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THE MESSAGE OF SARVODAYA

—The Greatest Good of All



A votary of *Ahimsa* cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realise the ideal. He will, therefore, be willing to die, so that others may live. He will serve himself with the rest, by himself dying. The greatest good of all inevitably includes the good of the greatest number, and therefore, he and the utilitarian will converge in many points in their career but there does come a time when they must part company, and even work in opposite directions. The utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice himself.

Young India, 9—12—'26.

M. K. GANDHI

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What is Sarvodaya ?

IT is a mighty word expressive of a revolutionary idea. A powerful word is mightier than institutions. Organisations do not possess the power that great words have.

What does this word signify? We do not want the rise of the few: not even of the many, or the rise of the greatest number. We can be satisfied only with the good of one and all, of the high and the low, of the strong and the weak, the intelligent as well as the dull; only then will we be satisfied. This word "*Sarvodaya*" expresses this lofty and all embracing sentiment.

The peculiar characteristic of the Sarvodaya idea is that it allows scope for the existence of different views and freedom of thought. A Sarvodaya worker does not insist on a rigid system or form. He does not believe in fixed frames and moulds. He does not mistake mere organisation for strength. He pins his faith in the power of truth.

— Acharya Vinoba



THE NEED FOR SELF-INTROSPECTION

MAHATMA GANDHI

DO we feel that we are marching further forward every day towards our goal? Do we feel that we are more non-violent today than we were when we met a year ago? Have there been fewer occasions when we gave way to irritation and anger? Such questions we have to ask ourselves again and again. For the way of non-violence and truth is sharp as the razor's edge. Its practice is more than our daily food. Rightly taken food sustains the body; rightly practised non-violence sustains the soul. The body food we can only take in measured quantities at and at stated intervals; non-violence, which is the spiritual food, we have to take in continually. There is no such thing as satiation. I have to be conscious every moment that I am pursuing the goal, and have to examine myself in terms of that goal.

The very first step in non-violence is that we cultivate in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, humility, tolerance, loving kindness. Honesty, they say in English, is the best policy. But in terms of non-violence it is not mere policy. Policies may and do change. Non-violence is an unchangeable creed. It has to be pursued in face of violence raging around you. Non-violence with a non-violent man is no merit. In fact it becomes difficult to say whether it is non-violence at all. But when it is pitted against violence, then one realises the difference between the two. This we cannot do unless we are ever wakeful, ever vigilant, ever striving. ★

(From *Non-violence in Peace and War*: Vol. I—Opening address to the Gandhi Seva Sargh at Delang (Orissa) on 25-3-1938.)

From Prayer Talks of Acharya Vinoba

The Problem of World Peace

The question of world peace is vital and urgent. It faces the whole world. Until sometime ago, people had no idea that there were so many countries, communities or languages in the world. These days even a child knows about them and intelligent men think about the world problems. Many feel that there is great unrest in the world today. But is it really so? There has been unrest previously too. But as people did not know about these unrests or murders etc., in other places, they thought that there was peace all around. These days, however, even a little "tick" in one corner of the globe resounds all over and we feel that peace has been endangered! But there is not much to fear.

Still we have to think over the matter seriously now because man has come to possess most destructive weapons. The power of destruction, regarded to be a privilege of God, alone, has now come to man also. A single bomb can kill lakhs of people and injure millions. Animal and vegetable life is also largely destroyed. The world has already had one experience of it. It is because man has come to achieve

so much power of destruction. that we have to be careful and on our guard. Formerly there was no such danger.

We know the story of the famous combat between Bhim and Jarasandh. While it provided a feast to the people's eyes, the victory of the one implied the victory of his side. Others did not suffer or lose anything. In other words, the wrong act of one did not bring suffering to the entire nation. But the situation today is completely different. There are big countries like Russia, America, England, France, China, India and Pakistan. Should a leader of one of these countries lose his head and resort to atomic weapons, it would threaten the existence of the whole world! Hence, the need for caution.

Gramdan the Key to

World Peace

A conference for world peace is to be held at Beirut in this December. They have asked me to be there. I am among the sponsors of that Conference. But I have expressed my inability to go there and informed them that I am actually working for world peace here. They appreciate my stand and do regard my work as one of world peace.

A good number of Gramdams were offered when I was in Orissa. Some Communist friends came to see me there and asked me to sign their pledge for world peace. I pointed out that there was no need for me to sign a pledge as I was actually doing the very work of world peace. They accepted my view-point. I reiterate that the work of Gramdan is that of world-peace. To Shanti-Sainik or

Peace Brigade

There is so much talk about world peace.. I was thinking of going to the Congo myself, as there is great need of restoring peace there. What should I do there? I do not know the language of the people, there, nor do they know about me and the mission of my life. There I shall have to wear the badge of the World Peace Organisation and shall be able to act with its prestige and not my own. Even a world citizen with the reputation of Bertrand Russell may not be known to everybody, much less to those who create trouble, and so his prestige too will not carry weight except for the badge of the World Organisation. There the moral strength of the peace worker who goes as the representative of the world Peace Organization will be put to test for his behaviour and power of endurance and forbearance.

But take the case of any ordinary peace worker. He may be known in his own district; but suppose he happens to go to some distant part of the country. There people will know him by the organization to which he belongs; but later on he will be judged and assessed on his own merit. He may add to his prestige and earn a name both for himself and the organization by his good work, or he may mar his name and bring a blot on the organization by his shortcomings.

The daily life of the worker is before the public who will judge him by his services. In some places people are said to be tired of frequent visits and appeals for donation by the Bhodan workers. Therefore, the workers will have to endear themselves to the people and earn their goodwill by graceful behaviour and concrete services. You will have to make yourself indispensable for your services as the cow is for her milk. Then the people too will ask for your services eagerly and unhesitatingly.

Formerly, I thought one Shanti-sainik was necessary for every five thousand of the population; but now I find that is not possible. So I now talk of one Shanti-sainik for every ten-thousand. It is not a small thing. The

fifteen Shanti-sainiks will not be insufficient even if the whole of Sibsagar district has to be attended to. If you can become popular by your good services and earn a name at one place, you may be called upon to serve in other places too. In short, this body of fifteen workers cannot be regarded as small or insignificant.

Call to Women for Peace Work

To be a soldier of peace one must have the moral courage to intervene and check menfolk from their wrong behaviour. During the last 25 years men have brought about two world wars and the third one is in the offing. Men have made a mess of the whole affair. They cannot think of any other means of settling their differences except by recourse to arms. Women should now come forward to this field.

Thirty years ago Gandhiji advised women to picket liquor shops. When asked how they could go to such places of drunkards Gandhiji replied that in order to face the worst elements we should make use of the gentlest who is therefore the most effective force; and so did women do the picketing. Likewise, during the freedom struggle when there were lathi charges, they bore them too.

The Shanti-sainik or Sevika (women peace-worker) too should have this courage. Till now it

has been a common belief that women are cowardly. In Sanskrit literature women have been proudly spoken of as timid. But it is just the contrary. Women represent a divine power and they must be strong. But they render themselves weak and cowardly because of the ornaments they put on. As they are of gold, they think they look beautiful with them and men too think so. But they cannot venture to go out alone in the night because of the ornaments. Formerly women did not inherit any property. So they were given ornaments and no one thought it proper to deprive them of their ornaments even in times of great stress and need. But conditions have changed now. Today men take away even these ornaments and so these ornaments have become a source of trouble. Who will break these shackles of gold? The women require the virtue of renunciation.

Sarvodaya Patra—Its

Implication

The keeping of this Patra in a home implies a pledge that no violent acts will be committed by that family. If every family adopts this nothing more will be required to establish peace in the country and if there is peace in India, world peace will follow as a matter of course. The question remains as to the use of the collections in the patra. They

will be utilized for peace work. In [the absence of disorder or disturbance of any kind they will be utilized for constructive purposes. The Shanti-sainiks—men and women—will contact every family and render such services as may be required in the day-to-day life; I wish every man and woman to be Shanti-sainik, a soldier of peace.

One Year Holiday

for Government!

People think that the Government is all-in-all. But I have offered a suggestion. Now, you know that the Schools have a holiday; pleaders and even doctors also take a holiday sometimes. Likewise, let the entire Government go on a holiday for one full year; Let us see what happens. Will there be no marriages, no births and deaths, no shopping in the markets, no exchange of goods? In case people fall ill, will they not be looked after?

Will there be bloodshed or chaos all around? Will all of us come out of our homes in order to commit dacoities and murders? It is an illusion to think that we do not resort to evil ways because of the force of law.

The saints and seers have taught us the moral way and law of life. The people follow it. In case all hospitals were closed for a year, will it lead to an increase in the number of the sick? Life and death are in God's hands. It is wrong to imagine that we are indebted for our life and welfare to the Government.

The first task before you, therefore, is to generate such power among the people as may enable the village to stand on its own legs. The dream of world peace would be realized in no time if there is minimum power at the top and maximum at bottom. ★

A PICTURE OF GRAMDAN IN 18th CENTURY

LET all the Parishioners unite, take Archdeacon Paley in the one hand and the Bible in the other, assemble in an adjoining field, and after having debated the subject to their own satisfaction, enter into a Convention and unanimously agree to a Declaration of Rights, in which it is declared that all land, including coal-pits, mines, rivers, etc., belonging to the Parish of Bees, now in the possession of Lord Drone, shall on Lady Day, 26th March, 18..., become public property, the joint stock and common farm, in which every Parishioner shall enjoy an equal participation. ★

—Thomas Spence (1750-1814) in "Land for the Landless" p. 14.

VOTER'S DILEMMA AND SARVODAYA APPROACH

Shankarrao Deo

Shri Appasaheb Patwardhan has posed a serious question as to what a conscientious voter should do when it is impossible to organise voters' councils for uncontested unanimous elections as propagated by the Sarva Seva Sangh to avoid all the evils in the present system of elections. Shri Shankarrao Deo in his reply published in "Bhoodan" has thoroughly discussed the whole Socio-economic philosophy of Lok-Niti, tracing from Gandhiji's "Last Will and Testament" of 29th January 1948 upto the recent resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh and has indicated the clear duty of the voter in the coming elections for the realisation of Sarvodaya order of society.

THE Sarva Seva Sangh desires to create a society based on non-exploitation and freedom from State power. The Sarva Seva Sangh believes that this new society can only be brought into existence by a new Man. So long as an individual does not effect a basic change in himself in accordance with the values of the new society he wants to establish, he cannot be a forerunner in the establishment of such a society. All the revolutions which have occurred up-to-date, particularly those in modern times, have, in the last analysis, proved themselves to be harmful to mankind, though they may have yielded some apparently good results. This has happened, because all these revolutions were based on the idea that a new Man, free and happy, can be created through the imposition of an ideal pattern

of society by the coercive power of the State. But a true and lasting change in the human mind cannot be brought about by coercion. The net result has been that almost all the revolutions have ended in strengthening the coercive power of the State and vesting it in the hands of an individual or a class.

Regulate Political Power Through Moral Force

In my opinion there is also another reason for these conflicting thoughts on these subjects which arise in the minds of even experienced Lok-sevaks. We have been very powerfully influenced by Gandhiji's ideas and the efforts he made in his life time to work them out, on the use of State Power in effecting socio-economic changes and the role of political parties in the utilization of State

Continued on Page 226

SARVODAYA IN TRADE UNIONISM

Jayaprakash Narayan

THERE was some thinking when the I. N. T. U. C. was formed and a few years before that when the Hind Mazdoor Sangh was formed, it was hoped that the ideas of Gandhiji namely the Sarvodaya ideas, would be introduced in the Labour Movement and that there will be a new kind of Trade Union Movement. That has not happened. I have been given to understand that all the three trade unions that have been working here. I am not going to speak to you in praise of what these unions have done or about anyone of them as compared to the others. All these organisations are same as far as I am concerned. I am not speaking this objectively, but my attitude to all of them is the same. I am impartial. Therefore I would like to set your mind at rest in the first place. I wish to speak of the Trade Unions in general, whatever may be their affiliations. I hope you will agree with me that the Trade Union Movement is rather in a deplorable state in our country. We are faced with economic and industrial development. We have to make rapid progress. The Trade Unions should now work more actively than that they did

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

We have two patterns of industrial development. One pattern took a fairly long period of time under the aegis of private enterprise — Capitalism. The classic example of this is England and other West European Countries and later on the U. S. A. Japan also followed suit. But in Japan free enterprise was tempered to a large extent by feudalism, social and cultural, which we call feudal habits for over 50 years. Japan industrialised herself earlier than many of the pre-world-war-II 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. During this pattern labour was shamelessly exploited. Workers had to work for 14 and 16 hours a day and the wages were very meagre. Slowly the Trade Unions were formed and the battle was fought. The Social consciousness was aroused and largely it was the

Trade Unions that mitigated the rigours of exploitation, long hours etc., although it cannot be said that they were completely removed. There was both the exploitation of the peasantry on the one hand, who worked on the Farm, it was shameless exploitation, and the industrial working classes on the other. The capital formation and other allied problems were raised, and the economic share of capital took place as a result of which the exploitation was reduced further. This happened in all the colonial areas. But not so in the case of U. S. A. where the land was in great extent available. But in the other countries, it was shameless exploitation although it was not to the multitude of that of cut-right loot, as it was found done by the Dutch, Spain and the German in Asia and Africa.

There is another pattern of development under the totalitarian regime either of the communist Regime or the Fascist regime. The Fascists did not speak in the name of the workers, but they spoke in the name of the race, the nation and so on. But in the Communist Countries they spoke on behalf of the working classes. Under the totalitarian regime again, there was double exploitation, of the working classes and the peasantry, which Carl Marx called Primitive Accumula-

tion. The exploitation of the peasantry was through the State buying the produces at a cheap rate and the working classes had long hours of work and they were compelled to accept as a result of political propaganda. In this the worker had to sacrifice. The State justified by saying that the workers must work hard, they must tighten their belts and so on, and much of it was political propaganda. However, in either cases, the totalitarian as well as the capitalistic regime, the same thing happened. It has not been useful to the working classes. However, under the totalitarian system, it was nothing to make the consumer take little and put in more work.

Now our country is facing industrialisation. How are we to develop our country in order to catch up with the West? We have been underprivileged, under-employed and have been starving. If this continues, as a nation we would perish. Therefore we want to develop rapidly and more rapidly than under the Communist, Feudalistic or the Totalitarian regime. Ours is a democracy and it is not only a Democracy, it is a social democracy. In it there can be no shameless exploitation of the working classes. This is a very difficult task and unless the workers in this country rise up to

the occasion, it will be very difficult. In the place of the Capitalist, there is the State in the public sector. I feel that the workers should take more responsibility of running the industries and the essential services themselves. I am not putting the whole responsibility on your shoulders. But a great part of the responsibility is on you, the Trade Union workers, and the workers who are engaged in the industries. In this context, Pandit Nehru is as good as any other worker. He may be the Prime Minister and you may be an ordinary worker in the industrial enterprise. Both of you are public servants. Your job is as good as his and both of you doing service to the country in their own way. The question therefore will be how shall we develop? The Trade Union Workers and those engaged in the Labour Movement as a whole should be conscious of this. I find that there is not adequate consciousness among them. Where and How does Sarvodaya come into this picture?

I think Sarvodaya comes into this picture as perhaps the only solution of a complicated situation that face us. We have had the strike of the Government employees held recently. All the workers who struck work were not the employees of the

private profit-seekers—the Capitalists—but they were working in the public sector, the nationalised sector, the socialist sector; and yet they were forced to go on a strike and 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 not solved. If you remove the Capitalists from the Management side and substitute it with the State, everything remains the same. If the workers that are working in the private sector strike then it can be understood. But when the workers in the socialised sector go on strike, then it means Socialism is doomed to fail. In a totalitarian society like Russia, strikes are forbidden. It is far from becoming a free society. That kind of condition will take a long time to improve. If the workers strike they will declare it illegal and the leaders of the strike will be either thrown into the prison or stood against the wall and fired. Strike as such is banned there, because they think there can be no strike in a worker's state. I do not think that in our country, a vast majority of our people will welcome totalitarianism, and certainly not the working classes. Our parties are talking of Democracy. If in the elections, the Communist

Party comes to power they will see to it that they win in the elections and try to keep power. Therefore if we have to industrialise our country, the problem of the working classes is not solved. Mere socialisation, nationalisation of the industry and commerce, or a change in the Board of Management which is made up of high officials do not seem to be the solution to me. What then is the solution? It is for this reason that I have said that Sarvodaya seems to be the answer. What is the Sarvodaya point of view? Under Sarvodaya there will be decentralised economy and thus decentralised democracy. I am not saying that there will be no centralised industry under the Sarvodaya Order. They will be there, but they would all be decentralised to the extent possible. Take the Hindustan Aircrafts for instance, it may not be possible to decentralise it fully. But it should be possible to decentralise it to some extent, upto a point. But the main pattern of industrialisation will be that of small industries as small a unit as possible. Sarvodaya believes that land cannot give a high standard of living. Therefore the industrial development of the country, on a decentralised basis is what is necessary. Sarvodaya further says, it wants to create a situation in which the master and

the worker cease to exist. We want to abolish the two parties, the master and the servant. If it is in the private sector, it is the master and the servant and if it is in the public sector, it is the State and the workers. Such a state of affairs should go. How shall we abolish this? We find these differences existing even in Socialistic countries. We find in England, the British National Coal Board, in which the workers have no share in matters of policy. But in Yugoslavia which is a Protestant Communist State which has protested against the Pope in Moscow—they have tried to solve the problem to some extent. There is compulsion there, because it is a regime of Dictatorship. And the approach also is different. The state says that the workers have to manage. Therefore the relationship between the management and the workers is improved. The State will make a decree and the workers will have to take up the management and run it.

In western countries, however, this is not the case. They refuse to part in the management. If the Trade Unions are asked to take charge of the management, they would say, "What have we to do with that? Management is the concern of the State! We are here only to fight for the right of the working classes and not to manage the industry."

This is their answer. This attitude towards the industry on behalf of the working classes as well as the Trade Unions is bad. It will perpetuate the difference in relationship and the management will be on the one side and the working classes on the other. But this is not the case in Yugoslavia. The State makes a decree and says, "No you have to manage." In such a case, if there is a deficit in the industry, they have to cut down their wages. In Sweden, which is the richest among the Socialist countries, I asked the Director of Swedish Mines, whom I met at a Socialist Party Dinner, if the workers share in the problems of management? He told me with surprise in his face, "Why should they worry about the problems of Management? I have to worry about it all the time. The workers will not think about it. They will plan about their vacation and about the new flats they have to purchase and so on; but they do not bother about the problems of management." This kind of thing will perpetuate the difference between the Management and the working classes all the time.

In Yugoslavia, I visited a factory which manufactures electrical parts. There I found that they manage the industry. They take the decisions with regard to policy and while doing so they are

cautious, because, if they take a wrong decision, only they have to suffer for it. They appoint the Managing Director and can even overrule him in matters of management, leaving alone questions involving policy.

When I asked why in some of the other countries, the workers or the Trade Unions do not take part in the problems of management, they gave me a Marxian answer, which I think is the right answer. So long as a qualitative change does not take place in the management and so long as the change remains quantitative, the relationship between the management and the working classes, will remain unchanged. I do not know how many of you have read Marxian literature. He has been one of the best thinking minds in the world and so even today I have the greatest admiration for him. Quantitative change means that the working classes will be given larger representation in the management; first of all they will have no voice at all, and later on they will be given some voice, more voice then and still more voice and so on. But the state of affairs will remain the same. The gulf between the Management and the Working classes will remain. Qualitative change means an entirely different thing. It means, that the responsibility of running the management will rest on the

shoulders of the working classes that at last, the working classes will be solely responsible for the management. There are certain things, like the financial responsibility etc. which will be done by a body of experts or the Managing Director, but practically the working of the industry will be the concern of the workers. They will appoint the Managing Director and will turn him out and replace him, if they so decide. So powerful will be the position of the workers, if the qualitative change takes place. In such a case, they have no other option than to manage, because the responsibility is theirs.

In the earlier stages of this movement in Yugoslavia, in one of the public enterprises, the workers' Councils there began to distribute the profits in such a way that very little was invested back in the industry but a great deal of it was distributed in terms of wages. That meant killing the goose that laid the golden egg. So the higher authorities and leaders of the labour union came forward to educate the workers in making them understand their responsibility. There was no law in that country to prevent them from doing so and therefore it was very necessary that the working class was educated to the extent that they will conduct better management. They were taught

that in the initial stages, they have to put more into the reserves, which meant more employment and more prosperity at a later stage. They were told that was the time for investment so that they would have greater prosperity at a later stage; and therefore requested them to plough back. Sarvodaya wants to remove this dichotomy. Sarvodaya says that your interests are common. But the working classes and those in the management are the same, and they have the same interests in the concern. This change of outlook to be brought about will solve many of the labour problems to-day present in India. Then there will be a salvation. Pandit Nehru cannot make a decree and say that this cannot be. This will be a truly democratic way of solving our problems.

In Belgrade, I was put up in a good hotel. I asked the waiters as 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 classes must feel that the industry belonged to them.

We went to a farm in Yugoslavia, which once a State Farm, which was later on converted into a Social Farm. When I asked them whom this farm belonged, they readily replied that it belonged to them. "We till the soil,

produce and whatever is available from it we take; and we pay the taxes to the Government.' This happens under a Dictatorship. The workers are compelled to take up the Management and they have no other option than doing that. But in India, the conditions are different. We would like a Tito to rule us. Because dictatorship is horrible, unthinkable and to live under a dictator is to be an animal. Here we have to have voluntary forthcoming of the labour classes in sharing the responsibility of the management. I have the same thing to say to State as well as the Capitalists who own industries in private sector. They must also change their outlook towards the working classes and make amends that will end dichotomy. The mind of the worker should be set at rest and that of the master should be changed. They should both feel that their interests in the work is the same.

Now the question may arise as to how we can give a high wage to the technicians and the General Manager in the industry when the workers continue to receive a smaller wage. When I put this question to the leaders of the Trade Union movement in Yugoslavia, I was told, that workers know that such a difference will remain. They are conscious that the General Managers' ability

of administration and management cannot be achieved by an ordinary worker, nor the technicians' skill can be achieved by an unskilled labourer. Such knowledge and experience as the technicians and others have been borne out of ten to twenty years of hard work and study. Therefore the workers know that the difference in wage will be there. When I asked them again, whether they are going to bring the disparity down, they said, that on the contrary they are going to increase it for they know that has to be done in the interest of Science and Technology; in the interest of their economic development in the country as a whole. This is a defeat of Communism as this has departed from 'each according to his capacity to each according to his needs.'

Therefore the community interest has to be enriched. The workers have to be educated that the difference in wage will remain. If that is not maintained, then it would again mean killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

When I was the President of the Railway Men's Federation, I was fed up with the discussion by the Class III and IV employees of the Railway who fought for the difference in wages. I asked them if they would agree among themselves, that the wages of Clas

III and IV be the same. Then they suddenly answered, "How can that be?" "Then why are you bothering over the higher wages paid to other classes of workers."

In India, the disparity is not very much because after Independence, much has been done to bring down the disparity. If there still was a wide difference, it was due to the fact that during the regime of the British, they imported technicians and experts and paid them fabulous sums, which have been reduced under the Swaraj to a considerable extent. I believe there is no move on the part of the working classes in this direction.

So if the working classes share the responsibility of management and production, the high-paid men in the industries will themselves come forward to give up a decent share voluntarily. I do not think it will be impossible.

What is necessary therefore is a new kind of labour movement and this must be on the basis of Sarvodaya. I am glad I have been able to speak to the Leaders of the Trade Unions this evening. It would be different if I had to speak to workers. I do not suggest that this should not be discussed with them now. But it should be done in a way suitable to them. This stalemate into which the Labour Movement has fallen

should be removed. This is not passible even if we have more of Capitalism, Communism or Socialism. Therefore the voluntary effort of the working classes should be inculcated. You, workers of Trade Unions should work towards this goal. I would have myself liked to have taken up this work and done it, had it not been for me to devote my time to other more important work. I do not mean, this is not important; this has its importance and some of you should take up this work and strengthen the movement.

I have been talking for some time now among various sections of people. Some understand the importance of this and others feel that this is all idealism, Utopianism. I do not know if it is so! If the present situation has to be improved, which I may call a deadlock, this is the only way.

You know that there is a bill under preparation that all strikes should be banned in the public sector and the essential services. This is most undemocratic. All the representatives should sit together and find out some solution to avert this. I expect the workers will agree that there should be no strike in the essential services. But there must be arbitration. As far as the strike in the public sector is concerned, the Government is the employer

and the servants its employees. Any dispute arising between the State and its servants should be settled only by an arbitrary body, and the State should not have the final say in the matter. Let us hope that a solution will be arrived at. I do not think that the Trade Unions are sensitive to this. They keep on saying like parrots that strikes cannot be banned. If strikes are banned and then if the workers go on strike, it will be declared illegal and all the arrest and shooting will follow. The workers have a responsibility to the people also. If transport, communication and other essential services are stopped, then there will be a great handicap for the people and what will be your answer for that? Industries are as much your concern as it is of the Government. As far as I know the people are not prepared to get out of this rut.

The danger is there for the working classes, if such a step is taken by the Government. There will be the freezing of wages, which means only stealing the bread of the worker. The prices will go up and the wages remain meagre. The rupee value goes down and this exploitation goes on. This trick is placed to cheat the worker. I do not think this will happen so long as Mr. Nanda is the Labour Minister.

We, in Sarvodaya, have suggested the remedy for this. If

there is no check on inflation, higher wages will be necessary. But when that is not accepted, wages must be paid in kind. If your requirements in rice is 5 lbs. a day, you should be paid 5 lbs. of rice in kind the value of which will not change even if the prices vary. During the previous occasion, cheap grain shops were opened and we lost the battle, most of it was due to corruption. If wages were paid in kind the workers' problem is solved.

Therefore I wish to sum up by saying that you should make a beginning by changing your attitude towards this relationship yourself. What are you? You are not a mere employee. You are a responsible citizen, producing the goods country requires. Therefore you should cast all your narrow selfish interests and co-operate in sharing the responsibility of management and production. The present attitude of the Trade Unions is ruinous to the labour movement itself. Such a thing may be possible in the United States, where there are millions of acres of un-inhabited land, rich soil available and any immigrant can live a high standard of life by working on it. But it is not so in India. In our country, labour is cheap and work is scarce and what is short in supply is high in price.

(Speech delivered at the Trade Union Workers' meeting at Bangalore on 1-11-60)

★ The Evolution of Gandhian Economics ★

M. Vlnaik

(A Tribute to late Dr. J. C. Kumarappa on his 71st Birthday on 4th January)

Khadi Movement

The Khadi Movement heralded the birth of a new set of theories that were of a revealing and revolutionary nature in the realm of Indian Economics. Khadi is, of course, the result of Gandhiji's rational ideas and strong attachment to the Dharma of Swadeshi. He recorded, "Khadi is the first indispensable step towards the discharge of Swadeshi Dharma to Society. A votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment, and try to help his neighbours wherever possible, by giving preference to the local manufactures, even if they are of an inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured elsewhere. He will try to remedy their defects, but will not because of their defects give them up in favour of foreign manufactures" ('From Yeravda Mandir' Page 65). The boycott of foreign goods campaign necessitated the adoption of a Swadeshi apparel and khadi thus came into existence. The economic implications of this Movement were diametrically against the on-rushing current

of modernism and industrialisation. An ardent research scholar and thinker, Sri. Richard B. Gregg, who at that time was with Gandhiji in Sabarmati Ashram, concentrated his attention and made a deep study of the Movement. His treatise was published in 1928 under the title of "Economics of Khaddar". Gandhiji was pleased with the treatment of the subject and paid him glowing tributes. Here were born the academic theories in support of the Movement. From then on, Gandhiji was in search of a suitable economist who will be able to penetrate deep into his revolutionary economic ideas and develop the subject for further study and wider research.

Meeting Kumarappa

The great anxiety that Gandhiji had felt to find out a well qualified economist who could devote his whole time to a detailed study of Rural Economics was evident in his first meeting with Kumarappa. Kumarappa and Gandhiji were utter strangers to each other when they met for the first time in their lives on the afternoon of

30th of May 1929 in Sabarmati Ashram. The basis of that meeting happened to be the consideration of an essay written by Kumarappa "Public Finance and Our Poverty". Gandhiji was immensely satisfied with the thesis and found in it an echo of his inner-most thoughts on Indian and Rural Economics. He gladly accepted to serialise this essay in the columns of his "Young India" and instantly enquired whether Kumarappa would undertake a rural survey for him in Gujarat. He complimented him saying that Kumarappa's approach to economics was almost exactly the same as his (Gandhiji's) and that Kumarappa was almost the first student of economics Gandhiji had ever come across with the same viewpoints. Kumarappa tried to wriggle out on the plea of language difficulty. Gandhiji brushed aside all such objections and offered him the fullest co-operation of the staff and students of Gujarat Vidyapith for carrying on this all-important survey. The need of such a survey, had been felt by him for quite a long time and that explains why he was not prepared either to lose any more time or was he in a mood to allow Kumarappa to slip through his fingers. Kumarappa was to be yoked on to this task at any cost and therefore Gandhiji was not willing

to accept any of the lame excuses. Kaka Saheb records, "In an informal note which Gandhiji handed to me he expressed a desire that Indian Economics should be built from the bottom by a *posteriori* method of securing rock bottom facts and drawing therefrom, by the most rigid process of reasoning, scientific conclusions which no amount of jugglery could controvert. He gave in that note a number of practical hints for the conduct of such a survey".

Matar Taluka Survey

This set the ball rolling. Kumarappa patiently gathered the statistics directly from the peasants themselves with a care and flair for scrutiny all his own. It took him over three months to gather all the necessary information. Nine students of the Vidyapith were constantly at his service in addition to two professors of the Vidyapith who assisted him off and on in the collection of the statistics. He worked at his figures for a further term of about eighteen months digesting his material and ruminating over his conclusions. The report, therefore, was presented as an authoritative document on the economic condition of a typical taluka of Gujarat. In one of his letters, Kaka further says, "Meanwhile

try to make the Matar report as conclusive as you can. It is bound to strike a new line and since it is not going to be a dull affair at your hands, I am not afraid of the bulk".

The report proved a crowning success of the first effort in this direction. Gandhiji was satisfied. He threw still further suggestions to Kumarappa to continue his researches. He wrote from "Down Frontier Mail" on 28—3—31. "If you find time you can study the economics of drink and show by facts and figures what a tremendous waste drink habit means apart from the actual money value of the drink consumed. You may also take up the whole subject of economic waste that goes on in our midst through preventive disease, through wrong feeding, through the criminal waste of human excreta as manure. This waste has been worked out by Poord. I believe, his works we have in the Ashram. The double waste through wrong feeding has been very partially worked out by Col. Macanister — or some such name — the medico who has written on vitamins. I have simply thrown a few hints that should be sufficient for you to make explorations and discoveries. Economics treated in this manner can really become fascinating, interesting and instructive for the masses.

Nor do these explorations require very deep or prolonged study for one like you who has studied the science of economics".

Practical study and understanding of the physical conditions of village life along with all its intricate problems gave Kumarappa an education which one would never hope to acquire even after years of academic researches in the most modern of the Universities. No wonder Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya complimented Gandhiji for the proficiency of his disciple. Kumarappa's grasp of the subject was so accurate and unerring that when a dispute arose between these two great patriots on the question of True Swadeshi, Kumarappa had to be called in as the impartial arbitrator. Did not Gandhiji himself accept his great accomplishment whole-heartedly and confer on him the title of D. V. I. (Doctor of Village Industries) for the thesis he wrote out in jail — "Economy of Permanence"?

Planning

Planning is the inevitable second step for the rebuilding of the nation, Khadi being the first programme for practical development. In its wake came the village Industries, Go-seva, Basic Education etc. The importance of formulating a basic plan for all-round development of the

nation was being felt. An opportunity presented itself when the Government of the then Central Provinces and Berar invited Kumarappa to carry out a survey of the province and chalk out a concrete plan for its betterment in 1938. It was a back-ward area with many hills, dense forests and impenetrable tribal pockets. A detailed survey of this province added to the knowledge of the state of the country. When the Congress took full charge of the reins of office, and when it was almost settled that the Britishers were quitting, Kumarappa placed before a conference of Ministers, in 1946 an elaborate blue-print for National reconstruction and development. Gandhiji attended the conference and in his opening remarks impressed on the audience the soundness of the plan placed before them and exhorted the Ministers to take a definite step in the right direction.

With these experiences Gandhian economic thought began to develop in its various aspects. Kumarappa's exposition of it was uniquely stirring. In 1950 the Agra University arranged for a series of lectures on the subject by Kumarappa. These were later collected, edited and brought out in the form of a book "Gandhian Economic Thought". Shri C. N. Vakil, the Director of the School of Economics and

Sociology, University of Bombay, got this book published as the first of the series in the Library of Indian Economics. In his preface to the book, he observes: "Shri J. C. Kumarappa is well-known as one of the trusted disciples of Gandhiji who was asked to carry out his economic idea into practice and in doing so had obvious opportunity of understanding first hand Gandhiji's point of view. It is fortunate, therefore, that Shri Kumarappa has been good enough to agree to write this book, in which he has attempted to build up the Gandhian Economic Thought in simple, but effective language". Research

Later, the Universities of Agra and Rajasthan took up Gandhian Economics as one of the subjects for research studies. A few professors who were interested in this subject, got Kumarappa to be their guide for carrying out research work. Kumarappa fully realised the importance of practical and on the spot study of the subject without which the scholarship remains only half-baked. Therefore, he once wrote, "It strikes me that mere academic knowledge and presentation will lack the vigour of personal experience. So if you wish to be of real service, I would prefer you to get some practical training of Gandhian way

of life for this purpose. I would suggest that you come and stay with me for about a year in this Ashram and lead the Ashram life. It may be possible to arrange for you to take some theoretical lectures on "Gandhian Economics", to the social workers and the Grama Sevaks under training. You may spend part of your time in study and consultations with me".

This was in the latter half of 1955 when he had retired and settled down in Gandhi Niketan in the South with high blood pressure and attendant ailments. Training of research scholars on "Gandhian Economics" was, therefore, one of the items of work left unfinished in his life time.



SPIRITUALITY — THE ESSENCE OF RELIGIONS

Now-a-days I am speaking of one thing, again and again; and that is, the days of faith and religion are slowly passing and they are being replaced by days of science and spirituality. I have distinguished between religion and spirituality. Really speaking, spirituality is the essence of all religions. Taking that essence, we have to eschew the remaining non-essential part. This appears to me to be the only way of effecting a reconciliation. Here, it is necessary to accept that the eternal ethical values are ever inherent in spirituality.

I do not know how far my views will be pleasing to our friends. But these are the very thoughts that impel me to serve the whole of mankind. I can only plead that these thoughts will receive the consideration of the Conference.

Camp—Gulavati, }
Utter Pradesh. }

—VINOBA'S JAI JAGATH.

(From a message for the 7th Conference of
The Fellowship of Friends of Truth at Gandhigram.)



Gramdan Villages in Madras State

(This is a note on the development of Gramdan Villages and Bhoodan lands and the Work of the Bhoodan Board presented by the Special officer, Gramdan Villages, Madura.)

POOJYA Shri Acharya Vinobaji had a tour in Tamilnad During 1957. During his visit and after, the Sarvodaya workers obtained Bhoodan lands and Gramdan Villages in Tamilnad. The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal has reported that an extent of 80,215 acres has been obtained as Bhoodan and 253 villages as Gramdan. The word village does not denote the Revenue Village. But for the purpose of Gramdan, each hamlet is taken as a separate village in its literal sense.

2. At the initial stage, Government of Madras directed to take up the survey of Gramdan villages in Madurai District. A survey committee consisting of officials and Sarvodaya workers visited some of the Gramdan villages and prepared a report for the development of the Gramdan Villages in the light of the information gathered during the survey. A State Gramdan Board consisting of Sarvodaya Workers and officials with the Chief Minister to the Government of Madras as Chairman was formed originally and this Board discussed the problems of Gramdan Villages. There were three sittings.

3. A special staff consisting of one Deputy Collector, Two Deputy Tahsildars, one Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies and one Senior Inspector of Co-

operative Societies was appointed by the Government to look after the survey and development of Gramdan villages in Madurai District at the outset. The Gramdan created a stalemate regarding the possibilities of obtaining credits from private sectors and the Government of Madras stepped in to help the agriculturists in the Gramdan villages during the cultivation season. Loans for cultivation purposes were sanctioned to the Gramdaneees as follows:—

Year	Amount
1957—58	Rs. 3,49,868
1958—59	Rs. 30,875

Similar concession was extended for the subsequent years also. The Gramdaneees who have been harassed by the private creditors for the repayment of loans, all of a sudden have been relieved of the distress by the enactment of the Madras Gramdan villages Repayment of Debts Act, 1959 wherein provision has been made barring institution of suits and execution of decrees in respect of debts due from persons residing in the Gramdan villages for one year. It has been provided that the debtor can repay in 3 equal instalments after the expiry of the period of Moratorium. The Act was in force till May 1961.

4. Various organisations and other Nation Building Depart-

ments such as Community Development, Harijan Welfare etc; showed preference to Gramdan villages in development activities. The particulars of Development works done in Gramdan villages are noted below:—

Particulars	Units
1. Construction of Community Halls	15
2. Sinking of new wells: Irrigation	74
Drinking water	13
3. Improvement to old wells	13
4. Construction of drainage	4
5. Formation of Road	15 miles
6. Construction of culverts	10
7. Supply of Radios	1
8. Purchase of stud Bulls and Rams	11
9. Construction of Schools	22
10. Formation of Poultry Units	10
11. No. of houses built under Harijan Welfare and Kallar Reclamation Schemes	94
12. Construction of Bathrooms	4
13. Construction of Latrines	32
14. No. of charkas supplied	901
15. Supply of Bulls to Harijans	44

For the development of Gramdan villages, as a token measure, 10 Gramdan Sarvodaya Co-operative Societies were organised and financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 5,01,708/- as loan and Rs. 1,22,792/- as subsidy, was sanctioned.

5. In order to facilitate the donation of lands for Bhoodan and also the transfer and settlement of such lands for the benefit of landless poor persons or for

Community purposes etc., Government enacted, the Madras State Bhoodan Yagna Act 1958. As envisaged in the Act, the Madras State Bhoodan Yagna Board has been set up. The Board consists of the following members with its headquarters at Madurai:—

1. Sri K. Arunachalam *Chairman*
2. „ A. Avayan *Secretary*
3. „ K. Kamaraj *Member*
4. „ M. Bhaktavatsalam „
5. „ W. P. A. N. Chandrasekaran M. L. A., „
6. „ P. S. Chinnadurai M. L. A. „
7. „ R. R. Keithan „
8. „ P. Jeevanandam „
9. „ M. P. Sivagnanam „
10. „ S. R. Subramaniam „
11. „ G. Venkatachalapathy „

The State Bhoodan Yagna Board assumed charge on 1-9-59. The functions of the State Board are as follows:—

(i) To constitute a local committee for each District or a portion of the District from among the residence of the area to look after the Bhoodan lands and Gramdan villages.

(ii) To manage the Bhoodan land and to distribute these lands to landless poor cultivators.

(iii) To prepare lists of all lands donated for the purpose of Bhoodan Yagna prior to the commencement of the Act and to send it to Fort St. George Gazette and District Gazette for publication.

(iv) To accept grants, donations, gifts or loans from Central Government or the State Government or any local authority or any person for all or any of the purposes of the State Board and

such other functions in the interest of Bhoodan lands and Gramdam villages.

The selection committee constituted by the State Board for this purpose has selected the following five persons to serve as members of the local committee for Madurai District:—

1. Sri R. Varadan,
District Nivedak, Melur.
 2. „ Maluvendi, Melur.
 3. „ Muthu, Harijan Hostel,
Usilampatti.
 4. „ K. S. Abdul Aziz,
Batlagundu.
 5. „ Gurusamy, Gokilapuram.
- The members of local committee for Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Coimbatore Districts have also been selected and the approval of Government is awaited.

6. A Special Staff consisting of Revenue and Co-operative Departments are working in the State Board. The extent of lands obtained as Bhoodan in several Districts and the number of patras obtained from the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal and the extent involved are tabulated in Annexure I. 16,154 patrams covering an extent of 41,562 acres have been received from the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal. Patrams for the remaining extent are yet to be received from the Sarvodaya Workers. The Survey of Bhoodan lands according to section 20(2) of the State Bhoodan Yagna Act 1958 in Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Coimbatore Districts has been taken up by the State Board. The progress of work done in collecting the

particulars of Bhoodan lands in these districts is shown in Annexure II. So far 10,500 acres have been distributed to the landless poor in Madurai District.

7. As regards Gramdan villages, the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal has reported that 253 villages have been obtained as Gramdan. But Gramdan patrams have been received for 188 villages only. The special staff has enquired 165 Gramdan patrams so far. The details of Gramdan Villages and the progress in the Collection of particulars of Gramdan lands are shown in Annexure III. Out of 165 villages, 26 villages alone satisfy the definition of the Gramdan village under section 2(e) of the Act. Sarvodaya Panchayats are to be formed in these villages after the confirmation of the notification by the Thasildars concerned under section 17(4) of the Act. Meantime, for the development of these villages, the Government have been requested to allot a sum of Rs. 30,000/- as loan and the orders of the Government are awaited.

8. As already stated in para (4) above, ten Gramdan Sarvodaya Cooperative Societies were organised in 1958 in Madurai District with the lands in the Gramdan Villages under their fold for taking up group or collective cultivation and to step up agricultural Production. The scheme of financial assistance was drawn after ascertaining the felt needs of the villagers in consultation with the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal. These Societies have

a membership of 798 and a share capital of Rs. 798/-. The members donated to the Societies 1272 acres of lands. The cultivation of lands in the Societies has been undertaken generally on a group basis. Government have sanctioned loans and subsidies to these societies amounting to Rs. 5,01,708 and Rs. 1,22,792/- respectively for purposes like sinking of new wells, deepening of old wells, installation of pumpsets, purchase of bulls, agricultural implements etc. The Societies have sunk 15 new wells and deepened 28 old wells so far with the financial assistance given to them. One Society has installed 5 pumpsets in the wells. So far a sum of Rs. 1,19,407/- (Loan and Rs. 19,116/- has been utilised by these Societies. Short term loans required by the Societies for cultivation operations were provided by the Madurai District Central Cooperative Bank on Government guarantee, the total amount of guarantee extended by the Government being Rs. 54,500. The details showing the number of members, extent gifted, amount of financial assistance sanctioned and utilised for Sinking of new wells, deepening of old wells, purchase of pumpsets, Bulls etc. for each Society are shown in Annexure IV. On account of the financial assistance given to the Societies, an additional extent of 121-50 acres has been brought under cultivation and there had been an increased production of 70 tons.

9. On the pattern of assistance given to the existing ten

Societies, the Government have ordered to start 20 more Gramdan Sarvodaya Cooperative Societies. Out of these 20, one has been organised at Ekkal in Tanjore District. The Government have sanctioned financial assistance of Rs. 22,341/- as loan and Rs. 5,984/- as subsidy to this Society. This society has been started and it is under the administrative control of the Deputy Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Mannargudi. The other 19 Societies have been organised in Madurai District. All the 19 Societies have been started. Registration of gift deeds has been completed in 13 Societies and the registration in other Societies will also be completed soon. A scheme of financial assistance of Rs. 3,79,164/- as loan and Rs. 1,56,486/- as subsidy for these 19 Societies has been submitted to the Government and orders of the Government are awaited.

10. An extent of 101-42 acres has been obtained as Bhoodan in Vayalur village in Chingleput District and the donation has been confirmed by the Deputy Tahsildar, Uthiramarur vesting the lands in the name of the State Bhoodan Board. Those lands have been distributed to landless poor and they are cultivating the lands forming into groups. A proposal for the sanction of loan of Rs. 20,500/- for sinking of new wells, installation of pumpsets and for the purchase of Bulls to this village has been submitted to the Government and Government orders of sanction are awaited.★

Statement showing the total extent of Bhoodan lands
in Madras State

S. No.	District	Extent reported by the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal		No. of patras received from the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal	Extent involved in the patrams received	
		Acres	Cents		Acres	Cents
1	Madurai	...	21,008—33	3,131	11,613—05½	
2	Ramanathapuram		7,910—00	1,676	4,220—26	
3	Tirunelveli	...	9,011—10	1,434	5,016—45	
4	Coimbatore	...	15,912—94	3,617	8,357—84	
5	Chingleput	...	8,880—60	2,707	4,267—21½	
6	North Arcot	...	548—93	307	670—35	
7	South Arcot	...	2,357—52	222	405—98¾	
8	Nilgiris	...	7—20	—	—	
9	Salem	...	7,121—18	1,647	4,557—89	
10	Tiruchirappalli	...	5,540—00	264	680—13½	
11	Tanjore	...	1,907—36	1,028	1,489—40	
12	Kanyakumari	...	10—00	121	273—00½	
Total		...	80,215—16	16,154	41,561—58¾	

19—11—61.

K. Malavarayan,
Special Officer,
Gramdan Villages, Madurai.

Some Proposals for the World Peace Brigade

Arlo Tatum, Secretary, War Resisters' International

THE Lebanese Government granted permission for the conference to establish a World Peace Brigade to be held at Brummana High School, outside Beirut and it will take place from 28th December, 1961 to 1st January, 1962.

Meantime Andrzej Rajski of Poland has joined the preparatory Committee, and hopes to arrange a one-day Conference in Warsaw. A similar conference was held already in London on 12th September.

Pro. Leopold Infeld, the scientist who represented Poland at the Pugwash Conference has joined the list of Sponsors, as has the eminent Scientist Prof. G. Nadjakov, who is Chairman of the Bulgarian Peace Committee.

The World Peace Brigade must become specific if it is to exist in the world; there must be concrete proposals if only for rejection and substitution. It is in that spirit the following suggestions are made.

(Incidentally, it is now frequently called "IPSO"—International Peace Service Organisation).

World Headquarters should be established in Tanganyika, and also function as the African Regional Office. The War Resis-

ters' International should be asked to act as the European Regional Office; the Sarva Seva Sangh in India should be asked to Serve as the Asian Regional Office. A South American Regional Office should be established as soon as possible. National Brigades should be welcomed in association with Regional Offices. In keeping with decentralist principles the "lowest" office would be responsible for activities within its jurisdiction.

Volunteers would be sought and trained for Brigade activity in their own community, rather than simply for service in far off places. Volunteers should include a minimum of full-time paid workers, a maximum of persons willing to experiment with non-violent activities amongst the near-at-hand groups requiring special attention, such as prisoners, ex-prisoners, the ill, youth groups, the aged, and religious or racial minorities. From these volunteers would be selected those whose services were needed and available for living and working in communities so depressed by poverty and conflict that outside help and stimulation is required. This would constitute the constructive work of the Brigade members.

declaration to that effect—to guarantee employment to every citizen who is prepared and fit to do manual labour.

Protection to Rural Industries:

Rural industrialization, is another important recommendation of the Study Group. The report clarifies that rural industrialization should not be conceived as being limited to what are termed as "rural industries or processing industries." There must be "an even spread of industries throughout the countryside." This development must be of an organic nature and "come out of the soil." The necessary capital must be obtained from the rural areas in the shape of co-operative shares. Outside capital should come in the form of loans and subsidies from Government and the banks to co-operative and community enterprises. The industry should also be related to the resources and needs of the area concerned. The Group has advocated protection of rural industries from urban ones and reservation in fields and lines of production. It has recommended the creation of a single comprehensive authority, with necessary powers and resources and charged with the responsibility of rapidly industrializing the rural areas.

Scavengers' Emancipation:

Dealing with the question of freedom from social disabilities, the Group has recommended the immediate emancipation of the caste of scavengers by statutory prohibition of carrying night-soil on the head and conversion of old latrines into septic flush latrines. It has urged that no new houses should be permitted to be built unless it provides for a septic latrine. Necessary financial assistance to individuals and municipalities should be provided as a measure of urgent national development.

Role of Panchayat Raj:

Stressing the role of Panchayat Raj, the report says that the whole bias of Panchayat Raj institution has to be towards the weaker section of the village community. Responsibility should be vested in the village Panchayats for providing full employment either in the works programme of the Panchayat or utilization of idle man-power in public works under the proposed Government's guaranteed employment scheme. A register of unemployed should be kept and where employment has to be found outside, the Panchayats should take it up with the Panchayat Unions. Panchayats should also provide the minimum essential social services needed by the Village Community. ★

★

★ Bertrand Russell — Apostle of Humanity ★

Harvey Day

Bertrand Russell, philosopher and mathematician has been jailed in his 89th year for obstructing the police in Trafalgar Square, London, during a sit-down strike against nuclear weapons. Whether you like Russell or not—there are many who can't bear the sound of his name—matters little; one must admire his intellect and respect his courage and integrity. For Russell has never been afraid of saying exactly what he thinks, without regard for the consequences.

Bertrand, Arthur William Russell, son of Viscount Amberley, was born at Ravenscroft, near Trelleck, in the lovely Wye Valley of Monmouthshire. His grandfather, Lord John Russell, brought in the Reform Bill of 1832. His mother Kate Stanley, was the fourth daughter of Lord Stanley of Adderley; so Russell is blue blooded on both sides. He did not come into the title till 1931 when his elder brother Frank, died, and for years refused to be known as Lord Russell.

His father, a free thinker, published a book called "The Analysis of Religious Belief" and in his will appointed two free thinkers as guardians to his

children, but the court set aside his wishes and according to Russell, "I and my brother enjoyed the benefits of a Christian upbringing."

Russell did not go to school as other boys did but was taught at home by German and Swiss governesses, and later by English tutors. At 18 he entered Cambridge where his closest friends were J. M. E. McTaggart, the Hegelian philosopher; Lowes Dickinson; the three Trevelyan brothers; and G. E. Moore, all later to become household names. He left Cambridge in 1894, served as honorary attache in the British Embassy in Paris and at 22 married Alys Pearsall Smith, sister of Logan Pearsall Smith, a Philadelphia Quaker. They returned to England where he continued his study of philosophy and mathematics and in 1903 published his "Principle of Mathematics." This led to collaboration with A. N. Whitehead of Harvard in the three volumes of "Principia Mathematica," which were published in 1913 and established his reputation.

Russell was now sucked into the suffragette movement and stood as suffragette candidate for Wimbledon, but without the

slightest chance of getting into Parliament. He and his wife were also leading members of the Fabian Society. But not until the 1914 war did the man-in-the-street know of Russell's existence. "Intellectual Integrity," he says, "made it quite impossible for me to accept the war myths of any of the belligerent nations. Indeed, intellectuals who accepted them were abdicating their functions for the joy of feeling themselves one with the herd....." He refused to fight, battled for the rights of conscientious objectors and was fined £ 100 with £ 10 costs, and sentenced to two years in prison. As he refused to pay his fine his belongings at Trinity College, Cambridge, were distrained and he was deprived of his lectureship.

In 1918 he was sentenced to six months for writing an article describing the shooting down of strikers by the American Army and it was in prison that he wrote his "Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy". Each page he wrote had to be read by the prison governor before it went to the publisher, and that unfortunate official confessed that he hardly understood a word of it!

Because of his unorthodox views, because of his refusal to

swim with the stream, Russell has time and again been persecuted. Yet, his reputation has increased with the years. He has lectured and been honoured in most European capitals and in the Universities of Chicago, Los Angeles and Harvard. In 1940 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York but soon a suit was brought by the wife of a dentist who maintained that Russell's advocacy of free love had a corrupting effect on the students. This in spite of the fact that he was not lecturing on Ethics, but on Logic, Mathematics and Philosophy. Nevertheless, Judge John McGeehan of the Supreme Court of New York revoked the appointment, which he described as "an attempt to establish a chair of indecency. (!)"

Russell then accepted an engagement to lecture on the History of Philosophy at the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Penn., but after two years Barnes dismissed him. Russell sued and collected 20,000 dollars in damages.

Back in Britain he now completed his monumental "A History of Western Philosophy" which runs to 900 pages and which critics say is unique. In 1940 he publicly renounced pacifism because he held—as always—that

in some circumstances war might be necessary and therefore justifiable. given the Nobel Prize for literature.

Russell sees nothing inconsistent in changing one's views if the conditions warrant it: and the views of those in power have changed towards Russell as well. On his return from America his former colleagues welcomed him. In 1949 he was awarded the Order of Merit; soon after the B.B.C. asked him to give the first Reith Lectures. At the age of 78 he lectured in Australia and the United States. In 1950 he was

The word *great* which can be applied to not more than half a dozen living men, truly fits Lord Russell. Not only does he possess one of the finest minds in the world, but he has always been an apostle of humanity and a champion of individual freedom. In this age of mass media for conditioning men's minds, he is a crack-pot who refuses to conform. Would that there were more crack-pots of his calibre!

—Courtesy—The Hindu.

VINOBA ON INTERNATIONAL SHANTI-SENA

In a personal interview, I asked if he thought the Bhoodan Movement would solve the economic problems of India. He replied, "The land aspect is a very important part of the complex economic problem, and we are helping to solve the land question. The Government has been talking about redistributing the land for ten years. We are doing it. "He said, "Until there is a voluntary surrender of privilege, we cannot talk of world peace". In regard to the Indo-Chinese border problem he said, "You cannot hope to maintain by non-violence what you have not acquired by service. Only military measures are being used on the border, creating fear and hate. We need to create an atmosphere of goodwill and service on all borders." He saw this as one of the responsibilities of a Shanti sena or peace force. When asked if he thought an International Shanti Sena were practical and possible, he replied, "It is absolutely necessary. At present there is no world opinion in favour of it. We must try to create this world opinion."

"One activity of the world peace brigade should be to make thorough studies of world problems and try to create world interest and a forum of world opinion in regard to them." He also stated that there should be groups in training for non-violent action. There also might be an area chosen in each country where an endeavour might be made to build up a society free from state control, or one area might be chosen for an international centre. He stated that modern weapons by their very nature have forced us to think of non-violence, and now we must create an atmosphere of goodwill. MILDRED FAHRNI—"Reconciliation Quarterly" England.

(*Voter's Dilemma and Sarvodaya Approach—Cont. from page 199*)

Power. But there has been a significant change in the situation since Gandhiji's times. Gandhiji considered it an essential element in his allegiance to truth that changed circumstances should have their appropriate responses. Gandhiji used to call himself a *philosophical anarchist*.

There is sufficient justification to attribute to Gandhiji the view that he considered it a sin to utilize the State power for effecting social changes because the State power is at the root of all difficulties and problems with which the world is faced today. Gandhiji believed in a Stateless society. True, as was his wont, he used to say that a Stateless society was like the non-dimensional point of Euclid, an ideal which could never be fully realized in practice yet all his life he devoted himself to the realization of that ideal. His methodology in this respect was to regulate and control political power through moral force and thus progressively purify political power so that the present society which was largely based on the State power could gradually progress towards freedom from state power.

The basis of this moral force, in his own words, was 'selfless service rendered without attachment and the help of the State power.' This was the main idea which Gandhiji embodied in his

'Last Will and Testament' wherein he advised the Congress to transform itself into a Lok-sevak Sangh. This Will and Testament begins as follows: "India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendancy of civil over military power is bound to take place in India's progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons the A.I.C.C. resolves to disband the existing Congress Organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh."

Gandhiji's idea was that these *Lok-sevaks* would be educators and servants of the people and through this service, acquire such moral force as would enable them to regulate and control political power. With this object he had prescribed two duties for the would-be *Lok-sevaks*.

(1) He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters' roll are duly entered therein.

(2) He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification to acquire it for getting the right of franchise.

The Sarva Seva Sangh of today can be said to be an improved

edition of the Lok Sevak Sangh of Gandhiji's conception. This is so because the Lok Sevak Sangh of Gandhiji's conception was to have affiliated with it., the Charkha Sangh, the Gramodyoga Sangh, the Talimi Sangh, the Go-seva Sangh and other All-India service institutions. The Sarva Seva sangh has been evolved in the same manner. That is why the Sarva Seva Sangh has rightly adopted as its objective, 'the establishment of a society, based on the principles of truth and non-violence and free from all forms of exploitation.' But in the last decade or so, there has been significant change in the situation in the country and there has been a continuous revolution in the method and ideas about achieving this objective. In addition to this, it has become necessary not only in India but the whole world, to reconsider the proposition that the existence of political parties is absolutely essential for the effective functioning of democracy.

Experience of the working of democracy indicates that for the achievement of a stateless society, it is not just enough to control and regulate political power through moral force, and thus progressively purify political power, because there is a limit to this process. Besides, in such a process there remains a contradiction between ends and means

which becomes apparent, both in the theoretical formulation and practical working of such a process. It must be admitted that political parties have played a determinate part in the evolution and stabilization of democracy. But the situation today is "that the force itself is eating up the field." These political parties are themselves proving to be burial grounds of true democracy. Therefore, if true democracy which Gandhiji styled as moral democracy is to be established, it can only be done on the exclusive basis of moral force. This was the guiding thought in the following resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh passed in 1954.

The Objective of the Sarva Seva Sangh

"As the objective of the Sarva Seva Sangh is the establishment of a non-exploitative and stateless society and since the Sangh feels that this objective can only be achieved through the development of peoples' strength through constructive work and Satyagrah and not through State-power, therefore,

(a) no member of the Sangh shall stand as a candidate for election to Lok-Sabha, the Assemblies, and Councils, District Boards, Municipalities and similar government and semi-government offices, nor would they accept any post which is ordinarily filled through election.

(b) The political parties in the country desire to achieve their objective through the power of the State. The Sarva Seva Sangh desires to take some positive steps for achieving its objective of a stateless society. Therefore, no member of the Sarva Seva Sangh will continue to be even an ordinary member of any political party. This policy has been reaffirmed in the last Sarvodaya Sammelan in the following words:

"The Sarva Seva Sangh believes that a non-violent society can be brought about only through the initiative and the organized and self-reliant strength of the people and not through the administration and political power.

Therefore, the Sarva Seva Sangh reaffirms its policy that it will not directly or indirectly take part in any politics which is directed towards the acquisition of State power.'

Personal Attributes

Even Appasaheb has to accept that while a candidate's personal attributes are important consideration in determining his choice, the party to which he belongs has to be given superior consideration. He further states that "a party is based on ideology, programme and leadership." But in my view the chief prop of a political party is its accepted principle that all social changes can only be brought about through the agency of State

power, ideology and programme of the party being instruments for the acquisition of State power, assume a secondary importance. Thus acquisition of power by hook or by crook becomes the main pre-occupation of a political party. The characteristic of a political party is that its members believe in reforming society without introducing that reform first in their own lives. Thus, since, on the one hand, it relies exclusively on political power for effecting social changes, it becomes the cause of political demoralization, on the other, since its members try to reform society before reforming themselves, it also becomes the cause of social demoralization. Therefore, if peace and happiness are to be achieved people must search for a method of realizing them without the mediation of a political party. This is the reason why Sarva Seva Sangh has been trying for decentralized democracy instead of the present much boasted centralized democracy based on the party system.

Lok-Niti

Appasaheb has rightly pointed out that the Sarva Seva Sangh's programme of Lokniti has emerged out of these efforts. Its chief basis is the principle that the people should order their own affairs through their organized and their self-reliant initiative rather than

entrusting them to the elected representatives to whom they delegate for this purpose their rights and suzerainty. The practical way of operating this idea is that the people themselves should try to achieve through the medium of voters' councils. The three main functions of drawing up a programme, setting up candidates and exercising control over them are discharged by political parties today.

The people merely content themselves by selecting a candidate belonging to a particular political party. The result is that the people lose their initiative and remain the final repositories of political power only in name. Thus a peoples' government run by the people themselves can never be established through such a democracy functioning through political parties.

If the people thus take into their own hands, through their voters' councils, all the functions of a political party, the State and the people will then become almost the same and mutually convertible institutions, and the evil of political power which has crept into today's politics, will gradually disappear.

Voters' Councils

Appasaheb feels that the programme of voters' councils is not a political proposition today. It could be a subject for further thought, but cannot be a programme of practical action in the forthcoming elections. But if we

agree that this programme is right and desirable, it will have to be acted upon some time. If this programme of voters' councils could be operated even in a small measure in different places in the country it will gradually spread like oil on the surface of water and in course of time become extensive. And only in this way can a people's government be born in the near future. We who rely on the people should not become distressed with the thought that such a programme will take a long time to materialize. We have no better alternative to this. The argument that such a programme will take a long time to get started and to develop should not appeal to us.

But the question still remains if the Sarva Seva Sangh has any directions to give to people, who have to vote for candidates under the existing system of elections in the context of the present political parties, in the event of the voters' councils not being established on a sufficiently extensive scale. If the Sarva Seva Sangh had no programme for such people to enable them to reach their goal, it would have become indistinguishable from any other organization. The coming elections are not the first since the establishment of the Sarva Seva Sangh. Two elections have taken place already. And during these the Sarva Seva Sangh provided clear guidance for the voters. The present programme of voters' councils is merely an evolved form of the policy of the Sangh during last two elections.

This is not to say that the policy followed during the last two elections was wrong or incorrect. It was quite appropriate to the period. Even today, according to the Sarva Seva Sangh, that policy is the most correct policy for all those who find themselves in the same position as during the last election. Even the recent resolution of the Sarva Seva Sangh clearly states that those who want to vote should do so on the basis of their independent judgment. Naturally, (it is expected that) they will not cast their vote under the influence of a narrow outlook based on violence, caste, linguistic and other similar considerations. The purity of voting is preserved when a voter refuses to cast his vote under pressure, or other influences in favour of a candidate, who he feels does not represent his own views on political, social, economic and other matters. If the voter finds that such a candidate is not available then his clear duty is not to cast his vote at all.

'Voter's Duty

Appasaheb writes, "it does not appear appropriate to refuse to cast one's vote. Every voter is in the position of a judge. If a judge refuses to decide between a plaintiff and a defendant then he will be merely demonstrating his incompetency. That will be dishonest of him. As a rule, it is his duty to select a candidate and vote for him."

But it is not correct to equate a voter with a judge. The duty of a voter is not to decide where justice lies between two

contending parties. In a sense he is a master and he has to decide which agent out of two or three he should use for doing his work. May be, he comes to the conclusion that out of the candidates who are offering their services none is good or competent enough to act as his servant or agent. In these circumstances, he may choose not to vote at all, and face the result of that action rather than be held responsible for putting in an incompetent agent. You know that Acharya Kripalani believes in utilizing the power of the State, and the party system. But today he is an independent because he feels that there is no political party today through which he can utilize political power for public good. It is possible that the voter may come to the conclusion that no political party is capable of representing him, and he chooses not to vote. Exercise of a vote is a right. This means that it is up to a voter to exercise this right or not. What is compulsory is not a right. It becomes a duty. The Sarva Seva Sangh has stated as follows in its resolution on the 1956 elections: "Every person, to whatsoever political parties he may belong, knows that as it is the bounden duty of a citizen to vote in an election, under certain circumstances it is also his bounden duty not to cast his vote at all. Therefore, if one's party sets up a wrong candidate, it becomes the duty of even party members not to vote for such a party candidate."

— (To be Continued)



★ Earth For All Calendar for January ★

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.

★ January 1

Thus saith the Lord: You weary me
With Prayers and waste your own short years;
Eternal Truth you cannot see
Who weep and shed your sight in tears!
In vain you wait and watch the skies,
No better fortune thus will fall;
Up from your knees I bid you rise,
And claim the Earth for All.
—Gerald Massey, *The Earth for All, in My Lyrical Life, Second Series, page 232.*

★ January 2

Some day, without a trumpet's call,
This news will o'er the earth be blown:
"The heritage comes back to all!
The myriad monarchs take their own!"
—Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Heirs of Time in the Afternoon Landscape, p. 18.*

★ January 6

The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it; you among the number.
—Herbert Spencer in 1850, *Social Statics, Chap. IX.*

The earth therefore and all things therein are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of all other beings, from the immediate gift of the Creator.

—Blackstone 1765), *Commentaries, II., Chap. I., p. 3.*

★ January 7

The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men.

—Psalms, CXV., 16.

★ January 9

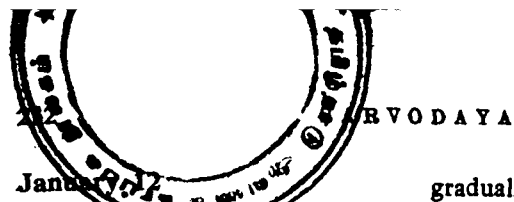
The earth belongs always to the living generation; they may manage it, then, and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct.

—Thomas Jefferson, *Works (Washington's Edition), III., 106.*

★ January 10

No fences parted fields,
nor marks nor bounds
Distinguished acres of
litigious grounds;
But all was common, and
the fruitful earth
Was free to give her
unexpected birth.

—Virgil, *Georgics, translated by Dryden, I., 194-7.*



January 15
All men are originally in a common collective possession of the soil of the whole earth.
—Kant, *Philosophy of Law*, Part I. Chap. 2, Sec. 16.

★ January 16

"Ah, I see it clearly before my eyes, the city of justice and happiness!.....No more idlers of any kind, and hence no more landlords supported by rent, no more men of fortune kept like mistresses by fortune—in short, no more luxury and no more misery! Ah, is not this the ideal of equity, the supreme wisdom, no privileged classes, and none doomed to wretchedness; everyone creating his welfare by his own effort, the average of human welfare!"

—Emilezola, *L' Argent*, Chap. XII., pp. 438-9 (*Last words of Sigismund*).

★ January 19

The Iron age came last, and frightful crimes
Startled the world in those degenerate times...
And to the soil, which ever had been free,
As light of sun or wind upon the lea,
Now the Surveyor turns his cautious hand,
And marks the lengthening boundaries of the land.

—Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I., 125-136.

★ January 20

And now the final stroke was put to a change which had been

gradually going on for some generations. The folkland, the common land of the nation, was now changed, fully and for ever, into *terra Regis*, the land of the king.

—Prof. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV. Chap. 17, p. 15.

★ January 22

But times are altered: trade's unfeeling train
Usurp the land and dispossess the swain;
Along the lawn where scattered hamlets rose,
Unwieldy wealth and cumbrous pomp repose,
And every want to luxury allied,
And every pang that folly pays to pride.

—Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village*.

★ January 25

When an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to the whole country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground the owners as well as the tenants are turned out of their possessions by trick or by main force, or being wearied out with ill usage they are forced to sell them.

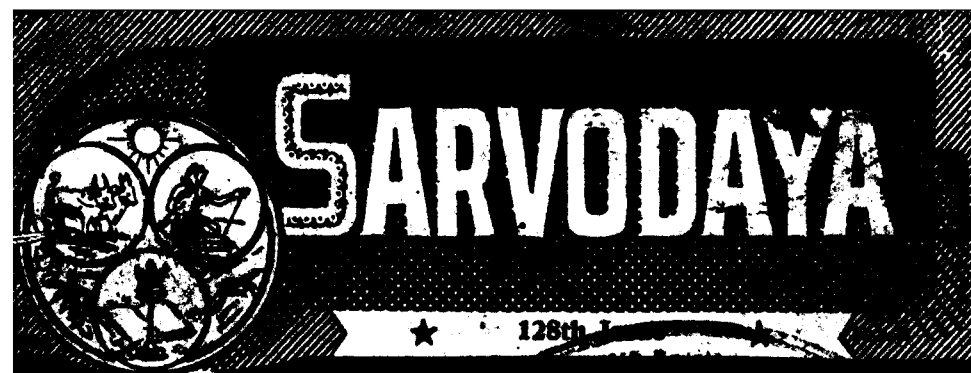
—Sir Thomas More (1516) *Utopia*, Book I.

★ January 27

Many sweating, ploughing, threshing, and then the chaff for payment receiving,

A few idly owning and they the wheat continually claiming.

—Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself*, in *Leaves of Grass*, p. 68. ★



Volume XI

February 1962 18 FEB 1962 Number 8

SPIRITUALIZE POLITICS

I felt compelled to come into the political field because I found that I could not do even social work without touching politics. I feel that political work must be looked upon in terms of social and moral progress. In democracy, no part of life is untouched by politics.

—Harijan, 6-10-46

Mr. Gokhale taught me that the dream of every Indian who claims to love his country, should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. He inspired my life and is still inspiring; and in that I wish to purify myself and spiritualize myself. I have dedicated myself to that ideal.....

What is the meaning of spiritualizing the political life of the country? What is the meaning of spiritualizing myself?..... I think the political life must be an echo of private life and that there cannot be any divorce between the two.

—M. K. GANDHI, May, 1915.

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VOTE FOR SARVODAYA

THE 30th January, when Mahatma Gandhi laid down his mortal body is remembered as the Sarvodaya Day. The 12th of February when his mortal remains were immersed in the rivers and sea is celebrated as the Sarvodaya Mela. The fortnight from 30th Jan. to 12th February is observed as Sarvodaya Paksha every year.

The Sarvodaya ideal is rooted in Bread Labour, which can be truly related to agriculture alone. But, as at present at any rate, everybody is not in a position to take it, spinning becomes a sacrificial act and the easiest bodily labour which can be done even by the young and the old. Therefore Vinobaji has been appealing to every one to contribute only one hank of self-spun yarn as a token of homage to Gandhiji on the sacred day of Sarvodaya Mela. This is in Vinobaji's words "a vote for Sarvodaya," which can be given even by children irrespective of age.

The Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh, Kashi has appealed in this year for 25 lakhs of hanks at one hank from each. The proceeds of the hanks are utilised for carrying on the multifarious activities connected with Bhoodan-Gramdan and Gram Swaraj for the realisation of the ideal of Sarvodaya order of Society.

Let all those who have faith in Sarvodaya ideal dedicate their service in this fortnight for intensive propagation of Sarvodaya ideology by sale of literature and by collection of the sacrificial self-spun yarn hanks for fulfilling the target of 25 lakhs of hanks. Every hank is a moral and spiritual vote for Sarvodaya and a token of having accepted the Sarvodaya ideal.



SWARAJ AND SARVODAYA

Acharya Vinoba

THIS is a place where Bapu stayed in 1934. People cherish fond memories of the spots he visited. For, he had ceased to be an individual and represented the spirit of the entire nation. When he spoke, he spoke on behalf of the people and whatever he thought, he thought for the people. He had generated such a tremendous and vast national spirit to inspire all people. The resolve to attain freedom stirred every heart. And because it was a national resolve, it could not but be fulfilled some day. Fulfilment of resolve is a function of the soul.

Gandhiji worked with great foresight. He knew that the achievement of freedom would make us complacent and lead indulgent life. He, therefore, felt it necessary to place a new objective before the people, before the old one was realised. Prior to the accomplishment of the old goal or word, a fresh one must be introduced. Hence he gave us the word, *Sarvodaya*.

He urged that Sarvodaya work must follow swaraj. But he himself launched on Sarvodaya work along with the struggle for swaraj. Sarvodaya connotes "rule of all". It does not mean that

the rule is exclusively mine or yours, but that it is of all, whereby it is mine and yours as well.

Now India did get freedom. But our villages remain under bondage. Until the attainment of Sarvodaya, exploitation will continue, the grip of the government will be there and the body politic would not be free. Hence swaraj has to be brought to each village. This can only be realised by fulfilling the Gram-Swaraj movement from village to village.

We did get freedom. But it was incomplete as the country had been divided. Bengal had to suffer most. Next came Punjab. Both of them were partitioned. Not long ago, a powerful movement was launched against Bengal-Partition. But swaraj rendered it into two. While the former division was for setting up two provinces, this one has led to formation of two nation - States! This has lacerated the heart of Bharat Mata.

Now we have to concentrate anew on Gram swaraj—both in India and Pakistan. Division of the country into two does not mean that the heart has also been torn into twain. The heart is and will remain one; the administrations might well be

different. Why so much both Gram-swaraj and Nagar-weight to administration? Often swaraj must be accomplished. I have declared that as science And then sarvodaya would usher advances, importance of politics in. The need of violence would will fade out. It is, therefore, come to an end and the instruments of violence would be needless to worry with two governments of violence would be united. This would become a humbled. Gram-swaraj is, therefore, the effective way to join a reality when Gram-swaraj is established in India and Pakistan. the heart of India and Pakistan.

Today we do not have Gram-swaraj either in India or Pakistan, in Iran or Arab. In fact no country of the world has it. The movement for Gram-swaraj must, therefore, be world-wide. You know that the movement of Swaraj was not confined to India alone. It was there in all lands. No country could remain under bondage. Even to-day, the battle for freedom is being waged in other countries. In Africa, the drive for national freedom continues. It will reach fulfilment in a few days. It must.

Gram-swaraj or village-freedom necessarily implies Nagar-swaraj or city-freedom. The moment the slave is liberated, the master also becomes free. Who is the master? The slave of the slave! Suppose the master is thirsty. But he can drink water only when the slave gives the glass in his hands. He depends upon the slave for bath and all other essentials. The freedom of the master must be followed by setting the slave at liberty. Thus

I am glad to learn that this village, consisting of 185 houses, has been offered as gramdan. The residents here must keep in mind that they have thereby fused this village into one; nay, they have done an act which unites the whole of India, which unites India to Pakistan, which unites India to all other countries. You have thus helped in a tremendous task. This is the only way to unite the whole world.

There were some disturbances in Assam prior to my visit. People felt that I had come to end those quarrels. Well, that is a very ordinary task. I go about with a lamp—not to sweep darkness with a broom, but to make it disappear altogether. You know the fable. Once it was very dark. A man got up, took a broom and beat it furiously against the air to get rid of the darkness. The noise he made roused the neighbours. They inquired of him what he wanted. He replied "I want to do away with this dam darkness." They laughed at his vain efforts and said, "You will have to go

(Continued on Page 239)

Village and Village Reconstruction

Vinoba

I have been asked to state the ways and means of reconstruction in Gramdan. Well, this reconstruction has been going on for ages past and will go on for ever. New people are bound to be born and new problems are bound to crop up. This new work would ceaselessly continue. But the question before us is about determining the basic elements in village reconstruction. The first thing is that we must have the "village" itself, which is conspicuous by its absence today. Building up the village itself is village-reconstruction. Today we have families, but no village. Should all the families inhabiting a village decide to turn the village into a family, that would lead to village-reconstruction. This is what is known as *Gramdan*. The meaning of *Gramdan* is that the entire land of the village belongs to all the people.

Presently we do have villages, but only in name, not in fact. Several families reside in the village. Some of them are prosperous, while others are unhappy or destitute. Some are regarded as high, while others as low. They subscribe to different castes. Though they live in one village, yet they live in isolation and do not think or work together.

Village like a Railway Train

You are familiar with the scene at the booking office. There are a hundred people at the window. But they do not form a social unit they are so many individuals. Everyone of them wants a ticket for himself for his destination. Each is anxious to push on others and get his ticket first. They have no connection amongst themselves. Their connection is but with the train which will carry them all. Though travelling in the same train, yet they have no relationship amidst them. They get down at different stations where new people enter. But one does not feel for the other. And even if one takes one's meal in the train, one would turn the back towards the neighbour! What happens in the train is also met within the village. Everybody is anxious to look after his own interest. Old people go and new ones come in, just as in the train. There is no thought or regard for the feeling of the neighbour or the community. Thus the village is not society but only a crowd, a collection of people. This pattern must go. The village must change into a solid organism, with all its cells moving towards the same objective and animated by the same feelings.

No sooner the village outlook is thus transformed than I would say that village reconstruction has been accomplished. In other words, you have shaped that mass into a village now.

Reconstruction after Gramdan

Now we have to consider how to make the village happy and prosperous. This depends on the ability of the residents of the village. The fact of donating their village in Gramdan turns it into a real village and they must next adopt requisite measures for obtaining peace and prosperity and getting rid of misery and evil.

Question of Capital

We have the question of raising capital in the village. Today while there is capital in every home, there is none belonging to the village. Should the country be reduced to a similar situation, our nation will collapse. They pay taxes with which Shillong and Delhi are built up. On their taxes stand the upper structures of the State and the Union. Thus though we have done state reconstruction, and national reconstruction, village reconstruction has been left in abeyance. This is very wonderful. Ours is a strange mansion indeed in which the first and second floors are alright, while the ground floor is missing. Surely

it is unique. Recently I actually saw a house in which there were pillars instead of the ground floor. The whole house stood on those pillars. The condition of our Government is just the same. It is a house consisting of two upper floors known as Shillong and Delhi, while the ground floor, viz, the village is not there. How then can we be happy?

It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to set up the ground floor. Village reconstruction will become a reality only when we contribute our mite to build up the capital of the village. One may ask whether it is possible that everybody may give out of his own capital. Yes, it is. He will give with love, not under pressure of law. Law is enacted by the Government which receives taxes. What we have to do now is to set apart for the village a portion of the tax payable to the Government. And it should be done in the form of *dan*. There is no compulsion in it, no threat that in case of non-compliance you will be punished or sent to jail or your property will be confiscated. Whatever you contribute, you should do voluntarily and with love. Village reconstruction cannot be done by force of compulsion nor is national reconstruction possible in that way. Reconstruction can be accomplished only with love.

Happiness of the Village

How to make the village completely happy depends on your capacity—whether you take five years to do so or fifty, whether you do it quickly or slowly. Pleasure and pain are woven into man's life. Suppose that you have offered your village as Gramdan, built up the village capital and are smoothly working together for reconstruction and suddenly we have a severe earthquake. Naturally all land will be absorbed therein. Thus happiness

and misery depend partly on Government's will and partly on our own ability. Thinking together in terms of the village will lead to village-reconstruction. Nevertheless, the village may not become happy. It will be really happy in proportion to our ability, our energy and God's grace. Village reconstruction and making the village happy are two distinct things. The process of the latter will continue for all time.

Speech at Padumani (Assam).



(Continued from Page 236)

on doing it until sunrise. Your labour will prove futile. Why not bring a lamp and this darkness will simply be no more?"

What I mean to say is that I have not come to Assam to settle disputes or solve conflicting problems. My purpose is to propagate the idea of Gramdan. There is no sense in repeating meaningless things. Who will strike at a dead snake? The real work worth doing is cementing of hearts.

There was a doctor. He prescribed one medicine for all diseases, viz., Castor-oil. Likewise, I suggest the one and the same remedy of *Gramdan* for every sickness and ill-health. This is such a panacea as applies to all; it unites one to another. The first and foremost remedy for all diseases in India is the dose of *Gramdan*. Other medicines can follow thereafter.

BARUMATI, (Assam)

11-10-1961.



WHY A WORLD PEACE BRIGADE?

Jayaprakash Narayan

The following is the written statement sent for the preliminary Session of the World Peace Brigade Conference held at Beirut in Lebanon on 28th December 1961.

THE idea of forming a World Peace Brigade, as a sort of 'fighting arm' of the world peace movement owes its origin, at least in part, to the SHANTI SENA (literally, Peace Army) of India. The Indian Shanti Sena was born in 1957 when Vinoba Bhave, famous as the leader of the Bhoodan (land-gift) movement and one of the sponsors of this conference, initiated eight volunteers into it in Kerala, the Southern most State of India. Though the Shanti Sena is thus four years old, its concept goes back to the late thirties when Gandhi coined the name and put it forward as a practical measure to deal non-violently with communal riots that were threatening to divide the people and hamper the Freedom movement. The urgent call of that movement, however, prevented him from giving concrete shape to his concept. But he has written enough about it to give a clear idea of what he had in mind. He has written about the qualifications of the soldier of peace; the requirements of his training; the need for some kind of uniform or insignia that will easily distinguish him in a

crowd; his peace-time duties. The present Shanti Sena follows more or less Gandhi's outlines, though there are some important differences.

Though Gandhiji had conceived of actually organising the Shanti Sena in the context of internal civil disturbances, he had clearly visualised the possibility of independent India developing a non-violent army to defend herself against aggression.

Gandhiji taught that peace work is fundamentally the work of creating a non-violent society, that is, a social order based on truth and love. This task basically implies (a) bringing about a psychological change, involving a wide range of values, attitudes, beliefs, ideas, etc.; and (b) creating the social, economic and political institutions and activities that would correspond with and support and preserve and nurture the values of a non-violent way of life. This is an immensely complicated task and covers every aspect of life. It is also a task that will need different techniques and programmes in different countries. The task is being
(Continued on Page 265)

Gandhiji's Letter to J. C. Kumarappa

My Dear Ku,

Your complaint is just. I have taken up too much on my shoulders. The more correct statement is I have been overwhelmed. And so what could stand by naturally got neglected. I now send you my draft which I hope you will be able to decipher without difficulty. Before making it final please show it to Shankarlal and Jajujee.

Your book I gave to R.K. in despair. I have written to her.

How are you all doing? I expect to leave Peshawar on 10th.

Dera
30-10-38.

Love
Bapu



Draft Pledge for Members.

The pledge was purposely drawn as it is of a general character. It is a gentleman's pledge, each member being put upon his or her honour, as to the interpretation of the expression the best part of my energy and talents to the furtherance of its object which is the all round welfare of the villagers of India. Members are also pledged not only to work for the furtherance of the object but also strive to live up to the ideals and prefer the use of village manufactures to any other.

Recommending members of the board will therefore see to it that the candidate for membership has in every thing he does, the welfare of the villagers at heart. It follows that such a person will give to the village work at least some time every day not necessarily in villages but may be for villages. Thus a member living in a city who on a particular day sells to or induces a person to buy village manufactures has done some village work for that day.

The member recommending will also see to it that the candidate wherever possible uses articles of village manufacture e. g. Khadi, in the place of mill-cloth, village earthen pots instead of factory made china, reeds pen instead of steel pen, hand-made paper instead of ordinary paper, wholesome babul or neem and such other tooth brush instead of the very insanitary and injurious tooth brush, leather goods made in villages out of village tanned hide instead of the ordinary bazar articles, village gur instead of factory sugar, hand-pounded whole rice instead of mill polished rice etc.

M. K. Gandhi.

For Ku.

The Board would draw the attention of agents, workers and the public to the importance of dead cattle hide as an article of trade and village manufacture. Workers are advised to study in their areas the method of disposal of the dead cattle and its preparation from flaying to tanning and report to the Board their observations. Public are invited to prefer the use of only such leather goods as are prepared in the villages.

Things to remember

Agents' appt. of Hardhyan Singh, Delhi.

Accurate description of the areas of work of members of Board and agents.

Mahatma's Greatness in Little Things

Once while talking to Sardar Patel, Bapu stretched his hand for a pencil which he used to keep on the right hand side of the table. But it was on the left-hand side of the table. He called for Pyarelalji and enquired. Pyarelalji at once read from Bapu's face. He had no reply to make and Sardar Patel spoke up thus saving the situation. Smilingly he remarked "He is a poet." Bapu smiled in return and Sardar burst into laughter.

When Ramnarayan enquired Bapu about his seriousness towards this he replied: "There must be orderliness in one's life. If the sun, moon, earth do not observe their laws the entire universe would collapse. Every minute of mine is scheduled for certain duties. If I do not find my things in their proper place, much of my time would be wasted, much inconvenience would be caused and my work would suffer much. My near ones should bear these things in mind. And do you know the definition of dirt in English? Anything out of place is dirt.

If urine reaches the fields, it would make the soil yield gold. If it keeps puddled here and there, it produces disease. Waste paper is useful in making paper or starting fire but it would be wasted if used for producing manure. If the railway pointsmen were a trifle negligent, trains would collide and hundreds of lives would be lost."

("From Bapu as I saw him" by Ramnarayan Chowdhary.)

The Liberation of Goa — — Need For Heart-search by Satyagrahi

Jayaprakash Narayan

(This is the full text of the statement of which incomplete version was published in the papers and broadcast by the AIR on 20-12-'61.)

EVERY Indian will rejoice at the final consummation of the Freedom movement and the disappearance of the last remnants of colonialism from Indian soil. All peoples who have regained freedom from colonialism—including, one hopes, the people of Pakistan—as also those yet struggling to be free will share in that joy. And if freedom is truly valued, and colonialism abhorred, all the other nations of the world should also rejoice with India. Those governments, such as of Britain and the U. S. that have deplored the use of force by India have only betrayed their lingering love for colonialism. No Government in the world has accepted Gandhian non-violence and disarmed and forsworn never to use force. According to the accepted political ethics of the nations, force was never more justified than the force employed by India in Goa. That India, after waiting patiently for fourteen years, was finally compelled to resort to force was wholly due to the refusal of the NATO powers, particularly of Britain, to discharge honestly their responsibilities to the ideals of freedom they have so loudly professed, as leaders of the so-called 'free world.'

Having said all this, I feel called upon, as one dedicated to the proposition that violence even in a good cause is immoral and an offence against humanity, to express my sorrow that my country had to take recourse to it. Only fourteen years ago, aided by forces of history, we liberated most of our country without taking arms against the foreign ruler. Now when we are immeasurably stronger and the forces of history too are even more favourable, we have failed to find non-violent means to free a tiny part of our Motherland. I am not blaming the Prime Minister or the Government of India. They are undoubtedly and truthfully wedded to the cause of peace, but they too have not forsworn violence of which the very existence of the Indian army is a constant reminder. True, they have eloquently and persistently denounced the use of force to solve international disputes and

always advocated peaceful means. The Goa action, therefore, does lay them open to the charge of inconsistency and threaten to lower their prestige; but in this world of *realpolitik*, that is not a damage that cannot soon be repaired by correct and humane behaviour, as is already evident, towards Portugal and her legitimate interests.

The blame in truth must be laid at the door of those of us in this country who claim to be working to build a non-violent society and a world order based on love. More particularly and pointedly, the blame lies on Vinoba's head, the commander of the Shanti Sena and us, his soldiers. We have deliberately and resolutely turned our backs upon the international disputes in which our country has been involved on the plea that we were not strong enough to offer non-violent solutions. It was wrong to my mind to think in terms of solutions, which are

hidden in the lap of the gods. All that is required is that one should do what is right. Events will not wait until we have completed our targets of Shantipatras and Bhoodan-Gramdan. Even if there were one *Satyagrahi*, he should have acted in the face of a situation like that of Goa. It is action that will give us strength, not inaction. There is no reason to believe that even today there are not thousands, perhaps, hundreds of thousands, who will be ready to respond to the call of positive non-violent action. What is wanted is leadership. I do hope there will be real heart-searching and re-thinking on the matter. The question of war and peace cannot be left to governments alone. No government can be expected to embrace non-violence. If non-violent action has to be taken, the people alone can take it. And there is no people in the world more fitted for the task than the Indian people.



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VOTER'S DILEMMA AND SARVODAYA APPROACH

Shankarrao Deo

(Continued from the previous issue in his reply to Sri Appasaheb Patwardhan's question published in this issue.)

Sangh' Advice to Voters

I will now deal with the main question raised by Appasaheb, *viz*, what advice the Sarva Seva Sangh has to give to a voter who desires to vote in the elections. It would be desirable in this connection to examine the variations in policy undergone by the Sarva Seva Sangh in 1951, 1956, and 1961. In 1951, the S. S. S. believed in the utilization of State power for achieving its ends. The 1951 resolution stated "that the Sarva Seva Sangh did not consider that the election manifestoes of the various political parties are adequate for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society, nor did it feel confident that they (i.e. the different political parties) would be in a position, on being placed in power, to execute their programmes fully and effectively. Therefore, the S. S. S. is not in a position to back any of the political parties."

It, however, envisaged a situation when the constructive workers themselves would be called to power. It went on to state as follows:—

"The question about the exercise of political power by constructive

workers can only arise, when people feel likewise and decide to place none else but the constructive workers in power, but this is yet a far cry."

It was also felt then that a political party opposed to the principles of Sarvodaya would make its realization difficult, and was likely to create obstruction in the path of constructive workers. Therefore, it recognized that constructive workers could not be indifferent as to which political party assumed power, and advised them and the voters as follows:—

"..... They (the constructive workers) should take an intelligent interest in the politics and administration of the country and educate the voters so that they realize the significance of the sacredness and power of the right to vote and learn to cast it thoughtfully and intelligently with a view to secure the purity of public life and the welfare of the people.

"The S.S.S. advises the voters, that they should not cast their votes in favour of a candidate, who does not possess, in their opinion, the necessary standard of purity in social and political life, even if he has been nominated by

the same political party to which they belong. The voters should further remember that they should never cast their votes for a candidate, who is communal minded, or who believes in the use of violent methods for the achievement of his objectives, because such an attitude is against the principles of Sarvodaya."

In 1956, there was a change in the policy of the S. S. S. It was felt that Socio-economic changes could be better achieved through educating the people in that behalf rather than through the utilization of State power. The resolution of 1956 clearly enunciated for the first time that 'a non-violent society could never be established through the agency of State-power'. It, therefore, stated as follows.

'The objective of the S. S. S. is the establishment of a non-violent society. It is an article of faith with the S. S. S. that such a society cannot be established through the agency of State-power. It is an accepted principle that the ultimate sanction in a democracy rests on the will of the people. Therefore, the S. S. S. will not take part, directly or indirectly in any politics, directed towards the achievement of State-power. The S. S. S. looks with an attitude of neutrality towards the party in power in the country as well as the other parties who desire

to wield such power. Today democracy is based on the party system. The S. S. S. feels that it is necessary to take an attitude transcending all political parties if democracy is to be based on the people as distinguished from political parties. Therefore, it cannot have any interest in the victory of one party as against another, because the process of conversion transcends all concepts of victory and defeat.....

...Therefore, the S. S. S. will neither participate in the elections nor tender any advice to individuals concerning the same. But lest some of the sentences in the above resolution would appear to be so widely worded as to draw the inference that the S. S. S. was literally indifferent to the professions and practice of the political party which served power in the State, the following was added:

'In the present circumstances some persons professing the Sarvodaya view-point would like to cast their votes. Obviously, they would not like to cast their votes for candidates professing communalism or violence...'

This clearly qualified the attitude of neutrality towards political parties. This attitude was not to apply to communal parties or those believing in violence. It was to emphasize this aspect that I wrote as follows to shri,

Kelappan during the state-wide agitation in Kerala against the Communist Government there demanding interim elections.

"I feel that the crucial point which should influence us, I mean those who believe in the principles of Sarvodaya and the theory of conversion, is how the communist party is using the power which they have obtained through democratic methods. Not only in political life alone, but in general life also, the difference between theory and practice, immediate and the long-term, must be considered in their proper perspective by those who believe in the theory of conversion."

That is, the question whether a particular political party is communal or violent has to be decided with reference to their professions and practices.

The 1956 resolution thus gave a certain direction to the voters who desired to cast their votes while at the same time changed the emphasis for achieving the Sarvodaya objective from the capture of political power to the education of the people.

In 1961, a further advance was made in the direction of the people's utilization of State-power. The S. S. S. directed that the people should form voters' councils, and cast their vote for candidates put in by these voters' councils and not for candidates put

in the field by parties. If political power was to be used at all, it was better that the people use it directly and not through the agency of a party. The 1961 resolution thus gave body and form to that part of the 1956 resolution which had declared that democracy would have to transcend the party system. It indicated to the people a method of doing so. They were to ignore candidates set up by political parties, and instead set up their own candidates through the medium of the voters' councils.

Appasaheb has raised the further question that even amongst the followers of Sarvodaya, various people may hold different views on current questions. If we take the question of a separate State for Vidarbha though the followers of Sarvodaya holding differing view-point, on this issue would not resort to violent or unconstitutional methods in support of their views, they may, as Appasaheb feels, be required to get these issues resolved by resorting to political methods. In such a case; each person will campaign for his point of view. Considering the evolution of Sarvodaya thought, this type of argument appears old and far-fetched today, the followers of Sarvodaya will not only not resort to violent or unconstitutional methods for the solution of their problems, but also they

would not think of finding a solution for them through the agency of the state-power. They would like to get a solution for them, through public education, and would try to persuade other people also follow the same cause.

Heavy Price

Finally, Appasaheb feels that if the Sarvodaya view-point is to be accepted by the nation, the Lok-Sabha is an appropriate forum for propagating it, and it should be used accordingly. On a superficial view, this idea appears plausible, and attractive. But if we think a bit more deeply we shall realize what a high price will have to be paid for such conduct. The Lok-Sabha of today, unlike the Central Assembly of the pre-independence period is not merely an instrument of national propaganda, it is also a legislative organ. In order to enable us to carry on propaganda through its agency for the achievement of our larger objectives, we must either ourselves become its members or actively help others to become so. In either case we subject ourselves to and morally accept its authority as an instrument through which the power of the State is exercised, and this is a very heavy price we will have to pay. This will also land us in another difficulty. Thereby we shall be strengthening the present system of democracy, which is

operating through political parties. Therefore, people, who believe in moral means for the achievement of their objectives, should keep themselves away from the attraction of utilizing the agency of the Lok-Sabha for propagating their ideas.

There is, no doubt, that if any reference is to be accepted by the people, and is to be incorporated in the Constitution of the country, it will have to obtain the seal of approval of the Lok-Sabha. Therefore, such candidates, as desire to enter the Lok-Sabha for propagating our view-point, will have our good wishes. This is inevitable. But we will not be their propagandists. It is one thing to give our blessings to a person who is out to do a particular piece of good work, and help him to achieve it, and quite another thing for the sake of that one thing, to give him direct or indirect support for everything else that he does.

Before any idea is accepted by the Lok-Sabha, it is necessary that education of the people on mass scale should precede it. This is the corner stone of the policy of *Lokniti*. We should educate the people on the different questions which face them, try to rouse their initiative, and involve them fully in an effort to solve their problems through their own initiative. ★

★ THE VOTER'S DILEMMA ★

Appasaheb Patwardhan

IT is well-known that the current system of elections is full of abuses and leads to many evils. A candidate at the elections has to assume the very improper role of begging for votes. He has literally to spend his money like water by way of election expenses. The elections are decided by a majority of votes; victory breeds insolence in the majority, and hatred in the minority, and accentuates the struggle for power. This leads to conflict, violence and many other evils.

As a remedy for all this the Sarva Seva Sangh has initiated the programme of *Lokniti*; but it appears to be incomplete. In the present circumstances it is an impossible task to organize voters' councils, and through their agency to secure uncontested (unanimous) elections. This idea needs to be pursued further, but it cannot be a programme of practical action in the coming elections.

Whom to Vote

Thus the programme of *Lokniti* provides no answer to the questions which confront the average voter: should he cast his vote or not in the coming elections? And if he has to vote, for whom should he vote?

Not to cast one's vote at all appears to be improper. Every

voter is in the position of a judge. If a judge refuses to adjudicate between a plaintiff and a defendant he will merely establish his incompetency. He will be acting contrary to his office. He will be guilty of a breach of trust. In a similar way if a voter refuses to cast his vote he will be failing to discharge his duty and responsibility. As a rule, it is his duty to make a selection among the candidates, and vote for the candidate of his choice.

No Secret Ballot

And in my view a voter should cast his vote openly and not by secret ballot. Under *swraj* it is the right and duty of every individual to profess his views openly. To vote by secret ballot is to give way to fear.

In selecting a candidate, his views, programme, and capacity for leadership would have to be considered, but then, more importance will have to be attached to the party to which he belongs and its programme. A party is formed on the basis of ideology, programme and leadership. In a party system, competition for power is a great drawback. Yet it is of supreme importance that the voter votes for a candidate and a party whose ideology he accepts. He cannot vote for a good

candidate who belongs to a wrong party. He cannot vote for a party which is communal or believes in violence. A voter must, therefore, discriminate between different parties, and exercise his choice between them.

Love for All Parties

"All parties are the same to a Sarvodayite" is an idea that should not be stretched to the limit that we should be indifferent as to which party assumes power. We should have equal love and respect for all parties, should seek the concurrence and co-operation of all, and should not try to exercise the coercive power of the majority on the minority instead of trying to obtain their concurrence.

If we want to keep ourselves aloof from the struggle for power then we must not only not vote for anybody but also persuade others to act in a similar manner.

This is the logical conclusion of keeping ourselves aloof from the struggle for power. But if we have to cast our vote, it will have to be for some party, and in that case, it follows logically that we will have to ask others also to vote in a similar way. To exercise one's vote, and yet not to propagate that view is to take a position which is neither here nor there.

Even amongst the followers of Sarvodaya there could be different

views on matters of current interest. For example, some may desire a separate State for the Vidarbha region, while others may desire a single State for all the Marathi speaking people. They would of course, not resort to violent or unconstitutional methods for achieving their objectives. And yet within the limits of good citizenship they can hold different opinions. In this situation, each would propagate his point of view. And in the process they may provide a practical example of how election centres are conducted in a gentlemanly manner.

Such mutually conflicting ideas arise in my mind, and I am not able to resolve them. I, therefore, desire the guidance of co-workers.

The Forum of Lok-Sabha

There is one more question. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has placed before the country his scheme of democratic decentralization. This scheme has to be introduced in the Lok-Sabha as a resolution. Who will do so? It is not that the Lok-Sabha will assent to it in a day. It will have to be introduced and discussed repeatedly. Opinion in the Lok-Sabha will have to be gradually built up. If someone desires to enter the Lok-Sabha just for propagating this scheme—and if there is no other objection to his candidature—will not Jayaprakashji

be required to support him? Will it be considered improper to utilise the forum of the Lok-Sabha to propagate one's scheme?

It is not an universal rule that elections are fought only for securing political power. Some persons may like to keep themselves aloof from power-politics and desire to enter the Legislatures for propagation of their views. Why should one not vote for such propagandists of the Sarvodaya view-point?

My Scheme

I have also my own scheme of ending exploitation. It consists of the following essential points

(i) land should belong to all
(ii) interest, dividend, and rent, in all forms should cease
(iii) currency should automatically depreciate with the passage of time. This scheme cannot be operated unless it is approved and sanctioned by the Lok-Sabha. I do not desire that the Lok-Sabha should approve of it without previous education of public opinion and try to enforce it solely on the strength of State-power. Yet propaganda for the scheme in the Lok-Sabha is an important element in public education; why should we not utilize it? Why should we not let others do so? ★

THE MESSAGE OF VINOBA

Look at the flags of the various political parties in our country. The Communist flag bears the sickle and the hammer, the Socialist one the wheel and the Congress flag the Charkha. They do not bear the symbol of a ring or a sword but of an implement of production and work. They only indicate that the coming age will not be of the rich or the powerful but of the worker. Who will honour the poor? Not the wielder of the sword, but the worker in the field—and this is the Message of Vinoba.

The new incarnation of God will not carry the Sudarshan Chakra or the bow and the arrow, but he will bear and carry the instruments of production.

Now-a-days the instruments of production are bought for money and the powerful can also deprive us of them. This is why the money and the sword are valued and held in awe. We want to put an end to the power of buyer and the exploiter—not by force but love.

But who will be the spearhead of this movement?

One who is the producer who bears no authority of any kind, who is a non-possessor, who is peaceful and non-violent. This is a movement based on love. The big and the powerful are only few, but if the masses join together in the bonds of love and march forward there is no power on earth which can stop them. ★

Dada Dharmadhikari



COMPETITION AND CIVILIZATION

Dr. Jur. Hans Hintze

Translated from the German and edited by
E. S. Hansch — *Director of Henry George School of Economics,*
Portland, U. S. A.

We are indebted to Mr. Eric Hansch who is already familiar to our readers, for his special contribution to Sarvodaya, this translation from the German original. The motivating force in the present order of life is clearly analysed and the writer suggests as a radical remedy that the springs of motivation should separate labour from the means of subsistence, and the urges for private profit should give place to voluntary return of service to society and personal egoism should subliminate into spiritual intuition and altruism.

Social feeling and thinking in our times are determined to an essential degree through our submission to the law of the competitive struggle. This is generally considered as almost a natural law ruling our social-economic realm. Let us examine this social fact a little closer.

In the history of jurisprudence we find the so-called "School of Natural Rights". Jurists who adhere to this school are seriously endeavoring to derive the foundations for a comprehensive legal code from the basic human characteristics. Along with other definitions we find there the description of one of the basic elements of human behaviour: "*homo homini lupus lupus*", or: the relationship of men to his fellow

men is as that of wolf to wolf, greedy to dispute one another the loot, and ready to tear one another to pieces when no other subsistence is in sight.

This sentence is an everyday reality in our social-economic life, and none among us can withdraw from its cruel consequences.

What is it that this struggle of competition demands of us? It demands that I secure control of the market, and with this also that I push my competitors aside and possibly out of the market. In the competitive struggle I battle against my fellow men as my competitors.

This attitude and practice bring forth in us a formative force, forming as it were a certain

human type whose soul-life will be determined in its shape and course by this very struggle. Think of a manufacturer who dedicated all his endeavors to the success and progress of his enterprise, only to find that slowly but surely large and powerful economic constellations are overpowering him and drive him to his economic ruin. When all his ingenuity and attempts to turn the threatening fate away come to naught in this uneven struggle, this soul will be invaded by feelings of fear and despair, resulting finally in *sentiments of hate!*

Or think of the manager of large corporation whose undoubted duty it is to enlarge the sales area of his company, even though this be done at the expense of the competitors. If he shirks this duty or fails in fulfilling it, he will be fired from his post and loses the economic basis of his existence. But in fulfilling his task he will be prone to the inebriation of power. And his soul will succumb to the temptation to make itself insensitive to the misfortune of his fellowmen; because his competitors are also his fellowmen!

As concerns his competitors he must discard feelings of sympathy. In as much as we are competitors we all act — without exception — according to the query: "Shall

or must I be my brothers' keeper?"

In the wider sense, we are competitors also when we ask for salary or wage increases, or if we, as employers, oppose demands for higher wages. Competitors we are when we as salesmen try to sell our product at a high margin of profit, or as consumers, to obtain this same product at the lowest possible price. Competitors we are everywhere, we try to get our share of the pie, as the familiar phrase goes. Our everyday economic life is permeated with conscious and unconscious impulses. And these reflect on our *entire* soul-life. Especially do they give our volitional and desire-life a distinct direction, that move toward the unrestraint rule of egotism.

We can trace the effects of this competitive struggle in many facets of our public life: in racketeering, gangsterism, in the insidious increase of major crimes, murder and killing, in gains by false pretense and embezzlements, even in the formation of juvenile gangs. We meet everywhere with this sentence: "*homo homini lupus lupus*", to its uttermost anti-social consequence.

The influence of the economic conditions is especially evident in the cases of graft and political corruption, because here the persons involved often are not

aware of the criminal nature of their acts.

The delinquent glosses over the fact that although it is held permissible to deceive the competitor, to damage him and to drive him into his economic ruin, not every means to this end is legal. And closely related to this sort of thing is the unmitigated admiration of the financial and social success. The successful person is admired and respected, and no aspersions are cast on how he has become successful: there is no question of a spiritual evaluation of persons or deeds.

The spiritual impulses active in the competitive struggle can be seen with greatest clarity in the acts of the movie theaters. What is here being offered is education to egotism in its most brutal form, be they *movies of gangsters, sex or wildwest*.

The most decisive precipitation of the competitive struggle, however, can be found in the great events on the world scene. For the catastrophic world situation is nothing else but the mirrored image of our own soul condition. We are so accustomed to the competitive struggle as being a natural necessity, that we are impassively and fatalistically disposed to let the ultimate form of it overtake us in the shape of

world wars of annihilation as something inevitable.

In attempting to save us from such a hopeless appearing mire, we meet with the so-called moral rearmament. Here an appeal is made to the individual to purge his own moral and ethical concepts. For, it is said, when the individual becomes a better person, then all humanity and consequently the world situation will be improved. Such an appeal undoubtedly brings much good with it. But it is unable to turn away the catastrophe. For this, more is needed than just the abstract appeal: to become better. What is needed is the insight into the three-fold spirit-soul-physical *entelechy* of the human being. Needed is the insight into the laws according to which man in his physical incarnation becomes the bearer and architect of the social organism. Abstract moral appeals do not have the spiritual power to be really effective, because they do not become active forces in the ordering of the social organism. Also, in order to bring about the healing of this organism, we must remove the accumulated poisons and toxins which always infect the soul-life of man anew. To this end it is necessary to find practical measures which can only be perceived by spiritual cognition. The way here has

been pointed by *Rudolf Steiner* in his *Main Social Law*.

Already in 1905, Rudolf Steiner, in an article in the publication "Lucifer Gnosis", has brought the Main Social Law to public consciousness:

"The well-being of a community of co-operating people who have adopted the division of labor to a high degree, is the greater, the less each one of them demands for himself out of the produce of his own work, which is to say, the more he surrenders of this his produce to his fellow producers, and the more he satisfies his own wants from the produce of others."

Let us add to this a quote from the lecture cycle "In These Changed Times" (In geänderter Zeitiage), as well as from the other: "Fundamental Historical Ideas for the Development of a Social Judgment" (Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untereagen zur Bildung eines Sozialen Urteils): *Separate Labour*:

"Everything that the human being acquires directly through his own work in the communal life, turns into misfortune. Well-being results in this connection only when a man does not seek his subsistence through his own work, but obtains it from the other sources of social co-operation ... There is one thing that will make his own efforts espe-

cially fruitful, and that is to discard the concept of wages. For we have to strive for one thing mainly, and that in a reasonable and sensible, not bolshevik, way, and that is to separate labour from the acquisition of the means of subsistence."

"If we want to succeed in obtaining a fruitful social structure, then we must not tolerate... that man is being paid for his own immediate work in wages. All produce belongs to all of humanity, and the means of subsistence must be gotten by other routes than those of paying wages for his work ... there is immediately conflict in the social area, when man is connected with it in such a way that he is being paid for his work according to whether he produces much or little. The human being must receive his subsistence through a different social structure."

But, when his subsistence is being guaranteed in this way, irrespective of the quantity of his production, do we not protect and encourage loafers and vagabonds? Will not the total produce be generally reduced? The very fact that this objection rises up in us at once, confirms how much we are subject to the ideas of the competitive struggle. Because the objection stems from the — perhaps unadmitted — conviction that man will not work unless

driven to it with *sugar (wages)* and the *whip (hunger)*.

Are there no other Motivations for work than egotism? From the military and civil services we know one other, that of *duty*. But he who has carefully observed and studied the oncoming generation can assert that these young people find hardly any ethical value in the concept of duty. In the deep recesses of their souls this new generation expects more. It expects a humanly *dignified and meaningful motivation to work*. When they find themselves disappointed in their hopes they will turn to the crassest egotism and a purely materialistic outlook in their relations with their fellow-men who should be their partners.

A motivation to work that is worthy of a human being can only be found as the results of a free spiritual life. When man opens himself to the spiritual world he will receive inspiration that will cause him to take up the plow and the hammer, or the pen and the slide-rule. It is from the spiritual world that moral intuitions are awakened in the human being causing him to feel the need of exerting his faculties for the well-being of his fellow-men and brothers. A really free spiritual life releases moral forces in him which come to manifestation as fraternal actions in the economic life.

We will then become *conscious* more and more and in a deepened sense of how many services each one of us receives from his fellowmen to provide us with food, clothing and shelter, to be able to use streetcars, trains, and automobiles, to be cared for by doctors and nurses when we fall ill, to enjoy our vacations in the great outdoors. And from this the urge is awakened to return to them at least as much as we receive from the work of others.

The Main Social Law takes into account this human need to receive the *motivation for our labors from moral intuitions*, which in its ultimate consequence means *nothing else but an inner change in direction from egotism to altruism*. To him who is still doubtful about the practicality of what has been said, may be recommended a thought taken from Rudolf Steiner's little work: "The Three-fold Commonwealth in its Practical Application" (In *Ausführung der Dreigliederung des Sozialen Organismus*) which should be used as a basis for meditation:

".....the concept of the three-fold social organismwants to create in a free spiritual life the basis for a *motivation to work, thus replacing today's individual profit motive*.

"Only in a free spiritual life can arise the love toward a

human social order, in the same way and of the same kind as it can be found in *an artist toward his work*. If it is thought impossible to nurse such love in a free spiritual life, then one may as well give up any intent to reconstruct our social order. If it is thought impossible to bring humanity around to harbor such love, then it also must be doubted that we can ever dispense with personal profit as a motive for economic activity. He who finds it impossible to believe that a free spiritual life will bring forth such love in the human being does not realize that the very dependence of the spiritual life on the state and on the economic realm causes the greed and passion for personal gain, and that such greed and passion are not elemental ingredients of

the human nature. It is because of this error one hears it so often said that in order to put the threefold commonwealth into practice different human beings from those of today are needed. No, humanity will be educated through the threefold social organism to become different from what it is today where the economy is being influenced and often directed by the state."

The Main Social Law may appear hard to comprehend to the man of today, because we are all under the spell of private profit as the only possible impulse for our work. In times of booming business one can sell one's labor with so much advantage. And yet, this Main Social Law corresponds to an innermost need of humanity.

(Note of the Translator: the above essay appeared in German in the April 1961 publication (29th issue) of the Social Science at the Goetheanum in Dornach: Switzerland, headquarters of the General Anthroposophical Society.) ★

LOOK AT THE BEES AND BIRDS!

What bird makes claim to all God's trees?
What bee makes claim to all God's flowers?
Behold their perfect harmonies!
Their common hoard, their common hours!
Say, why should man be less than these,
The happy birds, the hoarding bees?

—Joaquin Miller, *The Building of the City Beautiful*, Chap. XX.
p. 162, Third Edition.

—The Earth for of all Calendar, pp. 2 to 22.

Technological Progress and Impact on Society

Aldous Huxley's Warning

"THERE is a kind of lag between the biological tempo of man's life and what may be called the force of psychological inertia on the one hand and the enormously accelerated tempo of technological change which is forcing all kinds of sociological implications on the other. This seems to me to be one of the main difficulties confronting us now. In the past developments in technology took place over a period, giving us a lot of time to think about and make adjustments. The atom bomb and the more terrible bombs that followed were all developed in a decade," said Mr. Huxley in an exclusive interview to *The Hindu*.

Mr. Huxley answered questions on a variety of subjects ranging from economic development to population control.

Replying to a question whether in view of his emphasis of existing resources he was opposed to planned economic development, Mr. Huxley said that the startling fact confronting them now was the rapidity with which resources were consumed. "We are eating into the capital and

sacrificing a pretty accurately predictable future to present greed." America's high-grade iron ore and copper ore had run out. They would have to manage here-after with low grade ores which were very expensive to smelt. At this rate the world would exhaust, all the known resources in a few decades and the problem of conservation would naturally have to be considered in all seriousness some time or other. He would advise the development of natural resources to be confined to absolute needs.

Speaking on the consequences of advances in technique, Mr. Huxley said that every notable advance in technique or organisation had stepped up centralisation and had to be paid for. Asked whether organisation and centralisation were things altogether undesirable, he replied that organisation was something desirable until it reached certain proportions, but when there was a terrific concentration of power, it became very dangerous. He said that while he was in Delhi he was told that there was too much of bureaucracy in India. He thought India was not the only country suffering

from that. He felt that bureaucracy as long as it was flexible and did not prevent things being done, could be tolerated. "There is, however, no foolproof formula for keeping bureaucracy flexible and not let it develop rigidly" he said.

Answering a question on the crumbling of old values and the alarming fall in moral standards one witnessed all round, Mr. Huxley said it was really a problem of juvenile delinquency. Children were not offered the physical means for expressing

their energies. "They are only educated on the verbal and conceptual level and not on the physical emotional and the imaginative levels. In the past, boys and girls when they became 13 years old were absorbed in work and there could be no delinquency when one was digging in the field all day long. Looking at the educational curriculum of the modern school, any rational psychologist would anticipate this fall. Our main task is to lift our educational systems from the scholastic grooves into which they had got stuck up."



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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA, TANJORE, INDIA.

BACK TO THE LAND!

Noshir Bilpodiwala

FOR most people life in a modern city is anonymous, atomic, less than fully human; nevertheless, large cities grow steadily larger and the pattern of urban industrial living remains unchanged.

Migration from the rural to the urban areas continuously adds to the numerous problems, to mention a few, the housing shortage, the transport problem, water supply and several others. Life becomes enjoyable in a state of creativity; this creativeness is lost in urban living.

Once a farmer friend asked me if I would be willing to settle on a farm, if I was able to obtain almost the same standards of living in the village as I did in the city. I enquired as to how such a thing was possible. "We cannot get electricity running water, recreational facilities, as in a city." He then suggested that I go and see a couple of villages worked farms on the basis of co-operatives.

So when I went to Sevagram (near Wardha) last year, I saw a co-operative farm tilled by a group of thirty farmers. They worked on the land, under the guidance of Annasaheb Sahastrabuddhe, one of Vinoba's co-workers. Here I saw that the farmer could grow his own wholesome food and could eat fruits which an average city dweller finds quite expensive.

It was with envy that I saw beautiful cottages belonging to

these workers for which a city dweller would have to pay no less than Rs. 150/- to Rs. 200/- p. m. I could see that so far as nutrition and shelter were concerned, the co-operative farmer enjoyed a better standard of living than the city labourer.

The reader naturally asks that if village life was so much better, why did the villages empty out and cities filled. There are several reasons for this and one of them is that due to shortage of rainfall thousands of acres of land could not be brought under cultivation, famines were common and with industrialisation cities offered a better scope for living with greater attractions. Monsoons governed the life of a cultivator and the resulting unemployment drove the villagers enmasse to the cities in the hope of finding a better life. Upton Sinclair in his novel "The Jungle" gives us a fair idea of how villagers were seduced from village to cities.

After the independence, the Government of India undertook projects in order to provide irrigation facilities to the several areas which were previously dry.

Today "about 35 per cent of our land area," says the Hindustan Year book, "is fertile, well-watered and under cultivation. About 25 per cent lies fallow and can be brought under cultivation." A few people are

already heeding the call and are falling back to the land.

Another co-operative that I saw after Sevagram is "the Subhash Samudayik Shetki Sangh", about seven miles from Poona, at Manjri. This collective farm has a membership of 74 out of which 35 are working members and 39 are sympathisers.

The former contribute more than 97 per cent of the share capital. The latter get only a dividend on the share capital, whereas the working members get in addition to dividend, wages at the rate of Rs. 3.25 nP. per day and bonus on the basis of the number of work-days they put in during the year.

Besides this, the worker on the land enjoys several amenities such as free quarters, free vegetables for personal consumption and 2000 lbs. of grain for five members of the family (at

the rate of 400 lbs. per adult per year), at wholesome rate.

This co-operative society was established in 1948, having taken 223 acres of land on lease from the State Government at the rate of Rs. 44 per annum per acre. Apart from this, the society purchased 150 acres of land for Rs. 1,30,000 in 1956. About 30 acres are not cultivated so. On that the members are about to start building a co-operative store, a charitable hospital and also a dairy farm.

This society is guided by a managing committee of seven members elected by the annual general meeting of all members.

They move according to necessity, as work comes up in the entire area.

The following table shows the profits or losses and the bonus distributed per work-day since the society's establishment.

Year	Profit or Loss	Rs. nP.	Bonus distributed per work-day to working members
			Rs. nP.
1948—49	Loss	4,930—91	Nil
1949—50	Loss	13,190—83	Nil
1950—51	Profit	20,343—64	1—62
1951—52	"	18,045—68	0—44
1952—53	"	19,104—62	1—15
1953—54	"	43,501—39	2—75
1954—55	"	4,661—00	0—15
1955—56	"	7,590—95	0—19
1956—57	"	15,949—46	0—56
1957—58	"	2,546—20	Not distributed
1958—59	"	24,658—33	1—05
1959—60	"	50,599—95	2—10

After seeing this farm, I met a retired Registrar of Co-operative Societies who knew Subhashnagar well. I remarked that it was an unique experiment. He said: "It has crossed its experimental stage and is now a well-established farm." Its prosperity can be seen from the table, year after year. These experiments show that 'back to the land' is perhaps one of the many solutions to the problems facing this country. The teaming populations overcrowding the cities, with its slums full of scum will surely find a happy life if co-operative working becomes more common on the land.

For the educated, Government service is today, more than ever before, virtually the only career open to middle class boys in India. It is true that villages today are steeped deep in ignorance, illiteracy and stench and so, offer meagre attraction to those educated in cities. Doctors, for instance, are never eager to establish practice in villages. But it is only when the educated go into the villages with a missionary zeal that they will be able to instil a new life there and also bring up the standard of living considerably, by providing facilities and amenities for themselves and consequently for the village itself.

In cities, one result of progress is the demand for more progress and it's a good thing too. The same could also be worked out at village level.

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, after visiting several western countries, expressed his firm opinion that on the whole, agriculture alone

could not solve India's problem. It has necessarily to be supplemented by cottage industries.

This, it may be recalled was the remedy suggested by the Mahatma too. Vincent Sheean, in his absorbing account of "Nehru The Years of Power," reflects over his conversations with Rajaji and contrasts the old potter that he saw in a village with the welder at the integral coach factory at Perambur. The former, he argues, makes a good deal less money than the latter—but one wonders if that is the main consideration. The villager spends less, leading a simple life, and is not attracted by a city's bright lights, like his son. Gandhiji's familiar idea was the industrialisation could be accomplished without slums or overcrowding of cities, at the cost of the health of the worker. Rajaji's dislike of industrialisation is akin to that of Gandhiji's.

Modern minds tend to scoff at this old-fashioned thought but the pertinent question is whether the city dweller is on an average, happier than his ancestors who inhabited villages, and whether the old and the new can exist together without multiplying discontent.

In the final analysis all depends on what you consider a good standard of living. If the high standard of living consists of nutritious wholesome food, sufficient quantity of clothes for the family, a good-three-roomed shelter with a garden, the city dweller, can surely get a better standard of living, if he goes back to the land. ★

Agreement Among Political Parties

For a Code of Conduct in Elections

D. V. Dastane, A. B. S. S. S., Kashi.

IT was as early as September 1959, that the Sarva Seva Sangh had adopted a Resolution at its meeting held at Pathankot, inviting the attention of all political parties in the country to the necessity of adopting a Common Code of Conduct in connection with the General Elections. The Sangh itself had made some concrete suggestions regarding the "Code" and passed again a Resolution in the 13th All India Sarvodaya Sammelan Sarvodayapurym (Andhra Pradesh) on April 17, 1961. With the General Elections almost upon us, the question has assumed practical importance, and the attention of thoughtful people has been driven to the necessity of doing something concrete before the election flood sweeps people off their feet. It was on May 17, 18, 1961 that the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics and the Samaj Prabodhan Sanstha, both of Poona, organised a seminar on the subject at Bhatghar (Dt. Poona). Similar seminars were organised by various State Sarvodaya Mandals at Lucknow, Jaipur, Patna and Baroda.

Andhra Pradesh Sarvodaya Mandal also convened a similar meeting of different political parties, held in two sessions on 9th and 14th December 1961. It is gratifying to note that top-leaders of the various parties (i. e., the Congress, Communist, The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, The Socialist, The Praja Party and the Ittehadul Muslamin) including the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh participated in the meeting. The statement adopted unanimously at the meeting is given below.

Agreement on a Code of Conduct During Elections

1. While criticising other political parties in the course of political agitation, criticism should be confined mainly to their principles, policies and programme. So also, it is necessary to eschew criticism of the aspects of private life, not connected with the public activities of the leaders or the workers of other parties. Further no criticism of the parties or their workers, based on falsehood or distortion, should be indulged in.

2. No party should indulge in any activity which would create mutual hatred or increase tension between different castes and religious communities.

3. Political parties should desist from creating obstructions in or break up of meetings, processions, etc, organized by other parties.

4. Political power, at any level, should not be used for furthering interests of the members of one's own party or to harm the interest of others.

5. Parties either dominating or holding power in co-operative institutions should not use it for furthering the interests of the members of one's own party or to discriminate against the members of other parties.

6. Unconstitutional and immoral methods such as bogus

voting, offering liquor, bribing etc, should not be practised for securing votes.

7. Whenever possible, efforts should be made to evolve a common platform for election propaganda.

8. Care must be taken to see that the symbol or flag of any party or candidate is not insulted or dishonoured.

9. If, after being elected, a person deserts his party and does not tender resignation of his membership, other party should not accept him as a member.

10. If the code of conduct is violated by the members of any party the incident should be made public by the party itself and assurance given to the effect that such violations would not be repeated in future.



OFF THE BEATEN TRACK

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By Wilfred Wellock

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(Continued from Page 240)
tackled in various degrees by different peace groups in the world, that is, by those of them who accept truth and love or non-violence as the basis of social life. But it would be generally admitted that, by and large, the idea that a non-violent society would have not only its own kind of values but also its own kind of social forms, has not been sufficiently seriously taken up by the peace-makers of the world. Much more thought than at present should be given to discovering the right type of political, economic and social institutions suited to a society of non-violence.

The above task cannot but take time to fulfil. In the meanwhile situations of violence, external or internal, are bound to arise (as they have done in the past). The question before non-violent peace-makers—for the peace-makers who merely desire peace, in the sense of absence of war, the question does not arise—is how to deal with such situations. The police and the army have traditionally been held responsible to deal with them. Both the police and army are based on the philosophy and practice of violence. Their success is the success of violence. Non-violent peace-makers have not hitherto seriously considered the question of creating a non-violent alternative to the police force. In regard to

the army, the position has been that believers in non-violence have refused to join it, assist it or give it their co-operation in peace or war. For that they have suffered in many ways. But again, the question of non-violent defence and of producing a non-violent alternative to the army has not been seriously taken up. The peace-maker's position on war has hitherto been mainly negative. It is time that a positive approach were attempted. The Indian Shanti Sena is a small effort in that direction, though it has not much to show by way of achievement. (It has to be shamefully admitted that in relation to the Goa incident it failed entirely. That failure, however, need not be a damper for those gathered at Beirut.)

The above line of thought implies that non-violent peace-makers should organise in their respective countries peace 'armies' (or brigades). It is not that these brigades are to be constituted by fresh recruits; the peace-makers themselves should compose them. While they to their normal, long-term peace-work, they are peace-makers, pacifists, Friends, Lok Savaks (the generic term for Gandhian workers in India; literally, meaning servants of the people), etc; but when they engage in the specific work of keeping the peace (internal or

external), they are soldiers or brigadiers of peace. The distinction is necessary because the very description, peace brigade, implies a specific responsibility entailing necessary training, discipline and physical and psychological preparedness.

As peace requires international action, it would be necessary, and but natural, for the different peace brigades to constitute together a World Peace Brigade. If the 'National' brigades are strong, the very fact of their coming together would be a powerful guarantee of world peace. But at present there are no peace brigades except the incipient Shanti Sena in India. They can, however, be established without difficulty in all those countries where non-violent peace organisations are in existence. Their combined force should make up even today a respectable world brigade.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Women should not be indifferent to politics. They must take an active part and take up the politics of breaking down this politics. Ours is to establish *Lokaniti*, for which women must come forward. We have to set up a partyless society. Let men join the Congress, P. S. P., C. P. I., or any other party, but women must make a resolve and declare that they would remain party-free and that they see no need to indulge in party-affairs. The right to vote should, of course, be exercised. They can do so by quietly voting for the proper person. This is like the secret *Gayatri-mantra*. You need not, therefore, divulge at all whom you have voted. Women should not enter any party or group. The idea of majority vote seventy against thirty, is against the notion of mother-hood. There can be no division in mother-hood, as the mother is concerned with the well-being of one and all. Once minority ruled the majority. Now we have the reverse — majority ruling the minority. It is just a counter-stroke. In fact, women must look towards the interest of all.

VINOBA.

U. N. debates on Indian action in Goa have shown that even States groaning under the weight of armaments demand—sincerely or insincerely is not so relevant—that international disputes be settled non-violently. And yet the only existing agency for maintaining world peace, the United Nations, is employing nothing but armed forces to achieve peace; and no one sees any contradiction in that. The very idea that it is possible to achieve peace through a non-violent force is absent from the minds of both the peoples and their governments. The emergence of a World Peace Brigade would give that idea a concrete form. That might become a landmark in the world's quest for peace.

It is not easy to see how a World Peace Brigade would function: it is for the Beirut Conference to consider that. But I hope, all would agree that the time had come for some such step to be taken. ★

A WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

Michael Randle

BRUMMANA is a village in the hills overlooking Beirut. As the weather was mild and sunny—the conference was held in quite idyllic surroundings. Fifty-five delegates attended from 13 countries. They are Australia, India, Ghana, Tanganyika, Lebanon, Italy, Switzerland, France, Holland, Western Germany, Canada, the United States and Britain.

The U. S. A. had the largest number of 14—including some of the most prominent in the U. S. non-violent movement as A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, Bert Bigelow, who skippered the Golden Rule, Bob Gilmore, Brad Lytle and others. The next largest delegations were from Britain and Lebanon with eight each, then came Western Germany and India with five each. The number of delegates from other countries varied from one to three.

Martin Buber, one of the sponsors of the conference, was unable to get a visa to come to Lebanon from Israel, Jayaprakash Narayan sent a sad note of apology to the conference and a memorandum regretting that Vinoba Bhave and the Shanti Sena movement in India had failed to make any attempt to tackle the Goa problem by non-violent means.

From one point of view the meeting could not have been held at a more inauspicious moment. The invasion of Goa would hardly have been important in itself in a

world of total violence had it not reflected and symbolised a growing disillusion with the methods of non-violence in India and among all the new actions of the neutralist block. In the Congo, the United Nations seemed to be on the verge of full-scale war. In Southern Africa the white minority, backed by powerful industrial interests, seemed determined to seal off the area of African liberation, and even to extend the area of their control by setting up a puppet regime in Katanga, and smashing the United Nations' efforts. The East-West situation was no better. Russia's resumption of tests looked like the starting signal for a frantic new lap in the nuclear arms race. Britain and U. S. were talking of resuming tests. Berlin was likely to blaze up at any moment.

The detailed work of the conference was carried out by the four policy groups into which the conference divided itself and by the steering committee and other ad hoc committees. The four policy groups dealt with the following areas: Group A—Statement of Principles and Aims; Group B—structure, Relationship with other Organisations and Finance (and "Finance" looks like an after thought, but it is going to prove one of the brigade's major headaches); C—Volunteers and Training; Group D—Initial activities. The first two days of the conference were therefore devoted almost entirely to this issue.

The point of difference was not really about aims or principles but about the particular function of the Brigades. Some emphasized the international direct action role of the Brigade. Others put their first emphasis on a programme of constructive service operating outside the context of the cold war; Still others on the work of mediation and reconciliation. The final conference statement gave as number one of the Aims; "To organise, train and keep available a brigade for non-violent action in situations of potential or actual conflict, internal and international; against all war, preparations for war, and the continuing development of weapons of mass destruction."

The other functions of the Brigade defined were those of co-ordinating existing national movements, activating people to resist modern War, promoting experiments in non-violent actions, joining with people in their non-violent struggle for self-determination, and promoting and undertaking research in fields relevant to the work of the Brigade. In short, we decided to set up a new international pacifist organisation committed to promoting and organising non-violent action for peace and freedom. Wisely, however, the emphasis was on action and experiment not dogma.

G. Ramachandran, the veteran associate of Gandhi, singled out war and colonialism as the issues around which the two initial projects of the Brigade should

centre. I thought he did a good job in defining the areas that the various policy groups should cover. His presence and quiet dignified humour gave a spirit and character to the conference that helped it considerably in the more difficult discussions.

The conference took his advice. It decided to hold a day of international protest against war preparation, probably concentrating on the issue of nuclear tests, and to have a second project in Southern Africa. Both these projects were no more than outlined and it is left to the Council elected by the conference to work out details. The Africa project involves the setting up of a training centre in East Africa and a freedom march into southern Africa.

The structure of the Brigade is rudimentary and provisional. The basic membership of the organisation now consists of those who took part in the conference, and will in future consist of those involved in Brigade activities. A conference will be held every two years to appoint a Council who will in turn appoint an Executive Committee. For the present a provisional Council has been set up and working Committees in the United States, Great Britain and India. Delegates from other countries are being encouraged to set up Working Groups to promote the work of the Brigade and to set up training Centres.

—Condensed from — "Peace News," London: 12-1-1962



Dr. J. C. Kumarappa's 71st Birthday Celebrations

THE 71st birthday of the late Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, the renowned Gandhian Economist, was celebrated in Madras at the Pargola Garden in the Government Estate on 4-1-1962. It began with solemn prayer and silent spinning. Sri G. Venkatachalapathy, Additional Development Commissioner and Vice Chairman, Kumarappa Memorial Committee presided and Sri S. R. Subramaniam spoke.

In his presidential address, Sri G. Venkatachalapathy said that the life and example of the late Dr. Kumarappa was a source of inspiration to workers in the field of rural reconstruction. He quoted many incidents from the life of Dr. Kumarappa to show how fearless, straightforward and truthful Kumarappa was. He said that Kumarappa never feared to express his mind on the actions of many of our leaders, even if it be the President of the Nation or the Prime Minister, whenever he found that their actions did not do good to the masses. Kumarappa strongly believed in the decentralized industrial development and he spent all his life working for that cause. He was an intellectual genius, who gave an orientation to many of our developmental work in the country.

Sri S. R. Subramaniam eloquently explained Dr. Kumarappa's contribution to the cause of World Peace. He said that Dr. Kumarappa knew that the root cause of war was that man has not learnt to treat his neigh-

bour with love and kindness. He said Kumarappa held that War was the collective manifestation of the tension that exists between man and man, one group and another. He stressed therefore that our economic order should so change as to evolve an Economy of Peace, if we are to remove the causes of War. Our economic approach should be duty-centred and *not* right centred. This Dr. Kumarappa believed and did not fail to bring home to the great nations of the world represented in the big Assemblies for World Peace. It is our fortune that we have this light in our midst which if we apply to problems facing the world to-day will save us from disaster.

Earlier, Sri N. Sivaramakrishnan, Secretary of the Committee constituted to bring into being a Memorial to the late Sri Kumarappa, welcomed the gathering. He said that the 4th of January was being observed throughout the country as a day of WORK AND WORSHIP by institutions and workers engaged in rural work. A nation-wide drive for funds for the National Memorial is also being made throughout the country for 3 months in order to achieve the target of Rs. 5 lakhs. He said that just over a lakh has so far been collected. He appealed that all workers engaged in the cause should contribute *one day's wages* as their contribution to the Fund, which will run into a few lakhs easily. ★

★ Earth For All Calendar for February ★

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. Mr. Carlyle Potter of England who has been watching the progress of the Bhoodan movement and reading "SARVODAYA" has kindly sent us a valuable treasure of collections (now out of print) admirably edited and compiled by Ernest Crosby under each date of the calendar. A few selections are given for the current month of February.

★ February 1

The cattle in the sun may lie,
The fox by night may roam,
The lark may sing all day on

high
Between its heaven and home,
But we have no place here—

to die
Is the one right we need not
buy;

Then high to heaven our
vows be given
We'll have our land or die.

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

★ February 2

"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitation, they wander from place to place with their wives and children."

—Plutarch, *Life of Tiberius Gracchus*.

★ February 3

Birds find rest in narrow nest,
When weary of the winged

quest;
Beasts find fare in woody lair,
When storm and snow are in
the air.

Horses, oxen, have a home,
When from daily toil they come;
Household dogs when the
wind roars

Find a home within warm doors.
Asses, swine have litter spread,
And with fitting food are fed;
All things have a home but one—
Thou, O Englishman, hast
none.

—Shelley, *Masque of Anarchy*,
vv. 49-51.

★ February 4

The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.

—St. Mathew, *VIII.*, 20.

★ February 9

You have

Princes' parks and merchants' homes,
Tents for soldiers, ships
for seamen—

Aye, but ruins worse than
Rome's

In your pauper men and
women;

Ragged children, hungry-eyed,
Huddle up out of the
coldness

On your doorsteps, side by side,
Till your footman damns
their boldness.

—Mrs. Browning, *Song for the Ragged Schools*.

★ February 17

Humanity weeps over the distresses of the peasantry of all civilized nations; and when she turns from the spectacle to behold the luxury of their lords, gross, imperial and prodigal, her sensations are certainly not less acute. This spectacle is the school in which mankind have been educated. They have been accustomed to the sight of injustice, oppression and iniquity, till their feelings have been made callous, and their

understanding incapable of apprehending the nature of true virtue.

—William Godwin, *Political Justice* (1793) *Book VIII.*,
Chap. 2.

★ February 18

Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!

—Isaiah, *V.*, 8.

★ February 27

The first man, who having enclosed a tract of ground, bethought himself of saying, "This is mine," and found people silly enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. What crimes, wars and murders, what miseries and horrors, would have been spared the human race, if some one had thrown down the fence and filled in the ditch and cried out to his fellows, "Do not listen to this impostor. You are lost, if you forget that the fruits of the earth are for all, and that the earth belongs to no one."

—Jean Jacques Rousseau,
Essay on the origin of Inequality Among Men, Part II.,
p. 1.

—★—



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF BOOKS

THE IDEAL PERSON OF BHAGAVAD GITA :

Chap. II ; 54-72 ;

Translation of the slokas together with a Malay translation ; compiled and published by M. Chinniah, 130, Thamby Abdullah Road, Kuala Lampur, Malaya, (price not given).

HINDU SCRIPTURES

By Basdeo Bossoondoyal, Port Louis, Manritius ;

Published by P. R. Macmillan Limited, London, Geneva
Price 10\$. 6d.

THE AMARNATH—Tagore Centenary Number :

Edited by Dyanane Conhyea, Port Louis. Mauritius :
Rs. 2.

TAGORE BY FIRESIDE—By Maitraye Devi ;

Translated from the Bengali by the authoress ; published
by Rupa & Co., 15, Bankim Chatterje St., Calcutta-12 ;
Price Rs. 4.

SARVODAYA THE DESTINY OF MANKIND

By M. Kunjithapatham ;

Published by Andavar Publications, Virudhunagar
Price 75 nP.

THE GOSPEL OF RENUNCIATION

By M. K. Gandhi (Handbook No. 21) :

Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad 14 : Price 35 nP.

BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING :

By John T. Reid, American Civilisation Series Number Five ;

Published by The U. S. Information Service.

PATHS OF PLANNED ECONOMY IN INDIA :

Published by A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Rajghat,
Kashi, Price Rupee one.

TOWARDS A NEW SOCIETY

By Appa Patwardhan ; Second Edition ;

Published by A. B. S. S. S. Prakashan, Rajghat, Kashi,
Price Re. 1.

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The Hindu—Madras 11-3-62.



SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA,

Srinivasapuram, Tanjore, India.

SARVODAYA

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★ APRIL 1962 ★

No. 10

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Vinobaji's Yatra

Vinobaji camped at Maitree Ashram, Kalyan Kendra, North Lakhimpur from 5th to 10th March 1962. He left North Lakhimpur on 11th March and is proceeding towards Assam-Bengal Border, via Tejpur where he is expected to be about the 20th of March. He will reach Bengal border on or about the 20th April. Though further programme is yet undecided, it is probable that he may walk to Bihar where a concentrated campaign of Sarvodaya workers from all over India will be held for the Bhoodan drive —*bigha-mekattha* between 15th April to 15th June. If the situation in Assam requires him to extend his stay, he may decide so and may reach Bihar late after spending some more time in Bengal also.



Eighteenth April Bhoodan Jayanthi

EIGHTEENTH of April is an unforgettable day in the Gandhian Era of non-violent revolution. Pochampalli, a village in Telengana in Andhra has earned a name in the map of the country. It is on 18th April 1951, eleven years ago at Pochampalli that the Bhoodan Yagna was born. Sri Ramachandra Reddy who offered the first land-gift of 100 acres to Acharya Vinobaji for distribution to Harijan families will be ever remembered.

The problem of land had been engaging the mind of Vinobaji since a long time. After Gandhiji's demise he has been deeply thinking of application of non-violence for freedom in the economic and social spheres.

The first land-gift in Telengana was like God's gift of a solution for the age-old land problem and a new revelation of the power of non-violence. Vinobaji has been spreading the message of Bhoodan yagna throughout the country during the last eleven years walking from village to village.

The Bhoodan yagna from its small beginning grew into a great non-violent revolution and spread throughout the country. It began to subliminate as Gramdan in which the villagers relinquished their individual ownership to the village community. The collection of about 5 million acres of Bhoodan and five thousand villages of Gramdan is a great achievement.

The Bhoodan movement has taken us ahead to Gramswaraj and Shanti-Sera for world Peace. Eighteenth April has thus become a historic day in the second non-violent revolution for the socio-economic freedom under the leadership of Vinobaji. Let us rededicate ourselves on this sacred day.

Jai Gram-Raj! Jai Jagat !!



THE MESSAGE OF THE CHARKHA

Mahatma Gandhi

The following extract from one of the recent Navajivan publications with the title. *In search of The Supreme Vol. II* compiled and edited by V. B. Kher give us the religious and spiritual value with which Gandhiji was plying the Charkha as a penance for service.

I want to see the spinning wheel everywhere, because I see pauperism everywhere. Not until and unless we have fed and clothed the skeletons of India, will religion have any meaning for them. They are living the cattle life today and we are responsible for it. The spinning wheel is therefore a penance for us. Religion is service of the helpless. God manifests Himself to us in the form of the helpless and stricken.

Of what avail is the *tilaka* and the *tulsi*, of what avail is the rosary and the muttering of the Name, what avail is the grammatical interpretation of the Veda, what avail is the mastery of the letters? All these are devices to fill the belly and nothing worth without their helping to a realization of the *Para-Brahma*."

* * *

I have certainly regarded spinning superior to the practice of denominational religions. But that does not mean that the latter should be given up. I only mean that a Dharma which has to be observed by the followers of all religions transcends them, and hence I say that a Brahmana is a better Brahmana, a Musalman a better Musalman, a Vaishnava a better Vaishnave, if he turns the wheel in the spirit of service.

I certainly did not repeat the divine word 'Rama' nor count the beads on account of a feeling that my end was near. But I was too weak then to turn the wheel. I do count the rosary whenever it helps me in concentrating on Rama. When, however, I rise to a pitch of concentration where the rosary is more a hindrance than a help, I drop it. If it was possible for me to turn the wheel in my bed, and if I felt that it would help me in concentrating my mind on God I would certainly leave the rosary aside and turn the wheel. If I am strong enough to turn the wheel, and I have to make a choice between counting beads or turning the wheel, I would certainly decide in favour of the wheel, making it my rosary, so long as.

I found poverty and starvation stalking the land. I do look forward to a time when even repeating the name of Rama will become a hindrance. When I have realized that Rama transcends even speech, I shall have no need to repeat the name. The spinning wheel, the rosary and the Ramanama are all the same to me. They subserve the same end, they teach me the religion of service. I cannot practice Ahimsa without practising the religion of service. And I cannot find the truth without practising the religion of Ahimsa. And there is no religion other than truth. Truth is Rama, Narayana, Ishwara, Khuda, Allah, God. And Narasimha says, "The different shapes into which gold is beaten gives rise to different names and forms; but ultimately it is all gold."



Non-violent Resistance in Northern Rhodesia

Appeal for Support

"IN the light of the grave struggle for freedom in Africa, we welcome and encourage the generous support offered by the World Peace Brigade in response to our appeal for co-operation from men of goodwill throughout the world.

"We are particularly heartened that a group whose members have engaged in positive action in so many countries should add their experience to our own long efforts to achieve freedom in Africa through non-violent resistance and a direct economic

struggle action. In particular, we are convinced that such action applied now in Northern Rhodesia may yet prove to be the key to the liberation of Central and Southern Africa.

"The active support and co-operation of freedom loving people everywhere is urgently needed if Africa is to move as quickly as she should toward true freedom; on the other hand, our struggle for African freedom is not for Africa nor for ourselves alone. It is part of humanity's struggle for a just and peaceful World."

K. Kaunda,
National President,
United National
Independence Party,
Northern Rhodesia,
Dar-Es salaam.

21st February, 1962,

R. M. Kawawa,
Vice-President,
Tanganyika African National
Union, Tanganyika.

SARVODAYA AND COMMUNISM

Acharya Vinoba

YOU might be wondering whether I would ask you to write about Bhoodan or Sarvodaya. But instead I have given you something out of the fullness of my heart. The mendicant has turned now a giver of alms. It would be silly on my part to ask literateurs to write this or that. They are free men, gifted with talent and vision. Genius shuns all restraint. I shall only beseech you to observe the worlds and its movements with intelligent detachment. You will find that the two forces with greatest pulling-power in the world are Sarvodaya and Communism. They are both as similar as different. You will, therefore, have to study both.

I am not trying to be prophetic. I am only paraphrasing what the most eminent thinkers of today are saying. The atmosphere is echoing with the talk of peace. This common aspiration must rouse the conscience of the entire humanity. It is not necessary that Sarvodaya should thrive in India because its author, Gandhiji was born here. One cannot say where an idea is born and where it takes root and sprouts. The concept of Sarvodaya need not necessarily bloom in the land of

its birth. It may blossom in other lands and climes.

I have just referred to the two forces of *Samya-vad* (Communism) and *Samya-yoga* (Sarvodaya). Communism stands for the doctrine of militant equality, while Sarvodaya stands for togetherness. Both are actuated by a spirit of compassion; that is, fellow-feeling. But the fellow-feeling and compassion for which Sarvodaya stands is based on loyalty to truth, while communism was born out of reaction against capitalism. It is an anti-thesis. Communism is the antithesis of individualism just as proletarianism is the antithesis of capitalism. Sarvodaya, however, did not come into being either as a protest or a reaction against any other system. It consists in synthesis. A harmonious combination of devotion and strength constitutes Sarvodaya.

I am sure that you will study and examine these two ideologies with a dispassionate and detached mind. Communism and Sarvodaya are not adversaries. They are as brothers. And yet with a difference. That is why I have been emphasizing truthfulness in

Vinoba's Message for African Action

THE whole of Africa is at present in turmoil. Humanity there wants to break away the shackles of slavery. Violence, as a tool of liberation, has become out-dated, because the development of Science has invested it with the power of total annihilation. Moreover, the use of violence brings with it the danger of cold war. Under these circumstances, non-violence is the only way out and it is a matter of great satisfaction that thoughtful Africans are getting inclined towards non-violence, and a Satyagraha-project is being planned in that continent.

There is only one thing that I want to suggest and it is that Satyagraha should not take the form of mere passive resistance: for, passive resistance is a negative

thing, while Satyagraha is positive. Passive resistance includes all the defects of violence, plus a sense of weakness. When these two combine passive resistance becomes impotent. Based on the foundation of constructive work Satyagraha awakens, and not weakens the faculty of thinking of the opponent. It is an effort of self-purification which inevitably leads to the purification of the heart of the opponent. In Satyagraha, quality is more important than quantity.

I felt it necessary to draw attention to this point, specially because, while Africa is newly awakening from its slumber, every step should be taken with the greatest care and with a balanced mind.



Sarvodaya and Communism

addition to affection and compassion. This brings out the essential difference between the two. Mere affection and compassion may go astray. I admit that there is compassion in Communism. But the consciousness of truth born of an all-embracing experience is

not there. It is, therefore, an one-sided proposition.

These are my views. I do not want to impose them on you or anybody else. You must think for yourself and bear in mind that an unlimited vista is going to open up before you.

(From a talk to literateurs)

Eleven years of Acharya Vinobaji's Yatra

1951 March 8	Departure to Sivarampalli—Hyderabad
April 18	Pochampalli—The birth of Bhoodan.
June 27	Return to Parandham ashram Paunar.
Sept. 12	Departure to Delhi.
Novr. 1	Mathurai—Conference of U. P. Constructive workers and decision to collect Bhoodan of 5 lakhs of acres.
Nov. 11-21	Delhi—Rajghat—Discussion with Planning Commission
1951 Novr. 22 to 1952 Sept. 13	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh.
1952 Sept. 14 to 1952 Dec. 31	Yatra in Bihar.
1953 Jan. 1 to 1954 Dec. 31	Yatra in Bihar.
1955 Jan. 1 to 1955 Jan. 25	Yatra in Bengal.
Jan. 26 to Sept. 30	Yatra in Orissa.
Oct. 1 to 1956 Jan. 1	Yatra in Andhra.
1956 Jan. 2 to March 30	Yatra in Telangana in Hyderabad and in Andhra.
March 11 to May 12	Yatra in Andhra again.
May 13 to Dec. 31	Yatra in Tamilnad.
1957 Jan. 1 to April 17	Yatra in Tamilnad.
April 18 to Aug. 21	Yatra in Kerala.
Aug. 22 to 1958 March 22	Yatra in Karnatak.
1958 March 23 to Sept. 22	Yatra in Maharashtra.
Sept. 23 to 1959 Jan. 13	Yatra in Gujerat.
1959 Jan. 14 to March 31	Yatra in Rajasthan.
April 1 to May 21	Yatra in East Punjab.
May 22 to Sept. 19	Yatra in Kashmir.
Sept. 21 to 1960 April 7	Yatra in East Punjab.
1960 April 8 to May 12	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh.
May 13 to Sept. 29	Yatra in Madhya Pradesh.
Sept. 30 to Dec. 22	Yatra in Uttar Pradesh.
Dec. 23 to 1961 Feb. 11	Yatra in Bihar.
1961 Feb. 12 to March 5	Yatra in West Bengal.
1961 March to 1962 March 31	Still in Assam Yatra.

LOK - NITI AND RAJ - NITI

Dada Dharmadhikari

IN order to advance in the direction of genuine democracy we need clearly demarcated and defined areas of social activity within which the family spirit can express itself. This family spirit can best be fostered in communities of modest dimensions where the people can share intimately one another's weal and woe. This is what *gram-swarajya* really means.

To sum up, *Raj-niti*, the politics of power, and *Lok-niti* the ethics of democracy, differ fundamentally in their basis and ways of working :—

1. *Raj-niti* strengthens authoritarianism, *Lok-niti* develops the potential powers of the citizen.
2. *Raj-niti* regards political power as the chief tool of public welfare and renders people more and more dependent on the State. It increases reliance on coercive political power. *Lok-niti* regards personal freedom expressed in a sense of mutual responsibility as the vital breath of all corporate life. It, therefore, encourages voluntary activities among the people and gets them to take the

initiative in establishing independent popular institutions for public welfare.

3. *Raj-niti* relies on compulsion and control. It has constantly to devise ways and means of informing the decrees of the State. In *Lok-niti*, self-discipline or self-control is the key-stone.
4. In *Raj-niti* there is ceaseless rivalry for power and a constant struggle for positions of authority. Each and all are "standing candidates" for political power. In *Lok-niti* there is no candidature, no contest for power. Every citizen is anxious to work for the development of public spirit and civic consciousness; electioneering has no place.
5. In *Raj-niti* every citizen watches jealously over his own right and interests and is indifferent to the rights and interest of his neighbour. In *Lok-niti* he is alert to his own duty and obligations, and jealous of the rights of others.

(This is from an introduction to the new publication "*Lok-niti*" under print.)



The Problem of Rural Industrialization

Jayaprakash Narayan

IT is time to take stock of the situation. The total effect upon the country-side of 14 years of industrial development since Swaraj and 10 years of planning has been almost negligible both from the point of view of (a) creating employment, (b) adding to the wealth of the rural communities, and raising the standard of living, particularly of the economically and socially backward sections that make up the bulk of the rural population.

82.3% of the people of India live in the countryside. That means that about the same percentage of the voters are also villagers. In a democracy it should be the well-being of this overwhelming majority of the people that should receive the first priorities. In actual fact the opposite seems to have happened.

Considering all the factors of the Indian situation (huge population, terrific rate of population growth, heavy pressure on land, low productivity of agriculture, vast unemployment and underemployment, etc.,) industrialization of the rural areas is the only remedy.

Industrialization is commonly the way associated with urban

centres and urban life. In India no amount of urban industrialization, however, is going to affect appreciably the economic conditions in the countryside.

Real Rural Industrialization

Rural industrialization should not be confused with setting up a few large industries in the rural areas. Rural industrialization must mean an even spread of industries throughout the country-side, all over the country.

Nor should rural industrialization be limited to mean what at present are termed as "rural industries" or to only agricultural commodities. There can and should be infinite variety of industries established in rural areas. Rural industrialization would have to be based on two factors : (a) local resources, both human and material and (b) local needs. *Local* does not mean a single village; a group of villages, a block, or a district—depending upon the nature of the industry and the technology used.

The raw materials for rural industries should be mainly obtained from the locality around, but in part they might come from the cities, such as iron and steel for agricultural and crafts-

man's implements and building equipments as nails, nuts, hinges, etc.

In the same manner rural industries must be meant primarily to meet local needs but in part they must supply the urban areas. Rural industries should be so devised that they meet the needs both of full-time and all season employment as well as of part-time and seasonal employment.

There are to be no pre-conceived limitations or inhibitions of a doctrinaire or sentimental type in regard to such matters as the use of power and technology. The only concern should be (a) to maintain a balance between employment and efficiency and (b) to preserve and nurture certain social values as those of political and economic self-government; minimizing, if not eradicating, economic exploitation; promoting economic and social equality; preservation and development of the producer's personality, etc.

The aim and total long-term effect of rural industrialization should be to convert the present lopsided purely agricultural communities into balanced agro-industrial communities.

Rural Education and Planning

Conceived in this manner rural industrialization opens up a vast

and wide vista of all-round development, some of the implications of which may be mentioned below.

Rural Education must undergo a radical transformation and must provide the trained technical and managerial personnel required. This would require far-reaching educational planning. Rural industrialization is from one point of view a process of educational and cultural development.

The concept and process of planning will have to be adjusted to the process of rural industrialization. Regional socio-economic surveys of resources and needs and planning their dove-tailing should be an important part of the planning process. For this an average-size district might be considered as a unit of planning, with blocks and villages as integrated sub-units.

The problems of power, technology (including research) transport, etc. would have to be considered; and adjustment between powered and powerless areas of the country devised.

In view of accepted aims of social and economic justice, private-profit interests should not be allowed as far as possible, to exploit the field of rural industry and commerce. A well planned approach might create a rural industrial and commercial sector

that would be predominantly socialist in character.

Protection to Rural Industries

The extremely important question of providing protection to the rural industries from the competition of urban industries will have to be tackled.

The appropriate agencies at the ground level that will have to carry through the programme of rural industrialization will have to be carefully considered. Among them the chief should be co-operatives and *panchayat* institutions, such as *gram-panchayats*, *panchayat samities* and *zilla parishads* and such registered societies as the present Khadi institutions.

Appropriate agencies at higher levels, such as the District, State and Centre should have to be considered. The present frag-

mented and piece-meal approach to rural industrialization, through different boards and commissions, each with a limited scope, will have to be replaced by an integrated and comprehensive one, taking into account all the points listed above and others that might arise on a deeper study of the matter.

Paragraph 26 on page 437 of the Revised Third Plan marks a considerable advance on previous thinking in this regard, but it does not go far enough.

It is suggested that the question be taken up in a more comprehensive manner now and be dealt with in two ways: (a) working out the programme on all-India basis; and (b) carrying out pilot projects of all-round rural industrialization in selected areas.



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THE BARRIERS TO WORLD PEACE

(1) THE RUSSO-AMERICAN IMPASSE

By Wilfred Wellock

Notwithstanding the sufferings and terrors of two shattering world wars which dominated the minds and lives of a billion people over a period of ten years, the issue of peace or war fails to batter the consciences of the public at large. The passing hour is of greater significance than the years of our assumed maturity.

It would seem that the whole world was hastening towards some new Arcadia, but in complete ignorance of its nature. All it sees is a glittering kingdom of affluence full of colour and gaiety, which appeals equally to the uprising tribes of Africa, the Sheikh, Mandarin and caste-ridden millions of the East, and the well-fed, restless, fear-ridden denizens of the West. All are trying to escape from an existence that has become a prison-house, and to enter a new land of promise. What they will reap, Life or Death, is a matter of speculation.

In every continent the prevailing mood is unrest alongside an appalling ignorance of what constitutes a satisfying life. It is the old story of a land flowing with milk and honey, in a new guise.

The advance in speed adds to the glamour and excitement. It offers salvation at the ends of the earth within 24 hours, and is thus worth the risk of an inheritance. But the new God Speed is a heartless ruler. Peace and paradise are not its concern. Death and destruction lie hidden among its awards.

The big new problem seems to be whether nuclear power can open up Venus and the Moon for habitation before high megaton bombs blow up the earth, as there appears to be no prospect of resolving the Russo-American impasse!

Today the world's chief power centres are Russia and America, or shall we say Moscow and Washington? Both are developing nuclear power for peaceful purposes while their priority output is nuclear bombs and missiles of staggering megaton power. Their pattern of production is the children's game of see-saw, each getting ahead of the other in turn, thus ensuring the complete destruction of civilisation when their short and ever-shortening tempers run out. Mankind's hope thus

lies at the mercy of a few frenzied minds in a tense crisis, or a flash of sanity seizing the mind of a courageous leader, a very rare breed in an era of materialism like the present.

This situation neutralises all the lesser powers, including those with vast populations, since it is megatons, not vision which counts. In an age dedicated to mass-production industry the lesser nations are dependent upon the dinosaurs for the means of development, and in accepting it have to be on their guard against becoming entangled in political strings. At the same time, the dinosaurs are dependent upon the lesser powers for numerous raw materials, and markets whereby to procure them, and try to use these transactions to develop more permanent exchange arrangements and thus draw them into their orbits.

Meanwhile the dinosaurs make what capital they can from each other's conduct. American politicians decry the repressions of communist rule, while Mr. Krushchev exposes the evils of dollar rule and the dictatorship of tycoons and giant financial corporations.

There is truth in both accusations. I have witnessed the operation and effects of a Stalin purge in Russia, and suffered the disappointments of speaking to depleted audiences owing to the

fear-stimulating tactics of Senator McCarthy in the United States. The plain fact is that none of the highly industrialised nations of the West possesses a valid democracy. Their foreign policies are determined by small inner cabinets after consultations with Departmental Heads, etc., but their public announcements often hide deeper purposes—as happened in the Suez crisis of 1956 in Britain and France, and from time to time in America's relationships with the Latin Republics. The Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States is a Senate Committee, most of whose members are very rich and are in close touch with the big financial corporations.

As regards Russia, the people only know what the Heads of the state desire them to know, except during the rare meetings of the supreme soviet congress, when long-term objectives are discussed decided and publicised. In fairness it ought to be said, however, that in accordance with communist theory the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism necessitates a period of complete dictatorship, to be followed in due course by a political thaw that is intended to lead to a free, classless and stateless society. However, Stalin's thirty years of ruthless dictatorial rule appeared to have nullified that prospect, yet within six years after his death

his successor, Mr. Krushchev courageously repudiated his policy and denounced what he described as Stalin's "cult of personality", thereby started a ferment for personal freedom which promises to have far-reaching consequences. Mr. Krushchev's forthrightness has caused numerous internal ideological conflicts with the Stalinists, several of which were so bitter as to cause him to give ground, as over Hungary and Poland. But he held firmly to his belief that the time had come to extend the bounds of personal and group liberty, and came out victorious in the end. As a result, personal and minority opinions are now permissible providing that Party decisions are loyally accepted. It is now possible for Commissars to say "NO" and to die in their beds!

These changes amount to a veritable social revolution, the result of which is that the Russian people breathe a fresher air and enjoy a wider liberty of thought and action than they have ever known, for be it remembered, there was no democracy under the Czars. Accordingly Mr. Krushchev is regarded as a great liberator, a fact which encourages him to advance still further on the road to liberty and fraternity. At intervals he most astutely unfolds his policy

as the people advance towards a freer, fuller life.

When the time was ripe, he announced that Russia's living standards would be raised to the American level within ten or fifteen years, and to this end he hoped to reach an agreement with America for total disarmament, as it would enable Russia to switch her armaments industries over to the production of consumer goods. This policy would thus achieve two major ends and in addition influence mankind as a whole towards communism.

There lay the snag. Was America, then, to endorse a policy that might shoot Mr. Krushchev into the leadership of an expanding communist world?

Mr. Krushchev had to think again, as indeed he did. He is an enigma, capable of presenting attractive ideological concepts wreathed in innocent smiles.

His personality is most feared when it is most attractive. His successes both at home and abroad are largely due to his strong belief that a communist world is not only possible but inevitable. He sees with intense clearness that the contradictions within capitalism are even now heading for major economic breakdowns and finally chaos, and believes that communism alone can carry mankind to the beyond of current futile power conflicts into an era

of world peace and a fuller blossoming of the human spirit.

It is of course easy to push all that aside as stuff and nonsense, but the fact remains that the capitalist and capitalist-socialist nations of the West have nothing comparable to set against it. Their two world wars demonstrated the irreconcilable contradictions within their system, while the passing of the idealism of the nineteenth century socialists lays bare the corroding effects of capitalist materialism on society as a whole. Today their tycoons are threatening to dominate the economic and social life of the entire West by means of continental and inter-continental monopolies. Yet no Western government offers the challenge of an over-riding spiritual idea or concept. Meanwhile the church looks on in impotence, feebly discussing such issues as vestments, litanies and liturgies, while the minor tycoons of the underworld plunder the capitalist edifice at will, left and right.

These trends render it easy for Mr. Krushchev to make headway amidst the class-infested social systems of capitalism, despite Welfare States and the English boast: "You never had it so good!" The latest version of Western materialism offers new and welcome benefits with one

hand and new temptations to avarice and power on the other.

Mr. Krushchev well knows why the United States dare not accept his challenge of total disarmament. Almost two-thirds of America's latest budget is to be devoted to armaments production. To stop that production would spell financial ruin to a powerful section of America's financial interests, since her needs in consumer goods are already fully met. These threatened private vested interests are thus capable of preventing a major programme of disarmament. Hence the cold war must continue.

Russia, having no tycoons, has no such problems. When she is able to produce all the consumer goods she wants, she will be free to reduce working hours and concentrate on providing the means for an era of creative leisure in a wide variety of ways. Hence Mr. Krushchev's boast that whereas once all roads lead to Rome, the time is coming when they will all lead to communism.

In these circumstances Mr. Krushchev is not afraid to put all his cards on the table, nor to raise his sights as he did at the recent 22nd Soviet Congress, when he appealed to the Russian people to pay special attention to human and social values and relationships, to good neighbourliness and comradely conduct. He asked them to prepare for a new order of free

social services, including bread, housing, transport, etc., in about twenty years. Such an order called for a keener social awareness, a stronger sense of personal responsibility and of the importance of good human relationships and social obligations. Soviet citizens must spurn dishonesty, parasitism, careerism and every form of injustice, and highly esteem truthfulness, moral purity, modesty, unpretentiousness etc. Be natural, respectful and friendly he proclaimed, and treat every man as a friend, comrade and brother.

Those injunctions constitute a sort of minor Sermon on the Mount, and indicate that Russia is consciously heading towards the classless, stateless society of Lenin's dream.

No comparable statement has come or can be expected from any Western country, with its deeply rooted class-based materialism. By reason of its profit and greed basis no Western economy can achieve stability. Even the United States has experienced several

economic recessions in recent years, and Britain even more. That inherent instability explains the present eager attempts to organise a common European market. But even that device cannot guarantee stability under the competitive pressures of "expanding economies". Nor can any other device unless brought under the control of a dominating spiritual principle, or concept of a satisfying way of life.

In this most complex, challenging situation, therefore, where are we to look for salvation from the threat of nuclear warfare? From the Pacific to the Near East the major institutions of politics and religion are silent and impotent on this vital issue. Their words do not speak to the world's condition. Who, then is to speak such words?

Must we not look deeper into the heart of man?

Is our real need abundance, or sufficiency? A fatter physical existence or a clearer perception of Truth and the art of acquiring and giving the fruits of the spirit?



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THE ETHICS OF PEACE

Prof. M. Yamunacharya, Mysore

PEACE is the eternal longing of the human spirit. It found its expression in the earliest religious literature of the world, namely the Vedas. Peace or Santi was the constant refrain of the Vedic mantras. That peace could be obtained only by our learning to live together, to seek the good of one another and to share the goods of the world and the goods of the soul with one another has been the teaching of the Vedas. To cease to hate one another seems to be the condition precedent to peace—'Ma vidvisa vahai, Om shantih, shantih, shantih.'

Could perpetual peace—'Sasvat Shanti' as the Bhagavad Gita puts it, ever be attained in the world conditions today? This question can be answered affirmatively with this proviso that this is possible of attainment only when the necessary conditions are fulfilled. Immanuel Kant, the famous German Philosopher of the 18th century wrote a book with the title 'Perpetual Peace' in which he laid out the following conditions as the *Sine Qua non* of perpetual peace

1. No treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war.

2. No independent States, large or small, shall come under the dominion of another state by inheritance, Exchange, Purchase, or donation.
3. Standing Armies shall in time be totally abolished.
4. National debts shall not be contracted with a view to the external friction of states.
5. No state shall by force interfere with the constitution or Government of another State.
6. No state shall, during war, permit such acts of hostility which would make mutual confidence in the subsequent peace impossible: Such are the employment of abscission, poisoners, breach of capitulation and incitement to treason in the opposing state.

Though these words were written by Kant in 1795, they are so true today and Kant significantly adds that 'a War of extermination in which the destruction of both parties and of all Justice can result, would permit perpetual peace only in the vast burial ground of the human race.' The words sound quite prophetic.

So far as Gandhiji was concerned, he held that 'permanent peace

can be obtained' only 'if recognised leaders of mankind who have control over engines of destruction, were wholly to renounce their use with full knowledge of implications.'

When one comes to think of the feasibility of perpetual peace, one is bound to come to the conclusion that peace is a very real thing, that it is not an illusory or distant Goal ever receding from us the more we try to approach it, but it is a thing which has to be conquered anew by each individual for himself and by each nation for itself. It is said that 'Eternal vigilance is the price we pay for liberty.' Similarly, Eternal vigilance is the price we pay for peace. In one sense, peace is an eternal quest almost sisyphian in character. Even though it is so, the need for peace at all time has been so keenly felt by human societies that they would even go to the extent of reconciling themselves to the temporary loss of it so that it may come back to them. We have the word 'truce', a word which means temporary cessation of hostilities. We have also heard it said that truce is just a prelude to another war. This has been so in history in the past and even in recent times when we have had two world wars which have left us dazed. When a Third World War is in the Offing one is inclined to call this period also a period of

truce as is borne out by expressions like cold war, war of nerves and so on. It is Norman Angell that spoke of war, as 'The Great Illusion.' The Illusion he referred to was the idea that war was going to solve our problems. On the other hand we have learnt that in a war of the type we are having now, we find that more problems are created than are solved and also that the terms the 'Victor' and the 'Vanquished' have ceased to have any meaning.

Some one has said that Wars are made in the mind of men and so peace will have to be built up there. This calls for a solution which enables us to go to the root of the matter. So long as the seeds of war are there sown in the minds of men it is clear that War or the War-mentality cannot be eradicated.

This calls for the remaking of the individual, reeducating the individual and preparing him for the tasks of peace. This is a matter of education of the young in whose minds the bastions of peace will have to be built up. Perhaps at no other time than this was the circumstance more propitious for peace. This is due to the fact that Wars are not ideas that could be toyed with without sense of responsibility. Modern Wars have become so destructive and capable of bringing irretrievable ruin for mankind that it is thought that

they are proving deterrent of future Wars. Of this again one cannot be sure. Gandhiji says of this: "It has been suggested by American friends that the Atom Bomb will bring in *Ahimsa* (Non-violence) as nothing else can. It will, if it is meant that its destructive power will so disgust the world that it will turn it away from violence for the time being. This is very like a man glutting himself with dainties to the point of nausea and turning away from them only to return with redoubled zeal after the effect of nausea is well over. Precisely in the same manner will the world return to violence with renewed zeal after the effect of disgust is worn out". Aldous Huxley recently said, the cold war and the H. Bomb have altered the complexion of modern warfare. Any embarking upon war in the present conditions argues a callousness on the part of certain people holding the destinies of people in their hands which is unprecedented in the past history of man. To quote Gandhiji again, "The Atom Bomb has deadened the finest feeling that has sustained mankind for ages." We also know now that wars cannot be humanized. In the words of Gandhiji "There used to be the so-called laws of war which made it tolerable. Now we

know the naked truth—war knows no law except that of might."

In these circumstances the only consideration that could lead to the elimination of causes of war is the appeal to the heart of man, to the spirit of compassion in him. A renaissance of compassion in man is the only ethical guarantee for establishment of peace. For the ethical inspiration for peace we have to hark back to the teaching of men like the Buddha, Christ, and Gandhi who have taught that hatred will not cease by hatred. We have to note carefully the ethics of peace that they adumbrated was not mere passive pacifism which carries nobody far. It is a dynamic pacifism that would boldly face the consequences of pacifism which is born of the conviction that working for peace is as heroic an endeavour of man as to bear weapons and learn the art of killing others. It is Gandhiji in our times that has taught us this dynamic pacifism which consists not in passive non-cooperation with the war activities, not in keeping away from conflict but in winning to peace and tranquillity through conflict. Gandhiji called this facing of the conflict Satyagraha. He said that a true pacifist is a true Satyagrahi. The latter acts by faith and, therefore is not concerned about the result

for he knows that it is assured when the action is true. William James called it the moral equivalent of War. It is very significant that Gandhiji spoke of Santi Sena or peace brigades. He held the view that Peace cannot be established through conferences for "peace is being broken, as we all see, even while conferences are being held". Both William James and Gandhiji spoke of the moral equivalent of war in a similar vein. Gandhiji wrote: "Satyagraha has all the romance and adventurousness of war. It has the element of risk and not a few are called to lay down their lives. It is, I think, another bravery, a bravery of the soul, which the Satyagrahi is called to". Unless such Satyagrahis emerge in all the different nations of the World and unless the soldiers of peace are men of character and courage the conditions of peace will be long from being created. But there are signs of the soldiers of peace in different nations of the world arising who have grown sick of all this human callousness and wish to present a front which cannot be easily cowed down by the war-mongers of the world. Such a soldier of peace, a modern Satyagrahi, is Bertrand Russell, the old intrepid philosopher who has begun with his Council of hundred to tread the path of dynamic peace

a way of which was shown by Gandhiji in India.

The future peace of the world now therefore rests on such small groups of war resisters rising up among the peoples of the world. Moral heroism of an extraordinary type, a heroism which the world was made familiar with by great souls, called in the Upanishadic language, *Dhira*s, who choose to tread the adventurous path of heroic goodness which the Upanishads describe to be as sharp as razor's edge *Ksurasya Dhara Nisita duratyaya* is bound to influence the trend of world affairs. Examples of such Satyagrahis or moral heroes are given by Gandhiji. He mentions Daniel, Socrates, Prahlada, Mirabai. About them he says: "When Daniel disregarded the laws of the Medes and Persians which offended his conscience and meekly suffered the punishment for his disobedience, he offered Satyagraha in its purest form."

"Socrates would not refrain from preaching what he knew to be truth to the Athenian youth, and bravely suffered the punishment of death. He was, in this case, a Satyagrahi."

"Prahlada disobeyed the orders of his father because he considered them to be repugnant to his conscience. He uncomplainingly and cheerfully bore the tortures

to which he was subjected at the instance of his father."

'Mirabai, who is said to have offended her husband by following her own conscience, was content to live in separation from him and bore with quiet dignity and resignation all the injuries that are said to have been done to her in order to bend her to her husband's will. Both Prahlada and Mirabai practised Satyagraha.'

"It must be remembered that neither Daniel nor Socrates, neither Prahlada nor Mirabai had any ill-will towards their persecutors. Daniel and Socrates are regarded as having been model citizens of the states to which they belonged, Prahlada a model son, Mirabai a model wife."

As Bertrand Russell who was a conscientious objector in the First World War and who suffered imprisonment for it, points out in his article on 'War and Satyagraha' published in the Harijan of December 1924, 1955 will only end after a great labour has been performed in altering man's moral ideals, directing them to the good of all mankind, and not only of the separate nations into which men happen to have been born."

This paper may be concluded with the moral pointed out in this matter by the circumstances of the present age. He writes "The moral to be legitimately drawn

from the supreme tragedy of the bomb is that it will not be destroyed by counter-bombs even as violence cannot be by counter-violence. Mankind may get out of violence only through non-violence." This calls for universal disarmament which is the supreme ethical decision which all nations must take imperatively and expeditiously before it would be too late. ★

Gandhi and The Mystic Loom

GANDHI stands on the
crest of Time,
Weaving a Carment of LIGHT,
A Friend of Man, a Servant
sublime,
With the Torch of Truth to
make Right.

He stands at the LOOM
ETERNAL
His Robe is without seam
or rent,
Infinite on heights supernal,
Like the MASTER to earth
he was sent.

His is a Spiritual Leaven,
A Leaven that leavens the
Whole,
SERVICE in LOVE is
his Heaven,
A Heaven on earth for
each Soul.

— Frank J. Davis.

A MESSAGE FROM MARS

Subject: Non Compos Mentis

(A Satirical Expose of Babylon)

By Frank J. Davis, Hollywood.

HELLO everybody! This is Planet Mars, calling all Stars! Please tune in on the Insane Asylum of the Universe; Jolly old Terra Firma ... L. U. N. Y. !!! it's the lowest point on the dial! All Space Men please dial in—this is important. Don't forget to turn your wheel-barrow upside down or the worldly-wise tycoons will put something in it ... they may be mentally off the Beam but they're not stupid when there's a dime in sight.

They turned the Declaration of Independence—that immortal document—into the Declaration of Destruction. They're so schizophrenic they even split the Atom ... then they played drop-the-pillow with the Atomic Bomb and kissed thousands into oblivion—for what they call the Common Good—blew the earth all over hell's half acre—to protect a pseudo democracy—and then they wonder where the Rock and Roll with its Voodoo Beat came from?

The children are losing control of the parents—yet they are adept at selling them the Barbaric Beat! If the oldies don't capitulate the kids say: they are corny, square,

old-fashioned or something. The kids are wonderful—I mean screwy—dig this: They say: it sends me! But they don't say where? Perhaps to the squirrel factory.

Intelligence sold down the Stinking River of Self-interest for cupidity. No moral base! Worldly success their only measuring-rod. They denude the forests for greed and gain—rob the earth of its top soil, produce demineralized and devitalized food—and then needle it with vitamins and destructive synthetic chemicals—after the life-giving elements have been destroyed for profit, processing, production efficiency and distribution purposes ... HE, the FATHER of All, say: "Come out of Her my People"—but nobody hears HIM. They loosely prate of freedom and are conditioned to believe it—while all the time they are subjectively hooked by the Soothsayers, who are proficient in keeping the Herd placated while they are being taken to the Cleaners.

They turn them out of "Head-Fixing Factories" humped-backed with degrees, with no basic know-

ledge of the essence of all TRUE Education, namely: Soul Culture. Intellectual puffballs and snobbish dilettantes surfeited with a mental goulash served them by the Pedantic Hash-slingers, finally become inoculated and afflicted with a Pedagogical Anaemia—and land in a Valley of Dry Bones, on their way to the Ash Can of Oblivion. So it is crystal clear that the Ancients were right when they said: *"Ignorance is better than head-learning with no Soul-wisdom to illuminate and guide it."*

The oratorical weasels and adepts at word-juggling, say to the privileged few: "We just keep them contented while you milk them". The mental harlots and intellectual prostitutes keep the Big-shot Philanthropists—who feed the Babylonian Kitty—on the front pages of the Press and Screen, in a heroic light for the consumption of the avid gullibles. The Egg-Heads are calling the Egg-Heads,—Egg-Heads and the experts are again stultifying themselves as in days of yore.

The sky-pilots, metaphysicians, psychologists and philosophers are experts at Abstract Cliff Dwelling and have the rare genius and unique gift from the Other Fellow, who heads the hidden Oligarchy in the Bottomless Pit, of taking a Universal Principle and theorizing it into a fog.

They prate of JESUS in the race-mind abyss—then betray HIM at War! ... with the Judas kiss.

HE said: "My Kingdom is not of this world order"—"The Prince or Principle of this world comes and finds nothing in ME." But in spite of this clarity they are still trying to put a patch on a moth-eaten, outworn garment of Satanic origin. This is the science of Devolution—the art of "How to be happy in hell while locked in the Adamic Shell."

They don't want to be awakened from their lethargic dream. Please go, way and let me sleep—don't disturb my slumber sweet. Many are just conscious enough to unconscious—adept only at staying dizzy while catching the brass-ring on the Adamic Merry-Go-Round. Now we know what HE meant when HE said: Let the dead bury the dead, and also what the Vanguard meant when they said: "To awaken the people from their intellectual and spiritual inertia is a task for giants."

They have many versions of the Book of Books—the Holy Bible—but the latest in the offing is the Starddlers Version—showing how to keep luke-warm on the Cosmic Teeter-Toter while playing both ends and the middle—how to love and follow JESUS while confirming and practicing



the doctrine and principle of Machiavelli, his antipode-confessing JESUS with the lips and Machiavelli with the heart-going up and down at the same time—a stupid though diabolically clever process. That's why HE prophetically said: "Because thou art luke-warm and neither cold or hot I will spew you out of MY mouth."

Quiz experts and connoisseurs of the "Dome" with their inane phantasmogoria and irrelevant I.Q. abracadabra keep the mind of the mesmerics off of the Economic Ball, conclusively proving that a moron is a sophisticated ignoramus, inebriated with the Luciferian Bromide and that there are more dumb-bells in the world than there are athletes.

The Magic Wand of modern advertising—are you surmising—it's Black Magic. Constructed to feed and hook the moronic mind—one picture's more potent than a thousand words—so with television as a magnet of the Nether World, they're in the "BAG" from the cradle to the grave—unless some mental or spiritual cataclysm breaks the ice-pack or log-jam of ignorance and releases the pure and cleansing waters of the River of Life, to wash away the smelly debris of frothy nothingness.

They mistake comfort and rapidity for progress! Every holiday they celebrate by killing hundreds on the highways, proving that power and speed are so important in getting you nowhere in a hurry—in a mad effort to win the Loving Cup—the one with eight handles—one for each pallbearer.

They are gadget baffly but don't know it . . . they lead the world in the production of autos, and nitwits . . . the Capons of the Air, via Radio, Television and Movies, amuse the Mesmeric Herd with their moans, groans, animal posturing and idiotic gyrations—and the Morons go ga ga in a frantic effort to get their autographs. Hip Happy Pelvis Parsley, the Rock and Roll Juke Box Paradox, a cut-glass Fireless Cooker that's hotter than a Firecracker, is the number one Jerk who leads the Twisters. Who knows—he may be reincarnation of an old Hootchy-Kootchy dancer from the Chicago World's Fair of the Gay Nineties.

If you want a first class Belly Laugh keep tuned in on dear old Mother Earth, now called Vice-Versa, a product of the Jerk, Squirt and Drip Age . . . Magna Cum Laude . . . I'll have another Sarsaparilla . . . Even GOD'S Laffin'.



Outline of the Pannai Ashram Plan

J. C. Kumarappa.

THIS is the general plan of late Dr. J. C. Kumarappa's Pannai Ashram started in 1952, 30 miles from Wardha. But unfortunately he could not continue the experiments owing to calls of other work. Later when his health failed he had to settle down in Gandhi Niketan in the South. The Sadhana Kendra Study Circle at Kashi has commended this Pannai Ashram Plan as the broad basis of work in all the Ahrams and Gramdan units all over the Country.

1. If our country aims at true democracy it should be made up of self-sufficient units which are capable of looking after their own primary needs. We may start with villages. These should realise their salvation lies in their standing together as a unit. Each village should strive to produce all the commodities needed for civilized existence—a balanced diet, adequate clothing and satisfactory shelter. Nothing should be allowed to leave the village even if one individual is in want of these. Any trade should only be in surpluses.

2. At the moment, our country is groping without a definite plan in the basic occupation of the people.

3. A programme of cultivation, as well as the crop plan will have to closely follow the prime needs of life which are food, clothing, shelter, lighting and modern requirements of schooling,

sanitation and hygiene. This will indicate that a great portion of the crop plan should follow the first two items and provide for the production of their raw materials.

4. Our crop plan should indicate an intelligent utilization of our resources according to the human values that they are to satisfy. In this manner, if land is properly utilized to fulfil the needs of the village, we may be sure that the village's physical and social needs would be first satisfied.

5. Food itself is a variegated necessity. We need proteins, fats, calcium and other minerals along with certain vitamins and these are all produced, not as in a chemical factory, but organically largely through our controlled vegetation, supplemented by articles from the animal kingdom.

6. And each of the commodities will have different proportion.

of the constituents called for. This will mean that we shall have to vary the lands under cultivation proportionately. For instance, a man may need daily 16 ozs. of cereals, 4 ozs. of fat, 6 ozs. of milk but only traces of certain minerals and vitamins.

7. Therefore, our production should reflect these needs in these natural proportions. Only then can our villages be self-sufficient.

8. Each should have the opportunity to contribute the production to the best of his ability and each should receive enough to satisfy his need and that of his family. The villagers should treat everyone in the locality as members of the family and see that they all get sufficient nutrition in their food. The components of the diet may vary to some extent according to differing tastes but in the ultimate result there should be no difference between one individual and another. This will have the result of producing a stalwart rural population on which alone a real democracy can rest.

9. A group of us, say, five or six families should settle down in a selected area, produce most of our needs and use such others as we can in exchange for our production and meet the requirements of the colony with as little money nexus as possible. Hence, our production ought to take care of the experimenters and workers and whatever surplus is obtained can be exchanged for other needs not produced within this experiments.

10. The purpose of this experiment is to provide the basis for a country-wide self-sufficient programme of rural reconstruction, especially in the agricultural sector. This has not been done yet nor is it capable of being done through present governmental agencies. Hence, it is imperative that we should take up this scheme and give a lead to the country in this particular department of life which has been till now sorely neglected.



Has Man a Future?

By Bertrand Russel

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SEARCH FOR REALITY

A Review of

“Off the Beaten Track”: By Wilfred Willock.

(Published by Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore. Rs. 3)

THIS book describes the experiments in living made by a remarkable person dedicated to the search for Truth. Long ago St. Augustine declared that Truth was old and also ever new. It is ancient and universal because it has been taught by every great spiritual teacher in every age in every country and yet in a way Truth cannot be taught. It has to be discovered, re-discovered by every individual for himself and lived.

Wilfred Wellock, like Gandhiji, experimented with Truth, went through the hard intellectual and moral discipline that inevitably accompanies the search for Reality. To find the Real, the unreal has to be given up and to discover Truth, the false must be perceived and abandoned.

Wellock has lived through several revolutions—the industrial revolution in England, the successive post-war revolutions and the technological revolution of our atomic age. “Colossal waste, aimless, speech; the consumption escalator with its concomitants of high pressure advertising and

hire purchase; unbounded gadgetry; senseless competition and economic war; colonialism and domination; fragmentation of living” are some of the symptoms of a decaying civilisation.

The symptoms are clear. Values have broken down. How can they be restored? Wellock says that the field of greatest hope is education. Teachers will have a large measure of freedom to transmit enlightenment to their pupils should they possess the sense of urgency to exercise it. A small number do this today, but on the whole teachers have not yet manifested that degree of awareness of the dangerous trends in our materialistic civilisation that might be expected of a class of people whose function it is to guide the coming generation in acquiring the art of “living, of seeking, finding and applying the Truth that is life.”

Wellock's life has a strange resemblance to Gandhiji's whom he unconsciously at first, but more purposefully later, followed. At the end, there is an appeal to India, a warning that we are

on the threshold of a new era, and will soon be called upon to make one of the most momentous decisions in its long history—either conform to our spiritual tradition or be dragged into the treacherous swamp of materialism that is rapidly overwhelming the powerful nations of the West.

This warning comes from a friend and disciple of Gandhi, a pacifist who spent several years in prison for being a conscientious objector, who discovered that self-giving is self-finding, self-

realisation, personal wholeness and abundant life.

Shall we follow the path laid down by the Buddha and the Christ and all our spiritual teachers? Or the way of wealth and power?

Mr. Wellock has written a great and wise book. It should be in the hands of every boy and girl and, if it is not impertinent to suggest, in the hands of every member of our ruling classes.

*Courtesy—The Hindu.
March 11, 1962.*



DADA DHARMADHIKARI ON WILFRED WELLOCK

Sri Dada Dharmadhikari writes on reading Mr. Wilfred Wellock's articles, "Adventures in the Art of Living" in 'Sarvodaya'.

"I have since read some of the articles—quite a few—and have liked them immensely; more so since we find in him a kindred soul. His account of his 'Experiments in the Art of Living' is as refreshing as it is interesting. His style is perspicuous and elegant without effort. He recounts his experiments with directness and an unassumed humility. I liked the earlier chapters better since they are more personal and full of intimate individual touches. The latter chapters contain more of his reflections, observations and exposition of experiences, than an intimate, sharing with the reader. They are stimulating in as much as they give an impetus to one's thinking. But the earlier chapters are fragrant with the fresh breath of life."



Seminar on Peace Building at Bangalore

"**L**OVE, that is the sense of identity and therefore the awareness that 'all life is one' has to replace the sense of separateness and selfishness. A war is to be waged in individual and social consciousness against narrow considerations based on individual egoism. A relentless war has to be declared against all anti-evolutionary forces which seek to drag man towards animalism. The force of militant love has to be employed to combat against poverty, disease, ignorance and all that keeps man at his present level. In brief, arousing the positive forces of love, and their constant aggressive use for the elevation of man in all respects has to be the end and aim of the peace we want" declared Sri R. R. Diwakar while inaugurating a two-day seminar on PEACE BUILDING conducted by the Gandhi Nidhi Tatva-prachar Centre, Bangalore, on Sunday and Monday the 4th and 5th March, 1962, at the Gandhi Bhavan, Bangalore.

Sriuths Vallabhaswamy, K. S. Acharlu, K. Sampathgiri Rao, Yamunacharya, N. Bhadrish, K. S. Narayanaswamy and Miss Louise Evans participated in the seminar's discussions. Papers on Education for Peace, Art and

Music for Peace, Ethics of Peace, Literature for Peace, Economics and Peace, and Peace for Life were read respectively. A talk on Shanti Sena was given by Sri Vallabhaswamy.

After discussions for two days, the following statement was adopted by the Seminar:—

The quest for peace is as old as the Hills. It is eternal. Humanity has always been hungry for peace which leads to higher life and harmony for love in lieu of hate and destruction.

Conflicts are ever present in society. Tensions are always there. They cannot be avoided and dissolved; they have to be faced and solved.

Mankind has so far tried to solve conflicts by force and violence. All Governments have forces as their ultimate sanction. Violence has not, however, helped mankind smoothen tensions and solve conflicts but has helped to aggravate them. Today it has manoeuvred humanity into a deathtrap by the invention of engines of destruction which mean total annihilation of mankind.

Peace is neither absence of strife or isolation nor an escape from conflicts. It is something more dynamic. Peace is a positive condition of individual and social

consciousness which is conducive to healthy, joyful and progressive activities leading to a life which is more and more human and less beastly and to the establishment of the law of truth and non-violence and the basis of life.

To arouse these positive forces of love and non-violence for building up a peaceful society, education has to aim at transformation of man from a fractional being into a perfect and integrated personality. It has also to be love-oriented, wholly communitarian and work-centred. Coercion, regimentation and military training can never build the peace which man wants. It has to prosper on persuasion and a synthesis of individual and social interests.

Art, literature and all cultural values should be subordinated and attuned to the supreme social value—altruism of man.

Economics of greed and acquisitiveness should be replaced by service-economy where freedom from fear of exploitation is guaranteed.

Family, the basic unit of our social structure, is based on the economy of service and altruistic human relations where self is subordinated to social needs. It has all along made life abundant and blessed. Society should be organised on the same pattern. It should be the family of man. It is always love which unites while greed divides.

Organisation for peace is the test of real non-violence. Will peace follow our organization, is the question. All our organisations, educational, political, religious, economic, must answer this supreme question. Are we organising for antagonism or for co-operation and unity and peace?

A decentralised participatory democracy based on service-economy, altruistic culture and equal respect for all religions seems to point the way.

Peace, as we envisage it, can come only after a long and intense striving for a total change, change in our ideas of culture, change of social institutions and of man himself; in other words, a change from the law of violence and competition to the law of non-violence and mutual aid. It is a change necessary for the prevention and solution of conflicts in future and the establishment of a new creative order where the good of all and not the greatest good of the greatest number will be the goal.

Sri Krishna Sarma while welcoming the participants suggested that Peace should not be political expediency but a total concept for life. Hence the subject was dealt with under the headings Education, Ethics, Art and Music, Literature, Economics and Life in general.

Sri Diwakar delivered the concluding address also. ★

THE WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

First Campaign in Africa

Siddharaj Dhadra

THE World Peace Brigade has happily decided to launch its first campaign in East Africa. The plan is two-fold, firstly, to launch a *Peace March* from Tanganyika to Northern Rhodesia, and secondly, to support the steps taken by Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independent Party. The participants would include devotees and workers of peace from various parts of the world. It is the first non-violent drive organised by different peoples to help a country (Northern Rhodesia) to tear off its shackles and attain freedom.

The wave of independence which is sweeping all over the world cannot but cover Africa. This dark continent is coming into light and its sturdy people have risen from their long slumber. Egypt, Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria and Tanganyika, are already free. Uganda has just become so. Kenya is on the road to it. Going southwards one enters Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia and there is the Republic of South Africa at the end. It is natural for colonial interests to cling on to their own and refuse to part with power and their economic footholds. But a people resolved to become free cannot be denied their birthright. No amount of force can stop them from attaining their cherished

goal. Gandhiji showed, first in South Africa and later in India, that collective non-violence can meet any power or combinations of it. While those loaded with arms can yield or get demoralized at times, those equipped with non-violent strength cannot. They have nothing to fear or lose and the cause of freedom is bound to flourish and prosper.

We, therefore, welcome the measures adopted by the World Peace Brigade to help Kenneth Kaunda in his non-violent campaign for freedom of Northern Rhodesia. We are not aware of the details of the steps to be taken by him and his UNIP. But we are sure that non-violence shall be their sheet-anchor and whatever they would be inspired by good-will towards all. Our friends of Northern Rhodesia have not only to bear no malice in their heart against the oppressors but also have to suffer patiently and quietly. They should not forget that on their sacrifice depends the success of the friends from abroad as members of the World Peace Brigade. Their steps should be marked by caution and firm resolution.

Those of the World Peace Brigade have as great a responsibility. They have to be non-violent in thought, speech and deed. They should be living

AFRICAN FREEDOM ACTION PLAN

THE World Peace Brigade has offered its participation in the formation of a new movement — AFRICA FREEDOM ACTION. The first project of AFRICA FREEDOM ACTION (A. F. A.) will be to support the proposed general strike which Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, declared would take place if a true African majority were not provided for by the British Government. Mr. Kaunda's declaration was made at a mass meeting of UNIP in Lusaka.

Africa Freedom Action has been established jointly by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Tanganyika Pan-African Movement of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa (PAFMESCA)

and the World Peace Brigade for Non-violent Action (W. P. B.)

The action in support of Mr. Kaunda's demand for "Freedom Now" will involve a freedom march from Dar-es-Salaam across the border into Northern Rhodesia and will be timed to coincide with the general strike.

The project has the support of a number of individuals of international repute who will participate in their own countries in *deputation to British Embassies and in demonstrations of support.*

Citizens of the United Kingdom, U. S. A., Japan, Canada, France, Germany, Norway and India are now beginning to assemble in Dar-es-Salaam to add their support to the thousands of Africans who are expected to join the march.



The World Peace Brigade

Continued from page 343

examples of courtesy and humility. The whole world is watching their experiment. It is bound to have tremendous influence on the thinking of men and women

as also on the affairs of the Government. There is a historic task. May they count no cost too great for the success of their mission!

★ Letters from Overseas Friends ★

Tournon,
S/R. Home,
Ardeche, France.

Dear Sri Ramaswami,

.....Always very happy when I receive Sarvodaya, full of good and interesting news. I have received in good condition the three books ("Off The Beaten Track" by Mr. Wilfred Wellock) They are very good books, well printed. I send you my best wishes, for you and Sarvodaya and India. Sincerely with you and your good work,

Dewachter Gerard



Selsey,
Sussex,
England.

Dear Brother,

Reports coming from India like Menon's remark over Goa "But Gandhi is no longer here" betrayed his deep materialism; for Gandhi is the human heart. When these are expelled, he is expelled; but he still waits patiently to be reinstated and is much more 'alive' than these physical materialists.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMPASSION which I am sure Gandhiji would have recommended to the whole world, was published

three days ago, and I hope will be in your hands before very long. I know you will do what you can to make it known in India. I very much want to send Narayan a copy, as I have been reading several things of his and feel he has the clear, legal mind of Bapu, and I know he would be intensely interested in the information contained in this particular book.

Esme Wynne-Tyson.



Laroe Road, Chester
New York, U. S. A.

Dear Friends,

You were very kind to send me your two books by Wilfred Wellock—"Not by Bread Alone" and "Off the Beaten Track". Please accept my warm thanks. I know him and admire him for all that he has written and that I have read.

I thank you also for the copies of Sarvodaya that you have been sending me for many months. They are always of value. You are doing fine work and I admire you for it. My best wishes always.

Richard B. Gregg.

We met him again at 8-30 p.m. to receive another thrilling experience. He stretched before us an appeal written by his own hand in a foolscap paper duly signed at the bottom. On going through its contents we felt that not a single word needed correction or amendment. We agreed to this in toto.

We again approached the first candidate for ratification. Though we had received a "blank cheque" we felt it our duty to do this. But it took him only a minute or two for going through its contents and to sign wholeheartedly. It was about 9-30 p.m. then. Every thing was finished within a span of three hours. It would have taken less than 30 minutes for us to talk with the candidates.

There was one other candidate left. He contested the election as an independent candidate. He left electioneering just on the eve of polling in favour of one of the other two. In spite of this, we felt this attempt incomplete if he was not consulted. So we approached him to find that he delayed us only for five minutes for signing the appeal and for congratulating us.

There was only a day's interval left before us for the results to be announced. So we had this appeal printed the very same night and distributed the next morning.

It is God's will that had inspired the candidates who were till then fighting each other so vehemently during election campaign. I remember here what Vinobaji has said in his "Talks on Gita", "No matter how ancient the dark-

ness is in a cave, it flees when a match is struck. The darkness becomes light." This is the appeal:

An Appeal to the Voters

We contested the election held on 17-2-62 as candidates on behalf of our respective parties. It is known to us all that whoever of us is elected, he represents our constituency in the State Assembly for five years to come.

Whatever the result of the polling is and whoever is elected we request our well-wishers, our supporters and the public to take it peacefully and large-heartedly. We request the public not to be carried away by emotions on learning the result and not to indulge in giving vent to their feelings nor to incite the public.

What had taken place in this election is a straight contest on the issue of policies of our respective parties. It is not a contest between individuals. We have no ill-will against any individual. So this should be magnanimously taken as a contest between party policies.

So let this contest between party principles and aims continue, let the fight between individuals or groups or castes stop. We humbly request our supporters and the voters to forget if there is any ill-feeling amongst individuals or castes and to behave like brothers.

(Sd.) T. Kadambaranasundaram,
(Congress Party Candidate).

(Sd.) S. Sowdi Sundara Barathi,
(Forward Bloc Party Candidate).

(Sd.) N. C. Arumugam,
(Independent Candidate).

NEWS AND NOTES

W. R. I. Study Conference in Denmark

The W. R. I. Study Conference to be held in Denmark will centre round the theme of Resistance in Europe and speakers with experience in the Direct Action field will participate. The object of the Conference is to examine the possibility of developing an effective non-resistance movement throughout Europe. The dates of the Conference are 29th July to 4th August 1962. The Conference will be held at "Bredablick" School in Holte, near Copenhagen. The cost is 25/- (DM. 13.85) a day and £1 (DM. 11, 10) as Conference fee for the week. Those who want to participate should contact the Secretary, W. R. I., 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

World Demonstration for Peace

The World Peace Brigade will go into action for the first time on Saturday the 19th of May, 1962. It is hoped that all peace organisations throughout the world will join in a programme of one-day work camps, pickets, sit-ins, marches, etc.

Sarvodaya Mela & Exhibition in Thirunnavaya (Kerala)

A Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition was organised by the Kerala Khadi and Village Industries Board at Thirunnavaya in connection with the *Sarvodaya mela* held from the 10th to 12th February '62. Demonstration and exhibition of almost all the khadi and village industries were arranged by various institutions in the State. The exhibition was inaugurated by Shri K. A. Damodara Menon, the Minister for Industries. In his inaugural address the Minister suggested that a village industries estate should be started at Thirunnavaya.

The *Sarvodaya mela* was held at the premises of the Sarvodayapuram, Gandhi Smarak Kendram, on the banks of the river Bharatha, where the ashes of Mahatmaji were immersed in 1948. Shri K. Arunachalam, Member of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Shri V. V. Giri, the Governor of Kerala, Shri K. Chandrasekharan, the Law Minister, Shri K. Kelappan, participated in the *mela*. The Governor, Shri Giri, said that Thirunnavaya was the most suitable place for establishing the Rural Institute proposed in

the Third Five Year Plan. Discussions were held on Gram-Ekai, Panchayat Raj, prohibition, Basic education etc.

Nava Nirman Work in Cuddapah District in Feb. 1962

The Cuddapah District Nava Nirman Samithi has been doing intensive work in the district in Bhoodan, Gramdan and other reconstruction work. The following details will be of interest.

It has secured the largest number of Gramdams of 447 in the Andhra Pradesh. They comprise of 11,258 families, with a total population of 66,500. The extent of acreage in these villages is 23000-55. It has also secured 16,342-95 acres of land as Bhoodan in 9 taluks from 2857 donors in 640 villages. 80 Gramdan Karyakartas received training at Anandashram and they all are serving in their respective villages.

Gramodaya Samithis conducted 209 meetings on 320 occasions. The workers have walked 2049 miles on pada-yatra. During this month 1214 acres of land have been brought under cultivation. Collective-farming is implemented in 833 acres of land. 469 compost pits have been dug and manures were collected. Khadi to the extent of 8678 sq. yards of cloth was produced. 825 persons were taught spinning by the karyakarthas. In leather industry, 1245 persons are working and about Rs. 22,000 worth of leather was used in this industry. The wages earned amounted to Rs. 9,579. The value of leather goods sold was Rs. 18,486. Besides these, intensive work in the direction of health and sanitation, prohibition, cattle welfare, education, etc. is also done. In Gandhi Dandu, which is a new organization in Andhra, 1457 persons have enrolled themselves for propagating prohibition, removal of untouchability, etc.

Sarvodaya Study Circle in Cuttack

Addressing one of the Sunday meetings at a study circle run under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Mandal in cuttack city, Smt. Rama Devi reminded the students about the condition of the poor starving people of this country on account of the weight of the so-called educated class standing over their heads. At any time, if the down-trodden begin to revolt, it will lead to a precarious situation. She told that the Sarvodaya Society will be an ideal one in which the tiller will get the same status and opportunities of service as a judge and a professor. His sons and daughters will not starve or be denied education. To achieve this ideal society veterans like

Vinoba and Acharya Harihar Dass are moving from village to village by walking. She expressed her hope that the young will come forward and respond to the call of Sarvodaya mission.

Kumarappa Memorial Fund

Sri N. Sivaramakrishnan, who is in charge of the Kumarappa Memorial Preparatory Committee, 5 Nagatthammankoil Street Madras-15 has sent us a statement of collections for the Fund. The collections already announced upto the end of June amounted to Rs. 71021-16. With further collections from various individuals and organizations the total has reached now Rs. 82,466-56. One friend from England and another from South America, have sent their donations. The target for the Fund is Rs. 5,00,000, which we hope would be subscribed at the earliest by the thousands of admirers of Kumarappa devoted to the cause of Economics of Peace, which was his ideal.

Bio-Technique

Our readers may remember about an interesting article on Bio-Technique by sister Dagmar Sarkar from Landau, Germany in Sarvodaya, for Dec. '61. She has sent us a syllabus of the Basic Course for the training of Bio-technicians. It is given under four different groups like 1. Technique — yesterday and tomorrow, 2. The bio-condenser principle of the Earth, 3. The water-thread test, 4. Nuclear Fission—the limit of destruction, 5. Relativity of measurements, 6. Bio-technique and 7. Shapes in Nature.

Detailed copy of the syllabus will be sent to those who may write to the Editor, Sarvodaya, Tanjore.

Khadi in Indian Economy—Exhibition in Colleges

To impress on the student population the impact of khadi on Indian economy the khadi and Village Industries commission has sanctioned a scheme for holding exhibitions with well-prepared charts in stands and frames at the colleges in cities. The exhibition was inaugurated in the city of Madras. Over 5000 students of five prominent colleges in the city visited the Exhibition held between 5th and 21st Feb. and evinced keen interest. The names of the colleges where the exhibitions were held are, The Presidency College, the Vivekananda College, Teacher's College, Govt. Arts College and Lady Wellington Training College. Sri. G. Venkatachalapathy, Additional Commissioner, Sri. T. N. Jagadeesan, Secretary, Hind Kusht. Nivaran Sangh, Sri. T. R. Raghava Sastri, Principal and others addressed the students. Sri. C. D. V. Raghavalu, Manger of the

OFF THE 'BEATEN TRACK

Adventures in the Art of Living

By Wilfred Wellock



With a Foreword by
Jayaprakash Narayan

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"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."

Jayaprakash Narayan.

"This book describes the experiments in living made by a remarkable person dedicated to the search for Truth.

Wilfred Wellock, like Gandhiji, experimented with Truth, went through the hard intellectual and moral discipline that inevitably accompanies the search for Reality.

Mr. Wellock has written a great and wise book. It should be in the hands of every boy and girl and, if it is not impertinent to suggest, in the hands of every member of our ruling class"

The Hindu—Madras 11-3-62.



SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA,

Srinivasapuram, Tanjore, India.

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Campaign against Nuclear Armaments and Tests

Marches of thousands from Aldermaston to London started on Good Friday, the 20th April. There was the mass Rally on Easter Monday at Hyde Park. There was also picketing at the Ministry of Defence.

The Italian centre for non-violence at Perugia organised its second mass demonstration against nuclear war with a 15 mile march from Camucia to Cortona in Southern Tuscany.

The Pacifists of Australia have protested against the resumption of nuclear tests by U. S. A. in Christmas Island.

"Stop Nuclear Tests" mass rally and demonstrations were held on April 13 & 21 in Tokyo and Miura Misaki (cape) a fishing port on the Pacific coast. 200 Women demonstrated against the tests as a part of common action with the U. S. Women's strike for Peace.



EXTENSIVE BHOODAN CAMPAIGN

IMMEDIATELY after the Sarva Seva Sangh's meeting at Patna an extensive campaign for Bhoodan in the whole of Bihar State began on April 15th. This will be carried on for two months till 15th June. Most of the Lok-Sevaks who came from different parts of India are participating in this campaign to complete the pledge of Bihar to collect 10 lakhs of acres more to complete its land gift of 32 acres. This is what is needed to distribute lands to all the landless in Bihar State. It will be a great moral victory for the Bhoodan movement if one State can declare that there is no landless tiller. What is possible in one State should be possible in every State of India. What is realised in one country should be possible for any part of the world. This will be thus the fulfilment of the great non-violent agrarian revolution.

The following is Vinobaji's special appeal issued for this occasion.

VINOBAJI'S APPEAL TO BIHAR

ON 25th December 1960, the Christmas Day, I entered Bihar for the second time. The same day I placed before the mantra: '*Bighe men kattha, dan do ikattha*' (donate collectively one-twentieth of your land).

In Bihar we had all resolved to secure thirty-two lakhs of acres of land for the landless. Among those who had taken the pledge were the Congress Party, the opposition parties, Sarvodaya workers, and the people. The

movement went on ceaselessly for two years. Workers approached every one of Bihar's 75,000 villages. From about half of them was offered 22 lakhs of acres of land through three lakhs of *dan-patras* (gift deeds). Ten lakhs of acres are yet to be obtained to fulfill the pledge. A simple calculation showed that the goal could be accomplished if everyone offered one *kattha* out of every *bigha* he or she owned. Hence, this mantra.

The workers did make efforts

towards this end last year. But several reasons, including natural calamities, stood in the way of a concentrated drive. This year it was decided to carry on an intensive campaign from the second week of April next.

Our respected and beloved President is coming back after relinquishing his high office. The gracious God has spared him for us from a serious illness. The land collected during this campaign will be offered to him as a gesture of welcome.

The land problem is the problem for the whole of Asia. There are no two opinions that it can best be solved by the way of compassion. Law can succeed in obtaining land but not in winning the heart. The way of compassion will not only solve the problem, but also cement the hearts of the people and lay strong foundations for Gram-Swaraj.

With a view to ensure union of hearts, we have made a special provision that the donor himself should give the land to any landless person of his choice. I have called this process *devi* (i.e.,

voluntary giving as against the State taking away by a "*levy*".) I want Bihar to adopt this royal road.

I appeal to workers of all political parties as also to those not in any, and to constructive workers, workers in *Gram-Panchayats* and other village agencies, teachers and students and others in Bihar to lend their co-operation in this great task. I would also suggest that experienced workers from different parts of India should also join in this endeavour.

Donations are, naturally, made by individuals, but special efforts must be made for obtaining them collectively. Of course, individual contributions should be accepted, but the significance of collective effort must be brought home. We must also see to it that the land offered is simultaneously distributed.

The approach of the workers must be marked by love and, humility and understanding. They must be full of devotion for the all pervading God as embodied in the hearts of the millions.



Sarva Seva Sangh's Meeting at Patna

THE General Body of the Akhila Bharath Sarva Seva Sangh met at the Sadakat ashram at Patna on the 9th, 10th & 11th April. Sri. Navakrishna Chaudhry the president of the Sangh presided. Sri. Jayaprakash Narayan, Sri. Dada Dharmadhikari, Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar and others addressed the meeting. There were about 200 Lok-sevaks representing the districts and others.

Sri. Jayaprakash Narayan in his address reviewed the present situation in general and appealed to the workers to make the movement a lively one by simultaneously seizing the day-to-day problems of the people and endeavour to solve them besides the long-range programmes like Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sarvodaya patra etc. He suggested the need to change our technique of work in the context of changing situation when Panchayat Raj is being established throughout the country.

The Lok-Sevaks divided themselves into fifteen groups to discuss about the future plan of work in the light of our experience. Each group recorded its views. The consensus of the views of all the groups was presented in a statement by Sri Narayan Desai before the general body on the last day.

The gist of the statement is given below :

The problem of land is a vital national problem. Its solution will liberate millions. We hoped to bring about a fundamental change in social order while solving the land problem, which could not be still solved. During the recent years we could not apply all our energy to this. The unanimous opinion of the various groups is that we should give all priority to this land problem.

It was proper that some of the workers devoted their time in the distribution of bhoodan land already received, and some others directed their energy on Gramdan while others were trying to get new gifts of Bhoodan. The question naturally arose as to whether there is need for change in the technique of work for the solution of the land problem.

Some groups were of opinion that there is need for radical change in our technique of work. The mass mentality is going through a quick and striking change. The atmosphere is changing on account of the Panchayat Raj that is spreading throughout the country. In the new context and situation the old way of approach and technique of solution

to the land problem may not be possible. The technique of work has to be evolved with the people's sanction. The issue should emanate from the people themselves and their environment.

Some were of opinion that there is a basic philosophy in the technique of work pursued by us and it has been fulfilled Vinobaji by his continuous application of this technique for a long time and by his tapasya has completely transformed the atmosphere. It has become ripe and we are reaping the fruits of his tapasya.

Besides, the groups expressed their specific views on the following points :—

1. The organisation of the workers, their training and maintenance has become a subject of paramount importance. Since we have an army of workers their maintenance has become a vital matter in the light of the above objectives. The future work will not be possible unless we seriously apply ourselves to the solution of this problem.

2. Shanti-sena and education have their great importance as we see marks of concern and anxiety about the future of the country.

3. All the groups were agreed that there should be no hesitation in organising non-violent movements of direct action wherever the need for it arises. Two subjects

can be considered on the level of national issues. One is for prohibition and the other is against eviction of cultivating tenant.

Some part of increasing national income is spent away for drink. Prohibition is accepted in the constitution and the policy of the State Governments is also favourable for it.

In the matter of resisting eviction of tenants there should be no meek submission. Neither the State Governments nor the people have the courage to face the issue of eviction. The atmosphere for non-violent direct action of resistance is now favourable.

But it has been unanimously accepted that the direct action of resistance should be purely and wholly non-violent.

Fourteen out of the 15 Groups were of opinion that the local and day-to-day issues should be seized so that we may have closer contact with the people who may be receptive to our appeal for programs of larger and fundamental issues. But experienced workers with discernment should tackle such issues, as otherwise, they would get entangled in them. Such local issues require deep study of them, dispassionate discussion with colleagues and if necessary consultation with disinterested individuals outside.

FROM PRAYER TALKS OF VINOBA

FROM PRAYER TALKS OF VINOBA

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The Need of Idealism

SWARAJ ought to have been followed by a broad penetrating vision, lofty idealism and a new inspiration. On the other hand, the idea of enjoying comfort and luxury has overtaken the country. The best educated and fine people go into the Government. If they work there sincerely, they would be able to render service to the country. And there is nothing wrong in it. Employment under a free Government is quite justified. But there is an idealism which cannot be satisfied with the prevalent situation and should make us leap forward. That idealism is today missing. If anyone makes a sacrifice, he is dissuaded and advised to go in for some job.

Nirmala Deshpande is a distinguished writer and speaker. She has gone round the whole country, expounds her views fearlessly and never allows any wrong idea to get hold of her. She is a worker of high calibre. But an aged gentleman dissuaded her and said, "What is this madness? Why don't you leave Vinoba? You are yet young, get married and settle down. What do you think of the future? Take to normal life which has been adopted by all." The gentleman is a known Gandhite. It is really difficult to

judge who is a Gandhite and who is not. But the one who is regarded as a Gandhite advised Nirmala to take to a life of ease and security instead of a life of service and sacrifice.

This is the situation today. We have to rise above this and take up some great work. For long India was denied every opportunity. Now that she is free, her people will get chance to work on a global basis and make necessary sacrifice. This is regarded as 'idealism.' That has rather gone dim. Without idealism, we cannot have a Rabindranath, Aurobindo and Gandhi. But even without idealism, we can be good professors, good judges, good generals, good administrator. This is the way of life after Swaraj. That burning idealism which inspired men and women to action and lifted them on its wide wings is not any where before the people.

I am not at all disappointed with the situation that has arisen since Swaraj. It has frequently happened in history as nations get tired after they attain one goal. But this state will not last long. The number of workers who have forsaken their all for the sake of Bhoodan-Gramdan ideal is not very large. Be it one thousand or five hundred; surely this is the source from which the spark will emanate. The idealism in it will

inspire people and I believe that its the spark in it would blaze forth not only in India, but in every corner of the world and will manifest the collective strength of the people as a whole. If our workers work with the faith that there is divine hand behind the movement a very bright future awaits the entire humanity.

(From a talk on the 11th Feb. in memory of Jammalal Bajaj.)



The Agriculture — A

Sacrificial Duty

ALL the *Shastras* enjoin us to grow corn. 'To grow corn is a *Yajna*, a sacred duty'—it is the realisation of man alone. Other creatures cannot do so. They do eat corn, store it for their use, but they cannot produce it. The monkey eats fruits, but it will go hungry if it does not get it. It cannot think of producing it. But this is not so with man. He cannot feel satisfied only with eating fruit. He cultivates plants for fruits. In eating and storing food, man is like other creatures, but his speciality lies in his capacity to produce it.

I have seen farmers allowing birds eat away the corn in their fields. They say that they too have a share in it, though, of course, they drive them away when they come in large numbers and damage the crop. Thus, what

the farmers do out of their conviction, is really what the *shastras* enjoin. Birds help the farmer in getting a better yield by eating the worms in the field, and so they do deserve a share in the produce.

Destroying corn or killing animals, as is being done in other countries, is not humane. It is brutish. Now one may question: why there is then no purity of heart in a farmer? Indeed the farmer has a purer heart than other kind of producers. But for the purification of the soul one must have the awareness also. The possession of the right means to do so alone is not sufficient. However, in spite of subjecting himself to tyranny and exploitation the farmer still retains the geniality of his soul. In his farm work he lives in open air and comes in direct communion with nature which is the manifestation of God. Thus he toils in tune with the Divine. He does not claim his produce as the result of his own efforts, but attributes it to the grace of God.

The *Gita* says that every action can lead to self-purification provided it is accompanied by a spirit of renunciation. But can a farmer renounce the fruit of his action—the produce of the field? Further, all activities are not equally conducive to inner purification, as for example, the task of preparing and selling wine. Really speaking, there can be so self-purification through it. However, the agricultural work is best suited to lead to self-purification, provided it is practised in a spirit of

renunciation. Those who do not take part in the production of corn, have really no moral justification for making use of it. What they eat is sin.

This great inequality among people and appalling poverty which we see today in the world, is due to our avoidance of direct share in the production of corn. Most of the people shirk physical labour leaving it to a section among them. The main duty of man is to produce corn, and if he cannot do it, the next duty is to help in its production. The *Gita* has taught us a social principle for our spiritual uplift. It says that the life of that man alone is purified who has acquired economic self-sufficiency.

The performance of prayers (*Sandhya*) and worship do not purify our souls so much as economic self-reliance. Further God has ordained that we should return all the obligations to those to whom we are indebted. Here the question arises: May we not return the obligations to others in a different way? Yes, we can do so but we must take direct part in the production of corn. We can possibly avoid using corn for some time, or reduce its quantity for ever, but we cannot eschew its use in toto. Therefore, the *Gita* says that as we do consume corn and cannot do without it, we must take part in some way or other in producing it.

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The Ideal Man of Letters

THE man of letters should be free from all sensuality. Otherwise, his passions will become his masters. The thermometer

can serve as a standard of measurement because it has no temperature of its own. If it had, it would not be of any use for gauging the fever of hers. Likewise, he who would observe the evils existing in society should himself be free from them. In the absence of this detachment, the literary man will not be able to gauge the depth of social abuses. He must be able to penetrate to the very depths of nature and society. He must be a detached observer, an interested but unattached seer like the umpire in a game of cricket. The umpire knows the game but is not one of the contending parties. If the writer himself joins the team of players, we will require someone else to act as the umpire.

Such a great poet was Vyasa. He has laid bare all his shortcomings in the *Mahabharat*. He has faithfully described his own origin and the origin of the Pandavas. What other writer could have described his own humble birth as Vyasa has done? Vyasa, the poet completely detached himself from the Vyasa as a character in his epic. He alone will excel as a writer who has this capacity to detach himself from nature and the work-a-day world. Not that he should turn his back upon the world in lofty contempt. On the contrary, he should adopt an attitude of deep concern without any attachment. Otherwise he may very well become a liberated soul but he cannot become a literary man. Only when he feels dispassionate interest in the world, will his words command influence.

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★ Vinobaji's Yatra in Assam ★

WHEN Vinobaji entered Assam on 5-3-1961 the atmosphere there was already in a disturbed condition. There was excitement and passion on the language question. The announcement of Vinobaji's programme in Assam created an apprehension in the minds of the Assamese, that their violent outbursts would be condemned by Vinobaji. But contrary to their expectation, Vinobaji, the torch-bearer of love and compassion, avoided any reference to the surface display of violence. But he straightaway appealed to the people for the revival of the basic human love and compassion. The people in Assam, being simple-minded and pure-hearted, responded to the call of Vinobaji and gathered spontaneously in large numbers for his prayer meetings.

Some took him for reincarnation of Sri Shankaradeva and Madhava deva, the saints, who had walked through the length and breadth of Assam and the whole country, preaching *nama-mahima* the glory of God's name and *Keerthan Ghosha*, the singing of songs on the glory of God. Wherever Vinobaji went, he quoted in Assamese from Shankaradeva and Madhavadeva. In this way, he

tried to win their heart and bring about a change in the atmosphere.

In Assam, there were very few workers for Bhoodan under the guidance of Sri Hema Prabha Devi. The number did not even exceed 25. Most of them were ladies. They had to be in Vinobaji's yatra and also make all arrangements in advance. Vinobaji appealed for Gramdan and more than 500 gramdan villages were offered. The distribution work was also tried as a test with a concentrated effort in one area during Baba's 3-weeks' yatra, in about 27 villages in the area. This created a confidence in the efficacy of Gramdan.

The ruling Congress Party gave all its support to Vinobaji's yatra and his movement. The Gramdan Act was passed by the Assam Legislative Assembly. All the amendments suggested by Vinobaji were included in the Act. The forms of declaration as required under the Act were printed and made available to the field workers, to get them filled up by the donors. The Act is considered to be one of the best in the country. All Legislators heard Vinobaji once. The Congress Parliamentary Party met him once to consider in what way they

could help the programme. All the Ministers saw him several times to find out the way in which they could make their own contribution to the movement.

Above all, the sale of Sarvodaya literature in all languages for more than a lakh of rupees can be considered as a record work. People have shown unprecedented enthusiasm and zeal for reading Sarvodaya literature.

During his year's yatra just completed in Assam, Vinobaji read again and again the *nam ghosho* of Sri Shankaradeva. The essence of *Nam Gosha* is published as a book so that it may be available to all the people. Vinobaji has already presented the

essence of Guru Nanak's work '*Japuji*', the essence of Quran, and Dhammapada.

The Bhoodan movement has been stressed along with Gramdan and 12,000 *bighas* of land were received as Bhoodan in Assam in his yatra. Though Vinobaji is intending to leave Assam by the beginning of May, he is getting invitations from several places to give them some more time with offers of 200 Gramdans. Who knows Vinobaji's programme? Who can say that he may not respond to their calls and go round again through every district of Assam even as he did in Bihar?

(This is based on a report by Sri Chuni bhai)



The Talisman :

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

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

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

—M. K. Gandhi.

THE BARRIERS TO WORLD PEACE

(2) The Impasse of Capitalism

By Wilfred Wellock

IT is now obvious that the Western Powers must find a way out of the Russo-American impasse. The present situation cannot continue much longer. Piling up armaments without end while failing to face and solve the problems which cause them is madness.

Russia's offer of total disarmament is the soundest proposal yet made towards solving the impasse which condemns both dinosaurs to waste their substance on accumulating military power which will one day blow up mankind from sheer physical, economic and spiritual exhaustion.

It is important to note that were the policy of total disarmament accepted, Russia would at once switch her armaments' industries to the production of consumer goods, whereas the United State with her greater efficiency in automation would have no need to do this. Thus for two reasons the tendency of America's big financial corporations connected with the production of armaments would be to resist the proposal.

Another factor which reflects adversely on American policy is

that Russia, under Mr. Krushchev's leadership, has adopted Lenin's aim of a classless, stateless society, in the belief that she will achieve it within two or three decades whereas the U. S. A. has no comparable aim.

It thus becomes necessary to reassess capitalism in this age of automation, and consider its future if, indeed, it is to have a future. During the eighteenth, nineteenth and for several decades afterwards, it was a common saying in socialist circles that capitalism was doomed to perish from its inherent contradictions.

It was a rational conclusion drawn from the hard facts of the industrial revolution, and confirmed later by the rumblings which terminated in the first world war.

Not long after Bismark had welded the German principalities into the modern German state, his successors, looking around, began to weigh up Germany's chances of making great industrial progress and achieving a high degree of prosperity. Even while they were consolidating their nation they witnessed the parcelling out of Africa among a handful of West European Powers,

including Britain, France, Belgium and Spain. They concluded that the possession of Colonial territory must be a big asset to an industrial country, in part as a source of cheap raw materials, and in part as a potential market for its manufactures.

By this time Britain had become the world's largest trader, the owner of the world's largest navy, also trading fleet, and claimed to be the mistress of the seas, with ports of call in every sea.

Thus in the first decade of the present century Germany decided to challenge Britain's naval supremacy by starting to build a rival navy, and to assert her claim as an industrial country to Colonial territory. The first world war quickly followed. Its termination was followed by the Treaty of Versailles, which had the specific aim of undermining the German economy and destroying her competitive power for many years to come. Germany's bankruptcy in 1924, after six years of fretful existence on a financial avalanche, was the conclusive proof of the vengeful character of the Versailles Treaty. It left a legacy of suffering, illwill and hatred which Hitler exploited to the full. His pathway to the second world war was shortened by the collapse of democracy in Germany amidst

perennial poverty, frustration and despair.

These two world wars were the latest and most tragic fruits of the contradictions within capitalism. But in the period between them Britain had experienced the great miners' lock-out, and the General Strike of 1926, and the big slump of 1930/34, when over 4,000,000 workers were unemployed in Britain, and over 30,000,000 in Europe and America.

In the seventeen years since the second world war, events tended to give the impression that the Keynesian proposals which led to the evolution of an "expanding economy" had endowed capitalism with a new lease of life. It abolished the old capitalist economy of minimum wages and maximum prices as the shortest cut to good profits, but greatly restricted production, in favour of an economy which worked the other way round, aiming at maximum production and consumption under maximum automation, and high wages to insure that the increased production would be sold.

A new economic cycle was thus evolved, with ever rising production and consumption, bigger profits, more research, more automation, rising wages and a continuous all-round expansion of industry and prosperity.

Seventeen years' experience has proved that an "expanding economy" can be made to work, at any rate for a period; but can it be continued indefinitely? Is there not a limit to automation, and to the volume of consumer goods that can be absorbed?

Automation in an expanding economy has already filled many of the gaps of economic need and carried large numbers of people into the realm of comparative affluence, greatly enlarging the middle class and even dividing it into four or five grades. In many directions it produced far more commodities than were being consumed, either because wages were insufficient or the demand was lacking. The introduction of Hire Purchase facilities, however, aided by pressure advertising and the raising of fashion to the status of a Goddess, quickly caused consumption to keep pace with production. This fact conclusively proves that demand is no measure of need, but rather of the pressures that are brought to bear upon the community by advertising and fashion in order to keep the profit system of capitalism going.

In this situation capitalism is doing what it has been doing from its commencement, namely, changing not only the habits of people, but their nature, and for the worse, by depriving them of those very activities and interests

that are vital to the rearing of whole persons, without which no civilization can reach greatness and the power to survive. Today capitalism is fostering ravenous appetites for every kind of self-indulgence, a tendency that is spreading to the ends of the earth. In due course the demands for the raw materials necessary to maintain life at this high level of materialistic consumption, will drive the world's economy into utter confusion, intensify the class war and the cold war, and terminate in the final hot war.

These are the tensions and contradictions that are destined to end capitalism in any event, and unless that is soon, they will end civilization in due course.

The times demand that we leave the shallow waters of self-indulgence, however refined and cease to be content with merely getting and spending money by the dubious ways now adopted, and enter the deeper, richer life of self-realisation through self-outpouring for the common good. For, far too long we have left the helm to capitalist profit-makers, whence our decline! Socialists used to sing "New arts shall bloom of loftier mould and mightier music rend the skies." They sing it no longer. But unless they recover the vision that then inspired them and reach out beyond the inanities of robot

functioning into which capitalism forced them, there is little hope of "building Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land."

Sufficient warnings have been given: five trade recessions in the last ten years; spending ahead of production from the apex to the base of society (due, be it noted, to capitalist advertising for more profit.); the further entrenchment of the wealth of the investing classes at the expense of the workers during the last ten years of Tory rule; and now new indications of the possible emergence of a tycoon dictatorship.

It is time to ask how long this rake's progress is to be tolerated. Its continuance depends largely upon (1) the extent to which automation is allowed to determine our economy and way of life, and (2) upon how soon the rapidly rising demands for every kind of raw material in the devouring West, and in the scores of countries that are adopting the Western concepts of industrial and social life, will be checked and modified by the values of vital, creative living.

In regard to (1), the present situation in America suggests that further advances in automation will entail either a gradual fall in the labour force or considerable reductions in the hours of labour. The question thus arises: Who will control the leisure era? Capitalism?

As regards (2), the scramble for raw materials and for markets whereby to pay for them is at

present threatening the world with a fiercer competition than we have yet seen, while the two dinosaurs are watching each other with eagle eyes to insure that no gains are secured in the economic control of the underdeveloped countries. Moreover, Britain's highly unbalanced agro-industrial economy is a perpetual cause of anxiety regarding her ability to capture sufficient markets to insure her economic and financial stability. Furthermore the Western Powers tend to bank too heavily on exporting supplies to advance the industrialisation of the underdeveloped countries, since all the latter are determined to advance to the utmost on their own steam and also to achieve self-sufficiency in a well balanced agro-industrial economy. This means that their industrial development will be slow and self-controlled. Thus everything indicates a narrowing of the orbits of Western capitalism.

The final answer depends upon who is to determine the culture and way of life that are to operate in the coming era of leisure—capitalism, or groups of daring thinkers who have some vision of a great creative era, to realise which they are prepared to make considerable sacrifice. These will know that capitalism has already reigned too long and must on no account be allowed to tarnish the annals of what could become the finest flowering of civilisation the world has yet seen. We must now pass from a quantitative to a qualitative civilisation, or perish. There is no other valid choice.



PLANNED ECONOMY

(A GANDHIAN APPROACH)

BY Dr. J. C. KUMARAPPA

(This is from a pamphlet published in 1941 found in the personal library of Dr. J. C. K. in Gandhiniketan Ashram reprinted by the Ashram, Kallupatti, Madurai Dt.)

The objective

Planning implies a co-ordination of the several units making up the composite whole. The various proportions and the alignment of the units are dictated by a scheme of things in the mind of the architect. Unless we understand the particular philosophy of life woven through the various designs of constructive effort put forth by Gandhiji we shall not be able to comprehend his programme as a whole. Planning a country's life does not consist in co-ordinating merely the natural resources so as to produce the largest material return. From the Gandhian viewpoint the material reconstruction is the least important. The primary objective is the ushering in of a society based on non-violence and truth. There are many facets to the Gandhian programme, but the unifying core of the whole is this philosophy. If this end is to be achieved it is more important to develop the personality of the individual and the character of the citizen than to exploit the material resources of the country.

The means

A non-violent approach aiming at an evolution from within, will necessarily be slow and unassuming but once it takes root it will be permanent while the violent methods are spectacular, quick but superficial and short-lived.

Gandhiji approaches the villagers with no patronising air. He goes with a humble spirit of service, willing to learn. He realises that the life blood of India throbs in villages, towns being mere parasites. He places the villages in the centre of his scheme and all other considerations are subsidiary to it. With him, as stated above, village reconstruction does not concern itself so much with material aspects of the work as with the development of the human being. Once this change in the culture of the villager takes place the villager himself will alter all other things to suit his new-found self.

We can understand Gandhiji's plan best by studying what has been attempted and achieved far. His programme is laid

on not any particular aspect of life but on the assumption that any plan calculated to be of use must be comprehensive of all phases of human existence,—life taken as a whole, political, economic, social and educational. These are mentioned not in order of importance, but according to the order in which Gandhiji has worked. He is primarily a politician and his first love is politics. When he discovered the basis of politics was economics this was added on. Then he proceeded to the injustice of social organisation and at last he found the heart of the problem in education. A scientific approach would probably have been in the reverse order, but we have to take Gandhiji as he is—a man driven by intuition rather than by reason.

Political

Before Gandhiji's advent politics was the preserve of the intellectuals and city folks who desired to oust the foreigner and put themselves in places of power held by Britishers. There was much of the self in their politics and it began and ended with platform oratory. It was left to Gandhiji to push these ornate personages out of the way and send the roots of political life deep into the villages. This led to the awakening of the masses and the growth of a sense

of self-respect. It dispelled fear of the white skin. It brought out young men with a desire to serve the country without any selfish ends and bands of political volunteers became available to carry the message into the villages. Even women came out of their age-long seclusion to take active part in political work, facing imprisonment and other hardships. The common-place, muddy politics were spiritualised with the introduction of Satyagraha.

True Democracy

Democracy, as we know it in the West, is a delegated autocracy, and differs little from the organisation of totalitarian states. They are all in effect complete dictatorships masquerading in variegated colourful names. The essence of democracy is that the executive and legislative power must be vested in each individual. Every citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself in an enlightened sense. This presumes a high standard of evolution in which everyone is keenly conscious of his duties rather than his rights. The present so-called democracies are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict. It connotes an early and primitive stage of evolution. The more mature stage comes with a consciousness of duties carrying out one's duties even when irksome, calls for self-discipline. When each citizen is

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SMOKING AND THE GANDHIAN ETHIC

By Esme Wynne-Tyson, Sussex, England.

DURING the current outcry in Britain on the subject of smoking, now that this form of self-indulgence has been conclusively proved to be one of the causes of the most painful of human diseases I have been frequently reminded of one of the last letters I received from Manilal Gandhi before his passing, in which he wrote :

"I have not the least doubt that man's ultimate goal is to fight for real freedom, and that is the freedom of the soul. My father's life-long struggle was for that. And it was because he had.....succeeded in freeing the soul that he succeeded in freeing a great country from the clutches of a great empire. But few people realize that one has to begin with oneself. I see people surrounding me and with whom I have to work—and the best of themselves to the most trifling things as cigarettes. Can a person who is a slave of that ever dream of becoming a Brahmachari?..... It is true that the talk of Brahmacharya does not appeal to the Western mind. The mysterious power they attributed to my father was nothing but his strict adherence to Brahmacharya and Truth, and Ahimsa came in their wake." Here, in Gandhi's firm stand

for Brahmacharya, i.e. self purification and self-control, we have the genuine and explicit moral leadership so needed in the West. For lack of it vast numbers of people have become such slaves to smoking that their will power has been undermined and they believe that they are unable to cease this disease-inducing habit without the help of tranquillisers, drugs and expensive courses. Such people are not only the victims of commercial advertising and social habit, they are the direct products of the gross moral misleadership of those to whom they have looked for guidance. The only Church in Christendom which refused to admit smokers and those who indulge in alcohol to membership is the Church of Christ Scientist, a comparatively small sect. The others evidently believe in evil in moderation, and appear to agree with the Archbishop of Canterbury who was recently reported by a Daily Mail interviewer to have said : "I am not teetotal myself, nor do I believe in total abstinence for others." And yet he must know perfectly well that a single drink can make a 'natural' alcoholic an addict for life. What about the Christian necessity for setting an example to the weaker brethren? Presumably now that

smoking is revealed as a positive evil our spiritual pastors as well as our more ethical doctors will cease to indulge in this unintelligent and useless habit. But how unfortunate that Gandhiji's precept and practices were not long ago heeded by the West which, during his lifetime, was made familiar with his abstemious and self-controlled way of life through reports in the Press! How much suffering might have been saved if our spiritual pastors had the humility to recognize and admit the superior ethic of this great Indian Leader, and to preach it to their congregations! Instead, after nearly 2000 years of teaching what Gandhiji so rightly called the immoral doctrine of vicarious atonement for sin, the Church is so corrupt that it seems entirely to have forgotten the original aim of Christianity, (as of all enlightened religions,) which was to free the soul, or spiritual aspect of man, from its animalism and appetites. An individual life-work. It is true that such teachings are not popular, and that many pacifists and objectors to the 'nuclear deterrent' who believe that they are following Gandhiji by their non-violent protests consisting of the squatting in public thoroughfares close their eyes and ears to the fact that similar actions on his part were preceded by the most vigorous self-control but they should nevertheless be taught. For although the squatters are perfectly right to protest against air-pollution and mass suicide, without the far more important self-purification, they are not following the method of Gandhi, and their protest becomes an empty gesture devoid of spiritual power. If we are to claim the right to survive, the first thing is to make ourselves fit for survival, and a self-indulgent, undisciplined, greedy, demanding public, obsessed with its own animalism, is not so fitted but, instead, appears to be in danger of being accounted a failure of evolution, fit only for the cosmic scrapheap. The Indian, on the other hand, has not even the excuse of lack of moral leadership for any such indulgence, the Father of the Nation having explicitly taught and demonstrated the only worthwhile evolutionary life for humanity. But even as Christendom preferred to make a God of Jesus and worship him as a different species instead of following his example, so the people of India with their increased flesh-eating and lack of attention to Gandhiji's demands for Brahmacharya, seem to be placing him on a pedestal so high that ordinary people cannot hope to follow his example. In both cases, it is apathy and inertia masquerading under the cloak of humility. Both Jesus and Gandhiji provided true moral leadership for all mankind whose gratitude should be expressed not in false and facile humility, but in a willingness to be led. ★

ROLE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Dr. Zakir Hussain

MODERN technique and modern sciences are really two sides of the modern view of nature, in its practical and theoretical implications. Theory and practice go hand in hand. Knowledge is Power. Scientific discovery and technical invention are Siamese twins. Many a discovery is made possible only by some previous invention, and practically all inventions are based on previous discovery.

One of the chief results of this change is that technical knowledge has become objective. It is no longer attached to persons. It is preserved in books. It is no longer a matter mainly of demonstration, instruction and practice; it is a matter of knowing.

Science and Technology

This has its educational implications. Institutions of technical education, specially in technically and economically less advanced countries, tend to become too theoretical. There is an opposite tendency, occasionally emphasised out of proportion by the employers and that is to make technical education just a training in performing some specialized jobs. Both these excesses are, in my view, educationally unsound.

Technical education, on account of the revolutionary change in its very nature, that I have just indicated, can never be too closely associated with scientific knowledge. Science is the mother of technology. But teachers of engineering would know that many a fresh engineering graduate does not quite know how to apply his book knowledge to actual cases, or how to supervise men, or how to realize the implications of their action in any other terms but those of engineering. A programme combining periods of work in industry with periods of study by a judicious dovetailing can prove mutually fruitful.

There is also another aspect of technological and engineering education which obviously springs from the eminently scientific nature of modern technique wherein Technical education comes to share the educational limitations of scientific education. There limitations are, of course, inherent in the nature of modern science. For, what do modern natural sciences seek to do? They seek to reach results of universal validity about the phenomena of nature by analysing them into registrable calculable facts, and

arranging these facts outwardly. They are satisfied with the knowledge of parts and fractions; they are not concerned with the whole of nature, or with wholes in nature. They break up their objects into simplest elements. They go down to the cell, the element, the electron, the corpuscle. They are, thus, content with partial knowledge, with knowing from the outside; they dispense with knowledge of the essence. For a knowledge of the essence involves knowledge of the qualities, of the purpose, the origin, the end of the object; it involves a knowledge, of its totality, of the context which it makes, the structural context, its what and how, and of the bigger context in which it has a place, the relational context, its whence and whether and why.

Humanities

But all these by the way. I, however, wish to emphasize the urgent need of supplementing the scientific knowledge, which is the main preoccupation of an institute of technology and engineering, by a fair deal of familiarity with social sciences and the humanities.

There are many considerations besides the philosophical and epistemological which make this association eminently desirable. With the ever-widening possibilities of work of great social utility and effectiveness opening up before the engineer in our country, it is essential that he should understand and appreciate the manifold forces operative in the complex pattern of its growing and expanding life. With the enormous and ever-growing magnitude of engineering projects, the engineer has to deal not only with a growing mass of material and machines, but also with larger and larger numbers of human beings—and free human beings, conscious of their humanity. He should be in a position to understand and appreciate the urges and aspirations, the limitations and prejudices, the loyalties and commitments of these human beings. To understand labour relations—and understand them he must—he should have some understanding of human relations and some insight into the complicated workings of the human mind.

Courtesy, "The Vigil" Calcutta.



THE VIRTUES OF STUPIDITY

By Noshir Bilpodivala

STUPIDITY is a malformity of the reason, which is induced by the pressure, on the reasoning faculty of various superstitions.

It is by studying insanity, that psychologists have learned to understand the workings of healthy mind; similarly it is by studying several instances of doltishness in history, that the mechanism of the present society are seen, most clearly, at work.

In a way ignorance is another form of stupidity—like fever being part of an illness but not the illness itself. An ignorant man need not be a stupid man, nor a stupid man, necessarily without learning. But the two cannot be entirely separated. Given equal educational facilities, the dividing line between stupidity and ignorance becomes clear enough. The stupid child finds it difficult to learn worthwhile things, however good he may be at parroting poetry or dates of battles. Therefore, his stupidity predates his ignorance; an acute condition becomes chronic. As Ingersol said, "Ignorance is Darkness! What we need is intellectual light". Yet how seldom do we use our reasoning faculty! We often stick to traditions, superstitions and go along the same old grooves in spite of our reason telling us otherwise. The History of the world is rife with atrocities of feudalism and slavery; and yet it was centuries before these institutions were done away with. We are surprised when we read of these, that the

people could keep on suffering as if it was in their destiny to suffer. Even to-day there are very few in the world who will accept that man must be the providence of man; that by the development of reason, we may avoid some of the evils, overcome several abstractions that block progress, and by means of modern science, we can to a very great extent, exterminate poverty and misery on Earth.

We might feel inclined to think that a little stupidity might not be a very dangerous thing. But Paul Tabori in his masterpiece "The Natural Science of Stupidity" cautions us that throughout the history of man, stupidity has always come in large lethal doses. It is bad for all and not merely for those who are afflicted with it. What has caused war and persecution in the past may cause the ultimate catastrophe in the future. There is however a dim hope. By putting an end to the human race, stupidity will have put an end to itself. This is something that wisdom has never been able to do. Dr. Feldmann, one of Freud's most eminent pupils explains stupidity as always contrasted with wisdom. The wise man, to use a simplified definition, is the one who knows the CAUSES of things, the stupid man doesn't. Some Psychologists believe that stupidity is congenital. This is doubtful. Dr. Feldmann defines a stupid man as "Some one whom nature has provided with healthy organs, whose instrument of reasoning is

country following the follies of its elders as young men and women have done down the ages; he warns India to top in time and to develop its already unique contribution to human welfare, the true communal life of small villages, satisfying work and human relationships. This could establish a pattern of living alternative to the materialist power politics of the great nations. For materialism can lead only to power politics.

He makes a plea too, that our energies should be concentrated on the setting up of new standards as the only way to save the world. He has his own ideas for a summit conference of "wise, forward-looking people, idealists, men and women of vision from, say, America, Russia, Britain and India to discuss and formulate a cultural basis on which to erect a stable world order in which material values would be subordinate to spiritual values."

In this he hopes that young people will be on his side. He is encouraged by the way the idealism of youth has rallied to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, but this, as he says, is not enough. The basic war is

not of weapons but is between the true and the false in life as a whole. It used to be called a war between God and the devil, and the devil still fights as he always did, by drawing off the energies and enthusiasm of the idealists to combat some potent symbol of his works, while he gets on with the main job of destruction.

Perhaps Wilfred Wellock will be listened to and yet lead today's idealists to concentrate their energies on the establishment of truth and the building of a new social order. This is the necessary new politics. If the peoples of the world were faced with the new horizons of a warless world and shown how to achieve it by their own efforts of living in the pattern of that world, then the arms and the bombs would be left to rust away and the war-makers would have no appeal to the people.

(Condensed from A Reivew of "Off The Beaten Track: Adventures in the Art of Living" by Wilfred Wellock (Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, 10 sh. 6 d) in "Peace News", London, April 13, 1962.



Continued from page 368

so disciplined as to act on what is right from a detached view of affairs he can be entrusted with the executive and legislative powers without any fear of his misusing them. When that stage is reached we shall need no policemen nor legislators, as everyone will act on the square. This is true democracy. In the measure in which we approximate to this ideal stage we are developing democracy. The aim should, therefore, be to lessen the power of executive and legislative delegates and increase the discretion of the individual.

The Needed Training Ground

We cannot increase the powers of an individual until he has undergone sufficient training to use such powers as he may be endowed with for the common good of society. To give such training to the individual, constructive work is essential. Constructive work trains men to purposeful action. Until we have men trained in such manner it will be dangerous to entrust a non-violent state in their hands. A state based on violence runs on the strength of a few individuals—a Churchill, a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Stalin—but a non-violent state composed of self-acting and self-regulating citizens, depends on the strength of every individual composing it. Hence the need

of a foundation of constructive work before we can proceed with the super-structure.

A definite drive towards real democracy with an emphasis on the duties of public workers and the need for self-reliance was started. Hitherto the Government was looked up to for everything. Now people were being told that they were quite capable of helping themselves. This induced a great deal of confidence and opened the way for real constructive work, with the Indian National Congress as the political axis.

The Economic Sphere

This brings us to the next plank of Gandhiji's programme, viz. economic reconstruction, which affords endless opportunities for the development of the individual. With the objective of a non-violent society and its corollary of a greater emphasis on the need for better distribution of wealth rather than for accumulation of riches, the blue prints were drawn up taking stock of the materials at our disposal.

The Human Material

As the first and foremost material with which and for which we shall be working is the people, it is necessary for us to have a clear comprehension of their background of culture, and skill they may already possess or be capable of developing in course of time, their needs and their econo-

mic state. Any plan laid out without taking this factor into consideration is doomed to failure as the whole of our goal is bound up with them and their well-being. They are the centre of the plan

Distribution

The wealth of a nation consists not in the possessions of a few but in the extent to which the great majority can satisfy their daily wants, especially needs. Looked at from this point of view, increase in the number of millionaires in the country need not indicate increase in the prosperity of the nation. Indeed, it may indicate the opposite if the accumulated wealth was occasioned by restricted distribution. When judging the well-being of a nation the consideration should centre round the way in which purchasing power is distributed among the citizens. If we adopt this criterion then industries which distribute wealth are better for the masses than industries that help a few to accumulate a great store of riches. This means that mills, which being centralised, assist in accumulating wealth, are detrimental to the interests of the masses and cottage industries, which distribute wealth, are by far the better method to adopt, especially in our country where we are faced, with a shortage not of labour but of capital. Therefore, the method

of economic organisation we choose must be one taking this factor into consideration. To organise the people to produce, Gandhiji drafted in the prevalent political awakening in the land.

Swadeshi

Formerly, apart from speeches, the real economic drive began with the Swadeshi Movement, following the partition of Bengal. At that time the idea of Swadeshi was purely political, i.e. Indian made articles as against foreign made goods. Gandhiji was quick to discern that the downfall of India was due more to economic causes than political ones, and he bravely shouldered, single-handed, the burden, ridicule and ignominy of the charkha movement. This watered the seed of life in villages and bound him with hoops of steel to the heart of the masses. When, as a consequence of the charkha movement, boycott of foreign cloth began, people became accustomed to self-denying ordinances which were stronger and more formidable than any tariff that can be imposed by the might of Great Britain. The Big Bertha of non-violence knocked the base out of Manchester more effectively than any long-range gun yet conceived by man.

The economic reconstruction took the benefit of the masses as the heart of the country and

distribution of wealth as the blood circulation to bring life to the villages. With these ideals, the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. began working, not as producers competing with the artisans but as organisations calculated to help with research and experiment needed in pioneer work.

Till now markets were said to be controlled by prices. These two bodies made a bold bid to fix prices not from the top but from the bottom, allowing for a subsistence wage. They took up industries with direct relation to the benefit to the masses, affecting their food, clothing and other necessities, expanding not to satisfy the gallery but according to the power they were able to generate.

Work found its legitimate niche as food for the well-being and development of men's faculties. The glamour of the Western civilisation based on a multiplicity of wants began to wane with the glorification of work and the example of the grandeur of the simple life of Gandhiji, and the ostentatious life of the rich was covered with the dust of third class travel.

With this spadework these associations are going on, resuscitating industries that will maintain the people, and provide them with the medium

for culture and self-expression. To popularise these, suitable media had to be found to bring the message to the uneducated masses. The traditional setting of a mela was given a reorientation in the form of exhibitions to attract and educate the unlettered.

EXHIBITIONS

Education of the Producers

Exhibitions, under capitalism, are organised to attract sales, i.e. to increase the demand after the supply comes into existence. This is putting the cart before the horse. The Gandhian scheme would transform exhibitions into a form of adult education—to place before the public the various stages of production during which raw materials get transformed into finished goods. Such exhibitions should also demonstrate improvements made in processes and instruments. Ultimately, such temporary exhibitions should become permanent *Sangrahalayas*.

Capitalist producers carry on their own experiments and keep the results as their own secrets, but we have to strive to disseminate such knowledge as we possess to the producers by means of these exhibitions.

Education of the Consumer

Business transactions do not begin and end with the transfer of goods and paying of money. One who buys an article takes it

with all the moral values attached to the goods. If one buys a stolen article one becomes party to that offence. This is the responsibility and trusteeship of wealth. So, it is the duty of every consumer to know the conditions under which things he needs are produced. If he patronises goods made under objectionable conditions he becomes a party to it. Hence, it is necessary to organise such exhibitions from the point of view of the consumer too. When properly arranged, they should also educate the public to realise the duties of a purchaser and consumer and enable the latter to fulfil his duties by placing before him the chances of getting goods he needs produced under conditions he would approve of.

Education of the Public

Every person whether interested in the production of an article or in its consumption, should be aware of the possibilities in village industries. Life is one whole. Division of labour there must be, but dissection of processes and division of processes leads to unmitigated drudgery. Proper work, when intelligently carried out, is an aid to culture. It brings out all that is best in an individual and helps to develop his faculties. Exhibitions should be so arranged as to reveal the opportunities an

industry presents for the need of diversion, leisure, exercise of initiative and the development of the artistic. Any industry worthy of our support must afford all these opportunities to those who practice it.

Costs

A great part of the money spent on cottage made articles goes towards payment of wages. The materials themselves cost very little, while in mill made articles the least expense is on labour and the bulk will be for overhead charges, sales organisation and materials. Economics of the Western manufacturers are dictated by low prices but for the prosperity of an agricultural people high prices are welcome. High prices of cottage industry products also help in the distribution of wealth which means it contributes largely to the welfare of the people. An exhibition will demonstrate to the visitor how much of the human energy that is going to waste can be harnessed into usefulness if properly guided and helped by the consumers' discrimination while buying articles to supply their needs.

Unemployment

The problem of unemployment or under-employment is one of the most serious questions before us. Exhibitions can place before the public, in a spectacular way, suggestions as to how persons seeking to find employment can solve the problem themselves. From the raw materials to be found about them, how, by simple processes, even waste can be turned into wealth.

(To be continued)

HAUSERS IN INDIA

Radhakrishna

AT the invitation of the Sarva Seva Sangh, Richard and Hephziba Hauser arrived at Delhi on 17th Jan. During their stay for a week in Delhi different groups of voluntary agencies like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, AVARD, Indian co-operative Union, Mass Education Society and the Gandhi Peace Foundation met them for discussion. Hausers participated in a 3 day seminar of 30 students.

The second programme of Hausers was a course for villagers at Bardoli for 3 days from 26th to 28th Jan. There was the next camp for leading workers of village reconstruction of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The third camp was from 5th to 9th Feb. which was attended by about 50 workers from various parts of the country.

The Hausers believe that we are passing from a paternal to a fraternal society and the stability of democracy depends upon the understanding, initiative and efforts of the people themselves. They believe that it is possible to stimulate the most ordinary person in society to an awareness of the situation and the possibilities of his contribution. Their belief is based on the experience in

their 600 projects. The courses adopted are simple and can be repeated to illiterates and semi-literates, to students as well as professors; to mental patients as well as psychiatrists; prisoners as well as jailors.

The basic point in stimulating any individual, group or a community is to arouse their indignation in constructive channels. The points of indignation in a community must be the major concern for any programme of development. The common mistake which the social workers do is to impose their own programmes and not take into account those which concern the people most. It is the work of a Community worker to trace the points of indignation in community and strengthen the will and enthusiasm of the people to tackle the problems in a creative way. The worker will follow that aspect of the people's programme in which he is interested.

Hauser classifies leadership into three broad categories; *The power leader, the influence leader and the establishment leader.* According to him the Gandhian Group in India will be the Influence leader group which does not seek power

but influence a community at various points and derive strength from the influence they are able to transmit to the people. The worker does not seek to identify himself with the community but his influence is derived from his ability to create community leaders. Hausers say that in our Bhoodan and Gramdan movement and constructive work we have failed to create the social sanction by involving people and discovering community leaders. Our approach is normally bringing a programme from above but not of building ground floor by creating community workers from among the people themselves.

The human mind, Hauser explains, works under the control-conscience mechanism and hereditary environmental and personality factors contribute to the making of individuals. Each one of us lives in three ages; the child, the teenager and the adult; corresponding to the development of hereditary environment and developed social personality. Based on this they have developed a rating scale based on personal and social age. This aids to sort out their own selves and to become conscious of the social significance in their behaviour. This social value or system can be stimulated into fulness of life, into purposeful living instead of merely existing. The purpose of

training is to help groups to observe, discuss and activate their own functioning.

Hauser suggests, that in Gandhian movement we have somewhat neglected the positive programme of non-violence in addition to the normal constructive programme. According to Hauser violence exists in society in the active as well as in the potential form and that there is nothing inherently wrong in a situation of conflict and tension. We have to utilise the points of conflict in constructive ways. That is the real challenge to the Peace workers.

The techniques developed by Hauser consists of training groups and developing a concern in them conducting a qualitative and quantitative pre-survey and a pilot job. Surveys could bring about the point of indignation to the point of enthusiasm. The point of indignation primarily is a strong emotional liberation and what is necessary is to find a rational process of thinking to be developed into creative enthusiasm. The art of group work or community development is to preserve the intensity of emotional indignation and to channelise it into creative thought and action. Survey must lead to a pilot job and the theory and technique evaluated and refined on the basis of experience.

The last group in the seminars conducted to meet Hauser consisted of large numbers of Sarvodaya group and discussed the following agreed programme;

- a. survey and study of the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement in their own areas in the light of these discussions.
- b. study of points of tension and potential violence in selected areas.
- c. meet community workers and try techniques like two hour

meetings per week of the villagers and two-hour for adolescents.

d. establish a liason between the various experiments in this country with the Hausers and their other projects.

The stay of Mr. and Mrs. Hauser has been very stimulating to rethink for evaluating our work. It stressed the need to re-examine our tools and techniques in the light of our objective.

—Condensed from "*Bhoodan*"



Gandhiji's Letter to Children

Yeravda Palace,
Day of Silence.

Little Birds,

Ordinary Birds cannot fly without wings. With wings, of course, all can fly. But if you, without wings, will learn how to fly, then all your troubles will indeed be at an end. And I will teach you that.

See, I have no wings, yet I come flying to you every day in thought. Look, here is Vimala, here is Hari and here Dharmakumar. And you also can come flying to me in thought.

There is no need of a teacher for those who know how to think. The teacher may guide us, but he cannot give us the power of thinking. That is latent in us. Those who are wise get wise thoughts.

Tell me who, amongst you, are not praying properly in Prabhuhai's evening prayer.

Send me a letter signed by all, and those who do not know how to sign may make a cross.

— From "*Bapu and Children*"
latest *Navajivan* publication.

WILFRID WELLOCK— TIRELESS SARVODAYA CRUSADER

MR. Wellock is an honoured name in the history of the Indian freedom movement. He was attracted to India because of two reasons. It hurt him to see a country ruled by a foreign Power. What is more important, it was his hope, that if India became free the country would be moulded and influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, whose philosophy and outlook were identical with his own. Like Gandhiji he believed that peace and happiness were bound up with a society based on self-governing, self-sufficient village communities in which industries were worked primarily by hand—which is the ideal of Sarvodaya. This book is chiefly an account of the more significant aspects of the author's life, and of how he came to acquire the faith in which he has continued to live, and for which he has been waging a ceaseless battle.

Mr. Wellock was born in a part of England—Lancashire—which saw the birth of the industrial revolution. He had an eager, thoughtful and sensitive mind. Early in life he discovered that creative self-expression was one of the greatest sources of joy open to human beings. This also led to the conviction that the most precious things in life possess the quality of simplicity—a simplicity that should inhere in the daily necessities of life such as food, dress, homes, neighbourhoods.

In fact, simplicity is of the essence of personal or social happiness. If simplicity is superseded by sophistication, or luxury the result is discontent and strife.

Hated Factory System

It is little wonder that given his mental disposition he found himself reacting violently against the factory system that was spreading with such power and rapidity all round him, in his native Nelson as well as over large areas in north England.

He found the system ugly, oppressive and full of dangerous potentialities. It uprooted men from a healthy rural environment. It destroyed the creative instinct in men. It emphasised materialist trends in human society and brought a host of other evils with it: the craze for speed, the glamour for endless gadgets, craving for affluence and social status. Getting and spending became a way of life.

Mr. Wellock rebelled against the whole system. To start with, he put all his faith in the Non-conformist Church which was doing a lot of social work among the poor, and which he hoped would show the way back to salvation. But he found that the Church was almost invariably on the side of the rich in any conflict and refused to accept the view that seemed to Mr. Wellock to be

fundamental to the teaching of Christ—that riches are the source of all evil.

Thus on the question of social justice and also on war, the Church had rejected the doctrines of its founder. He left the Church and joined the socialist movement which at the time had a missionary character and was a great moral force.

Mr. Wellock went into Parliament as a Labour member with hopes that through politics he might be able to change the face of society. But he quickly became disillusioned with Parliament as well as the Labour Party. He found that all parties accepted the facts and implications of a machine-based urban civilization; the quarrel was only about how to share its ugly, tainted products.

He left politics but he never left fighting for his ideals. During the Round Table Conference he met Mahatma Gandhi, lived with him and was powerfully influenced by the ideals of truth and non-violence.

Mr. Wellocks' has been a busy, active life, hemmed about with voluntary public service of one kind or other. He has fought for colonial freedom, campaigned on behalf of pacifism, vegetarianism, simple, home-made remedies for illness, natural as against artificial manures.

Today, at the age of 82, he is still the indefatigable crusader. It is his firm belief that the original sin is the industrial revolution which has debased and brutalised the human person. Unless we can find a way of going back to simpler and more wholesome living, give the machine the go-by and take up village crafts, the world, drunk as it is with power and armed with rockets and the hydrogen bomb, will go reeling to its destruction.

Saving Human Race

Mr. Wellock's hopes are now centred on India which he thinks is the nation most fitted to show the way with her own vital philosophy of Sarvodaya. India cannot afford to wait until large-scale industry can absorb her enormous man-power; the country would be convulsed by a revolution long before then. Whether one agrees with him or not the whole way, one must defer to the charm and sincerity with which he presents his case? His theme is no less than the survival of the human race.

Review of the book "Off The Beaten Track: Adventures in the Art of Living" by Wilfred Wellock in *The Times of India*, Bombay. The book is published by Sarvodaya Prachuralaya, Tanjore, India; Price Rs. 3; Postage Re 1.



GRAM-SWARAJYA DECLARATION

(This was read as a solemn pledge at hundreds of meetings of villagers all over the country on 6th April in accordance with the appeal issued by the Sarva Seva Sangh)

WE realise that our village as a whole is one family, and we feel that the village community should take the responsibility and see to it that all inhabitants of village get the necessities of life and feel themselves secure as well as free. The charge of the Village Community is that none should remain hungry or unemployed and to get all people engaged in some useful craft.

There are many resources available in the village. We should make an assesment of them and try our utmost to make the best use of them on righteous and efficient lines.

We want our village to be self-sufficient. While working for this ideal, we should never forget that we are a part of the larger community of India. Besides, the task of integration throws on us certain responsibilities which have to be fulfilled.

We should devise ways and means to enrich our economic life, improve our standard of living and the condition of the members of the entire community. Every member of the community should get useful and beneficial work in the interest of society as a whole. Besides, village-life should be

planned in such a way that the people may not be tempted to run to the cities and the educated youth of the village may employ and develop their talents and energies in the village itself and also give the village community a benefit of the same.

Khadi is a symbol of non-violence. Today it provides the only ray of hope to the millions of our poor and neglected brethren. It is a means of their livelihood. According to the new idea of Naya Morh and Gram Ekai, we should plan for integrated development of the village and its people.

We recognise the great importance of Khadi and village industries in the establishment of a non-violent society. We should so reconstruct the whole socio-economic frame-work of the village that in the new society, Khadi and village industries may have their due place and all people may enjoy freedom and equality.

We resolve to dedicate ourselves with all our heart and soul to the task of building up of a co-operative, integrated and homogenous community. May our efforts bear the desired fruit ! ★

★ THE EARTH IS FOR ALL ★

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. Mr. Carlyle Potter of England who has been watching the progress of the Bhoodan movement and reading "SARVODAYA" has kindly sent us a valuable treasure of collections (now out of print) admirably edited and compiled by Ernest Crosby under each date of the calendar. A few selections are given for the current month of May.

There are two rocks in mid-sea, on each of which, neglected equally by instructive and commercial powers, a handful of inhabitants live as they may. Two merchants bid for the two properties, but not on the same terms. One bids for the people, buys them, and sets them to work, under pain of the scourge; the other bids for the rock, buys it, and throws the inhabitants into the sea. The former is the American, the latter the English method of slavery; much is to be said for, and something against, both.

—Ruskin, *Munera Pulveris* (1863), Chap. V., Sec. 131.

★

The difference between serfdom as in Russia, and landownership as in England, and particularly between the serf, and the tenant, occupier, mortgager, etc. is more in form than in fact. Whether I own the peasant, or the land from

which he must obtain his nourishment, the bird or its food, the fruit or the tree, is practically a matter of small importance.

—Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena*, Vol. II., Sec. 126.

★

The old practice of man holding man as property is nearly exploded among civilized nations; and the analogous barbarism of man holding the surface of the globe as property cannot long survive. The idea of this being a barbarism is now fairly formed, admitted and established among some of the best minds of the time; and the result is, as in all such cases, ultimately secure.

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

★

It may by and bye be perceived that equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened, and men may then learn that to deprive

others of their rights to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

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

★

When discord arose, then the two races were drawn different ways; the iron and brass fell to acquiring money and land and houses and gold and silver; but the gold and silver races, having the true riches in their own nature, inclined towards virtue and the ancient order of things. There was a battle between them, and at last they agreed to distribute their land and houses among individual owners; and they enslaved their friends and maintainers, whom they had formerly protected.

—Plato, *The Republic*, Jowett's Translation, Book VIII p. 547 (Words ascribed to Socrates.)

★

As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce.

—Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I., Chap. 6.

★

Grimly the same spirit (of progress) looks into the law of property and accuses men of driving a trade in the great, boundless providence which has given the air, the water and the land to men to use and not to fence in and monopolize.

—Emerson, *On the Times* (1841)

★

My reason teaches me that the land cannot be sold. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon and cultivate as far as is necessary for their subsistence; and so long as they occupy and cultivate it, they have the right to the soil. ...Nothing can be sold but such things as can be carried away.

—Black Hawk, in his life, dictated by himself (edited by Patterson), (1635), p. 88.

★

The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me

—Leviticus, XXV., 23.

Formerly in many States there was a law forbidding anyone to sell his original allotment of land,

—Aristotle, *Politics* (Jowett's Translation), VI., 4. p. 194.

★

My Bhoodan Pilgrimage in Tamilnad

Kutty, B. Sc., Mysore.

THE river "Cauvery" is born in Mysore, but it flows down from the high hills to give water to millions of our brothers and sisters in Tamilnad. Coming as I do from the land of Cauvery, I decided to follow the footprints of the mother who has been running in Tamilnad long, long before me. It was an adventure to move about in a completely new land and work among the people unknown to me and with a different language.

To see this new land, I had to climb up and get down from the highest mountains in South India, "The Nilgiris". I have been in Tamilnad for the last one and a half years carrying the message of "Sarvodaya", walking from village to village from one end of the State to the other. From cloudcapped Ooty I walked to Kanyakumari, the Southernmost point of India. After seeing Rameswaram, I proceeded to Madras City; I have now walked more than 3,000 miles, covering all the districts of Tamilnad on foot.

The Padayatra has revealed to me a glaring truth. Tamilnad and Mysore are neighbouring states. Nearly five crores of people are living side by side. To my great

surprise and sorrow the people of the two states are strangers to each other. Political demarcation has divided the people. They are kept apart.

When the people of adjoining states live in water-tight compartments, where is the question of mutual love, help and co-operation? There is no real exchange of culture and knowledge. The saints of one state are strangers to the people of the other. The great literary masterpieces of literature of one state are closed books to its neighbours. People of Karnataka do not know anything about 'Thirukkural' or 'Manickavachakar'. The works of Basavanna are not known in Tamilnad.

I did not know anything about Tamil till I entered Tamilnad. Few workers have studied 'Hindi' in both the provinces. So they are unable to keep in touch with the latest developments of the movement and thus draw inspiration from the main current of this revolution.

The condition of the masses is miserable beyond description. Everyone speaks of the good of the poor, everything is said to be done for the poor, but they are suffering every time in silence.

They have become dumb and feel helpless. It greatly astonished me how they are patiently putting up with hunger and disease.

I came to Tamilnad to see the young workers engaged in Bhoodan work. As I walked through the villages of Tamilnad it has been my endeavour to help the workers and serve the people. I have tried my best to distribute lands to the landless and collect Sampathi-Dan for the workers. Nearly 500 acres of land have been distributed and Rs. 25,000 of Sampathi Dan has been collected.

I have learnt a little Tamil. Even this little Tamil has captivated the hearts of the Tamil people. It has fetched me a large

amount of Sampathidan and hundred of acres of land.

What I saw and learnt and experienced in the two years during my Padayathra in Tamilnad I could not get in the long period of 15 years of my education.

What is it that I have achieved from the long Pada-yathra in Tamilnad? I will always cherish in my heart the love of the people and friendship of the Bhoodan workers.

The Tanjore district presented me with a mike-set, a cycle, and a bullock-cart, for the use of my yathra in Mysore State. I dedicate the success of the yathra at the feet of Mother Cauvery river.



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NEWS AND NOTES

Seminar on Planning

The Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, in collaboration with the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona, the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, the Delhi School of Economics, and the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, held a Seminar on Planning in context of a balanced development of the material and spiritual values and resources of life at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi, from 1st to 4th April, 1962. This was the second Seminar. The first one was held at Poona from 23rd to 25th April 1961 under the joint auspices of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh and the Gokhale Institute.

The seminar, like the earlier one, is inspired by the growing feeling in the country that though our five year plans have brought about some rise of national income and income per capita, they have not contributed significantly to the solution of some basic problems like rural unemployment, the depressed condition of the weaker sections of the rural population, the concentration of wealth and economic power, the growth of congested industrial centre and slums, the dissolution of social ties and moral values to which Indian culture has attached fundamental importance, etc. More particularly, there has been a feeling growing in large circles in the country, concerned with the ideals that inspired the freedom movement, and for which the Father of the Nation had stood, namely, the ideals of a non-violent society, that the trend of current development, is in a different, perhaps even contrary, direction. There has arisen in consequence an urge to examine more closely the present methods and patterns of development, and seek alternatives, if necessary, so that together with material development, the other objectives are also achieved.

In addition to eminent social scientists (chiefly economists and Sarvodaya workers, leading persons from both the ruling and main opposition parties attended. This has been done deliberately in the belief that dispassionate discussion would bring about mutual understanding, and narrow down difference and reveal wide areas of agreement.

SARVODAYA

English "Bhoodan" Shifts to Calcutta

Bhoodan completes six years of its existence with this number. It was started as an organ of the Bhoodan Movement. This first appeared from Poona where Shri Raosaheb (P. H.) Patwardhan nursed it and gave it a form and character. Towards the end of 1959 the paper was shifted to the headquarters of the Sarva Seva Sangh Varanasi.

The paper will appear from Calcutta from the next issue of 21st April. We avail of this opportunity to offer our grateful thanks to all those friends and co-workers who have helped us during the last three years at Kashi in various ways and also given us the benefit of their advice and suggestions.

