

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

VOL. XV. No. 45

AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1952

TWO ANNAS

SHRI VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR

X

Gwalior

Vinobaji reached Gwalior, the capital of Madhya Bharat, at about 7-30 a.m. It was about 15 miles from Jaurasi our last halt. So far our eyes had feasted on the beautiful scenes of green fields with rich crops on either side of the road, but now as we proceeded further we could see only barren lands. This change was unwelcome. Thousands of acres of land lay dry and untouched by plough. The Government of Madhya Bharat have, of course, decided to distribute the land to the poor, but since the method of doing it is through auction to the highest bidder the aim of distribution of the land to the poor is defeated. The Government have given land in hundreds of acres to big businessmen with the idea that it may be brought soon under cultivation. They have also advanced large amounts of money to these persons to carry on experiments under the Grow More Food campaign. The experience of the Telangana and North India tour has, however, convinced me that the work of distributing land amongst the poor can properly be done by non-official agencies like the Bhoodan Yajna Samiti such as has been set up in Hyderabad and other States.

By the time we reached Gwalior, our party had slowly swelled into a big crowd and cameras were being clicked all the way. Usually Vinobaji makes only a short speech at the halting place of the day on his arrival. It is a sort of preface to the work to be carried on during the day. But at Gwalior he dealt at length with his mission in his morning speech. He said, "I have undertaken this foot journey from village to village in search of a non-violent solution of the great problems with which India and the world are confronted. In my opinion there are only two ways open to India. Either she should declare her faith in violence and accordingly prepare for the same or should go on the path of truth and non-violence, shown by Mahatma Gandhi. If we choose violence, it will take a long time to equip ourselves with armament. For lack of finances we shall have to postpone all our welfare schemes for at least 50 years. We shall also have to suppress the voice of the people. They will have to be told that their poverty and starvation should be regarded by them as their sacrifice for the country. We shall have to learn from either Russia or America the ways and means to solve our problems. And then it may take a century or more for India to shine again. And it will involve destruction of all rival nations; for then it will be impossible for them to grow when a big nation like India becomes the strongest of all. But we don't want millions of our men to be killed and destroyed. We want to bring heaven upon the earth, we want every poor man to prosper. 'Balidan' means the *dan* (sacrifice) of the strong and not of the weak. I was, therefore, trying to find a non-violent solution of all the problems and during my quest, I found the way in Telangana through the Bhoodan Yajna.

"I could see that the solution lay in *atmaupamyā* — the realization of the Self in all. This is the noble —

Arya-path. The path of violence is not sacred. It is unworthy."

Then, at once, looking keen and deep into the eyes of his audience, with utmost sincerity and anxiety, the representative of the downtrodden and the landless, said: "Possibly you have not recognized me. If so, look minutely at my face. For some years I was separated from you, my own men. But I hope you recognize me now! If you do not, I may be compelled to go to the other Camp!" A grave warning! It was disclosing the volcanic mind of the have-nots.

Then addressing the zamindars he said, "I want a double donation from you. Your right of ownership (स्वामित्व) to your lands has not been recognized by the Government. I do not want to disown that right. But I want you to relieve yourselves of the burden of that right. The *Gita* has used the term 'ownership' as associated with the *asuri* or satanic tendencies. The term used in the *Gita* is service or *seva* for the *daivi* or divine tendency.

"My dear brothers, forgo this right of ownership. It will fetch you ten times greater and more real respect. This ownership today compels you to lock yourselves within your houses or makes you to live in towns. Tomorrow, after relinquishing your rights you will move like monarchs, as I do today."

And then addressing the rich, he said: "I do not want your money. I do not want to humiliate the poor by accepting your coins nor do I wish to make you proud. If you have money, you can purchase land with it and give it to me for the use of the *Daridranarayana*." Then pointing to the fact that contact between the rich and the poor was unavoidable, he said, "You cannot escape contacts with me. Either you are a giver or a taker. Either way, you will have to come into contact with me in some form or the other."

Then, explaining his mission further, he said, "From the poor I ask land because they know what suffering is like and, therefore, should give something to their still poorer brethren. From the rich I want because they can afford to give. God wants to test whether the rich are using their possessions in self-indulgence or in self-sacrifice and service. Everyone," he exhorted, "should give me my share as he would give to his own son. I do not beg but I only want my right, the right of the *Daridranarayana*."

The abolition of zamindari had displeased the *jagirdars* very much and they did not want to meet or see Vinobaji, whom they thought to be a spokesman of the Congress. Vinobaji does not suffer from a false sense of prestige and he therefore sent word to the chief that he wanted to come and meet them and talk to them. They agreed. Addressing the *jagirdars* Vinobaji said, "You have not yet known me. I have not been in Congress, for the last 25 years. Not only that, I have not been connected constitutionally with the various institutions of even Gandhiji. Few people are as free as I am. I sincerely want to change the existing wrong social order. As such I get the co-operation of all, irrespective of any narrow

class or political distinctions. At Karimnagar the Socialists worked with me. In the district of Chanda I stayed with the Hindu Mahasabha people. In many public meetings I have acknowledged that all those who possess land today have not gained it without effort or toil. But, no one has the monopoly or right of ownership of land, as like light and air, it is the gift of God or Nature: माता भूमि: पृथिव्या: | Land is the mother of (those on) the earth say the Vedas. How ridiculous should it seem to claim the ownership or proprietorship of any of these free gifts of Nature! This growing menace of land problem demands our serious attention. I do not insist that every one should have equal land but I do say that it is highly unjust and unfair that a few should have large areas of land and others should be completely landless. There should at least be a sense of proportion, and not that some one has more than he needs and another not even the bare need."

Vinoba also referred to the charge laid against him by the capitalists that he was a Communist, and by the latter that he was a friend of the capitalists, and replied to it in the same way as reported in Delhi proceedings. Vinoba's words flowed like the Ganga. He concluded, "I am hungry for the love of all. I want to have the *darshan* of my Lord, Narayana, who is in so many forms. To me, all men and women, young and old are but forms of the Lord. Like Narad I approach every one without any complex whatsoever. For me, they are all but the manifestations of the Self. Everyone of them is bestowed with some quality or other. And it is with the help of these qualities that I try to enter every heart. My voice, if it is true will reach every house, will enter every heart."

He repeated again, "The idea of ownership of land is very dangerous. अद्विरोऽहम्, अहं भोगी | (I am the Lord, the Master etc.) are the words put in the mouth of the *asuras*. How is it possible that man should consider himself the master of the divine gifts? Can I ever become the lord of air? Or the sun? How can I then claim to own the land, the Mother? This will oppose the very planning of the Lord. And who can exist in this world by opposing the Lord's plans? Mine is but to carry my ideas into you. 'Educate and leave them free', said Samartha Ramdas (सहाणे करुनि सोडावे अवघे जन). I have been seeing these days, people getting bound in various ideas. I want to give ideas and let them work out themselves. You will then feel a kind of churning in your hearts, which will consequently transform itself into a battlefield, a Kurukshetra!"

The clouds had withered away. Vinoba's words had expressed the agony of the *Daridranarayana*. His anxiety to avoid violence, and his intense desire to invoke the good-will of all, could not but touch the minds of the *jagirdars*. They realized that of all the three ways, viz., violence, legislation and voluntary renunciation, the third alone was the proper path to peaceful revolution, as preached by Vinobaji. Thus could violence be avoided. The *jagirdars*, therefore, in reply to Vinobaji's address, said, "We are convinced that you are our friend. As Rajputs, it is but our duty to contribute to this your mission of *Bhoodan Yajna*. Although the Government have not left much land with us, we want to assure you that we shall all think over and shall contribute our mite."

For Vinobaji, it was not the question of obtaining land from the *jagirdars*. They must be acquainted with our ideas. The kinship of the soul and non-violence, both demanded it. If the *jagirdars* are convinced of the idea, land-gift would be but a token of their change of heart. It would have been a great omission if Vinoba had left Gwalior without meeting the *jagirdars*. But how could He, who has inspired Vinoba for such a great mission, allow such an omission in the fulfilment of the mission!

Vinobaji returned from the *jagirdars* at about 5 p.m. Maharshi Anna Saheb (i.e. Prof. D. K.) Karve of Poona was waiting to meet him, along with the late Shri N. C. Kelkar's daughter. Annasaheb talked with him about his

'Samata-Sangh'. Old age, (his age is 94), has left a skeleton of Annasaheb. Yet his bones have more energy and strength than many a young man's muscles. He utilizes every minute in the service of humanity. The meeting of the two great men was keenly watched by all. Fired with the enthusiasm of service the two had indeed met like two travellers on the same road of unending journey. Then Vinobaji went to address the vast public awaiting him.

"It was here that agriculture was invented; the cattle was honoured; land was respected; and food received a very important place in life. 'Grow more food' was considered as the first step towards self-realization." These and such other points were presented in their historic perspective, but in a new context. And explaining the import of *Bhoodan*, Vinobaji said: "I have not come to beg. I have come to initiate you, initiate in relinquishing the right of ownership of land. The very words, that I am the lord, the master, the owner, are not proper. *Ram-rajya* — *Gram-rajya* will have been established only when this feeling of ownership will disappear and land will be available to every one who demanded it. This is *Ram-rajya*, this is *Prem-rajya*, this is *Swarajya*, or *Sarva-rajya*, or *Sarvodaya*."

Giving a call to all, he said: "I invite you to come and join me in this mission of revolution. We want to revolutionize our means. 'The youth has a liking for all that is new', said the sages. I have thus presented you with this new *pratima*. I have grown old. I do not possess proper knowledge of Hindi. But do not you see that God has given me energy to run like a horse, and my words are infused with the spirit of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning? How is all this happening? Because, I have full faith in what God wants me to accomplish. When I address people, I do so in all humility and sincerity. I want to convince, and take work only after people are convinced, for it is my belief that a revolution can be brought about only through non-violent and sincere work. Violence does not bring revolutions; thereby only one evil disappears to give place to another."

It was observed by people who attended the meeting that never had such a large and peaceful meeting taken place in Gwalior within the last few years. Vinobaji spoke for about 1½ hours. He acquainted the citizens at length with their role in the new set up. He particularly emphasized upon the singularity of our task as he said that the whole world was looking with expectant eyes towards India.

After the public meeting was over, two gentlemen came and offered a cash sum of Rs 500/- each, but Vinobaji asked them to purchase land and give the land. A lady donated all the land she possessed. Such incidents happen almost everyday, and strengthen our faith in the goodness of human nature.

D. M.

Our Recent Publications

UNTO THIS LAST

A Paraphrase

By Mahatma Gandhi

Pages vi+54 Price As. 6 Postage etc. Anna 1

THE STORY OF THE BIBLE

By S. K. George

Foreword by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

Pages xvi+220 Price Rs. 4 Postage etc. As. 12

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI

By Krishnadas

Abridged and Edited by Richard B. Gregg

Pages xii+272 Price Rs. 4 Postage etc. As. 12

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

SALARIES IN NEW CHINA

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

Recently an Indian Goodwill Mission, under the leadership of Pandit Sundarlal, went to China on the occasion of the second anniversary (which fell on 1st October 1951) of the People's Republic of that country. Giving his impressions of this visit, Pandit Sundarlal, in the course of a Press Conference, said :

Salaries in New China are paid not in terms of paper currency but in terms of grain. In the factories we visited we found that the proportion between the salary of the unskilled labourer and that of the Manager or Director was generally three to eight. In a biscuit factory, while the unskilled girl labourer was getting 250 units per month (one unit is equivalent to about one rupee and two annas in Indian currency), the Director of the Factory was getting about 350. In Government departments while the lowest salary is generally 150 units per month, the highest is about 350. Similar is the proportion between the salary of the peon and that of a Vice-Chancellor in the University. The salary of the Chairman Mao Tse-Tung is one-sixteenth of the salary of the President of the Indian Republic. The result is that one can hardly distinguish a labourer from the Manager in a factory, or the peon from the Vice-Chancellor in a University merely by his dress.

Other members of the Commission have also emphasized and supported Pt. Sundarlal's observations.

What is remarkable is that most of the Government servants are paid on 'supply system'. That is to say, they get food, clothing, housing, medicine and other necessities free for them and their dependents as also facilities for education of their children. Besides this, they get in cash a pocket allowance of about ten to twenty rupees per month. All members of the Communist Party are invariably paid on this system. So also the majority in the Army. Moreover, since every soldier has to perform agricultural or allied labour for about seven hours a day, his maintenance offers no heavy strain to the State exchequer.

An idea of the average earnings of an unskilled labourer in various industries can be had from the following data :

- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Coal mines | 400 catties* | of grain per month |
| 2. Railways | 400 | " |
| 3. Textiles | 510 | " |
| 4. Tele-Communications | 630 | " |

In our Indian currency, 400 catties of grain are equivalent to about Rs 85/-. The minimum wage, as fixed by the Government, for an ordinary unskilled labourer is enough to support two persons. The skilled worker gets on an average 700 catties of grain per month (about Rs 150/-), while a technician or an engineer or an expert gets the maximum pay of 1700 catties (about Rs 350/-) per month. It may be mentioned that the labourers enjoy many additional

amenities, denied to senior staff, in the form of cheaper rations, free medical aid etc.

In the universities of New China, a professor gets 1000 to 1500 catties per month, i.e., between Rs 225/- and Rs 325/-. High Court judges in the various provinces get about Rs 350/- per month, while those in the Supreme Court about Rs 400/- per mensem. Central Cabinet Ministers are paid Rs 450/- per month, and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung about Rs 600/-.

That the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic gets only about an anna for every rupee that the President of the Indian Republic gets, speaks volumes in favour of the selfless spirit of the leaders of new China. The proportion of the salary or wages of the lowest paid employee to that of the mightiest in the land is about 1 : 5, which stands in painful contrast to the proportion in our country. This not only means a much lower cost of administration as compared to that in India, but also signifies a far smaller gulf, if there be any, between the rulers and the ruled in China, unlike our own country. Naturally, the Chinese Government has been able to stir its people to such exemplary activity as to transform a food-begging China into a food-donating one within the brief span of less than three years.

Sadly enough the draft outline of our National Planning Commission does not pay any heed to this, a very vital aspect of State finances and human dynamics. Is it too much to hope that it will do so while drafting the detailed plan and earn the good name of a really 'national' and a truly 'planning' Commission?

Our Bhangi Brother

"One of the two men who were cleaning a gutter of Shree Sitaram Mills, Delisle Road, died on Tuesday after he had been taken out in an unconscious condition; the other worker is being treated in hospital." *Times of India*, dated 29-11-'51.

This is the second instance within a few days in which a poor, ignorant and helpless Harijan has been killed due to the negligence of the authorities concerned. Is the Bhangi life so cheap in India, that in spite of modern scientific knowledge and resources, even in the first city of India a public servant performing the most unpleasant task in the interest of the health of the city is allowed to die because of inadequate measures to protect him against such avoidable accidents? Why do they not employ some test to detect the presence of poisonous gases, or provide the *Bhangi* with some gas-mask or other contrivance to keep him safe, before he is made to get down in these drains? Also, why should they not be provided with some small cranes and other mechanical devices to clean the interior of the gutters?

* One Catty = 1.3 lbs. or 52½ tolas.

HARIJAN

Jan. 5

1952

A CALL TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

(By Vinoba)

[The following address given by Vinoba to the constructive workers of U. P. at Mathura on 1-11-51 is a call to constructive workers all over the country to dedicate themselves to the cause of *Bhoodan-Yajna*. I hope they will take up the work of Vinoba's mission in right earnest and create the necessary atmosphere in the country for reaching the target of five crores of acres fixed by Vinoba as quickly as possible. It should be undertaken with the same enthusiasm and earnestness as leaders, workers and people used to, when Babu launched a great movement:—K. G. M.]

An Unexpected Discovery

Constructive workers from U. P. had attended the Sarvodaya Conference at Shivarampalli in a fairly large number. But I find you here in a much larger number. Of course, I can understand that it was not possible for many to go to Shivarampalli. But I take it that all of you know the work that was done in Telangana after the conclusion of the Conference—I mean in reference to the Land-Gift-Sacrifice. When I left Wardha for Shivarampalli no such idea had crossed my mind. Had it done so, I would have surely asked for land donations on my way to Shivarampalli. After the termination of Shivarampalli Conference I went to Telangana with a completely open mind. I had the desire to see for myself the conditions prevailing there. I had no notion then that a solution of the problem would also suggest itself. The problem and the solution both came naturally in their course. During my tour I was faced immediately with a specific demand for land. Some people in a particular village demanded land from me. I asked for it of those who had it, and my request was immediately met. It was an unprecedented event that a man asked for land and received it so easily. Instances, of course, can be cited of donations of land to institutions such as temples, *maths* etc. But an instance of land-gifts for the landless was quite a new one. A man does not find it difficult to part with some money, but to give away land in charity is felt like sharing one's body with others. We all know the story of the *Mahabharat*. The Pandavas asked Duryodhana to give them only five villages. But he refused to give them even as much land as could be held on the point of a needle. These days the price of land has shot up. And the people's greed for land has increased in proportion to the rise in its price. Attachment for land has also increased. In this context of things to make an appeal for land and to get a response to it was no easy task.

But I began asking for land with utmost humility and love. I am not able to express with what humility and devotion I proceeded with my work and in two months the people gave me

12,000 acres of land for *Daridranarayana*. I have appointed a Committee there, which has, according to the latest figure, received about three thousand more acres of land in donation.

Money-Funds

Owing to the monsoon I returned to Wardha and resumed my agricultural work. You know that I have become a cultivator these days. I have been lately seized with a mania of running institutions on manual labour alone. I am convinced that without doing so our institutions can no longer function vigorously. It is not proper that after the passing away of Babu people should still be asked to give money donations and we should carry on our work with the support of donated money. I hope that the Gandhi Memorial Fund will now be the last monetary fund collected in the name of Gandhiji. Hereafter none can and should collect monetary fund in his name. Hereafter, we must build up labour; for, though people will be kind enough to give money for the sake of Gandhiji, it will spell our ruin.

Extension of Telangana Discovery

I was contemplating about my future programme when I received a call from Delhi. In my departing speech at Wardha, I had said that now my non-violence as also people's goodwill were on trial. The land donations which I received in Telangana had the history of Communist atrocities in their background. Hot ground is cooled by rain-drops. But since there was no such hot ground elsewhere, it was feared that a similar success might not attend my appeal for land-gifts. But this would mean that *sarvanasha* (total destruction) must precede Sarvodaya (the rise of all). If it was to be so interpreted, it was augury of a great disaster.

Sarvodaya without Sarvanasha

Some people hold that violence is necessary even for the success of non-violence. But the experiment of non-violence met with as much success in this pilgrimage as in Telangana. Thus it proved that Sarvodaya was possible without *sarvanasha*. The people of India are ready for Sarvodaya.

India's Peculiar Tapas

In the Sarvodaya Conference held in Sagar (M. P.) on the 2nd of October last, I had observed that for the solution of the land problem of India we shall need one fifth of the land for the landless. If this one fifth part is obtained from landlords through donations made with love and faith, a great revolution will be wrought in India. In Europe also efforts in this direction are afoot. The *Upanishads* say that in God's realm donors earn encomiums. *Dana* (charity) is not an occasional duty. Like eating, it is an item of one's daily work. Indeed, *Gita* has placed before man a programme of constructive work in the form of *yajna-dana-tapas* (sacrifice-charity-austerity) for everyday practice. Fallen as we are, there are many in our country who practise one or the other type

of austerity. I am on a walking tour at present, but there are hundreds of men and women who tour like me. Jain *munis* (monks) and *shravikas* (nuns) also do so. Maybe, some of these walking tours have something irrational about it, but the fact stands that austerity in the form of pilgrimages on foot has never ceased to be practised in our country. Gandhiji maintained that our country has continuously developed non-violence. People numbering in crores have given up meat-eating. What an amount of austere practice must have taken place to bring about this change in men's lives? I do not want to enter into a discussion of merits and demerits of meat-eating here; but, it indicates how our people have always practised austerity in various manners. Similarly our country has a history of its own in the field of renunciation of arms. And it should be remembered that even when India was equipped with sufficient military strength, she never invaded other countries. All this history shows that India is a country of ceaseless austerity.

The way in which we won our freedom through non-violence is unparalleled and unique in the history of freedom struggles of the world. All these achievements are symbolical of that austerity, which is characteristic of our country's traditions. In the atmosphere of India austerity is possible to be manifested in ever new forms. With this faith I have fixed the target of five crores of acres for land-gifts.

Call to Sarvodaya Workers

But this is not a mission which I alone can carry out. Of course, I speak subject to God's will. He has His own ways of doing things and He may get it done through even me alone. But speaking humanly, if it goes on at its present pace, it would take five hundred years to finish it. Hence, if we want to achieve it sooner, and within a specified time, we will have to bring into its service a hundred-fold more devotion, energy and effort. It is a critical period in the history of our national movement. If non-violence fails to solve this, the greatest of our problems, we may be sure that the whole fabric of Gandhiji's constructive work is in danger of being destroyed. On the other hand, if it succeeds in this sector, it will make for all-round success. *Khadi*, Harijan work and every other constructive work will also advance. People ask me: Should all of us join together and pool our efforts to this task? I wonder why they can not see the obvious. But there are three categories of men: to some a hint is sufficient for understanding; others require to be told in so many words; there are still others who do not grasp, even if they are so told. I heard the call of the times and set out on the mission notwithstanding my old age. I worked for *khadi* for thirty years, but today I am using all my energy for this work, because I can see it includes *khadi* and all the rest of the constructive programme. *Khadi* signifies an ideology and I am glad that it does not spread like *bidi*

and tea. *Khadi* means a revolution—the acceptance of a new way of life. The *charkha* is indeed very old, but then it did not symbolize a revolution. They plied the *Charkha* then because if they did not, they would have to go without cloth. But the present day *Charkha* does much more: it stands to oust the mill. It is not the hand alone that turns it now, but intelligence, devotion, and faith—all have to combine and co-operate with the hand. Hence even for the promotion of *khadi*, it should be supported by the means of resolving the present problem. Therefore whatever else we may do, the most pressing need is that of resolving the land problem. And if we succeed there, we will be acclaimed as having shown a new way out to the world. The world is terribly tired today. It is getting more and more entangled in the vicious circle of ever increasing armaments. It is groping in the dark and does not believe that non-violence can help it out of this gloom. Therefore, if our workers choose to engage themselves in this work, they will be but doing the very thing, which has to be done at present. If they keep away from it they are committing a mistake.

I have been reminded that I should do something in the way of Harijan work also in the course of my pilgrimage. This is like reminding the Ganga to water the trees on its banks as it flows on. It will do it as a matter of course. It does not need to be told about it. A major portion of the lands that we are getting will go to Harijans. I desire that those of our people who are engaged at present in scavenging should take to farming. Their present work is not worthy of human dignity.

So it is my considered view that at this juncture the entire community of Sarvodaya workers should and must devote itself to this work of the land-gift-mission.

Sarvodaya Organization

I am held partly responsible for setting the pattern of the Sarvodaya-Samaj. They complain that the Samaj lacks an essential attribute of an organization, namely, rules and regulations. My plea is: there are enough of these rule-bound organizations. Let there be one which merely advises and does not command. The workers in the Sarvodaya Samaj are free to accept the advice or reject it as they please. But just see, even without any discipline so many of you have gathered here to confer together! The truth of the matter is that a thing gets going and spreads if it appeals to the people and invokes in them the sense of duty. This is how our Samaj works without any recourse to an external discipline. Let those who have eyes to see look at this gathering of responsible workers, and judge for themselves how responsible workers have come here voluntarily merely on an invitation.

This insistence on rules arises from the fact that people are ignorant of the power of the

soul. I do not know if there is anything more degrading than this ignorance of one's intrinsic power, the power of the soul. What power have I to summon you here? It was love which prompted these workers to respond to our humble invitation. So we must realize that there is an idea behind all this, and hence if we want to reach our target of one crore acres of land in Uttar Pradesh, we shall have to bend our strength and talent to this work.

Congress and Other Political Parties

One thing more. Jawaharlalji wants to purify the Congress. I am not associated with the Congress in any way, and yet I issued a statement in support of Pandit Nehru. But unless an organization accepts a programme of service involving sacrifice, it cannot purify itself. It is true that a programme of self-sacrifice may create for the workers domestic and other difficulties. But that is unavoidable. The teachings of Jesus created domestic quarrels. The same happened in the case of Gandhiji, because both placed programmes of self-sacrifice before the people.

New parties are coming into existence these days. They say that there must be an opposition in a democracy, otherwise it cannot work properly and may well develop into a dictatorship. I do not disapprove of this development. But when these parties also enter into a contest for elections, they too practise corruption. I would therefore advocate the setting up of a party which will keep strictly away from power. It will be composed of workers totally detached from power, devoted to ceaseless service, with unflinching adherence to the principles of right conduct and morality. They will serve the people and keep in touch with them through service and disseminate among them the right kind of knowledge. The existence of a party of this type only will purify the administration.

Concluding Appeal

Lastly I ask you all to give yourselves heart and soul to the mission we have undertaken and make it successful. I can pass through only three or four villages while I go forth across the district. I would like that the workers should during the period collect land-donations all over the district and report them to me in the village where I may be at the moment even as rivers join together and flow into the sea. You will have to send your workers over the entire area and in every *tahsil*. We need hundreds of workers for this work. Then only, can we meet in an appreciable measure the demand of one crore acres that I have made of your province. Then only can we hope for a revolution—a real non-violent revolution. Else I am afraid we shall have to wind up all our activities, activities which Gandhiji initiated and left to our care. It is the most momentous work to be done at the moment and not of one of the many types, but one which must be done in suppression of everything else.

(Translated from Hindi)

NO MERE RESOLUTION BUT A PLEDGE

(By Dharendra Mazumdar)

Harijan, (Dec. 1, 1951) had published the following resolution passed by the constructive workers of Tamil Nad :

"The Constructive Workers of Tamilnad feel strongly the menace of Oil, Rice and other mills. They view with alarm the Government's policy which goes on increasing the number of these exploiting mills. The Sangh decides that a suitable area may be selected where a proper atmosphere prevails to intensify the struggle against these mills and that the people be educated for voluntary boycott of mill goods...."

The other day the Maharashtra Provincial Sarvodaya Sammelan, held at Bordi also passed the following resolution :

"One of the objectives of the Sarvodaya Samaj is that villages, separately or jointly as regional units, should be made self-sufficient in regard to the primary necessities of life. It means that the raw materials produced in a particular area-unit should be converted partially or fully into finished goods within that area....It is essential in order to protect these village industries that appropriate restrictions should be placed on the rival mechanized industries there."

The first resolution seeks to criticize the Government while the second wants it to impose restrictions on rival machine industries for protecting the village industries. Now the criticism of the Government on this score is not confined merely to the two resolutions cited above ; it is wide-spread and is voiced by almost every constructive worker. But the remarkable fact about it is that the constructive workers themselves give no protection to these village industries.

Really if one looks at it a little closely, one finds that the Government is guilty of no more failure than what the constructive institutions and workers are themselves guilty of. We help the village industries and encourage them in other ways, but we stop at that and do not protect them. After all what do we mean by protection? When we ask for protection from the Government, plainly speaking what we want is that the Government should ban certain things which thwart the progress of such village industries. But we too do not practise it ourselves in our personal lives or in the management of our own institutions by putting a ban on such articles. If we, who pride ourselves on being the champions of village industries, do not boycott the mill articles, how can we expect the Government, which has no such faith in these industries, to undertake this work?

It is therefore a welcome sign that people are coming to realize the need for a boycott of mill-made things. But mere resolutions are of little value. Workers and institutions will have to pledge themselves to the use of village industry products only, and to boycott mill products at least in regard to articles of food and clothing. They will also have to carry on an extensive educative campaign all over the country to prepare the people to take the same pledge. Until we campaign for this boycott movement and prepare

public opinion in our favour, we may succeed in operating a *ghani* here and a *dhenki* there, but we cannot move even a step forward in the direction of destroying the centralized capitalist economy and creating a decentralized, self-sufficient social order in its place.

Sevagram, Wardha,
January 1, 1952
(Translated from Hindi)

SARVA SEVA SANGH : THREE YEARS' TRAINING

In the *Sarvodaya* of December, 1951, Number, (and in *Harijan* of 8th December 1951) a note regarding the Three-Years 'Samagra Gram Seva' course of the Sarva Seva Sangh was published. More detailed information about that course is given below :

1. The conditions for admission of the students are published below. The qualification of the students who want to take up the course must be in accordance with these conditions.

2. An entrance-examination will be held on the basis of the conditions for admission mentioned above, and selection of candidates for the course will be made on the basis of the result of that examination. In selecting candidates preference will be given to those who have already taken some training in either the Charkha Sangh, the Talimi Sangh or in any other all-India Constructive Institutions.

3. The students will be given a monthly stipend of Rs 40/- on behalf of the Sarva Seva Sangh, of which Rs 30/- for boarding and lodging and Rs 10/- for stationery etc., will be spent by the Sangh.

4. At the start a written bond will have to be signed by the students to work for five years after the course is over, for the Sarva Seva Sangh. In case the Sangh does not require their services, they will be released from the contract.

5. Those who will be given work by the Sarva Seva Sangh will be given an allowance of Rs 100/- to Rs 200/- per month according to the needs of his family.

Qualifications for Admission of Students of the Sarva Seva Sangh

1. *Age* :
The student must not be either less than 18 or more than 30 years of age.

2. *Physical fitness* :
The student must be physically and mentally healthy. He must be prepared to undergo six hours of physical labour a day specially on land. Before he is admitted he will be required to undergo a medical examination.

3. *Capacity for being self-sufficient* :
1. He must be able to cook simple food ;
2. must be capable of being self-sufficient in regard to his requirement of cloth ;
3. must look after his personal cleanliness.

4. *Knowledge of crafts* :
The student must have elementary knowledge in one of the following subjects :

farming, cow-keeping, carpentry, black-smithy, basket-making, pottery, leather-work etc.

5. *Knowledge of language : Mother tongue* :

1. The student must be fairly acquainted with the literature of his own language ;
2. capable of reading the scientific and technical literature both in his mother tongue and in Hindi ;
3. capable of describing or explaining orally some subject briefly ;
4. capable of writing essays correctly in his own language ;
5. capable of summarizing subjects read by him ;
6. capable of expressing some independent thought or idea on one or the other aspects of the Constructive Programme ;
7. capable of writing legibly and neatly.

National Language : The student must have the ordinary knowledge of reading and writing in the national language.

6. *Arithmetic* :

The student must have a fair knowledge of the following :

- (a) Simple and compound additions, subtractions, multiplications and divisions, (b) G. C. M., (c) L. C. M., (d) practical mathematics — simple and compound, (e) unitary method, (f) rule of three, (g) percentages, (h) average, (i) book-keeping and accounts of receipts and payments, (j) simple interest — accounts of profit and loss, (k) ratio and proportion, (l) budget-making and estimating, (m) square roots, (n) practical geometry, (o) graphs.

7. *Simple Science* :

Ordinary knowledge of Physiology and Hygiene.

8. *History* :

((a) General knowledge of the history of the evolution of man, (b) special knowledge of the Indian History, (c) special knowledge of the history of the non-violent Indian national movement for freedom.

9. *Geography* :

(a) Simple knowledge of world geography, (b) special knowledge of the geography of India, (c) general knowledge of world affairs: knowledge of the political, social, economic and cultural problems facing India and the world.

10. *Mental Equipment* :

(a) Knowledge of the Indian Culture, (b) the student must be free from the narrow linguistic, provincial, communal and sectarian sentiments, and (c) acquaintance with Gandhism and the Gandhian literature.

Books : (By Gandhiji)

1. Hind Swaraj, 2. Autobiography, 3. Satyagraha in South Africa, 4. Key to Health, 5. Delhi Diary (Post-prayer Speeches), and 6. Constructive Programme.

(By others)
7. Science of Cleanliness — Shri Dharendra Mazumdar, 8. Glimpses of World History — Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

For further information apply to :

SHANKARRAO DEO,
Secretary,

Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh,
Sevagram.

Sevagram, 24-12-'51

SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR

XIII

April 24, Nagilla (Tenth Halt, 10 miles)

Nagilla and Ajalpuram (our next halt) are strictly speaking in the Mahabubnagar district, but they lay on our trek through Telangana.

In his post-prayer speech in the evening, Vinoba referred to the traditional Indian custom of receiving and bidding adieu to guests to the accompaniment of devotional *bhajans* and music and characterized it as a distinguishing feature of Indian culture. Numerous kings and emperors, some of them quite great, had ruled over India. But people had not cared to preserve any memory of these rulers. They recognized and remembered only the King of kings Raja Ram. The other kings had their moments of passing glory but they were wiped out. Only the name of the Lord of Creation remained and flowed on ceaselessly like the immortal Ganga. Even the Ganga and the Krishna and the Godavari had their own appointed courses, but this *Nama-Ganga*, the Ganga in the form of the Lord's name, the mightiest and holiest of all rivers flowed in every village. Vinoba had started from Adilabad, and covered four Telugu districts, and was now right in the heart of, as they called it, the Communist-infested area. But here too he had witnessed the same devotional fervour, and singing of the Lord's blessed name as at Adilabad. It meant that even as the kings of old came, had their day and were no more, so would the Communists pass away, but *Ramanama* would continue for ever and ever.

But, Vinoba continued, we had not realized the full meaning of this *namasmarana*, the singing of the Lord's name. He said that one who recited His name had a duty cast on himself. He had to live upto the standard of the devotee. He should understand that God did not live in some high heaven above, or inhabit any particular corner of the earth. He was seated in the heart of every being. And they as His devotees owed it to themselves to love and serve every being. The singing of the Lord's name and love-for-all-beings were synonymous terms.

In this connection, Vinoba referred to the attributes of a *bhakta* (devotee) given in the *Gita*, and said that the *Gita* did not say that he sang or danced and was always in mad ecstasy. But it said, he is *adweshta*, devoid of all ill-will and a lover of all beings. Singing of the Lord's name and ill-will against another went ill together. If they continued to harbour ill-will, then the recitation of *Ramanama* could have no meaning for them, for it was then reduced to a mere pretence. Vinoba said that he had undertaken the tour in order to eradicate this ill-will in so far as he could do it and plant reconciliation and love. He was a soldier of peace and that had brought him in their midst, for he was told that this part of our fair land was torn with disunity and violence.

Vinoba next dealt with his insistence on land-donations to the exclusion of money. He said: He asked for land wherever he went. He had received some 47 acres in Nagilla also. But the land-lords of Nagilla told him that they had disposed of the extra land, and had now only enough for themselves. Under the circumstances, Vinoba could have asked for money from them, but he did not. He was an enemy of money. He did not covet the money which the rich might have. That was Government's job. Land was nature's gift to man. He wondered how people induced themselves into believing that they could be owners of land. This was an incredible folly. They died and got absorbed into the earth and yet they clung to this illusion. He wanted land to serve the cause of love and it was out of love that people should offer their donations; only then would their donations

have value for him and for the cause which they all sought to promote.

Vinoba asked the Communists to be as good as their word and take to the life of the poor *kisan*, whom they claimed to serve. Vinoba had read some of their books which declared that the rich and the poor should be on the same level. There should be no disparities between the classes. There was nothing new in this, though they may ignorantly flaunt it about with the pride of discovery. Poet Potana in his *Bhagwatam* stresses the same thing when he says: तनयं अखिल भूत मूलं ओक भंगि समहित त्वं वृत् जरगुवाडु। i.e. there is no scope for distinctions of rich and poor. The conclusion was that the land belonged to all equally. The Communists were right so far, but the path they had chosen to reach the goal was utterly wrong. How could those who kept underground, bring about equality? The sun served all equally, the poor as much as the rich. But the sun blazed in the sky, it did not go into hiding. People might shut themselves off within their houses, but not the sun. Even so those who wanted to establish equality should come into the open. Poet Potana was devoted to this noble cause, so he had taken to the plough and lived the life of a *kisan*. The king asked him to dedicate his *Bhagwatam* to him. He said quietly and fearlessly: "My work is dedicated to God". He meant that his *Bhagwatam* belonged to all equally, to the poor and the rich alike. Vinoba urged the Communists to follow the example of Potana, and be true to their professions. Let them leave aside the gun and take to the plough and work as the peasant does, if they really wanted to bring about equality.

In this connection Vinoba cited the example of his own Ashram at Pavnar in Wardha where all the *ashramites*, including quite a few young men who had been in colleges and were now working under him, lived like real *kisans* digging and sowing and watering the fields. They had succeeded in effacing the rich-and-poor mentality. They all did their own grinding, cooking and scavenging and worked together on the farm and the field: Vinoba said: Let the Communists take to this way of life, and their ideology will grow and expand.

In the night Vinoba had a narrow escape from what might have been a tragic accident. People were seated under the canopy for the evening meal, and Vinoba just issued out of his hut to have a look on the arrangements as is his wont. There was a well in between the hut and the canopy, and Vinoba did not take the lamp with him. The ever vigilant Mahadevibehn detected the situation and in an instant she had realized what it might lead to. She ran with the lantern and was able to hold him back just when he was on the brink of it. A tragedy was averted and we had a terrible shaking when we knew of it and were so glad. But Vinoba! Vinoba was as unconcerned as ever. "Who dare harm him whom the Lord protects?" sang Kabir and was it not true?

(Translated from Hindi)

D. M.

CONTENTS		Page
SHRI VINOBA'S NORTHERN TOUR—X	D. M.	377
SALARIES IN NEW CHINA	Suresh Ramabhai	379
A CALL TO CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS	Vinoba	380
NO MERE RESOLUTION BUT A PLEDGE	Dhirendra Mazumdar	382
SARVA SEVA SANGH:		
THREE YEARS' TRAINING	Shankarrao Deo	383
SHRI VINOBA'S TELANGANA TOUR—XIII	D. M.	384
NOTE:		
OUR BHANGI BROTHER	R. C.	379

Subscription Rates—Inland: One year, Rs. 6; Six months, Rs. 3; Foreign: One year, Rs. 8 or 14s. or \$2.
Printed and Published by Jivanji Dahyabhai Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 9.