

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

THE THIRD TASK

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

While discussing the Bhoodan Yajna (*vide Harijan*, June 20, 1953, p. 125), I had briefly referred to the threefold "process of a silent revolution that has set in in our country during the Gandhian era." And I described it as follows:

(1) Late Shri Sardar Patel, through the device of the Instrument of Accession, roped in the Princely Order to surrender their titles in the larger interests and for the greater glory of the nation.

(2) Shri Vinoba has devised the Instrument of Bhoodan to settle the question of Zamindari and absentee landlordism.

(3) And I had said that there remained the third task of resolving the question of capital concentration in a few private hands and for their narrow profit, and that we have to find out a peaceful way to reform this undesirable state of things also.

How to fulfil this third task is one of the topmost questions that are before us. The question is not new. It is born of the Industrial Revolution in the West and is its chief worry today.

A few socialists in the Indian National Congress, during the thirties of this century, tried to put before us that capitalism was the cause of our slavery and that we should organize on socialist lines to give combat to foreign rule. The issue was raised before its due time; it was as if in imitation of the Western peoples who were free and fought capitalist orders in their own countries on socialist lines: In the context of our fight for national freedom, wherein all, including the so-called capitalists also, were equally interested and took part, it became almost meaningless and irrelevant; it could not really appeal to us: it appeared more as an ideology being discussed almost as an academic subject. That time is now passed. We are now free as a people and we wish to rebuild what economy and social order the foreigners have left to us. At such a time the question of concentration of capital in a few private hands, like that of the Zamindari or the concentration of ownership of land in a few hands, becomes important and demands solution now.

However, I may note in passing that it was not out of our sight altogether and it is not new in that sense. My point is that the evil of capitalism, whatever existed then, and which was irrelevant and quite secondary in the pre-freedom era, has now assumed primary importance and at a time when we are thinking and planning to rebuild India it becomes one of the chief things to be minded. It has now its own urgency and importance.

But, one thing that must be noted here is that while in the highly industrialized and urbanized West capitalism is the evil No. 1, in our country which is predominantly rural and agricultural, it is *an* evil — one among a few others. I may say, it came to us as a legacy from our Western rulers. It is to be found in what we have by way of mechanized industries in some of our big industrial cities. However, it is a growing thing and assumes further strength from the fact that our planners today are of the mind to further industrialize our economy. "In fact," as the Prime Minister said in Parliament when opening a debate on the Five-Year Plan, "we are trying to catch up as far as we can with the Industrial Revolution which came along years ago in Western countries and made great changes in the course of a century or more." (*vide Harijan*, January 17, 1953, "Catching up the Industrial Revolution", p. 396). Naturally, therefore, what the West is suffering from begins to be our lot also; and hence we are naturally called upon to mind it and find out what to do about it. There is no ready-made remedy for it available from the ailing West. They are groping in the dark themselves. Therefore if we follow them, it would be like the blind following the blind.

As I said before, the question is not a new one to us. Only the other day Shri Kripalaniji, while speaking on democracy, expressed it in the following words: "The root cause is the inequality of wealth and opportunity, created by the Industrial Revolution, based on centralized and mechanized big industry, in private hands."

And he defined its remedy as well. He said, "The only possible remedy therefore is to break up big business through socialized and co-operative enterprise and decentralized industry...."

There must also be devolution of power, reviving the life and vigour of local self-government units."

The chief thing therefore is how to do it? What are the concrete ways and means of breaking up big business and securing devolution of power? As I said at the beginning, this is the third task to which the leaders of the people have now to attend and find out a concrete way to fulfil it.

The same question arises in another connection also. Those who might have followed the discussion about Labour and Trade Unionism by Shri Khandubhai Desai and Shri M. P. T. Acharya in these columns* will have noted therefrom that the question that emerges from it is the same, viz., how shall we implement the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship for resolving the duality of the employer and the employee, which is at the root of modern money or cash economy? As Shri Acharya puts it in a letter to me, "If the employer becomes a trustee he would simply be a worker contributing to productive labour, say as a manager. Then the wage-system which produces classes would have to disappear. The clear division as classes is produced by the wage-system, which is a system of civil war, as those who give wages have to make profits from the wage-earners. It is the wage—and profit—system that drives the employers to be profit-seeking. They cannot avoid it because of the instrument they use. The ownership and wage-system give the employer vantage-ground. The question is not who owns factories and works, but who owns the products and who distributes them."

And in a capitalist order in which we are at present, it is the employer who owns and distributes through the mechanism of modern finance and banking. Therefore what we are required to do today is to frame policy and take effective and concrete steps accordingly on the economic and other plans and forge out a plan to realize the doctrine of trusteeship in actual practice. This is the third task before us. I shall discuss the matter further in another issue hereafter.

25-6-'53

* *Vide Harijan*, 16-5-'53, p. 82, 'Gandhian Labour Policy'; *Harijan*, 13-6-'53, p. 117, 'Capitalism and Trade Unionism'; and *Harijan*, 20-6-'53, p. 125, 'Gandhian Labour Movement'.

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HOW SHALL WE OCCUPY OURSELVES?

(By M. J. L.)

[*The Interpreter* is a monthly magazine published (except July and August) by the School of Living of America and edited by Mildred Jensen Loomis. The School was founded by Ralph Borsodi in 1934. It believes that the existence of poverty, insecurity, disease, neurosis, crime, war, and other social evils, is due fundamentally to miseducation. Hence the School stands for a crusade for personal and nation-wide re-education. It believes that true education for life lies in work that satisfies and gives joy to the whole man. But modern technological civilization has changed this natural aspect of work and made man almost a machine-keeper or a machine-tender, hungering however for his spiritual and creative needs which he madly seeks to fulfil through leisure as apart from his work. This is the root cause of many social and individual ills and evils in modern society. Being the most modern and richest in technological gains, America seems to be the greatest victim thereof. Hence the quest for a new way of life appears to come strongly to its inquiring soul. *The Interpreter* stands for this rediscovery of the true art of life, which is shortly described by the Gita in the following verse:

"From food springeth all life, from rain is born food; from यज्ञ—sacrifice comes rain, and sacrifice is the result of Karma—action."

"Know that action springs from Brahma and Brahma from the Imperishable; hence the all-pervading Brahma is ever firm-founded on sacrifice."

"Together with यज्ञ—sacrifice did the Lord of beings create, of old, mankind, declaring, by this shall ye increase (evolve and progress); may this be to you the giver of all your desires."

"With this may you cherish the gods and may the gods cherish you; thus cherishing one another may you attain the highest good." (Chap. 3—14, 15, 10, 11).

The following article—'Occupation—How Shall a Human Being Spend His Time?'—from the *Interpreter* by its editor is a living commentary on these verses which give us the eternal law of life and work for man on earth. It will remind the reader of Gandhiji's conception of Basic Education also.

14-5-'53

M. P. J.

How shall we organize our work, play and rest, in order that our capacities be granted fullest growth? What norms or principles can guide us to a human solution of the occupational problem?

How do you regard "work" and "play"? Do you distinguish sharply between them—do you agree with the Biblical dictum that man must "eat bread in the sweat of his brow"? Or do you look forward with Rexford Twigg to the time when "the machine will completely abolish work"? Perhaps you join the millions who look upon work as "something one does for money," and feel that a good goal is to continually reduce the work and increase the money and the leisure in which to spend it.

Henry Ford I is reported to have said that he did not want his men to enjoy their work. He wanted them to do what the engineers laid out and he would pay them enough to buy a good time. Some industrialists may have improved their attitude since his day, but a common "solution" for the "problem of work" is that we would shorten hours and raise pay. Many Marxists, Socialists, labour unionists and Technocrats have made that an almost universally unquestioned hope among office and factory workers. But is that adequate? Would that fulfil

their basic psycho-physical and psycho-social needs?

Satisfaction in Work

The School of Living defines work as that which we do to fulfil our maintenance needs—food, clothing and shelter. Seeing how persistent and wide-spread are those needs, we assume that work will be around for a long time. It won't be hard for most people to agree that work should be satisfying to the worker. But what is satisfaction? You have known people like the youth who writes soap-opera scripts and says, "I just love it! I would not do anything else for the world!" Obviously he is satisfied. So we need to ask, 'Is liking a job enough reason for choosing or continuing in a particular work pattern? Can miseducation and wrong conditioning lead us to like abnormal work?'

Our standard of "satisfaction" involves work being enjoyable in the full sense—enjoyable because it uses all aspects of the person in some kind of harmonious proportion. Work that over-uses the body becomes drudgery. But work that uses the body not at all results in sluggish muscles and is likewise incomplete. Work that does not require the mind becomes monotonous and leaves one "unfulfilled" and unsatisfied. Normal work, it would seem, should involve the whole person—mind for the planning and designing, will for deciding the purpose and choice of tools and materials, body for the executing. (Some will object to this "dividing" the person into body, mind and will, but for the purpose of explanation, it seems useful).

Those who work for themselves usually develop a work pattern that permits a harmonious use of all the person's capacities. The craftsman, the builder, the farmer, homesteader and all who directly produce their own maintenance needs, have the better opportunity for a completely satisfying use of their time.

The Specialist

What about the specialist? The frustration of the specialist in factory or office in their repetitive operations is too well known to need discussion. For the health and wellbeing of the workers it must be changed. But what about the professional specialists like engineers, doctors, preachers, scientists or opera singers? They seem to be useful in the kind of society we have created. But are not there several aspects of the person—particularly the physical and a chance to work with nature—which are transgressed by such careers?

Could or should we plan to eliminate the professional specialist? A blunt "yes" would appear extreme. But in planning a good society, would it not be well to move toward less specialization rather than more? Instead of teaching every youth and maiden that their highest achievement is a commercial specialists' job, would it not be well to help them see that their nature calls for diversity, and that self-development and real satisfaction are more probable in a job of their own?

As we developed a society in which each person is more and more adequate to his own needs, we would require fewer specialists. A really healthy people could do with fewer doctors. A people who naturally dance and sing at home could conceivably get along without many stage or TV performers. Many farmers and country people are already their own engineers. They might even be their own teachers and preachers.

The other side of the picture is that specialists can add diversity to their own lives. After "work hours", instead of turning to spectator recreation, many are already joining the move to the small acreage homestead. This seems a nearly perfect "solution" for the necessary specialist. There he, not to mention the wife and children—can work with nature and have a measure of integrated experience so often missing in his regular routine.

A wise man once said that "since humanity came into being, man hath enjoyed himself too little." Do you think he was inviting us to "play" more or to develop a work-pattern in which we find real joy? Modern man has been very proud of the machine. It may have reduced work, though some claim that unproved. Has joy increased in our industrial age? Some, like Frederick Jueniger, say that man and the machine are irreconcilable enemies. But with or without the machine, that person has found a good solution to his occupational problem who can say with Thoreau, "I am convinced by experience that to maintain oneself on this earth is not a trial and a hardship but a sport and a quest."

How Far Is It True?

To

The Editor, *Harjan*.

Dr. Herbert Snow, M.D., (London), says about sudden heart attacks:

"Of recent years many men and women in the prime of life have dropped dead suddenly, often after attending a wedding feast or banquet. I am convinced that some 80 per cent of these deaths from heart failure are caused by the vaccinations or inoculations they have undergone. These are well known to cause grave and permanent disease to the heart. The Coroner always hushes it up with Natural Causes.... I take the many deaths of prominent people from heart failure in the prime of life—which the papers are always reporting—to be merely a sequence of inoculation in some form or other. Poor Lord Carnarvon, of course, died under the treatment." (*Health Review*).

Dr. Hodwen, an eminent British doctor, says in an article entitled "The Fraud of Inoculation" published in the well-known London newspaper, *Truth*:

"According to a statement made by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons a sum of no less than £4,000,000 per annum was being paid in pensions to soldiers for heart disease. At the present time 100,000 men are receiving pensions as compensation for heart troubles contracted during the war. I have come to the conclusion that the majority of these cases of functional and organic heart trouble are due wholly and solely to the inoculations forced upon the man...."

54, Wodehouse Road,
Colaba, Bombay.

SORABI R. MISTRY

HARIJAN

July 4

1953

OBJECTIONS AGAINST BHOODAN YAJNA ANSWERED

(By Narhari Parikh)

The critics have from time to time urged several objections against the Bhoodan Yajna Movement. They may be summarized as under :

1. The Bhoodan Movement is a programme of securing land-gifts from the landowners for the landless. While it brings honour and glory to the donor for his large-hearted philanthropy it has the effect of undermining the dignity and self-respect of the landless peasants who receive lands. Besides, the donee cannot properly appreciate the value of the gift which comes to him without any effort on his part.

2. It is not just to assume that the whole class of landowners are sinners and need to do penance to absolve themselves of the wrongs done.

3. The average agricultural production in our country as compared with that in other countries is very low. Our immediate aim, therefore, should be to adopt improved agricultural methods and increase the yield. The Bhoodan Movement not only does not take notice of this important aspect of our land-problem, but may also lead to a further decline in the yield for the following reasons :

4. It will result in an increase in the fragmentation of land and hamper the process of consolidation of holdings.

5. The landless peasants who will get land-gift may prove very ignorant and irresponsible cultivators for the simple reason that being landless they have had no experience of cultivation as owners of land. Apart from lack of necessary knowledge and experience, they will also be without the wherewithal,—bullocks, tools and implements, and requisite capital.

6. The movement will lead to an increase in the number of small holders. What we need for raising our agricultural output is co-operative or collective cultivation. The division of land among an increasing number of small holders will present difficulties in the way of collective cultivation if and when it is attempted to be brought about.

7. The Bhoodan Movement is essentially non-volitional and therefore voluntary. It will therefore succeed only in those parts of the country where there is abundance of land and where the land is of low quality. The movement gets greater response in regions where the land-problem is not acute. But where there is scarcity of land and keen rivalry between the landowners and tenants for its possession, it fails to rouse any appreciable enthusiasm.

8. The difficulties which the various States are experiencing at present in solving the land-problem do not arise from the landlessness of the peasants. The real difficulty is that of training them in improved methods of agriculture and of providing them with the wherewithal—the bullocks and ploughs etc. The fact that our villagers prefer to go to places far away from their homes in search of labour rather than do cultivation-work on lands which is made available to them by the Government is a clear evidence of this situation.

9. No attention seems to have been paid to the need of determining the size of the holding which a family would require to become self-sufficient. There is also no provision for meeting the increased needs consequent upon the increase in the family. It looks

very much like the quack prescribing for a serious disease and worsening it in consequence.

10. The reorganization of land has to proceed simultaneously on two different lines ; first, the tillers should be enabled to own the land, and next, methods of agriculture must be improved and the output increased. The Bhoodan Movement has not indicated so far how it is going to reconcile these two different needs under the changing conditions of today.

11. The existing economic structure is not helpful to the Bhoodan Movement. The land donated to the landless would be mostly uneconomic and unprofitable from the economic point of view. They will therefore soon become debtors. Then in order to pay off the interest on their debts and the rent on their lands they will be compelled to grow commercial crops. Even if they grow food-crops they will have to sell the produce. Hence the ownership of land will land them in greater economic difficulties. By comparison, they are better off in their present position of wage-earners.

All these objections surely deserve consideration. But if one has a proper appreciation of the outlook and ideology behind the Bhoodan Yajna, one will not have any difficulty in pointing out where they go wrong. I will therefore try to explain this ideology.

The Bhoodan Movement, though humanitarian in its appeal, does not beg for mercy to the landless. The landowners are told in very clear terms, leaving no room for any doubt on this point, that it is their duty to allot a due portion of their lands to the landless, and that if they would take a long view of it, it is also in their own interest. It is also made clear that there is no such idea behind this movement that the rich are wicked and vicious and the poor are virtuous and high-minded. Many landowners are very good men individually and many among the landless may be very wicked individually. The injustice lies in the prevailing economic order. We have to remove this injustice and create an equitable order so that each member of the society may be enabled to live happily and peacefully. This is shortly the aim of the Bhoodan Movement.

As to the need for increasing the agricultural production, the movement fully accepts it. But there is nothing to show that large-scale cultivation, either collective or co-operative or under private ownership, is bound to result in increased production. On the contrary, many agricultural experts even in the West have veered round to the view that small-scale cultivation is superior to large-scale one in that the former permits better care being bestowed on land and the crops. It is true that the present trend of opinion in our country favours co-operative farming. But I should like to say that there is need for great discrimination in this matter.

The co-operative or the collective system of cultivation requires the peasant to work as labourer under the guidance and supervision of the management. How far this kind of farming can improve our agriculture is a question which has to be considered very seriously. In the first place, it is doubtful if the cultivator will show the same sense of responsibility and devotion to work

in co-operative or collective cultivation as he does in cultivating his own land. This will come about only when he has received a high degree of moral training. The stage may very well come in future, but I doubt if we can jump over to it all at once today. To take the example of Gujarat : The limited number of co-operatives which have been working here, have not shown any appreciable success in this respect. Of course, I do not suggest that agricultural co-operatives are useless and should not be formed at all. But it is clear that for some time to come co-operation will have to be very limited in its scope. For example, co-operation can be easily and quite profitably undertaken in regard to the bullocks for tilling the fields, the procurement of good quality seeds, protection of the harvest from birds and animals, marketing of the produce, and purchasing of goods and such other things. But so far as the actual agricultural operations are concerned, the peasant families will do well to do it separately themselves.

The transformation of the landless into landholders will certainly increase the number of small holdings. But the disadvantages inherent in small-scale cultivation can be successfully avoided if they agree to work on the basis of co-operation in such things as are stated above.

There is a great deal of talk about economic and uneconomic holdings. A holding which would suffice to maintain a family of five or six members comfortably and which can be tilled by a pair of bullocks would be regarded as economic. But if we were to divide the cultivable land available in our country equally among all those who depend on land for their livelihood, the share each family would get would be less than an economic holding. We have not enough cultivable land for that. It is therefore proposed to reduce the number of those living on land and transfer the rest to other industries. But this would not be right from the point of view either of the improvement of our agriculture or the all-round development of our rural population. There is another difficulty in this. If a large number of those who are at present engaged in agriculture are absorbed in other industries on a permanent basis and are therefore required to leave the villages to go to live in the cities, then there would be a grave shortage of labour in the villages in the agricultural season. And if, as is suggested, we take to the use of machine to overcome this difficulty, the remedy would prove worse than the disease. It would introduce capitalism even in the sphere of agriculture. Besides, it is impossible to give effect to all these fanciful suggestions in full measure. Even their partial application will result in greatly increased unemployment.

Secondly, if an individual remains fully occupied in agricultural work alone, some of his vital urges remain unfulfilled. He does not find any scope for expressing and developing either the skill of the hand or the subtlety of his in-

tellect. This would be achieved, however, if agriculture is joined to handicrafts. Therefore a better solution would be to integrate agriculture with industries so that every family will not only work on land but also use its spare time in industries. It goes without saying that only handicrafts and village industries can be so combined with agriculture.

Cattle-keeping along with agriculture is already carried on in our villages. It is good but we need to persuade the peasants to keep cows only in place of buffaloes. The cow has an advantage over the buffalo in that she provides bullocks in addition to milk and ghee. Among other industries Khadi, *ghani* and gur-making may be regarded as principal ones. Therefore instead of aiming at agriculture as an occupation calculated to provide the needs of the cultivator by itself, we should encourage the idea of joining agriculture to cow-keeping, Khadi and other suitable village industries. This will give a better and more dependable means of livelihood to the peasants. Integration of agriculture with cottage industries and adoption of co-operation in some of the agricultural operations is thus the way to obviate the disadvantages of small-scale cultivation and to secure all its advantages.

About alleged ignorance and want of sense of responsibility among the land labourers, whom Bhoodan seeks to invest with land, it should be remembered that it is these labourers who perform all the agricultural operations today and they know how to do them well. Only they do not know what to do when. Besides, they also lack responsibility. The number of these landless labourers is about 8 to 9 crores, i.e. more than a crore and half families. That such a huge part of our population should be poor and helpless and devoid of a sense of responsibility is a grave danger to the nation. If the injustice which it involves is not removed speedily, the security of the entire society may be put in jeopardy. Not only justice, therefore, but also the peace and security of the country demand that we make them responsible members of the society by giving them lands even at the risk of the supposed decline in agricultural output. In fact, however, there is no fear of any decline in the agricultural output. It is merely a bogus cry raised by vested interests who want to preserve the *status quo* and who stand to lose by this change. The society should shoulder the responsibility of educating the families who receive lands. Along with land they should also be provided with necessary wherewithal and trained in handicrafts and village industries. If this responsibility is properly discharged, the production may rather increase than decrease. Several constructive workers are still undecided about their duty with regard to the Bhoodan work. They should realize that Bhoodan is a very comprehensive programme and they will have in it scope for doing all that they may want to do. That is

why Vinobaji has asked constructive workers to leave everything and devote themselves to the Bhoodan work. Our hope for enlivening Gandhiji's constructive programme depends on the success of the Bhoodan Movement. It is only by integrating constructive activity with agriculture that we shall march forward on our way towards the creation of a non-violent society.

Let us now consider objection No. 11. The answer to this objection is largely covered by what has been stated above. Yet I will further clarify it at the risk of repetition. The Bhoodan Movement is not merely a programme of the re-division of land. It is a vast revolutionary movement aiming at the reorganization of the entire economic set-up. We will be missing the whole significance of this work if we overlook its revolutionary potentiality and discuss its pros and cons on the assumption that the present economic order will remain as it is. Shri Vinoba has called this activity by the name of a Yajna. This word is highly significant. It denotes that the movement aims at a complete social and economic revolution on the basis of non-violence. The Bhoodan workers have to realize this well. They have to remember that they are engaged in the highly important task of working out this revolution with the help of the landless who are given lands. Their progress in the direction of this revolution will be the measure and the test of their success.

To say that the movement receives response only where the land is of low quality and cheap merely betrays ignorance on the part of the critics. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in many districts a *bigha* of land costs anything from one to two thousand rupees or even more. Zamindars and small landholders even in these parts have given liberally from their possessions to their landless brothers. It shows that the revolution has touched their hearts and transformed their minds. They have realized that it is unjust to remain in possession of land and profit by it without putting in any labour and that there is danger in keeping the real tillers dispossessed of the land for any longer.

There is one thing more which we shall do well to remember. It does not appear that the world would at any time reach the stage when evil would have been finally wiped out from its face. It is a characteristic of the world-process that while we attempt to remove an evil, newer forms of evil continue to arise either from the attempt itself or otherwise. There is nothing like a permanent solution of our problems here. Just as though we bathe every day yet the body continues to get dirty, in the same way, however thoroughly we may reform the society, it would continue to need constant care and attention. We may solve the land-problem in its present

aspect quite satisfactorily, but the solution can hardly be expected to be a permanent one. It will again present itself in future in other aspects. But we should not worry about it. People of those times will find appropriate solutions for their problems. Nothing endures in this world for very long. Had it been otherwise, the world would have been changed into the heaven after our own desire long ago, and there would have been nothing left for us like the gods, save to drink nectar and enjoy a perpetual holiday. But no thinking man would regard a state like this—even if it were possible—as good and desirable. It leaves no room for adventure, for daring and doing things.

Shri Vinoba has found out for us the infallible remedy of the great malady of our times after long and deep meditation. The exposition of the subject that I have attempted above will show that the Bhoodan solution of our problems is not the prescription of a quack.

(From Gujarati)

Bhoodan Figures

(Upto 20th June, 1953)

S. N.	Name of the Province	Land Collections	
			Acres
1.	Assam		1,313
2.	Andhra		7,097
3.	Orissa		7,535
4.	Uttar Pradesh		4,79,218
5.	Karnatak		673
6.	Kerala		5,800
7.	Gujarat		5,501
8.	Tamilnad		8,498
9.	Delhi		1,124
10.	Punjab & Pepsu		1,719
11.	Bengal		202
12.	Bombay City		—
13.	Bihar		7,87,292
14.	Madhya Pradesh		31,005
15.	Madhya Bharat		2,491
16.	Maharashtra		7,871
17.	Mysore		694
18.	Rajasthan		23,597
19.	Vindhya Pradesh		2,382
20.	Saurashtra		3,000
21.	Himachal Pradesh		1,206
22.	Hyderabad		55,870
Total			14,34,088
Total Land Distributed			29,080
Sevagram			KRISHNARAJ, Office Secretary, Sarva Seva Sangh

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GANDHIAN ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA

(By Douglas Kelley)

It takes the newcomer to India quite some time to learn the purposes and functions of each of the various constructive organizations here. Judging from the questions my wife and I have been asked since we came to India in January, many Indians have even more difficulty — and understandably so — in making sense out of the great collection of American organizations they occasionally hear about. I have been asked, therefore, to briefly explain the various U. S. organizations of most interest to Gandhians in India.

It should be made clear that since Gandhiji never visited America, and since various aspects of the Gandhian programme appeal to interested Americans in varying degrees, there is no single "Gandhian" organization in the U. S. The organization which comes closest to being so, in the writer's opinion, is the Quaker service agency, the *American Friends Service Committee* (A.F.S.C.). For its varied programme (including peace education, excellent work to promote better race relations and to end discrimination, international youth work camps and overseas reconstruction) the A.F.S.C. is winning more and more recognition and support among thoughtful Americans.

Let us divide the American organizations working on but one or two aspects of the Gandhian programme into four categories: those concerned with — 1. Non-violence, 2. Decentralization, 3. Abolition of Caste Discrimination, and 4. Rural Constructive Work.

1. Non-violence

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (F.O.R.), which is organized in other countries as well as the U.S., is the backbone of the U.S. pacifist movement. Its pacifist education, conducted largely by the Christian ministers who make up a large proportion of its membership, keeps the pacifist ideal alive in America.

The War Resisters League, also organized in both Europe and the U.S., is less religious than the F.O.R. in the nature of its opposition to war. Each of these groups has a few thousand members.

The *Peacemakers* are a smaller group of "100 per cent" pacifists who counsel even refusing to register with the authorities for possible military service.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded by the famous social worker, Jane Adams, is especially strong among Quaker women, and carries on educational work of an internationalist and pacifist nature.

2. Decentralization

Unfortunately, even though conservative politicians did much agitating against "centralization in Washington" during the New Deal Era of Roosevelt and Truman, few Americans take an active interest in practical measure to encourage decentralization of economic and political power. The co-operative movement is an out-

standing exception. The farmers marketing co-operatives are not especially socially conscious, but the farm supply purchasing associations and the city consumers co-operatives, both of which belong to the *Co-operative League of the U.S.A.*, are a real force for decentralization. They also take considerable interest in the co-operative movement in Asia.

Dr. Arthur Morgan, the former head of T. V. A. whom readers will remember as a member of the Commission on Higher Education in India, is now in charge of *Community Service, Inc.*, which attempts to stimulate a revival of rural communities in America, and publishes literature expressing the decentralist point of view.

The Federation of International Communities, a new organization of persons living in various experimental "co-operative communities" in America and elsewhere, is interested in contacting co-operative communities and ashrams in India.

3. Abolition of Caste Discrimination

India's caste problem has a close parallel in America's problem of racial discrimination. Much more work against discrimination is being done than most friends overseas realize, and progress is being made. The largest of the many anti-discrimination organizations is the *National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People*, with over a million members of all races. Its technique is largely resort to the courts, however, whereas the much smaller but very active *Congress of Racial Equality* (C.O.R.E.) is doing an excellent job of using Satyagraha in eliminating discrimination, and in its statements and literature clearly characterizes itself as Gandhian. C.O.R.E. has active local groups in several major cities and among university students. One example of the technique it uses: If a restaurant refuses to serve Negroes and the manager refuses, in negotiations, to change his policy, a group of C.O.R.E. members of both races enter the restaurant and occupy seats as they become vacant. They quietly wait for service, even for hours, and in literature distributed to onlookers explain what they are doing. Victories are being won in this manner.

4. Rural Constructive Work

America's problems of rural development are rather different from India's. For although educational and health services in rural areas of the U. S. tend to lag behind those of the cities, neither mass illiteracy nor serious underemployment are problems. There are a number of organizations concerned in one way or another with some phase of what might be termed "constructive work" in rural America, but no general organization of rural constructive workers such as the Sarva Seva Sangh exists in the U. S.

An increasing number of idealistic young Americans, however, are becoming interested in the possibility of joining in rural constructive work in other countries. They are coming to feel,

many of them, that the most important and exciting work in the world today is being done in the village of Asia, Africa, and South America.

The International Development Placement Association (I.D.P.A.) has been established for the purpose of selecting the best qualified of these young people and sending them out (many as volunteers, some as modestly paid employees) to work with constructive organizations overseas. They will expect to live simply, learn the local customs and language, and get their hands dirty in hard work. In most cases they will stay for two years or more. Many are trained as teachers, social workers, agriculturists, doctors and nurses, mechanics and engineers.

Arrangements are now being made for a number of these young volunteers to come to work with Gandhian organizations in India. Many readers of this article will have met Miss Pat McMahon, the I.D.P.A.'s first volunteer in India, in the course of her walking with Vinobaji. Two others, social workers, Bill and Eloise Rowe, have arrived at Sevagram, and a young medical doctor and his wife, a medical technician, are expected at Sevagram later this year. (The writer of this article and his wife, though representing the I.D.P.A. are at Sevagram only for a short time, in preparation for work in East Africa).

Gandhian institutions interested in receiving young American volunteer workers are invited to write to the International Development Placement Association, 1841 Broadway, New York City, or to E. W. and Ashadevi Aryanayakam, at Sevagram.

DR SHYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Bengal's great and valiant patriot, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee died suddenly in the early hours of the morning of June 23 under very distressing circumstances, which makes his sudden end especially poignant. For some months past he had been, as the leader of Jan Sangh, fiercely opposing the policy of the Government in regard to Kashmir. For this purpose, he had also gone on a tour of the country some time ago and had asked the people even to offer Satyagraha in support of the movement which his party had launched on this issue. In the end he himself jumped into it. He went to Kashmir defying the ban on his entry into that State and was put under detention. There while still undergoing detention he fell ill and after only a few days of illness in the hospital to which he had been removed for treatment, he passed away at the age of 52 only. In the death of this illustrious son of an illustrious father Bengal and India have lost an erudite educationist and a leader and a patriot of a very high order. His politics was different, but the qualities of courage and independence which he brought to bear on it had

made him beloved of the intelligentsia of the country. After independence in 1947, he accepted the responsibility of joining the first Government of independent India and discharged it with great distinction. He was a rare orator and debater. Only a few months ago, I had the good fortune to hear him speak in Hindi on the Chaupati grounds in Bombay. That he chose to speak in Hindi and the flow and simplicity of his Hindi made on me a deep impression about his great love for the country and the capacity of Hindi as the national language. After 1947, with the developments in the political life of the country, it appeared that his outlook was getting Hinduistic. He relinquished his office in the Government and set up a party of opposition. However his ringing declaration that whatever his differences of outlook and policy with the Government in regard to the Kashmir issue, in the event of invasion of India by a foreign power, he will forget them all and fight for the defence of the motherland by the side of the Government,—this will be ever remembered by the Indian people as bearing eloquent testimony to his great love for the country. Shri Mookerjee's politics provides an object lesson of the great truth that opposition against the ruling party may well be based on honest differences, but it cannot be treason against the country. This is his valuable gift to us. Shri Shyamaprasad Mookerjee will have an abiding place in the galaxy of our great patriots. May the fragrance of his noble life continue to inspire us to good deeds.

(From Gujarati)

28-6-53

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