ford's cars. The saturation point is bound to be reached soon or late. Beyond that point the production of the cars cannot be pushed. What will happen then? Mass production takes no more of the real requirement of the consumer. If mass production were in itself a virtue, it should then be capable of indefinite multiplication. But it can be shown that mass production carries with it its own limitations. If all countries adopted the system of mass production, there would not be a big enough market for their products. Mass production must then come to a stop."

"I wonder", proceeded the journalist, "whether you feel that

this saturation point has already arrived in the western world. Ford says that there never can be too many articles of quality, that the needs of the world are constantly increasing and that while there might be saturation in the market for a particular commodity, the general saturation would never be reached."

"Without entering upon an elaborate argument," said Gandhi, "I would categorically state my conviction that the mania of this mass production is responsible for the world crisis. Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go in a round about way to regulate distribution, whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated, and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation."

—(From an interview in London in 1931—Courtesy: Mahatma Vol. 3 by D. G. Tendulkar.) ★

★ From Vinobaji's Yatra Talks ★

ACHARYA Vinoba was given a rousing reception by the people of the Joysagar on 21st September, where he stayed for two days. The Chief Minister and Finance Minister called on Vinobaji.

On the morning of 23rd September, Vinobaji left Joysagar for Sivasagar, where he received an enthusiastic reception.

Addressing a big public meeting held in the premises of the Sivasagar College at Joysagar on September 21, Vinobaji clearly explained the meaning and significance of Sarvodaya movement. Emphasising its importance, he said that in the present tension ridden world sustained as a result of political rupture and frictions Sarvodaya was the only panacea to heal the wound of mankind.

Human Values

Vinobaji said that he was pained to see that human values were fast receding from the world, thereby making it easy for materialism to supersede spiritualism. He pointed out that in the human history nothing could be more catastrophic than the disappearance of spiritualism. Too much leaning towards materialism in the present day could be nothing but a dismal symptom of a major

tragedy that might befall mankind at any movement. He, however, expressed his hope that before long men would realise that materialism could not be a perennial source of inspiration to the mankind.

Sarvodaya

He further said that a time would come when people would attach much importance to the Sarvodaya and prepare the ground to bring succour and relief to the distressed not out of compulsion but out of compassion. The Sarvodaya movement again, would bring about an ethical revolution.

Vinobaji also expressed his consternation at materialism paving the way for communism in the European countries. But he said that the silver lining to this dark cloud was provided by the fact that even the Communists were now-a-days prepared to pin faith on peace and non-violence.

In another meeting Vinobaji exhorted the womanfolk to come forward and to pioneer the Bhoo-dan movement in every nook and corner of the country. He urged the womanfolk to be imbued with the spirit of Ahimsa.

Addressing meetings at Amguri, Gafky, Charing and in other

places of Sibasagar sub-division, Vinobaji asked the teachers to come forward to spread the message of Bhoodan. Differentiating between Gramdan, Bhoodan and Collective farming in the Communist countries Bhavjee said that the former was a spontaneous, response to a call based on goodwill and non-violence while the later was the result of coercive imposition.

Need for Unity

Addressing another mammoth public meeting held at Joysagar, Basic Training Institute which was attended among others by Assam's Chief Minister, Shri Chaliha, and Director of Public Instruction Shri Rajkhawa, Vinobaji stressed on the importance of learning many languages to fully understand the present-day scientific world.

Stressing on the paramount importance of unity in the country he expressed surprise that at one time the religions, which spread the gospels of unity, love and goodwill were used now for spreading seeds of discord and disunity. To cure this serious defect of the present-day religions Vinobaji advised the people to lean forwards spiritually which could, alone have the shattering influence of narrow parochialism fostered on ground of religion. It was by attaching impor-

tance to ... spiritualism, Vinobaji said, the growth of disunity could be effectively arrested.

World Situation

Dwelling on groupism and racialism, which in their turn resulted in two major fronts in the world each ready to take arms against the other, Vinobaji expressed his pain that the turn in human history had been so critical that the survival of mankind had come to depend on whether reason and Wisdom would ultimately dawn on Khrushchev and Kennedy. If reason and wisdom would ultimately dawn on them mankind would also survive. Otherwise mankind was destined to be swept away by a major conflagration that might spart off from the strained ruptures and relationship existing among the different nations

In almost all his speeches Vinobaji very frequently criticized the indecent cinemas and spoke about their demoralising effect on the young children.

On Integration

Our *rishis* and saints covered the country on foot when the modern means of transport were not available and thus built up Indian unity. Shankaracharya walked for fifteen years, Ramanuja for twelve to fourteen years, Vallabhacharya for eighteen years,

Shankardeva for twelve years, Namdeva for thirteen to fifteen years, Nanak for eighteen to twenty years and Kabir for twenty five to thirty years—such is the history of India. India attained its unity because of these concentrated drives. I have come across hundreds of common words in Assamese and Marathi. There would have been nothing surprising if these Marathi words had found their way through Hindi and Bengali to Assamese. But there are many words which are to be found in Assamese and then in Marathi and nowhere else, in between. Why? Because we have meeting grounds like Jagannath Puri and Brindaban etc., where devotees and gentle souls gathered from various places and national integration conferences, so to say, were held every year. Likewise, national integration conferences were held in Gandhiji's time, i.e., the Congress met year after year as the embodiment of the common national urge. As Gandhiji wanted the Congress to continue to serve the "role" of "national integration", he advised its transformation into Lok Sevak Sangh after the attainment of freedom. But the political leaders were afraid that there was a danger if the Congress did not assume political power and they, therefore, turned it into a political party i.e., into a part of the

whole. Consequently, when a situation arose leaders of all parties had to be called together at the "National Integration Conference". The good decisions arrived at are very useful.

Sarvodaya and Labour

LABOURERS should be ever conscious. Consciousness means positive love towards each other. A labourer should be as responsible and as devoted to his work as an owner would be. Your behaviour should be straight-forward and clean. If anyone of you is an addict to drink or to any other form of intoxication he should free himself from it. Try to acquire knowledge and understanding of what is going on around you in the world. Help one another. Such labourers will be liked by all. The owners cannot turn down the demands of such labourers. They shall have to fulfil the just demands of the working class.

The labourers should realise that they have certain obligations towards society. Hence, they should contribute a part of their income—which may be and often is small for society. If not every month, at least, annually, they should offer one day's wages for the community. A day's wages contributed for the furtherance of

Sarvodaya would be a great thing when pooled together. They will gain sympathy of their fellow citizens and their cause would be strengthened. Sometime ago when the representatives of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) met me I told them that Bhoodan work should be a part of their activities. When landless labourers in rural areas are provided with land, they will take to agriculture and will seek employment outside their village only if attractive emoluments are offered. Unhealthy competition among urban labour would thus be stopped. In this way, this movement for the benefit of rural labourers viz. Bhoodan will help

the movement of the urban labourers.

It is because of this that I once said that the 'May Day' was not the day of the labourers of our country. The red-letter day for our working class is 18th of April—the day on which the Bhoodan movement was born.

In this way, the movements of the rural and the urban labourers should be inter-related. It will increase the strength of all. The enhancement of the strength of one should not mean the decline of the other. On the contrary, the increase of the one's strength will increase the strength of all. This is the Sarvodaya way.

— Adapted from Press reports.



Relief Work in Bihar

The Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal has decided to suspend all activities for the time being, including the Bhoodan programme of appealing for the sixteenth of an acre, for organising relief work in Bihar. The workers in the Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal are busy organising relief work in the flood-affected areas in the five districts of Monghyr, Bagalpur, Gaya, Patna and Purnea. They are arranging for the cremation of the dead human bodies. Many dead bodies of the animals have been collected by clearing the roads and debris of the fallen houses. New huts are being erected wherever possible for the homeless. The sick is served with medicines. Grains and clothes are being collected for the hungry and half-naked. All possible economic assistance is being given to the needy. Sarvodaya workers from other states also help in the Relief work.



THE BASIC TASK OF PANCHAYATS

Jawaharlal Nehru

THE Panchayat reform is one of the biggest things achieved by India since the attainment of freedom—which I would call a revolutionary development, which may change the face of our rural areas for the better. If India wants to advance, the villages of India should advance and make up for their backwardness. The basic task is to make our people, especially those in villages, more alive and more enterprising and more self-reliant.

Under the British rule, these people were not entrusted with any responsibility, and so they became lethargic and lazy and were simply putting petitions to the authorities. But now, after independence, things have changed very much, but yet, to a large extent, the administrative structure of the British rule continues though all the officers are our own men.

No doubt, there are people's Governments in the States and at the Centre, but the basic administrative structure at lower levels remains much the same. During the British rule, the main function of the Government was to collect taxes, keep the peace and maintain law and order. Any

big or small developmental work was not considered to be part of the Government's function.

And the administration was built up to discharge those functions. They have discharged it fairly well, no doubt, in India, it was a competent administration. But with independence, the Government now has to turn to other problem, especially that of raising the standard of life of the people, and abolishing poverty and increasing the productive wealth of the country so that we can have a Welfare State in which everyone has equal opportunity under socialistic pattern of society.

Such a society means that the economic differences between the rich and the poor should disappear as far as possible, but that does not mean that everyone should be at a dead level; it is not possible nor is it necessary.

Since independence, big reforms and revolutionary changes have taken place and the State has become a social reform State in which the Government and the people have to make big changes and reforms and bring about a big social and economic revolution all over the country in accordance with our objectives.

In such a state, the administration is not merely that of ministers but it comprises of people and officers. Even police constables and clerks form part of the Government. And so, it is no mere question of Government issuing orders to the people spread out in villages, but also of all the people deciding what the order should be and in carrying out the orders. A social reform Government is a democratic Government in which representatives of the people at all levels decide both the policies and the implementation of the policies.

Under the panchayat reform we have achieved people in the villages are directly connected with the administration and it is a case of spreading out of the ideas of democracy. The process is not complete and could be completed only when we achieve a large measure of economic freedom and economic equality for the people.

So, when great changes are taking place towards achieving the democracy of our concept,

the system of administration has also to change. With the constitution of Panchayat Unions, officers here in Madras State and in other States have to function purely in advisory capacity to help representatives of the people.

But you have to carry out the work, decide what it should be. The entire responsibility is cast upon you and not on the Officials.

The Panchayat representatives are all engaged in a war against poverty and unemployment and illiteracy, which are all weakening us as a nation. It is a very big war, and we are fighting this war at a time when great changes are taking place in the world. We should be strong and better men and women not only to fight poverty, disease and the like but also be able to face any danger that might come to us from the outside world. And our strength lies in unity. And we can march forward only through Unity.

—(Address at the Conference of 12000 of Presidents of the Panchayats at Madras on 9-10-61.)



Foreword to Mr. Wilfred Wellock's Book

"Off The Beaten Track" My Experiments in the Art of Living"

By Jayaprakash Narayan

Mr. Wilfred Wellock's autobiography which has been serialised in instalment in "Sarvodaya" from August 1959 to March 1961 is published as a book with the above title. The following is the Foreword by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan.

Here is a testimony of an Englishman which should be read, pondered over and digested by every educated Indian, particularly those who are young and eager to modernise their country.

Many years ago I came to know of Wilfred Wellock and read some of his writings. A young Englishman, David Hogget,* who lived in my Ashram for a few months in 1954 introduced me to his 'Orchard Lea Papers'. They were of absorbing interest and gave much clarity to my effort to understand Western industrial society. Not being closely associated with the Gandhian movement yet, I did not have the opportunity to meet him at the Sevagram Peace Conference in 1948. It was in 1958 that I had the pleasure, along with Siddharaj Dhadda, to meet him at his home in Preston. We spent a day with him and saw the simple life he lived there with his wife. Both of them are vegetarians and we saw how in his small backyard he was growing the vegetables that we later

* David had a terrible accident while working in Europe on a Service Civil work-project, and has been permanently invalidated since. But as I found, when visiting him three years ago at Cheltenham, he is still working hard—the centre of young idealists devoted to the discovery of a way of life that reconciled Science to Truth and Non-violence. He is, as I described him at a meeting in Cheltenham at which he presided, being wheel-chaired to the place, a living symbol of the triumph of Spirit over Matter. David now lives in an Ashram in Wales.

took at his table. Like Gandhiji, one of Mr. Wellock's experiments in the Art of Living, which is the greatest Art indeed, was in dietetics, and naturally enough he had come to similar conclusions. It is a great pity that modern Medical Science, in spite of the great advance in the Natural Sciences, has paid so little attention to this subject and to that of the relation of food to disease. Ayurveda, even without the advantage of modern science, had given far greater thought to it, though its findings need to be drastically revised in the light of further knowledge and experience.

One of the striking things that Mr. Wellock had told us at our first meeting was that he had deliberately kept his income below the taxation level: that was the only way he could make his personal contribution to the Truth as he understood it. His friends had often asked him why did he not keep an automobile. He told us he could easily earn enough to be able to buy and maintain one, but he did not want to do it: jumping on to the spending escalator and ascending 'higher and higher' in the scale of 'standard of living' was the chief disease of Western industrialised society, against which his life has been a ceaseless and reasoned protest.

It is not necessary that I should give in this Foreword a summary of the results of Wellock's experiments. The reader must turn to the text itself and be rewarded and enriched by the story of an earnest spiritual search and endeavour. Most of us take things on trust from others. Therein lies a vital difference between science and spirituality (I would have called it religion had not religion, as practised, been converted to an external rather than internal experience). A layman has to accept the word of science on trust and fully enjoy its fruits. Not only the layman but even the scientist must do the same, particularly in fields other than his own. But in the sphere of the spirit, it is otherwise. There, whatever is taken on trust is stale and merely intellectual. It cannot provide one with that fresh fountain of life from which comes happiness and calm and meaning and purpose. Wilfred Wellock's experiments, or Gandhiji's, cannot give us recipes for living; they can only awaken us and make us question, seek and discover. The truth discovered by oneself is a far more potent force of life than

truth borrowed from others. Wellock, like Gandhiji, has shown that every one can discover the truth for himself. The merit of his story, again like Gandhiji's, is that by its transparent honesty and earnestness it arouses and awakens.

The search of the individual cannot be separated from the social search. The truth should be the basis not only of individual, but also of social life. This is an aspect of the truth that has not always been adequately emphasised by the spiritual teachers of mankind. In our own time and country, it was Gandhiji who laid equal emphasis on both and sought to relate them. This too has been the life-long endeavour of Wilfred Wellock. He has closely followed—he is now in his 82nd year—the evolution of modern industrial society in his own country, which is the mother of the Industrial Revolution, as also on the Continent and in North America, and has diagnosed its ills and pondered over the remedies. According to him the disease of modern Western society is that its material values are no longer governed by its spiritual values to which it still pays lip service. This is not a startling discovery—indeed it might appear hackneyed because the same thing has been said by so many. But the difference is that he has gone beyond generalisation and pontification and analysed objectively and concretely the whole process of degeneration of Western society. The results of the analysis point towards a socio-politico-economic revolution that would bewilder and even frighten many of those who glibly talk of the spiritual ruling over the material. The significance of Wellock's voyage and discovery is that he spells out the forms that social processes and institutions ought to take in the present age of science so that the balance between the material and the spiritual is established. Colossal waste; aimless speed; the consumption escalator with its concomitants of high-pressure advertising and hire-purchase; unbounded gadgetry; senseless competition and economic war involving internal and external exploitation, colonialism and domination; fragmented and unnatural living; commercialisation of culture; standardization of individuality; ugly urban conurbations; struggle for power and increase of violence and the means of violence; decline of community and stultification of democracy are some of the symptoms of the disease that he has analysed, indicating at the same time the manner to overcome them and the new forms of social life to take their place.

He sees two alternatives open to Western civilisation. One, utter self-destruction as a result of atomic war or sheer collapse due to the imbalance in the structure of society, followed by a painful, slow process of re-building of a new life. Two, Western society, recognising the danger in time in which it has placed itself and making a supreme effort to turn in the direction of regeneration and survival.

It is extremely interesting that Mr. Wellock thinks that the new turning in the path of civilisation might really be discovered by Soviet Russia. He thinks so because Russia is not burdened by the weight of 'tycoons' or 'big private financial corporations'. 'Why should Russia', he asks, 'incur the colossal waste that takes place in operating the American economy and that of all the Western powers? Why should Russia, for example, refuse to make spare parts for Model A washing machine in order to compel customers to scrap Model A machine for Model B, when she has no profiteers to consider?

'Supposing Russia cut out advertising except for the things which make for a higher type of civilisation than that of maximum material consumption, and went in for providing beautiful houses in beautiful neighbourhoods, and started competitions for architectural designs of houses, localities, landscape gardening, etc., and instead of concentrating on mammoth sports grounds, began to organise local or area festivals of art in which the imaginations of people might express their concept of a more glorious civilisation? That would be the road to the creation of whole persons.....'. This surely is an arresting thought.

Mr. Wellock ends his story with an 'Appeal to India'. I hope India will pause to give heed to that earnest appeal, though the actual situation in the country does not promise much hope. There are no doubt individuals, groups, movements that are aware of and concerned with the issues raised by the author. The voice of Gandhiji is not muted yet. And Vinoba is trekking from end to end of the country, arousing, enlightening, warning. But taken as a whole our country seems unconsciously to be sojourning towards the same perils as Western industrial civilisation has created out of its womb. The ruling classes — the upper middle class and the money-makers — have merrily joined the rat-race. In New Delhi also, as anywhere in the West, the

status in life is determined by the kind of your house, car, clothes, the parties you give and the rest. *Mahajano Yen gatah sa panthah*: the other classes tend to follow the leaders of 'society.' The virus is penetrating even the rural areas. If Mr. Wellock's testimony, coming as it does from a modern Westerner of culture and distinction, gives us a little shake-up and arouses us from our dream of Piccadilly and Broadway, Mr. Ramaswami's enterprise in persuading him to tell his story for the readers of 'Sarvodaya' would have been very well rewarded.

In the opening sentence I have said that this testimony should be of particular interest to our young men and women. I should like to conclude these introductory remarks by quoting Mr. Wellock at some length. 'I have a vivid recollection' he writes in the Postscript, 'of addressing a packed audience in the assembly room at India House, London, on the occasion of a Gandhiji birthday memorial day, at the invitation of Sri B. G. Kher, then India's High Commissioner in London. My regard for Gandhi was such that I knew it was my duty to speak on his message to our time, as I saw it. A very large number of Indian students were present, and it was to them that I particularly desired to speak. I knew that the entire audience had come to pay homage to their national liberator, but I wondered how many were conversant with his vision of the kind of country liberated India should be! After speaking for about ten minutes I came to the conclusion that probably more than half of the students present had never before listened to an exposition of Gandhiji's social and political ideas. Indeed I perceived that my remarks were causing pain and dismay to many in my audience, for which I was very sorry. But a deeper sorrow arose from the fact that these youths were ignorant of Gandhiji's social philosophy; they were children in 1947 when India was liberated.'

I have had frequent occasions to share Mr. Wellock's sadness in course of my meetings with Indian students. It is not their fault, however. The fault lies with the older generation and the educational institutions. In this circumstance it is a matter of gratification that the present Union Education Minister, Dr. Shrimali, is taking active steps to encourage Gandhian studies in the schools and colleges. Finally, I hope this book will be in the hands of every college student in this country. ★

**Preface to : "Off The Beaten Track :
My Experiments in the Art of Living "**

by Wilfred Wellock

Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, Lancs, England

Human nature is so diverse that I suppose every age in every clime can claim to be unique, however good or bad it be.

Current Western civilisation is unique in that it exhibits for the first time in history an affluent proletariat. I almost said democracy, but despite the boasting, its democracy is more superficial than real, and every year bears witness to its decline. Having acquired affluence the great majority, of all classes, want nothing so much as to increase it by acquiring larger shares of national cakes. Indeed politics is now chiefly concerned with the distribution of the rising tide of goods which automatic machines and automatic humans turn out of the factories, and service which increased sophistication demands. In the process, the big financial corporations and a few tycoons together with a few astute politicians succeed in diverting ample supplies of the fruits of industry into the coffers of the investing classes, which proclaim their intention to let the workers share the rising prosperity. The relative shares are never disclosed.

The outcome is a materialistic society from top to bottom, which has no place for religion, philosophy or the culture of the spirit. With the exception of a small percentage of devout Christians, religion is little more than an elaborate camouflage for maintaining the social status quo. Every trade, every profession and every social group has its own techniques for advancing its income levels.

Thanks to circumstances which led me to think about the meaning of life at a very early age and even to perceive the values of meditation and creative social living, I became fortified, perhaps unwittingly against the temptations of affluence. Their rejection required no heroism on my part, as I saw clearly what I believed to be a better way. Whether that vision was due to religion, philosophy or culture, I did not stop to consider. But it gripped me in my teens, and at 23 enabled me to make one of my major decisions. What I did know was that a spark of living TRUTH

PREFACE TO : OFF THE BEATEN TRACK

had entered my soul. It has remained with me ever since. That experience is the justification for the title I have given to my life-story. My life has been a perpetual series of experiments in the art of living, and every experiment has taken me off the beaten track. It is even so today, and so it will continue.

It is also why Erick Gill pressed me to write my autobiography and why the Editor of the Indian monthly, "Sarvodaya", invited me to send to him my life-story in monthly instalments.

How many people in this bewildered age, which offers no encouragement and few opportunities to step off the beaten tracks, may be inclined to read it I haven't the foggiest idea. What I am certain of is that it is much harder today than it was sixty years ago to leave the beaten tracks and start "voyaging through strange seas of thought alone", to quote a line from Wordsworth.

But above the roar and clamour of modern life can be heard the rustlings of concerned and troubled minds and souls. It is to these especially that I would like to dedicate what follows — the seekers after light and truth everywhere.

I would add this note: the period during which these instalments were written covered twenty months, a circumstance which caused a little repetition for which I solicit the reader's indulgence.



★ **A GLIMPSE OF GANDHIJI** ★

Kaka Kalelkar

"A Glimpse of Gandhiji" is literally a treasure that can be had for the paltry sum of 50 nP. Written by an "erudite scholar and close associate of Gandhiji" it gives in this short compass, just 44 pages, what one should know about the Father of the Nation. A reading of the concise biography will induce the reader to go in for a bigger biography of the Mahatma. This neatly got-up book must be had by every one who desires to know of the life of the architect of new India.

(Review in "The Hindu", September 24, 1961.)

Price : 50 nP. Postage : 15 nP.

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India.

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

Donald G. Groom.

AS I sit down to write after having bade farewell to Vinobaji agrin, I ask myself the question: What have I gleaned from my 'Padayatra' with him which might be of use and inspiration to others? I know that it is Vinobaji's wish that there should be no direct reporting of his daily addresses any more, but he does want people who have spent some time with him to write about it afterwards.

There is no doubt that I feel the better for having spent those days with him. The early morning rising and the long walk in the cold air are invigorating. The meditation that is possible during the first hour or so of the walk with the contemplation on the vastness of the universe bring peace to the mind. Then, as discussion starts between Vinobaji and others who are walking with him, one becomes conscious of being associated with a vast movement of the spirit towards human awakening.

Vinobaji seems to give voice to an inner urge coming from the depths of the universe for the expression of spiritual values in the human society. The voice is one of confidence and power and

it conveys such confidence and power to those who have the privilege to listen. Then one sees Vinobaji as the blacksmith tempering the red hot iron on his anvil—the workers, one by one, come before him accounting to him for what they have done and Vinobaji doesn't spare them, he beats them as the blacksmith beats his iron.

Somewhat one realises that it is not Vinobaji who is beating. It is the spirit of truth and Vinobaji knows that if the mission he has undertaken is to succeed, it will be through the tempered, disciplined workers.

Logic Incarnate

Sometimes one meets another Vinoba in this morning walk when he is confronted with a possible adversary, and one is treated with the experience of brilliant argument. I often felt that he enjoyed these encounters and wished that more would be fearless challengers, because in them one sees his deep sense of humour as well as the ready answers to all questions. It is the one with the serious, doubt that Vinoba enjoys, not the one who comes forth to ask a question which has been answered hundreds of times before during

the ten-year pilgrimage, or the one who just wants to be able to say that he has spoken to Vinoba. The fate of the latter is to be shrivelled up and sink back into the rear. To have an ear on these morning encounters is an education process.

Vinobaji realises that most people are glad of the opportunity to walk alongside him—the local M. L. A. will always come, there may be a prominent social worker or a 'Khadi' worker or a leader on the state or national level. It is always of great interest to me to study how he tackles such people. I would not suggest that he has any planned technique, but he always seems to be searching for another worker, dedicated to 'Sarvodaya', dedicated to a more revolutionary way of life. In the early encounter Vinobaji will lay bare the life and work of the person talking to him—he will realise how shallow and pointless in this modern age is the life that he is leading. No one likes to feel that his life and work is pointless and shallow and slowly there is an approach to Vinobaji as to what in his circumstances he can do and then the tenderness is revealed, certain indications are given and the person is left to wrestle within himself.

The path of Vinobaji, undoubtedly, demands a price, the

M. L. A. is challenged: "Why are there no leading politicians in the Punjab who are ready to come out of the party struggle and work to cement unity and pursue the common good?" The social worker who has done a lot to build up an institution and is caught within the mesh of its demands on his time, is asked to consider handing it all over and work amongst the people to give them confidence in goodwill and the way of peace and build up a power of love amongst them. The lawyer, who has reached the age of 50, has no further major responsibilities towards his family, is asked to give up his practice and devote his knowledge and experience to the service of the people. Our scriptures say that no man should die in his home," says Vinoba.

Thus one comes away feeling that he has shared not only in a quest for social revolution, political or economic revolution, but also in religious revivalism. In fact, one is conscious through Vinobaji that these are all bound up together.

The very experience of constant challenge and uncertainty is stimulating in the company of Vinoba. After 25 days with him or even after 25 weeks, one can never sit back in contentment and say, "I know all about Vinoba, I know all

the answers—the blueprint of the future according to Vinoba is clear before me.” One sometimes feels a little annoyed when one realises that each comment doesn’t necessarily fit in neatly with every other. There is an unpredictability about every comment that Vinobaji may be called upon to make, because they come from inspiration and out of a relationship with a particular person or audience. This makes one ever keen to hear every comment and loathe to be where one is out of direct touch.

So, being away from Vinobaji again, one begins to wonder what is coming from his lips now, though I am sure what he wants is that more and more individuals and groups should be drawing direct from his fount of inspiration and speaking to the conditions and acting according to the needs of their situations.

The Bliss of silence

7. I think that Vinobaji is more and more pointing to the path of this inspiration in the path of silence. More silence is becoming a feature of life with Vinobaji. Consider the care and patience with which he gathers around him the daily audience for silent prayer. “O Sita, O Ram Laxman-sit down” shouts Vinoba with a crystal clear voice. One realises that he sees in the dis-

cipline of silence a greater message than the spoken word. What a craving he has for the expression of inner discipline in the lives of people, and when he finds it absent, the words of rebuke, the words of prophetic challenge, come forth.

Then in the morning and evening prayer, at the morning meditation, as well as at the class in the afternoon there is more and more emphasis on silence, and through this and through casual remarks now and then, one comes very near to him in spirit and realises that although he is actively concerned about the movement, the country, the world and is the instigator of so much activity amongst others, he remains inactive, unattached to success or failure and finds his joy in resting more and more in the Lord of all. Sometimes he swims on the wave of inspiration before thousands through the aid of the loudspeaker and utters prophetic words, showing his deep consciousness of the presence of the spirit is of the immediate and distant past in sheer challenge to the doubter and hesitant. Other times he speaks of the desire to dispense with the loud-speaker and sits in intimate discussion with a few adults or children.

Mindful of China

Vinobaji is a power, yet I think of a child or a lamb when I think

of him. “The child shall lead them.” “The lamb of God” the symbol of peace.

It would be incomplete, however, to end a comment on 25 days with Vinoba without mentioning that from day to day in talks to a few by the wayside or in addresses to the multitudes, he talks in terms of the need for workers, for ‘sampattidan’ and ‘sarvodaya patra’ for their maintenance. He is also hopeful and expectant of the response of all the States that

he has passed through, because there is more urgency now for the country to have a demonstration of the nonviolent power, the power of love, than ever. Vinobaji is ever mindful of the challenge of China, but the response is not to lessen faith in non-violence but to redouble efforts to build up the non-violent strength of the people through ‘gram-swarajya’ and through the elimination of all divisive forces in the country.

—Courtesy “Hindustan Standard.”



The following is taken from a series of four articles on Henry David Thoreau by Richard Groff published in “Manas” Weekly, Los Angeles, U. S. A.!

“He who knows not and knows not that he knows not
Is a fool: shun him.

He who knows not and knows that he knows not
Is a child: teach him.

He who knows and knows not that he knows
Is asleep: wake him.

He who knows and knows that he knows
Is a prophet: follow Him!

—Anonymous.”

MAHATMA GANDHI —

AS OVERSEAS INDIANS SEE HIM)

Prof. B. Bissoondoyal, Mauritius

(Continued from previous issue for Oct. '61)

HIS visit is looked upon as so important an event in Mauritian history that many a reader can be satisfied with a new book on Mauritius only if it makes mention of it.

Mahatma Gandhi felt drawn towards the downtrodden, the poor. He made it his duty to visit the Chinese quarter when he was here. Like the Indians, these Asians coming from another part of Asia were poor and helpless. Royal receptions given by the well-to-do and the powers that he would only have left a bad taste in his mouth.

During three weeks that our honoured guest stayed in our island home hardly more than two or three days were spent in the capital or any other Mauritian town. He was now at Moka talking to a Tamilian who lived in a humble hut, now at Tamarin to see the beautiful scenery of the place enhanced by its waterfalls.

The domestic servant of the European who received him at the village of Gentilly interested him more than the host himself. The servant was an Indian, Sagam by name. He made Mahatmaji

feel at home by serving him in the right Indian fashion.

The common folk would allude to incidents related by Tulsi Das in the Ramcharitmanas. The young barrister would not believe his ears. Each time a Mauritian met him in India he would tell the latter that he had once been to Mauritius where he was happy throughout his sojourn.

In South Africa he had laid the foundations of the Congress in 1894. He, however, felt that the efforts of the Congress should not be confined to the sort of work it did in India.

It is then that Satyagraha was inaugurated. Satyagraha is the greatest gift that Greater India has made to India.

There was a time when Britishers felt that Overseas Indians were a menace. One of them wrote in recent years; "The return of Indians to their own country enriched with their savings, with new skills and experience, was one of the contributing factors to Indian restlessness under alien government and to the rapid appearance of nationa-

lism and a growing demand for independence."

Overseas Indians do not go wrong when they look upon their saviour as one of the Indians that returned to India to contribute effectively to her liberation.

Like the average Indian living in far-off colonies, Bapuji preferred the village to the town. Out of the 4,50,000 Indians living in Mauritius nowadays not even a lakh can be found in the towns.

Mahatmaji pleaded with the Indians to go back to the traditional simplicity of their ancestors, to hold the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress in the villages. He desired with all his soul to see that every Indian imitated the typical peasant. In Africa he used to tell Africans that their gigantic body deserved to be exposed. They had every reason to be proud of it. Those who blamed them because they made use of clothes scantily were not lovers of truth. M. K. Gandhi was the last Indian to approve of the Europeans who were critical in Africa, India and other countries. The European taste was different from his.

To this day the mammoth meetings held in Mauritius are organised in out-of-the-way villages. Every year thousands of Mauritians celebrate the *Swarajya*

Divas at Lalmattee, a village in East Mauritius and the Gandhi Jayanti in Laventure, another village. Compared to these huge meetings the gatherings organised in towns pale away into insignificance. Their artificiality holds the villagers at arm's length. They leave no influence on the people of the land. He who depends on them for an appraisal of the situation in a foreign land is bound to have a wrong picture of that country.

Like Acharya Vinoba, Mahatmaji was not much attracted by the idea of living outside India. He went to England to prosecute his studies. It is accidentally that he came over to Africa where the sufferings of his unfortunate countrymen compelled him to spend two decades. He was on board the *S. S. Nowshera* that was taking him to India when he landed here, Port Louis being one of his ports of call. His visit was not a holiday jaunt costing his generous supporters tens of thousands of rupees. He put to good use the 21 days he lived in the island. He acquainted himself "fairly well with the local conditions" by putting pertinent questions to teachers of elementary schools like the late Mr. Bholah and others, conversing with villagers, Chinese shopkeepers, Muslim coachmen, school going children

with all of whom he got into conversation at once. It is in the midst of the lowly that he was seen to the best advantage.

As Indo-Mauritians are, like the Indians of Pondicherry, among the few who have a working knowledge of French, they read French authors. One of these spent three years in French Mauritius and chose to live in the villages. He wrote a story entitled *The Indian Cottage*.^{*} Mahatmaji was in Africa when a Frenchman was rightly inspired to relate this beautiful story. Bapuji could not help observing that it suited his taste. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, the French author, says that a scholar from Europe travelled to India in search of knowledge. He was disappointed when he met the great ones of India. It is an untouchable that, in the end, quenched his thirst for knowledge.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was a Gandhian before Gandhi.

His story was unforgettable. Mahatma Gandhi in his turn related it to the Asians that attended a conference held in Delhi and added that they would go back home without knowing India because they were out of

^{*} *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Writer and Naturalist*, By B. Bissoondoyal. The Calcutta Review, October, 1959.

touch with Indian villages. Bapuji has passed away. Those delegates who attended the Inter-Asian Relations Conference held in the last week of March, 1947, will recollect that Bapuji told them point blank that they had "not seen real India. The big cities are not the real India." Horace G. Alexander once observed: "Mr. Gandhi was always most at home among the village people."

It is interesting to note that Saint-Pierre's story has been translated into Hindi.

Right from the Vedic age the Indian villager prized the cow. This reminds us of the remarks made by Mahatma Gandhi on the cow. Had the French poet Victor Hugo been a contemporary of Gandhi he would not have failed to praise him. Hugo's observations relating to the cow deserve to be reproduced here:

"There stood a cow, with
neck-bell jingling light,
Superb, enormous, dappled
red and white -
Soft, gentle, patient as a hind
unto its young,
Letting the children swarm
until they hung
Around her, under - rustics
with their teeth
Whiter than marble their ripe
lips beneath,

And bushy hair fresh and
more brown
Than mosaic walls at old gates
of a town,
Calling to one another with
loud cries
For younger imps to be in at
the prize;
Stealing without concern but
tremulous with fear
They glance around lest Doll
the maid appear, -
Their jolly lips - that haply
cause some pain,
And all those busy fingers,
pressing now and 'gain,
The teeming udders, whose
small, thousand pores,
Gush out the nectar amid their
laughing roars,
While she, good mother, gives
and gives in heaps,
And never moves."

To Hugo, as to the average Indian villager, the cow is a mother.

The Indian who adores the cow is misrepresented. Gandhi had

his share of misrepresentation because he was as unsophisticated as the peasants of India who live in hundreds of thousands of villages.

The countries where Indians have settled are akin to the villages of India. Greater India then was, to the Mahatma, nearer to real India than the big Indian cities where delegates from far-off countries are received every day of the year.

Bapuji was an Overseas Indian cast among the Indians of India. He was a great lover of the wisdom that India had of old. Simple living and high thinking was a saying that he never brushed aside as irrelevant, outmoded and childish. Greater India was always in his thoughts as he looked upon her as a source of inspiration. To Indians outside India Mahatmaji means much. They remember his sympathy with gratitude. And this is a slight return for what he has done. ★

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE.

"O YE LUNIES!"

Noshir Bilpodiwala

It is a craze with me to meet lunatics and chat with them. If I could, I would go and spend at least an hour a week in an asylum, meeting all kinds of lunies. Sometimes they talk more sense than nonsense; This of course, till all is well. Once they are off the centre, they mix up issues and sidetrack the normal flow of conversation leaving you blank as ever before.

I happened to go to such an asylum last week and overheard an animated discussion between two of its inmates. One of them claimed that he read all newspapers published in the country.

"Why do they indulge in Nuclear tests?" one asked.

"To test their might, I suppose," Said the other.

"And what will they do when they know they are powerful?" enquired the naive one.

"They will boast of I.C.B.M.s and the like and brag that they can blast the universe to bits;" replied the wise one. "I remember to have read Lord Bertrand Russell, (that's when I was sane) where he said: 'If the next world

war is indecisive, or the victors unwise, and if organised states survived, a period of feverish technical development is [expected to follow it's conclusion.' He said this before the second World War."

"Do you think he was a prophet?" interrupted the other.

"Never mind that!" continued the eloquent one, indignant at the interruption. "Listen to what he said recently. He wrote: 'It is thought by many sober men of Science that radioactive clouds drifting around the world may disintegrate living tissue everywhere; and although the last survivor may proclaim himself universal emperor, his reign will be brief and his subjects-corpses!' You see?"

"But he is a Lord, you say, and yet they do not heed his warnings?" ventured the other.

"No. On the contrary, they have put him in jail for 'disturbing the Peace'," remarked the well-read one.

"Are you joking?" asked the other incredibly.

"Believe me!" said the wise one, "It was all in the news. You may even ask our medical officer."

"That's very interesting," said the innocent one, "How did he manage to disturb Peace?"

"Well, he spoke a lot against some Polaris base somewhere in U. K. He also organised a huge procession and later went on a satyagraha. And that's not all; he even refused to be 'bound over', when the Judge asked him to."

"Remarkable indeed!" said the simple one. "But tell me more; what else does Lord Russell say?"

"Oh a number of things against all Powers" explained the wise

one, "For instance he says: Our Progress has been so great that we tend to think that skill can take the place of wisdom; and that to kill each other by means of the latest technique is more PROGRESSIVE and therefore better, than to keep each other alive by old-fashioned methods".

"Enough brother," said the other, distinctly bored. "Such are the insanities prevalent outside and they enclose US within these walls for being lunatics."

"Such," philosophised the other, "is Life!"



A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

Rydalmere
Sydney, Australia.
14-8-61.

"Needless to say, I shall be looking forward to future issues of your wonderful little magazine "Sarvodaya" which is my only link with the Gandhian Movement which, I am confident, will one day receive the recognition it deserves.

The world so much needs the ideas and thoughts of Gandhiji, probably today as never before. Whether his message will percolate through the fog of hatredes and prejudices in time to prevent the final cataclysm which already seems terribly near, who can say?

At least "Sarvodaya" is playing a very brave part in sowing the seed and cultivating the Gandhian plant the flowering of which could one day bring peace and understanding to our unhappy world".

R. J. Cullis.

Earth For All Calender for November

The problem of private ownership of land has been a serious subject for reflection by eminent men of the world during the past many centuries. A friend in England who has been watching the progress of the Bhoodan movement and reading "SARVODAYA" has kindly sent us a valuable treasure of collections of sayings on this subject admirably edited and compiled by Ernest Crosby under each date of the calendar. A few selections are given below for the current month of November.

★ November 2

Behold in bonds your Mother
Earth,
The rich man's prostitute and
slave!
Your Mother Earth who gave you
birth,
You only own her for a grave!
And will you die like slaves and
see
Your Mother left a fettered
thrall?
Nay, live like men, and set her
free
As heritage for all.

—Gerald Massay, *The Earth for All, My Lyrical Life, 2nd Series*, pp 232-3.

★ November 4

Do we not see a fair creation
prepared to receive us the instant
we are born—a world furnished
to our hands, that cost us nothing?

—Thomas Paine, *Age of Reason (1793) Part I.*

★ November 6

Given a race of human beings
having like claims to pursue the
objects of their desires—given a
world adapted to the gratification
of those desires—a world into
which such beings are similarly
born, and it unavoidably follows
that they have equal rights in the
use of the world.

—Herbert Spencer, in 1850,
Social Statics, Chapter IX.

★ November 9

Take away the Government,
and earth and all its good things
are as common to all men as the
air and the light.

—Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux,
*Politique Tiree de l'Ecriture
Sainte, Book I., art. 3,
Proposition 4; Oeuvres Vol.
XXXVI., p. 26.*

★ November 12

"The land which saw you born
has repudiated you; the laws
have excluded you from this com-

mon inheritance; you have cleared
it, but others possess it; you and
the ox yoked to the plow are put
on the same level. Nature called
you to a share in its domain, but
tyranny has pushed you aside and
says, "You are not men; live like
the beasts, to serve and obey me."

—Marmontel, *Addressed in
Favor of the Peasants of the
North (1757), Oeuvres, Vol.
X, P. 74, (Speech of an
Imaginary Orator.)*

★ November 15

The dead are below and the
landless and those who live to
labor. And Grind forever in
gloom that the privileged few may
live.

—John Boyle O'reilly, *From
the Earth, A cry. The Statues,
in the Block. and other poems.
P. 41.*

★ November 17

Shrink to your cellars, holes and
cells;

In halls ye deck another dwells.
Why shake the chains ye wrought?
Ye see

The Steel ye tempered glance
on ye.

With plow and spade, and hoe and
loom,

Trace your grave and build your
tomb,
And weave your winding-sheet,
till fair

England is your sepulchre!
—Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Song-
To the Men of England.*

★ November 22

Blessed are the meek, for they
shall inherit the Earth.

—St. Mathew, V. S.

★ November 24

I suppose the result must be ...
the establishment of society under
a wholly new idea ... The leading
features of any such radical change
must be a deep modification of
the institution of property—cer-
tainly in regard to land, and
probably in regard to much else.

—Harriet Martineau (1855)
*Autobiography, Vol. II;
Sec. 10 p.p. 119.*

★ November 27

Not only can there be no in-
come which is not the product of
land, but it is also land that
furnishes all the capital which
constitutes the mass of all the
sums advanced in agriculture or
commerce.

—Turgot, *on the Formation
and Distribution of Wealth
(1766) Sec. 99.*

★

ELECTORAL CODE OF CONDUCT

Sachchidanand, Patna.

THE following code of conduct was unanimously adopted at a meeting of representatives of different political parties of Bihar which took place at Patna on 9th October, 61 under the presidency of Pandit Binodanand Jha, Chief Minister. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Congress, P. S. P., Socialist and Communist parties, together with a number of M. L. A's and independents. Sarvashri Jayaprakash Narayan, Gourishankar Sharah Sinha, Baidyanath Prasad, Shyam Sundar Prasad and Ramnarayan Singh, Convenor, were present on behalf of the Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal.

The draft of the code was formally proposed by Shri Baidyanath Prasad Choudhary on behalf of the Sarvodaya Mandal, and it was unanimously adopted with minor amendments after a discussion.

In the Preamble to the code adopted the participants declared:

"We affirm our faith in the objectives and directive principles laid down in the Constitution of India. We may differ in our interpretation of these objectives and principles in concrete practical terms. Yet we agree that the

method of social change necessary for the achievement of these objectives will be democratic and peaceful. In order that all political parties may follow this method with greater firmness and speed, and our public life may become nobler and purer, we feel, it is necessary for the political parties of Bihar to adopt a common code of conduct. We, therefore, agree upon the following norms of behaviour and intend to implement them fully."

After this formal declaration, the parties agreed to the following norms of behaviour in the context of the coming general election:—

1. The norms of behaviour laid down by the National Integration Conference recently held at Delhi should be observed.

2. Criticism of other parties in course of election propaganda should be confined to their policy and programme. Such private affairs of individuals as not connected with their public life should not be subjected to criticism.

3. No such propaganda as might encourage casteism, linguism, communalism and provincialism should be resorted to.

Parties should refrain from creating feud or hatred among people in the name of caste, language, community and province, and thereby try to secure votes.

4. No political party should try to disturb or obstruct any meetings or processions organised by other parties.

5. Boys below 14 years of age should not be utilised for election propaganda.

6. No party should offer election ticket to a person already refused by any other party during the same election.

7. No party should offer its membership to a person elected on the ticket of another party unless and until he resigns his post to which he has been elected.

8. Parties should not employ, for securing votes, such unconstitutional or immoral means as administrative coercion, polling of

bogus votes, offering liquor or bribe to voters. They should neither prevent voters from exercising their franchise through temptation, terrorisation or use of physical force.

9. Wherever possible, efforts should be made to evolve a common platform for election propaganda.

10. Care should be taken to see that the flag or symbol of a party is not insulted or dishonoured.

11. In case of violation of any of the accepted norms by a person or group, the party concerned should for itself expose the violation, and take care to see that the same is not repeated.

Representatives of different political parties should meet once a month to discuss matters relating to the implementation of the code, and the Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal should organise such meetings. ★

Our New Publication

We have the pleasure to inform that the long awaited autobiography of Mr. Wilfred Wellock which was serialised in "*Sarvodaya*" has been published with the following title after revision by the author.

★ Off The Beaten Track Adventures in the Art of Living

By Wilfred Wellock

with a Foreword by Jayaprakash Narayan

Demy Size: 216 pages with Card Cover.

Price Rs. 3: Sh. 10/6: \$ 2.

For further particulars:

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India.

Nabakrishna Chowdhury in Tamilnad

Sri Nabakrushna Chowdhury, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh came to Batlagundu in Tamilnad on 24th October to personally see the after-effects of the Satyagraha against eviction and also to contact the villagers in the Gramdan area. There was a meeting at Kanavaipatti Ashram on the 25th October. About 200 villagers from the Gramdan villages, many of whom had participated in the recent Satyagraha, attended the meeting. About 100 District Organisers and Lok-Sevaks also attended. In a most unconventional way, Sri Nabakrushna Babu straightaway asked the villagers to speak about their own problems, and their experiences. One after another, they began to narrate the actual land-problems in their village and about their own experiences in solving them in their own way. They said that in the Gramdan villages, the absentee landlords holding major part of the land refused to join. Even the gramdani peasants are not allowed to work in their lands. The eviction of such a peasant has resulted in the recent satyagraha. This has drawn the attention of the press and public, in a manner that even Bhoodan Movement could not. Therefore, unless some direct action is taken, the problem could not be solved.

Now Sri Navababu put the question if there are not smaller landholders in the Gramdan village itself, who have not taken part in the Movement? We are only

talking of the absentee landlords; but what about those present in the village itself. Have their hearts been softened? Have you tried to melt their hearts?"

To this the villagers replied:

'The hearts of the smaller land-holders are as stony as those of the big absentee land-holders. Only direct action can move them.

Navababu said:

'This has been done in Telegana formerly by the peasants under the leadership of the Communists. But what happened later? So forcibly taking lands from the landowners cannot solve the problem. That is why Vinobaji has placed the Bhoodan Movement before the country for a change of heart among the people. Only when the largest number of the land-holders can be persuaded to participate in Bhoodan with a change of heart it becomes an extensive movement. So, if our appeal for Gramdan or one sixth of the land has not produced the expected result, cannot we lower our demand to one twentieth as Vinobaji has suggested in Bihar? The larger number of people can respond and Bhoodan will gather momentum as a mass movement

To this the villagers replied:

'We appealed for one sixth then we asked for Gramdan. Neither has proved successful. Now we are reducing the demand

to one twentieth. When that also may fail, we will have to reduce our demand still further. Where is the end to this demand and to the attempts to change the hearts of the land-holders? It is not possible to soften their hearts through Bhoodan. Some other radical mass action has to be resorted to make the land-holders yield.

Then Nabakrushna Babu said:

'The violent method has been tried all these years; it has failed. Therefore, we are adopting the non-violent method of softening the hearts of the landlords, who are either present in the village or absent from the village. The villagers themselves have understood that the violent method has failed. The coercion of the State machinery will not be helpful, and State will always stand by the side of the landlords. Therefore, the only way available to us is to go on appealing to the people for a portion of their land as Bhoodan till their hearts are softened.

Some villagers suggested that we should seek the help of all the political parties and make a joint effort to solve the land problem.

Sri Navababu reminded them of the All-party conference at Yelwal in Mysore State when all the leaders of the various parties, viz. Communists, Socialists and Congress came together and agreed to Bhoodan-Gramdan. But that has not helped us.

One villager again put the question:

'How long can we wait at this rate?'

Sri Navababu replied promptly,

'To get democratic swaraj of mere voting it took thirty years for Gandhiji. We have to toil more for the real swaraj of the masses and we have to work for many more years to come. If we take to Satyagraha, we should create the moral sanction and build up the support of the people for it; otherwise, how can Satyagraha be ever successful?'

At the end Babu was requested to say a few words to the villagers. He said: that wherever he went he made the people themselves discuss the problems and find a solution to them. The course of discussion and the conclusion arrived at by the people themselves in the light of their own experiences, gave real encouragement and strengthened Babu himself. He felt happy to have visited the Batlagundu area, where the villagers themselves are conscious of the problems, seriously discussed them and are on their way to find a solution with their own moral strength.

This kind of discussion went on till the evening. The villagers appeared to be convinced that the non-violent way of Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement alone was the solution. By the Socratic method of questioning, eliciting answers and helping them for clearing doubts themselves which arose in the course of discussion, the villagers came to the conclusion that the Bhoodan Movement alone can permanently solve the land problem and strengthen the cordial community life of the village. ★

NEWS IN BRIEF ★

★ The Orissa Gramdan Conference was held under the Presidentship of Sri Manmohan Chowdhury at Bijapur (Koraput), a Gramdan village. About 400 workers from various parts of the District attended the Conference.

Smt. Ramadevi collected a sum of Rs. 19,000 for the Sarvodaya fund during 15-days tour in Calcutta.

★ A Gandhi Sarvodaya centre was opened on October 5, in Yoshuware in Japan. It was inaugurated by the Indian Ambassador there. The moving spirit behind the Centre is Rev. Fujii, a Japanese Buddhist Monk, who was at the Sevagram Ashram, with Gandhiji, before the War.

★ The Co-ordinating Committee of the Khadi And Village Industries Commission, State Boards and all the Khadi Samithis of the Sarva Seva Sangh met at Ahmedabad on October 15. Sri Shankarrao Deo presided. It was decided to accord general approval to the proposal put forward at the Sarvodaya Sammelan for the formation of a Rural Industrial Commission.

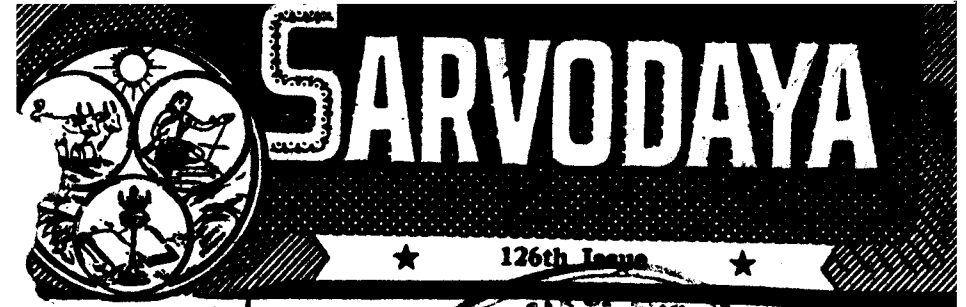
★ Sri Gundachar, and Sri Malikarjun Gowd did a pada-yatra for 21 days from Bhoo-Jayanthi to Charka Jayanthi. They covered 176 miles in 21 days, visiting 46 villages. 82 subscriptions for Kannada Bhoodan were collected and Rs. 220 worth of Sarvodaya literature was sold. 9 acres 16 Guntas of land were received as Bhoodan.

★ A 3-days Shanti-sainik camp and an exhibition at the village level, opening of the Gramodyog Khadi Bhandars and other cultural activities were the main features of the Gandhi Jayanthi celebrations in Emikpur Naya-morh Centre.

★ A friend from Australia has sent a sum of Rs. 2600 to Vinobaji for development activities in Gramdan villages. Half of this is given to the Gramdan village of Karnatak.

★ The Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal has collected a sum of Rs. 2,57,503 during the recent drive for collection of funds by the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh. Meetings were organised in 17 High Schools and were addressed by Acharya Bhise, Sri R. K. Patil, Sri Damodhardas Mundhra and other prominent Sarvodaya workers. Sarvodaya literature worth Rs. 1000 were sold. 828 Sarvodaya Paatras were working in the city, which gave a total of Rs. 430-66 for the month of August.





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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF BUDDHA AND CHRIST

Buddha fearlessly carried the war into the enemy's camp and brought down on its knees an arrogant priesthood. Christ drove out the money-changers from the temple of Jerusalem.....Both were for intenseley direct action. But even as Buddha and Christ chastised they showed unmistakable gentleness and love behind every act of theirs.Buddha would have died resisting the priesthood, if the majesty of his love had not proved to be equal to the task of bending the priesthood. Christ died on the cross with a crown of thorns on his head defying the might of a whole empire. And if I raise resistances of a non-violent character, I simply and humbly follow in the footsteps of the great teachers.

M. K. GANDHI
(From "All Men Are Brothers"—
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SARVODAYA

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THE SQUARE OF SWARAJ

MAHATMA GANDHI

Let there be no mistake about my conception of Swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence, at the other economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, i. e. religion in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam, Christianity etc.: but is superior to them all. You may recognise it by the name of Truth, not the honesty of expedience, but the living Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized by the term we are used to, i. e., non-violence. Let us call this the square of Swaraj, which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue.....

By political independence I do not mean an imitation of the British House of Commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia, or the Fascist rule of Italy, or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as Ramraj, i. e., sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority.....

Then take economic independence. It is not a product of industrialisation of the modern or the Western type. Indian economic independence means to me the economic uplift of every individual, male and female, by his or her own conscious effort. Under that system all men and women will have enough clothing — not the mere loin cloth, but what we understand by the term necessary articles of clothing — and enough food including milk and butter which are today denied to millions.

This brings to socialism. Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: "All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line, and he can therefore unmake it." Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State., the people. That the land today does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it.

(From the speech at Faizpur Congress on 27-12-1936)
Courtesy — Navajivan Trust

★ Dr. Rajendra Prasad's 77th Birthday ★ Bhoodan Gifts by Shanti-Sainiks

ON 3rd December, one hundred and eighty Shanti Sainiks, including 29 women, from Bihar and some other States led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, offered their "Salutations and good wishes" to President Rajendra Prasad on his 77th Birthday. They presented to the President on behalf of the Bihar Sarvodaya Mandal, as a token of their respect, "Bhoodan Gifts", of 1,51,000 *kathas* (About six thousand acres). The title deeds of all this land were given to the President in two cylindrical wooden tubes. The presentation ceremony was held in the State Room at Rashtrapati Bhavan with the Shanti Sainiks, their heads tied with yellow scarves, sitting on cane chairs. The Shanti Sainiks presented an address which was read by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. It said:

"We would like to express the deep happiness of all Sarvodaya workers, not only of Bihar but of the whole country, over your announcement that after retirement you would work for Sarvodaya. The Shanti Sena is in its infancy yet. But it stands as a symbol of the moral alternative to war. The Shanti Sena believes that even if the aggressor is armed, it is possible to meet him with

non-violence. It is on that conviction that the idea of unilateral disarmament stands..... Our country is at present involved in disputes with two of her neighbours. It is agreed on all sides that these disputes cannot be solved by violence. What then is the alternative except non-violence? But, if we were to wait to use non-violent means until Pakistan or China had fully disarmed, we might have to wait till Doomsday. We must be prepared, therefore, to use non-violence here and now irrespective of the violence of the other side. There is no other way out of the frustrating situation in which the whole nation finds itself. We seek your blessings in carrying this conviction to the people".

President's Reply

In his reply to the address, Dr. Rajendra Prasad thanked the Shanti Sainiks for their good wishes and the Bhoodan gifts.

The President said that the world was passing through a crisis with preparations for war going on. On one side, science had made tremendous progress which could benefit mankind a great deal. On the other, the same scientific and technological

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★ Integration and The Peace Pledge ★

Acharya Vinoba

FROM time immemorial, India has been known the world over as one country. The concept of Bharat, as the land stretching from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Dwaraka to Kamtoop, is not new. It has been there for ages. Many, today, are not aware when India became a nation. They think that it took shape after the arrival of the British. But Bharat has existed from very ancient days. Even when there were no Railways, or modern means of communication, our people sang the praises of 'Mother India' and not of its various regions. Five hundred years ago, Narsi Mehta, the bard of Gujarat sang that blessed are those who are born in India, and are devotees of God. The same has been the theme of Madhavdev and Shankardev of Assam. Neither Narsi Mehta dwelt on the greatness of Gujarat, nor Shankardev on that of Assam. They were contemporaries but they did not know each other's language, nor had they heard of each other, yet both felt and voiced the same sentiment that they were fortunate to be born in India—their sacred land. While the Ramayan carries our imagination from the Hima-

layas to the Cape, the Mahabharat connects Dwarakka (Saurashtra) in the West to Sadiya (Assam) in the East, and thus the two together embody the universal unity of India.

Our RISHIS and Saints covered the country on foot when the modern means of transport were not available and thus built up Indian unity. Shankaracharya walked for fifteen years, Ramanuja for twelve to fourteen years, Vallabhacharya for eighteen years, Shankaradeva for twelve years, Namdeva for thirteen to fifteen years, and Kabir for twenty five to thirty years — such is the history of India. India attained its unity because of these concentrated drives. I have come across hundreds of common words in Assamese and Marathi. There would have been nothing surprising if these Marathi words had found their way through Hindi and Bengali to Assamese. But there are many words which are to be found in Assamese and then in Marathi and nowhere else, in between. Why? Because we have meeting grounds like Jagannath Puri and Brindaban etc., where devotees and gentle souls gathered from various places and national integration con-

ferences, so to say, were held every year.

Likewise, national integration conferences were held in Gandhiji's time, i.e., the Congress met year after year as the embodiment of the common national urge. As Gandhiji wanted the Congress to continue to serve the "role" of national integration he advised its transformation into Lok Sevak Sangh after the attainment of freedom. But

the political leaders were afraid that there would be a danger if the Congress did not assume political power and they, therefore, turned the Congress into a political party i.e., a whole into a fragment. Consequently, when a situation arose leaders of all parties had to be called together at the "National Integration Conference". The good decisions arrived at are very useful. ★

THE PEACE PLEDGE

Of the various conclusions arrived at in the National Integration Conference held at Delhi I want to draw your attention to one that is very important. This decision has been made at the instance of the Sarva Seva Sangh.

Ahimsa or non-violence is a revolutionary idea. Though the idea is very old, it was not tried before on a mass scale. Gandhiji endeavoured to do this in India in the political domain. The whole world has now accepted its efficacy in collective action. This does not, however, mean that violence has decreased. Nevertheless, non-violence has been acknowledged as an useful instrument in the social sphere. The world now knows that social problems can and should be solved by the non-violent method and experiments are being carried

on. Recently, thousands of people in Britain took out huge processions against nuclear warfare and organised demonstrations. The Government arrested and sentenced the venerable philosopher, scientist and sage, Bertrand Russell. This is very significant.

Many leaders assembled at the Delhi Conference. They have given some suggestions for unity and peace. One of them is that every Indian must take a pledge to maintain public peace. We should resolve not to resort to violence to solve any social or other problems. This is very simple. It is not a pledge for non-violence of the kind taught to us by Gandhiji or by Buddha. This is but a pledge for only civilized behaviour. Every citizen must take a vow that he would take to violence for the redress of any grievance or solution of

any problem relating to the village or city; caste, religion or sect; language or party, economic or political affair. This pledge is not like the one taken by pacifists to refuse to participate in war. This pledge is simply an expression of one's resolve for normal conduct which is acknowledged in every civilized society.

India is regarded as a country devoted to non-violence. But think of the number of riots which took place during the last fourteen years, how many lives were lost, brickbats and stones thrown, gun-shots fired and houses burnt! And compare it

with England or other civilized countries. This is not the way civilized people behave. England is equipped with an Army, a Navy and an Air Force. There was ere long, compulsory conscription. The people there have not pledged themselves to non-violence, but certainly to civilized behaviour. The Sarva Seva Sangh mooted the proposal that all citizens of India should resolve to abstain from violence in public life. It is a matter of satisfaction that the National Integration Conference has now accepted it and placed it before the country.

★

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progress was being used to make terrible nuclear and other weapons to destroy each other. "If people do not wake up to the dangers facing the world, especially in countries which have the mightiest weapons, then it is possible that this civilisation, built up over thousands of years, might be destroyed in a few hours." He said that the Soviet tests of powerful megaton bombs had shown how terribly deadly these weapons had become compared to the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which

had caused great havoc. "If all this power in the hands of great Powers was misused, then the world would be destroyed..... We want that these dangers facing the world should go. I think great leaders are giving some thought to these dangers. Let us hope that they will succeed in their efforts to preserve peace and we will be able to have the sun of peace after a dark night."

In conclusion he said that in the few days left to him, he would like to do Sarvodaya work and devote all his strength to it.

★

Gandhiji's Challenge to Atomic Power

Dhirendra Mazumdar

IN this world full of the atom bomb and the atom bomb spirit, it will appear ridiculous to the common man to publish "Khadi World". At a time when man has already harnessed the system, the electric and the cosmic powers to his comfort and convenience it is but natural for him to look upon us as crazy when he finds us talking of the little charkha plied by hand.

But this craze has been Gandhiji's life-breath. And if in spite of this craze, there are people who regard Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest man of the age and say that he was born with the mission to liberate humanity from slavery, unemployment and exploitation, we must stop and see what these people are saying. To them the same person is on the one hand the most thoughtful, the wisest and the subtlest in the world, and on the other hand the most foolish and the most crazy. What shall we say of these persons? Are they really not mad? Indeed we must give careful thought to such opinions of the modern educated. It is to that end that the Charkha Sangh has decided to bring out the "Khadi World".

In this hour of world history when entrenched totalitarian state-power suppresses the helpless individual, when the methods of centralised capitalist production

exploit and sap the voiceless millions who suffer from hunger, want and unemployment, when the whole humanity is threatened with almost total extinction by the atom bomb, the poison gas and numerous other deadly weapons, it is Gandhiji alone who is capable of throwing a challenge to these fiendish powers of death and destruction and calling upon man to assert and organise his human power. Not once or twice but a thousand times has his prophetic voice warned the afflicted humanity, that if it wishes to survive, the only condition of survival is that it must be aware of these death-dealing powers which come before us to beguile us by their external appearance and form, full of seeming charm and novelty. It must learn to live by the power of the body that is God-given. Failure to do this will mean certainty of death and destruction.

Why this humble Charkha in this so called scientific age? Wherefore this talk of non-violence in this age of the atomic power? To what end this insistence on hand in the face of ever-increasing machine? To know and understand this is the need of the hour. I hope the "Khadi World" will fulfil this need.

A Message for the "Khadi World."—July, 1951.

★

Two More Gramdan Villages

S. Jagannathan

Secretary, Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal

DURING Gandhi Jayanthi celebration two more villages Auathipatti in Melur and Chinna-manalckenkottai in Batlagundu were declared as Gramdhans after a lapse of four years. Auathipatti is bristling with the problem of absentee landlords who own nearly 260 acres of cotton and ground-nut cultivation. The circumstances have forced the villagers to come together to face the so called 'Personal cultivation' of the absentee landlords. The Muthiruandipatti Satyagraha was an eye opener to Auathipatti people. They saw that the striking unity of 'One family' in Muthiruandipatti has come out of the Gramdhan spirit and realised that it is the sharing of land that can give them that moral strength, and real unity in the village. Therefore they decided to join the Gramdhan fold. Auathipatti has 19 families with 35.70 acres. Only 4 residential families holding 150 acres have not joined Gramdhan.

The Chinnamanaickenkottai of Batlagundu area derived its inspiration from a neighbouring village Kottaipatti. The caste people the 'Naickers' of Chinnamanaickenkottai are closely related to the people at Kottaipatti. Kottaipatti is one of the best Gramdhan villages in Batlagundu area which has very much

advanced both morally and materially after Gramdhan and this has attracted Chinna-manalckenkottai for Gramdhan. Shri Ponram one of the Kisans who was sent to Israel hails from this village. The whole village is behind him and he is one of the leading workers that the movement has drawn out. The following facts and figures reveal the progress in Kottaipatti.

Total families who have joined in Gramdhan are 28 out of which 6 families are landless. Acres under Gramdhan are 58.01½ acres of dry crop and 33.16 acres of wetland.

Though the village was announced as Gramdhan during November 1956, the Gramdhan Sarvodaya Cooperative Society started functioning only from April, 1958. The people are working in 5 groups. The acreage under well irrigation has increased to 33.16 acres where it was only 16 acres prior to Gramdhan. 4 new wells have been sunk and 5 old wells have been deepened. 5 pumpsets have been installed. At present 18 compost pits are maintained properly, providing 360 cart loads of manure (nearly 200 tons) per year. 400 sheep owned by the people are pooled together for manuring purpose only, while the individual ownership continues. ★

★ The Ideals of Rural University ★

Dr. Zakir Hussain

Speech delivered by Dr. Zakir Hussain, Governor of Bihar, on the Occasion of The Second Convocation of Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya Rural Institute (Madras State) on the 11th November, 1961.

I am very happy, indeed, to be with you here today. I am not quite a stranger at the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, having been associated with its Secretary-Director Shri Avinashilingam over long years in the work of Basic Education as a friend and a colleague and having the memories of my last visit to the institution still fresh in my mind, a visit that was not only pleasant and interesting but also highly instructive and inspiring. But the institution I then saw has grown considerably and I must share with you my joy that under the able and dedicated leadership of Shri Avinashilingam, this admirable composite institution has been steadily taking big strides in enhancing the scope and excellence of its valuable educational work.

I am particularly happy to be with you at this Convocation of your Rural Institute for it reminds me of my personal association with the discussions of the University Education Commission more than a

decade ago in regard to the establishment of Rural Universities. I don't imagine I would be divulging any secret if I say that the entire credit for introducing this rather unorthodox but fruitful idea into the exclusive and forbidding precincts of Indian higher education goes to Dr. Arthur E. Morgan of the Antioch College and Tennessee Valley fame. I feel I must take this opportunity of publicly paying a tribute of admiration and gratitude to Dr. Morgan, one of the most provocative and seminal minds it has been my privilege to know and work with, for his devoted concern for a sound system of Indian higher education and for this most valuable contribution of far-reaching import to the deliberation and recommendations of the Universities Commission. Under the very able and inspiring leadership of the great philosopher and sage Vice-President of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan and with colleagues like Dr. Morgan and other distinguished

Indian and foreign educationists. I shall ever cherish the time spent with that Commission as one of the most fruitful periods of my own education, like all effective education, an education on a job.

Several trends joined in the proposal to establish Rural Universities in India. Gandhiji and his great national movement had, for the first time placed the neglected Indian village at the centre of all developmental thinking. Tagore had called Dr. Elmhirst to assist him in organising Village Reconstruction work at his Sriniketan. As we approached freedom Gandhiji had, with a master stroke of his remarkable genius for the simple and the significant, enunciated his ideas on Basic Education, seeking to make education one with life and introducing the idea of work as the main instrument of education. Dr. Morgan, himself an eminent engineer, educator and sociologist had been associated with the Work-Study Programme of the Antioch College of which he was once President and had been for years propagating the idea of the need of retaining small community unit in the face of the growth of mammoth metropolitan agglomeration of population. His ideas in regard to higher rural education reflected his estimate of what he considered to be vital educational thinking in India and his own sociological and educational convictions. It was not without considerable intellectual persuasion that he got the idea accepted by his colleagues and it found expression in an important chapter of the Commission's report.

But the idea was new and out of the beaten net and people usually fight shy of new and out of the way ideas. The Universities in the country were suspicious of the idea, their products outside in the country were suspicious too. The matter had to wait for sometime. But then a Committee with our present Minister for Education Dr. Shrimali as the Convenor and, if I am not mistaken, with Dr. Elmhirst as one of its members studied the whole question of Rural Higher Education and as a result of their deliberation about a dozen institutions, of which the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Rural Institute is a distinguished one were established. They represent the introduction of a new and desirable type of institution in our higher education. They seem to me to embody certain fundamentally sound and fruitful ideas—the idea of work as the main instrument of education; the idea of making education

continuous with life; and the idea of assuring to the small face to face community its due place in the pattern of Indian national life as the principal unit of our social existence by providing it effective leadership in a world of change.

The idea of work as the instrument of education has been under discussion in our country for quite sometime and I cannot resist the disturbing conclusion that by and large its significance and its possibilities have been missed. Some have reduced it to a harmless and meaningless ritual, some have narrowed it down to sheer mechanical hand work. But if the concept of work in education were grasped as educationally productive work, as work that results in education, its incorporation in appropriate forms at various stage of education would mean a real contribution to successful educational endeavour in the country. Educationally productive work, we shall do well to remember, is essentially the work of the mind, sometimes accompanied by manual activity, sometimes without it. There is a great deal of mechanical manual work and a great deal of mental rote which is not at all educationally productive. Purely mechanical work, unrelated to the rest of the workers' life, can never educate. Work that is educative has normally four steps

of objectifications:—(1) the clear consciousness of the problem, what it is exactly that is sought to be done, (2) the formulation of a plan of doing it by thinking out the appropriate means and steps of doing it; (3) the actual execution of the work and (4) criticism of the work done in the light of the objective.

In manual work of an educative kind only the third step is manual, the other three are mental. In the case of non-manual intellectual work all the four steps are mental. If all these four steps are constantly kept in view in work, manual or intellectual, that work becomes educationally productive. I hope the Rural Institutes which are in a way projections of the idea of work as an educative instrument into the realm of higher education will be helpful in elucidating and completing the educational efficacy of this very fruitful principle. By simply stuffing minds with information or by just producing mechanical skills no one was ever educated. The Rural Institutes, I trust, seek to educate!

The second idea in the make up of the Rural Institutes seems to me to be one of making education continuous with life. Work used as an instrument of education can educate the mind by producing in it habits of careful, consequent, logical thinking. But it is only work in the service of

social objectives that can make a man really 'educated'. If educationally productive work of the kind I have suggested is essential for mental growth, its close association with service of others is essential for man's moral and social growth. If we aim at excellence in the individual, we have to aim at it also in society. The Rural Institutes, and indeed all seats of higher learning should project themselves into the Community. The barriers between the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge and its utilisation for the social good must be demolished. As a great educationist has said, "It is through the functioning of knowledge—its use in living—that its true value is forthcoming and its full meaning is revealed. Knowledge has redeeming and life-giving power only when it continually re-enters the life and work of the Community."

This great truth the Rural Institutes are designed to practise. They have not been designed to be just narrow vocational institutes. It is expressly intended to "relate them fruitfully to the productive life and needs of the Community so that the students may develop into fully mature and functioning citizens" and to see that the mind finds "nourishment for its healthy growth from many different sources including productive work and

realistic social aims and experience". The Shrimali report is explicit on the point. For it says, "We believe that the concept of higher education should be so broadened as to include a general responsibility for extension work in its area and the Rural Institutes should act as headquarters for an extension department whose main function will be to carry the results of investigation and research to the very door of the villagers and to keep in touch with and draw upon all the teaching staff in each department."

The third idea that appeals to me in the concept of the Rural Institute is the assurance it signifies for the continuance in its deserved importance of the face to face small community as the unit of our social life. "India must decide" as the University Commission Report says "whether to aim at a widely distributed population, making the villages such prosperous, interesting and culturally rich places, with such range of opportunity and adventure that young people will find more zest and interest, more cultural advantages and more opportunity for pioneering there, than in the city or whether to run vast centralised industries with masses of labour taking direction either from the State or from private corporations." And again, "For a continuing democracy, it is

essential that our programme of liberal education shall not promote the escape from common people of the culture which that education generalises, but shall inspire able students to remain common people, acting as their servants and leaders and raising the whole social lump."

Yes, graduates of the Rural Institute, no less is expected of you than being servants and leaders of the people and raising the whole social lump, and keep the face to face village community the unit of our social life. And remember this is not expecting little. You will not be able to do it only by being sentimental or lyrical about it. The Village is, indeed, in great danger of being swamped out unless it is helped to change—change in the right way. Its attitude of traditionalism will have to be changed into a rational way of looking at things, its empirical techniques will have to change to scientific ones, new habits of fruitful work will have to be engendered, new practices of co-operative endeavour will have to be initiated and fostered; ignorance removed, poverty conquered, disease and avoidable death banished, and the foundations laid for the blossoming forth, in a new environment of peace and prosperity, of the deeper urges of the Indian spirit in art and song and a good moral life. To bring this about you will have to supply the service and the leadership. Go

and spread into the villages and dedicate your nights and days to bringing about their transformation into worthy places for a great people to live in, work in, meditate and think great thoughts in, to the glory of our motherland. Going out of this Rural Institute that bears the name of that great God-intoxicated man Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa you can well have the feeling of belonging to the great army of the Spirit marching down the corridors of time under the Indian sky. Justify your association with that name. For as Romain Rolland has well said, "Ramakrishna more fully than any other man not only conceived but realised in himself the total unity of the River of God open to all rivers and all streams." Draw a little of his sacred water to slake the great thirst of your people for a united, integrated, peaceful, worthy life. Pull down the barriers that divide and the disabilities that suppress people poised for great material and spiritual achievements. I close with the words of Sri Ramakrishna, "Do not speak of love for your brother. Realise it. Do not argue about doctrine or religions. There is only one. All rivers flow to the Ocean. Flow and let others flow too. The great stream carves out for itself according to the slope of its journey—according to race, time and temperament—its own distinct bed. But it is all the same water.....Go. Flow on towards the Ocean. JAI HIND."

Sarvodaya and Bio-Technique Movement

Mrs. Dagmar Sarkar L. Sc., L. M. Sc., Landau, Germany.

The writer is one of the esteemed overseas subscribers for "Sarvodaya". She is keenly interested in the series of instalments of "Adventures in the Art of Living" by Mr. Wilfred Wellock and she is arranging to translate and publish them in German language.

India has demonstrated admirably to the World the path of non-violence in political and spiritual spheres. But I wonder whether it is known to Indians that also in the material domain of technique there exists a remarkably corresponding movement, i.e. the Bio-Technique, which is based on the realization that only non-violent forces should be made use of for future technical development. In your magazine, Mr. Narayan some time ago has so ably stressed the view that science should be subordinated to human values and has pointed out that our present technique in its very end leads us to bankruptcy due to neglect of human rights and natural resources. These are precisely the views held by Bio-technicians, and over and above, they are able to show the world a way to set these ideals into practice. The Indian Satyagraha and Sarvodaya outlook does genuinely blend into this movement.

Western technique obviously prefers motions from the

interior to the exterior, using centrifugal, expanding, explosive and violent forces, resulting into high-pressure dissolution and destruction, rendering even in their best form of utilization a surprisingly small degree of efficiency.

Yet there exists a hitherto entirely neglected, very natural and friendly force in Nature, which is non-violent, moves centripetally and thus draws forces and media in even increasing strength and speed from the exterior to the interior, condensing the energy and thus rendering utterly surprising efficiency results.

Indians, by nature enlightened in spiritual matters, will readily understand the underlying technical principle—which is based on realistic proofs and scientific laws—as well as the Biotechnical philosophy behind the practice and will recognise spontaneously the way their country has got to move when visualizing future industrialisation.

In Western countries the present technique has moulded the

frame of people's life. Driven by wrongly applied technical forces, humanity has been drawn into an outlook away from their interior to a distant periphery, searching there restlessly in centrifugal outbursts for outward glamour and wasting increasingly spiritual, and financial resources.

In quite the opposite direction from the exterior to the interior—proceed the wise, the Indian Rishi and the Technical Guru, who, drawn by centripetal Forces of ever increasing frequency, reach heights of enlightenment and upliftment. On such grounds the Bio-Technique has been developed, as analogy to spiritual values revealed through Indian seers, yet founded on utterly firm possibilities of the material plane and through devoted attention paid to functions in Nature. Consequently, it does not surprise us, that unusual results have been achieved, as for instance levitation of matter, simply through a natural, gentle non-violent motion,—highest possible energetic efficiency, created by a minimum of investment, saving of natural resources, and avoidance of explosion, dust and fumes,—just to mention at random a few

examples. Perhaps such technique may be destined one day to contribute considerably towards rebuilding and re-educating human society, not only in Science, but in Philosophy, Politics, Social Economics and Religion as well, as basically, the use of centripetal forces in all spheres of life will bring about a vast change of outlook in the world.

I feel that the unique attempt, to develop India on a chiefly agro-industrial foundation, ought to be conducted along the lines of the non-violent Bio-Technique, in which Indians spontaneously will see an emanation of their age-old spiritual views,—yet apart from this, it would be disastrous to build up a new India on the technical errors of Western civilization, doomed to spiritual stagnation.

If any readers, scientists, political leaders or engineers would like to hear more about the subject, please get in touch with the Academy in Austria.

Biotechnische Akademie
Engleithen, Lauffen
Oberoesterreich
(Austria.)

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★ PROFILE OF A SAGE ★

Dr. Sushila Nayyar

VINOBA, a small man has no official position on and no stamp of university degree to his learning. Practically unknown about twelve years ago, he is today kindling a new ray of hope in the hearts of the millions in this country by his message of Bhoodan.

Vinoba, like his Master Mahatma Gandhi, is just skin and bones, but within that frail frame resides a spirit that is indomitable. Gandhiji had seen the calibre of his disciple long before the world recognised in him a saint. In the individual Satyagraha campaign of 1940, he selected Vinoba as Satyagrahi No. 1 and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Satyagrahi No. 2. Pandit Nehru is today at the helm of India's political destiny. But on Vinoba's shoulders have fallen the mantle of Mahatma Gandhi as the bearer of his message of truth and non-violence as the means for solving social and economic problems, Mahatma Gandhi was able to lead the country to freedom through unarmed resistance. But he had not the time to work out by the same method the social and economic revolution which he had adumbrated.

"I want the money of the wealthy class", he used to say,

"but more than that I want their goodwill and know-how for the service of the poor." Vinoba has picked up the thread where Gandhiji left it and translated the theory of trusteeship in a mass movement. Through his Bhoodan movement he is propagating the idea of voluntary sharing on the part of everyone, big and small. We all realise that we owe a duty to our family, to wife and children, brothers and sisters. We sweat for them and think nothing of it. Vinoba tells us that this is not enough. We owe a duty to our neighbours—to society no less than to our own kith and kin, because whatever we have is a social product. As such we must share it with society. This is poles apart from what is known as charity. There is no condescension here, no supercilious attitude of patronage, but a realisation of our duty to discharge a debt we owe to society.

We are so accustomed to think in terms of rights nowadays that we forget that in ancient Indian philosophy there is no mention of rights. It is all a matter of performing one's duties. As a son, one owes a duty towards his father, the father owes a reciprocal duty towards his children, the master owes a duty to his

servants, servants towards their master and so on. Vinoba has focussed our attention on the duty we owe towards the society. "What we have received from society we must willingly and voluntarily share with it."

He simply says:—"Regard me as an additional member of your family. Give me the extra member's share for the service of those who are in need of help to enable them to stand on their feet."

Ultimately Vinoba would like to end all idea of personal ownership. But to reach the goal of "from each according to his capacity and to each according to his need" in a non-violent manner, the whole thinking of man has to be revolutionised. The first step is the realisation that all we have in the form of property, money and special skills have been acquired with the help of society and therefore we must share it with society. A natural corollary to this is that if we must share it with society,

we cannot earn through anti-social activities. Sincere acceptance of this creed should put an end to all exploitation, bribery and corruption, black marketing and such dishonest practices. If we can achieve this, it would release a tremendous energy for the production of more wealth.

The scientific advances of modern times have taken man to a stage where there should be no need for anyone to live in poverty or spend his whole life in drudgery. We can have plenty for all and leisure. But for that man must be freed from the shackles of his own creation. He must be made free to concentrate his energies on positive and productive programme. That is what Vinoba is trying to do. Let us do some heart-searching and try to make our contribution to this great movement by making a beginning with ourselves of that revolutionary change within our own heart.

Courtesy: —Hitavada, Nagpur,

"NOT BY BREAD ALONE"

By WILFRED WELLOCK

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA,
Tanjore, India.

★ * Ananda Coomaraswamy and Gandhiji ★

Bharatan Kumarappa

IN many respects Coomaraswamy and Gandhiji present a striking contrast. Coomaraswamy yearns for revival of Indian art and culture, and Gandhiji is apparently too engrossed in political and economic problems to trouble about art. And yet such a contrast of the one with the other is misleading and superficial, for both have in essence much in common, the difference between them being merely due to a difference in emphasis.

Gandhiji feels that the most urgent problems requiring to be solved are primarily political and economic. As long as the nation is under foreign rule, and the people are living on the verge of starvation, there is no hope of any cultural renaissance. If the Indian nightingale is to pour out her soul in song as of yore, on the one hand she must not be caged but enjoy the freedom of unfettered flight, and on the other she must have sufficient nourishment to give her strength and the joy of life. Gandhiji also desires that the Indian soul should be revived to contribute its own distinctive share to the

welfare and happiness of mankind. But he sees political freedom and economic reconstruction as the necessary first steps. Coomaraswamy, artist that he is, is sure that cultural revival is after all what really matters, for even if we have secured political freedom and economic prosperity, if in the process we have lost our soul, we have lost all. He therefore pleads passionately and unceasingly that the one thing we should work for is to save our dying culture and give it a new lease of life in every sphere—education, industry, architecture, music, dance and literature.

1. Since, however, for Gandhiji as for Coomaraswamy, the end is one and the same, namely freeing the soul of India from bondage for unhampered self-expression under modern conditions, they do not differ even in regard to means. For example, both of them place high value on education. Coomaraswamy abhors modern education imparted in India in Government and mission schools. He believes that being unrelated to Indian

life and culture it is not only ~~permitted~~, but what is more, is positively injurious, as it spells intellectual and cultural slavery, which is worse than political subjection. He therefore urges the need for national education, planned and put into operation by Indians steeped in Indian culture.

Similarly, Gandhiji saw years ago when his political work was still in its infancy the need for national schools. Several were started under his inspiration in various parts of the country. In them there was no forced attempt at imparting Indian culture. The nationalist spirit which pervaded these schools sufficed to secure that both teachers and taught drew their inspiration from the moral and religious heritage of the past. Slokas from the Gita were recited at prayers, vows of truth, non-violence, self-control, non-possession and such like were taken daily, work was done and studies performed as in a religious ashram, and life lived from day to day in a spirit of devotion and service.

Then again, Coomaraswamy as an artist saw the great educative and cultural value of hand-crafts. They not only trained the hands of the craftsman but also developed his whole personality. They inculcated in him a sense of form, colour, rhythm, system, pro-

portion, and encouraged resourcefulness, self-reliance, thoroughness, self-discipline and joy in work. Gandhiji also saw the great educative value of hand-crafts. Hence his scheme of Basic Education, or education which seeks through the medium of a craft to train all the powers of the child, his mind and heart as well as his hand.

2. Or take Swadeshi. Both Gandhiji and Coomaraswamy advocate it, not as a political weapon, but as a means of revival of village life and culture. So neither of them is interested in Swadeshi if it only means replacing British large-scale manufactures by Indian ones. Coomaraswamy does not want capitalism with all its attendant evils—unequal distribution of wealth, crass profit motive, commercialism, slumlife, and vice. Nor does he find life or beauty in machine products. When civilisation is factory-centred, it tends, he says, to be interested in things rather than in men, in producing, possessing and vulgarly displaying rather than in being, in the barbarity of quantity than in the refinement of quality. It mistakes progress and culture for increase in material comfort and self-indulgence. Life becomes too complicated and filled with trivialities to allow time for quiet and for things of the spirit. One has no inclination even to be friendly

* (From "Homage to Ananda Coomaraswamy"—A 70th Birthday Volume — Vol. I (1947) edited by S. Durai Raja Singam, Kuantan, Malaya.)

and hospitable to fellow human beings. Compare this with the civilisation which went with home crafts. They were organised into trade guilds castes. Whatever evil accretions they may have acquired during the course of the centuries, they promoted a certain amount of social justice and equality within the caste. Those who worked at an occupation controlled and directed it. Accordingly there was economic democracy and self-government. There was also a sense of neighbourliness and responsibility for each other. The economic life of the people was stable and well organised. Even the ordinary articles of everyday use were beautified. They were not many. There was no need for more. Life was simple. There was time for thought and reflection, for art and human companionship. Coomaraswamy would have such an economic and social order.

Also Gandhiji ; " he too dislikes what goes with industrialism—over-crowded cities, rural unemployment, a craze for multiplication of wants, artificiality and a dead mechanical uniformity. Even more; he is opposed to centralisation which is a necessary part of factory production, for it means regimentation and enslavement of the worker. It also means placing too much power over the lives of others

in the hands of a few. As compared with this, the craftsman and village industry producer are their own masters. They own their tools and manage their work according to their own best judgment. Not so the factory hand. He has to carry out the orders of his employer, whether his employer be a private individual or a Socialist State. Otherwise he and his family must be prepared to starve. Not owning the means of production, he is completely dependent on others for his livelihood. Thus he forfeits his liberty, the most precious possession of human beings. What does it profit him if he gain the whole world? He has lost his own soul.

Gandhiji and Coomaraswamy are therefore one in wishing to revive decentralised cottage production. Gandhiji advocates it not only because otherwise the people in the villages will be without employment, but also because it is such production that will develop their intelligence and their strength. Coomaraswamy advocates it because art and beauty must perish where creativeness and initiative are ruled out. So both regard the salvation of India to lie not in dotting the countryside with factories, but in reviving the organised life of village communities. Their idea of Swadesh

is therefore not just political or economic but essentially cultural and spiritual. It is nothing short of bringing back to life the self-dependent village groups, which looked after their own needs, and in the process developed their own latent powers, learnt to love man and nature, and in them found their unity, wisdom and joy.

3. Another fundamental similarity between Gandhiji and Coomaraswamy is their belief that what we must aim at in our plans for the development of the country, is not mere material prosperity but the true happiness of the people. Coomaraswamy is not impressed by the high standard of living of men and women in the West. They may possess more than our poverty-stricken masses. But they are not happier for all that. They surround themselves with the latest mechanical devices like the radio, the telephone, the gramophone and the electric cooker, and imagine they are civilised. They forget that civilisation is not a matter of possession but of the spirit. Their finer sensibilities are coarsened, if not altogether deadened, by machine products, commercialism, imperialism and war. Coomaraswamy therefore does not cover for India the material of the West. He would rather that India set herself

deliberately to achieve real happiness and spiritual progress of her people even at the cost of material wealth.

Gandhiji likewise has little use for a high material standard of living. He also will not sacrifice human beings at the altar of multiplicity of goods. His one test of whether a particular economic order is good or bad is not whether under it we can produce plenty of wealth, but whether it will promote human development and spiritual progress. Even his work in the political and economic spheres is due to his conviction that human beings in our country are not only prevented from growth and development but also actually made degenerate, demoralised and de-Indianised by subjection to foreign rule, and through poverty, hunger and disease.

4. Both of these men are equally convinced that the freedom of India is desirable not merely, as we have just said, in the interests of the people of the country, but also of those of England and the rest of the world. To keep a large section of humanity in subjection for the purposes of exploitation is thoroughly demoralising for England. It breeds in her people pride and self-complacency which precede national stagnation, decline and fall. The rulers become selfish, callous and unjust, and

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deliberately practise deceit on the subject people to keep them quiet. This is not without influence in the home country as well, for the ruling class there also becomes hard-hearted and reactionary, and pursues a similar policy of exploitation, repression and deceit in relation to the workers. Further, England plunges in wars from time to time to prevent others from wanting to share in her loot. She thus brings about misery and bloodshed over the entire surface of the earth. Both Gandhiji and Coomaraswamy therefore desire to see the end of British rule in India, not out of narrow nationalism or hatred of the foreigner, but because of deep concern for England as well as for the rest of mankind. Their nationalism is not incompatible with, nay more, it is the ripe fruit of true internationalism, or genuine desire to work for the happiness of all men. Even when they desire to revive Indian culture, it is not because they are eager to pit India against the rest of the world, but because they are convinced that India has great treasures of wisdom which cannot be rescued and made available today for the welfare of the world, if her sons are held in bondage and trained in an alien culture, not rooted in the soil

and lacking in the elements which have made her own culture unique and distinctive. It is for each nation, they believe, to contribute of her best to the general progress of mankind; and the uniqueness of Indian culture is its emphasis on the supreme claims of the Spirit over the material aims of life, or as Gandhiji would put it, on the claims of Truth and Non-violence as over against ease and comfort bought with the aid of falsehood and violence.

Strangely enough, these two men whose work has carried them into fields almost poles apart, Coomaraswamy to the cloistered world of research and art, and Gandhiji to the heat and dust of political struggle, are so close in spirit. Just because of this they supplement each other beautifully. They are the prophets of a new age in India, Coomaraswamy in his own quiet way through the medium of his books, and Gandhiji through the noise and din of political action and through establishment of various nation-wide organisations for reconstructing every aspect of national life. Would that India listened to them, for theirs are words of wisdom, and their teachings are for the healing of her people. ★

A Letter from U. S. A.

Boston 15, Mass.

Novr. 2, 1961.

Sarvodaya
Tanjore, India.

Dear Sir :

It is a disappointment to me to read Vinoba's statement (September Sarvodaya p. 70) siding with government censorship of films. No matter how bad films or film posters may be, I wonder at his thinking the problem is one that ought to be coped with by way of censorship. Censorship itself is a bad thing, and to use a bad thing to fight another bad thing has gotten the West no where and will not help India.

Censorship invariably becomes a greater evil than the censored word, idea, or picture. Some countries do have some sort of censorship but the more enlightened ones have not resorted to it. It's contrary to the concept of freedom and individual responsibility. It be-speaks an impatience, lack of trust, and potential violence such as book-burning. It is an admittance of a loss of faith and perseverance in bringing about a change in human beings by way of educational persuasion. It centralizes a matter and thereby removes responsibility and judgment from the people. Problems of bad taste and obscenity are better worked through by leaders, parents, and teachers who prevail upon the public for the withdrawal of support at the box office for that which is objectionable. When films fail at the box office, different kinds of films will be made. A group of men sitting around a table in New Delhi or any city deciding what is acceptable or unacceptable for a public to see it a frightening prospective. A complication is the qualification of the censor, his vulnerability to corruption and bad taste himself. Usually, censors are not artists, and it is the artist, who makes an art object, or the professional critic who can get beneath the surface to the intention of a work who is qualified to judge, condemn, or praise.

Because of the scandals and fiascos of censorship practice, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, happily, censorship has lost its teeth. We will suffer, however, for a long time yet by the stupid and ignominious practices of the Lord Chamberlain.

and Hayes Office. The following is what has happened: There was a time when the individual opposed what he felt was objectionable. Then his views, supposedly, were organized into centralized authority. When a code of what was acceptable or non acceptable got written down and published, then the producer or film maker designed his work so that it would get by the letter of the law. The consequences of this devious by-passing by avoiding certain words, shots and happenings resulted in the use of innuendo and suggestion. The latter became more offensive than the former openness and directness. That which is obliquely presented can be far more insidious than that which is directly and frankly presented.

Censorship sympathies in Vinoba seem sadly foreign to the bulk of his thought, which revolves around trusting men, prevailing upon them to change from within, education, and placement of responsibility upon the conscience of the individual.

Very truly yours,

Robert Steele, Ph. D.,

Professor of Film, Boston University.

Uttar Pradesh Shanti - Sena Rally

"This is the age of democracy. But all of us, whether in constructive work or political parties, want to force our own pattern on the people and refuse to hear them. We must bring about fundamental change in our method of work and take to real democratic ways. The days of long speeches and big meetings are over. We must listen to what others say and think together, Satyagraha does not consist in merely insisting on our own version of truth. We must patiently hear the other side as well. We must be *Satya-grahis* (absorbers of truth) if we want to be true *Satyagrahis*. Unless we are willing to share our things and views with others, we cannot succeed in building a new society", observed Sri Naba-krushna Chowdhury, President of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, while delivering his presidential remarks at the U. P. Shanti-Sena Conference held in the Kaiserbagh Baradari at Lucknow on 2nd October in which more than eighty Shanti-Sainiks, from different districts of the province attended.

★ MODEL GRAMDAN VILLAGES ★

Sriman Narayan

Member of Planning Commission.

I have no manner of doubt that Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Gramdan movement is a revolutionary step in the progress of rural transformatoin in India. It is, indeed, the triumph of the non-violent techniques in the economic sphere that all the land owners, big and small have agreed in more than 5000 villages to surrender their proprietary rights in favour of the village community in order to lead a life of self-help and co-operative effort. Acharya Vinobaji is at present engaged in intensive work to secure all the villages in the North Lakhimpur Sub Division in Assam as Gramdan. It is hoped that his earnest efforts would bear fruit and the whole sub-division would function as a Gramdan area before long. This will, surely, lead the way for other sub-divisions and districts in the country and if this experiment succeeds it could revolutionize the whole countryside in India in a novel and a non-violent manner. It is quite evident that the social and economic benefits of a non-violent revolution achieved through the consent of the people are more lasting and enduring than the results temporarily achieved by a violent upheaval.

In order to encourage the Gramdan movement in the country and to give an opportunity to the Sarvodaya workers to take up intensive work in these areas, the Planning Commission has decided to set apart one crore of rupees as a special Gramdan fund during the Third Plan period. The Sarva Seva Sangh has been requested to prepare a detailed scheme for the utilization of this fund which would serve as a long term and revolving loan for all-round development of the Gramdan villages. In addition, the Planning Commission has also decided that cooperative farming societies, both in pilot as well as non-pilot areas would be encouraged in a special manner in the Bhoodan and Gramdan villages. This is quite reasonable because the atmosphere prevailing in the Gramdan areas will be very congenial for the quick progress of cooperative farming, including the pooling of small plots of land by all the villagers. When the landowner is prepared to surrender his proprietary rights to the village community, his participation in a cooperative farm would assure its success and speedy development.

While doing intensive work in the Gramdan villages, the Sarvodaya workers should lay great stress on self-help and cooperative effort on the part of the villagers without much dependence on the official agencies. The Government will, undoubtedly, try its best to give the requisite help for assisting the cooperative endeavour of the villagers. But the Gramdan concept is essentially based on mutual aid and community living and the Governmental agencies should not be given undue importance in this important experiment. At any rate, the pattern of assistance by the Government departments in the Gramdan villages should not in any way differ from the type of help which is rendered by the State to other villages in the Third Five Year Plan. If the Government pours out financial assistance in a larger measure in the Gramdan areas, these experiments would tend to become some kind of "purple-patches" or oasis in the vast desert in the Indian countryside. All attempts, therefore, both on the side of the Government as well as the Sarvodaya workers to assist the Gramdan villages beyond a limit should be strongly resisted.

Further, the constructive workers in the initial stages should lay greater emphasis on quality rather

than quantity. It is much better to make a few Gramdan villages successful in their new venture rather than to attempt to secure hundreds and thousands of Gramdan villages without the fullest understanding and cooperation of the people. I do hope that the Sarva Seva Sangh would try to choose atleast one compact Gramdan area in each State for intensive effort during the next few years so that the public in India and outside may be able to get a clear picture of Gramdan community life and the non-violent rural society that is envisaged by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Success in a few places would attract other places and the progress of the Gramdan movement would become spectacular. But if we run merely after numbers and do not succeed in producing a few model villages on Gramdan lines, this great movement of Acharya Vinobaji would not be able to make much headway. This would, indeed, be a tragedy which must be avoided at all costs.

I do hope that the good work that is being done by the Sarvodaya workers in the Madurai area would be helpful in giving a lead to the workers in other parts of the country in the sphere of this important sarvodaya experiment in the Indian rural life. ★

★ Tamilnad Gramdan Conference ★

THE Tamilnad Bhoodan Conference was held on 2nd and 3rd Decr. at Alanganallur, 12 miles from Madurai. It was inaugurated by Sri Nabakrishna Chowdri, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Sri K. Arunachalam, Chairman of the Tamilnad Bhoodan Board, presided. Sri Ganapathi Kamakshi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the gathering. Representatives from 250 Gramdan villages attended, besides a large number of the Lok-sevaks and public. Sriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission addressed the conference. He mentioned about the allotment of one crore by the Planning Commission for the development of the Gramdan villages. Sri A. Avayan, M. A., gave a report of progress of work in the Gramdan movement in Tamilnad.

Sri Arunachalam in his presidential address traced the history of Bhoodan movement which later developed into Gramdan movement during Vinobaji's visit to Madurai district. He said there was a conspicuous change in the life of the people living in Gramdan villages.

The conference urged that all lands secured as Bhoodan and Gramdan should be distributed among the landless in a proper manner early, so that it would pave the way for the establishment of Gram Rajya. It urged the people in the Gramdan villages to undertake Padayatras to spread the movement among the masses.

It was pointed out that the possession of lands by absentee landlords in Gramdhan villages impeded the progress of the Gramdhan movement and hence individual ownership should be abolished and lands held by absentee landlords should be brought under community ownership by persuasion and appeal to their hearts.

Another resolution pointed out that since Grandhanees were burdened with prior indebtedness they could not concentrate on developmental activities in their villages despite the efforts taken by the Government and other developmental agencies for agricultural and industrial development in their areas. They were also handicapped due to the burden of the heavy interest charges they had to pay on their prior debts. The conference, therefore, requested the Government to bestow attention to this problem and take immediate steps to enable them to repay their debts.

With a view to enable 30 Gramdan Sarvodaya societies in the Madurai District to function on proper lines, the conference requested the Government to constitute a Central Sarvodaya Marketing Society to co-ordinate the activities of all these societies. By another resolution the conference drew the attention of the Government to the non-availability of special concessions to Gramdhan Sarvodaya societies on a par with the joint farming

societies and urged the grant of similar concessions.

In the matter of manufacture of cloth, sugar, etc., cottage industries, the Conference pointed out, were wiped out of existence by unfair competition from big industries, and therefore suggested that the working of the latter should be controlled and a line of demarcation drawn in regard to their manufactures so that both the type of industries could prosper.

★ Sri Nabakrishna Chowdry's Appeal ★

SRI Nabakrishna Chowdry, President of the Sarva Seva Sangh, had been to Tamilnad two months ago when he met the people of the Gramdan villages at a meeting in Batlagundu. It was already reported in Sarvodaya. In his inaugural address now he said that he was very happy to meet the people of the Gramdan villages again for a hear-to-heart talk about their problems. Gramdan is not merely a matter of concern to workers and villagers only, but the State and Central Governments have also to be deeply interested. The devolution of power to the villages through Panchayati Raj indicates the interest of the Central Government in the Villages. It was a good augury that they had Sriman Narayan, Member of the Planning Commission, in their midst. He expressed his belief that no useful results could be expected from big conferences held in the traditional way, as they would not bring them nearer to the objects of the Sarvodaya ideal. What is required

Messrs. V. Radmanabhan, Secretary, State Khadi Board, R. Guruswamy, Secretary of Gandhiniketan Ashram, T. Kallupatti, R. R. Keithan and Srimathi Krishnammal Jagannathan spoke on various subjects. Mr. K. Meier of West Germany, who attended the conference as an observer, said he was very much impressed by this movement which was important for the better living of the people in India. ★

is smaller gathering of people and workers, who will voluntarily discuss the problems and find a way out, to solve them themselves.

In his concluding speech, when called to give his message, he said that he was distressed to see that the same condition of social and economic inequality and differences between castes and religions were perpetuated even after independence though Gandhiji had envisaged that these would disappear with the dawn of freedom. A nation which is keeping the toiling millions under economic subjugation can never advance. If the same condition continues, there is no redemption for the country. 2000 years ago, the prophet who loved and served mankind was crucified. Again, we saw Gandhiji, the man who loved and served people, was shot. Mere statues of Gandhiji as in this conference or in the Samadhi at Rajghat in Delhi, could never be an atonement for the sins we have committed. Real atonement can be possible only with our intense feeling and service for

removing the caste and religious differences and the social and economic inequalities. Gandhiji was killed only once, physically, but those who are silent witnesses of the inequality and suppression of the masses of people in the villages are guilty of killing the soul of Gandhiji every day. He appealed to the people to look at the pathetic condition of the villagers today. No Nehru or Congress or any institution can change the way of the villages. The destiny of the villages were in the hands of the villagers themselves. That is why Vinobaji has been walking through all the villages during

the last ten years. The future of the country lies in the hands of the villagers themselves. It is for them to awaken and solve their problems, they can save themselves as also the urban population. Workers and leaders like himself in the field can only stand by the side of the villagers. The message and light have really to come from the villagers themselves. That is why they have come there to participate in the Gramdan conference. He had no message to give but he was there just to take light and message from the villagers, he concluded. ★



Kutty's Yatra in Tamilnad

Sri Kutty, B. Sc., a Graduate of the Mysore University and a devoted Bhoodan worker, has been making a continuous Padayatra during the last 5 years. He has walked about 14,000 miles. He has been in Tamilnad for the last one year and has covered all the districts except Trichy and Salem. More than Rs. 25,000 has been collected in his yatra by way of Sampattidan patras and donation. During the last 3 months, he is walking through Tanjore district, where about Rs. 7000 has been collected. About 200 tenants in the villages have been provided with building sites, each site ranging from 2 to 5 cents. Danapatras have been received from the owners and the sites have been distributed on the spot during his yatra. About 100 bags of paddy per year have been promised by many donors for the Bhoodan movement. Sri Subramanya Chettiar of Tirumalaisamudram offered 10 acres of wet land as Bhoodan to Sri Kutty. Spontaneous reception is given to him in all villages through which he marches.

★ Earth For All Calendar for December ★

The problem of private ownership of land has been a serious subject for reflection by eminent men of the world during the past many centuries. A friend in England who has been watching the progress of the Bhoodan movement and reading "SARVODAYA" has kindly sent us a valuable treasure of collections of sayings on this subject admirably edited and compiled by Ernest Crosby under each date of the calendar. A few selections are given below for the current month of December.

★ December 1

The most impudent hypocrite of all is the great proprietor who, being a principal cause of the misery which he affects to deprecate, would be disgusted and furious if he were to be shown in his true colors, and so trusts in ignorance and sophistry when he laments the condition of the poor, but secretly and steadily adds to their burdens.

—Professor Thorold Rogers, *Works & Wages*, Chap. XVI. p. 457.

★ December 6

Each bit of land is a fortress, and the law makes a crime of every step which a man dares to take on the jealous and forbidding property of another man. "There is nature as we have made it," thought Pierre Huguenin, as he traversed these deserts created by humanity; "can God recognize His handiwork in it? Is this the beautiful earthly paradise He once confided to us to embellish and extend from horizon to horizon over the whole face of the globe?"

—George Sand, *Le Compagnon du Tour de France*, Vol. II., Chap. 22, p. 18.

★ December 7

At last, when all the earth
had been divided,
The Poet, from the
far-away drew near.
"Alas! They have forgotten
me," he chided,
For they had left him
nothing here.

—Schiller, *The Division of the Earth*.

★ December 10

After all, nobody does implicitly believe in landlordism.

—Herbert Spencer, in 1850, *Social Statics*, Chap. IX.

Not only have land tenures an indefensible origin, but it is impossible to discover any mode by which land can become private property. — *Ibid.*

The right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid, all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding. — *Ibid.*

★ December 11

Being himself heir to a large property, he was especially struck by the position taken up by Spencer in "Social Statics" that

justice forbids private land-holding and with the straightforward resoluteness of his age, had not merely spoken to prove that land could not be looked upon as private property and written essays on that subject at the University, but had acted up to his convictions, and, considering it wrong to hold landed property, had given the small piece of land he had inherited from his father to the peasants.

—Count Leo Tolstoy, *Resurrection*, Book I, Chap. 3.

★ December 12

I feel called upon in behalf of national nature, which I represent, to declare to you my opinion, that if the earth is yours, so also is it mine.

—R. W. Emerson, *The Conservative*.

★ December 13

This farm that now goes
by Umler's name,
And by mine went till recently,
no one may claim
As exclusively his.

—Horace, *Satires II*, 2.
(Translation of Sir Theodore Martin.)

★ December 16

"Of course the fact that a chief or landowner has bought and paid for a particular privilege or Species of taboo, or has inherited from his fathers' doesn't give him any moral claim to it. The question is, Is the claim in itself right and reasonable? For a wrong is only all the more a wrong for having

been long and persistently exercised."

—Grant Allen, *The British Barbarians* (Words spoken by Bertram).

★ December 17

No generation of men can or could, with never such solemnity and effort, sell land on any other principle; it is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that have worked on it, and of all the future ones that shall work on it.

—Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present*, Book III. Chap. 8.

★ December 21

God had ordered all things to be produced, so that there should be food in common to all, and that the earth should be a common possession to all. Nature therefore has produced a common right for all, but greed has made it a right for a few.

—St. Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy* (A. D. 391), Chap. XXVIII, Sec. 132.
Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. X, p. 23.

★ December 22

The earth cannot be anyone's property; it cannot be bought or sold any more than water, air or sunshine. All have an equal right to the advantages it gives to man.

—Count Leo Tolstoy, *Resurrection*, Book II, Chap. 6.

★ December 25

And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

—St. Luke, II., 7.

★ December 27

The land question.....means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labour spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the miseries, sicknesses, deaths of parents, children, wives; the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor, when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question.

—Cardinal Manning, *Letter*

to Earl Grey (1868), *Mis-
cellaneous, Vol. I, p. 251.*

★ December 31

The earth is the Lord's.—
Exodus, IX., 29.

The soil of all countries belongs evermore in a very considerable degree to the Almighty Maker.

—Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present, Book III, Chap. 8.*

As He who first founded the earth was then the true proprietor of it, so He still remains, and though He hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it while they continued here, yet He hath never alienated it, but His right is as good as at first; nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some by oppressing others without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

—John Woolman, *A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich, (1771), Sec. X.*

★
Conference for World Peace Brigade

The Conference to establish a World Peace Brigade will meet at Brummana (near Beirut in Lebanon) from 28th December 1961 to 1st January 1962. India will be represented by Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Sri Ashadevi Aryanayakam, Sri G. Ramachandran, Sri Siddharaj Dhadda, Sri Narayan Desai, Sri. S. Jaganathan and Sri Devi Prasad.

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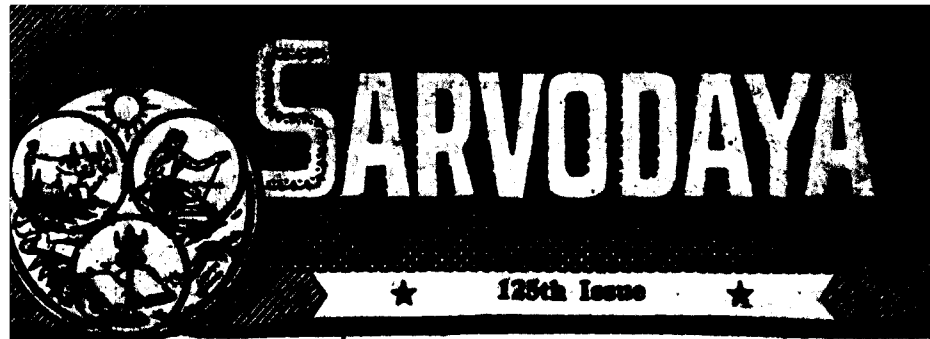
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To The Reader

I would like to say to the diligent reader of my writings and to others who are interested in them that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my search after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment, and therefore, when any body finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject.

Harijan, 29-4-'33.

M. K. GANDHI

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