

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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TWO ANNAS

## QUESTION-BOX

### Salaries, Allowances etc. of M. L. A.'s

Q: I am a member of the U. P. Legislative Assembly. Our Assembly has fixed for every member a salary of Rs 200/- per month plus Rs 10 daily allowance during the sittings of the Assembly (to members present) plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  times First Class Railway Fare to and from Lucknow. (The latter is allowed to be drawn in full whether the member travels First Class or no). The Government has provided quarters for residence at Lucknow, for which the member has to pay a rent of Re 1-8 per day. I have decided to take a salary of only Rs 75 per month, and have asked the Government to pay Rs 45 per month for the rent of my quarter. I travel First Class, since I must draw the fare at that rate. Will you please say what a member of the Legislative Assembly should do in respect of salaries, allowances, travelling fares etc?

A: In the first place, we must observe the principle that we should not raise the standard of living which we have deliberately accepted and adopted all our life. That is to say, we must not spend more or live more luxuriously simply because we can get from the Government more money than we need.

Secondly, when this subject is discussed in the Assembly, each member may express his opinion on each of the items and try to reduce the expenditure as much as he can. But after the matter has been decided and you find that scale of payment to be higher than you need, it must not be the reason for you to draw the higher amount. You should not say, "Why should I take less, when others take the full amount?" Nor, in case you draw less, should you harbour the feeling that you are a better member of the Assembly than others.

Thirdly, the amounts sanctioned by the Assembly must be regarded as the ceiling amounts, and not amounts which every one was bound to draw. I understand that the Government rules are interpreted in a mechanical manner. Even if a person has not travelled First Class or does not need Rs 10 daily allowance, he is asked to make out a bill at those rates. That is, he is asked to make a false bill. If this is true, such rules have got to be changed. A votary of Truth must, therefore, refuse to present a false bill.

Some members draw the full amount from the public treasury and pay the savings to their institutions or spend them for some public purpose. But this does not alter the character of the initial untruth. The point is, if it is not necessary for you to travel First Class, and you do not do so when you travel on your own account, why should you travel by that class to attend the Assembly? And if you have not done so, how can you prepare a bill at that rate? No Government has a right to make rules, which would compel you to prepare a false bill.

From the way the question is put, I take it that the salary of Rs 200 includes the monthly rent of Rs 45/- during the stay at Lucknow. That is, each member draws a salary of Rs 200 per month outside Lucknow and Rs 200 (Salary) + Rs 300 (at Rs 10 per day, Lucknow allowance) — Rs 45 (Lucknow rent) = Rs 455 nearly, in Lucknow. There is no doubt that this is too much. The correspondent regards Rs 75 per month outside Lucknow and Rs 75 + 45 = Rs 120 in Lucknow as sufficient for him. He does not seem to be in need of any extra allowance while at Lucknow. It is possible that his is an exceptional case. But, taking generally, I think that an allowance of Rs 200 per month should be regarded as sufficient for all purposes. That is, it should be deemed to include rent and daily allowance of Lucknow.

This does not, of course, mean that Rs 200 per month is necessarily sufficient for every member of the present economic order. There might be members for whom even Rs 500/- per month would not be sufficient to meet their needs. But the salaries are not to be deemed to have been fixed by the Assembly with a view to provide all the needs of its members. A limit has to be fixed, and even having regard to increased cost of living and other factors, a salary of Rs 200/- per month including Lucknow allowances does not err on the side of being too meagre. Those who need less than even this should of course do so.

It is too much to pay First Class fare for travelling. Even for those, to whom travelling by a higher class is quite necessary, Second Class travelling should be regarded as sufficient. Those who are used to travel First Class as a rule should do so at their own expense. Indeed,

since it may be presumed that they are quite rich, why should they at all draw any salary or allowance from the public treasury?

14-7-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

### THE PROGRESS OF BHOODAN-YAJNA

It is really encouraging to note that the *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* is steadily catching the imagination of all sections of our people. There are clear indications that the movement will transform the structure of our village community if the patriotic zeal of our workers is systematically harnessed for this cause.

For the present, the major burden of the movement is borne by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. He has collected 2,77,135 acres of land till the end of 28th June. The work of distributing these lands to landless tillers is also apace. The State Governments have not been slow in responding to the call of the mission. The Hyderabad and Vindhya-Pradesh Governments have expeditiously made rules facilitating transfers under *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*. The U. P. Government is contemplating similar action. The M. P. Government has issued a circular to the administration to help the workers of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*.

All over India, the newspapers are giving full support to the *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*. They have been publishing extensive news connected with the *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*. They have supported its ideal in their editorial columns and made many constructive suggestions for the future conduct of this mission.

In U. P., the land of Tulsidas, Acharya Vinoba Bhave's walking tour has roused the genius of its poets. Numerous songs are pouring out of the hearts of the people. Songs always play a great role in augmenting any agitation. Shri Tukadoji Maharaj, the mass-poet of Maharashtra, is carrying the message of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* to the people of Maharashtra.

Some of the Pradesh Congress Committees have passed resolutions of support and co-operation. Other political parties such as the Socialist Party and the K. M. P. P. have also resolved in their conventions to actively support the movement. All this clearly demonstrates that the people have accepted the *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* as a national movement.

The Sarva Seva Sangh has accepted the responsibility of carrying forward the torch lighted by Acharya Vinoba Bhave by its resolution at Sevapuri. Therefore it is essential that the votaries of Sarvodaya readjust their attitudes towards constructive work in the light of this new mission undertaken by the Sarva Seva Sangh on their behalf. They must remember that Gandhiji had out-lined these various constructive activities to revitalize the spirit of our people. That can only be achieved by actively pursuing an immediate objective which vitally affects the daily life of the people. The solution of the land problem is that objective in the present conditions prevailing in our country. *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*

is the non-violent solution of this problem offered by Vinobaji. Hence it must assume supreme importance in the eyes of the constructive workers. Khadi, Gramodyoga, Goseva, Basic Education, Hindustani Prachar, Harijan Seva, Adivasi Seva, Nature Cure, Kustha Seva, etc. are important in their respective fields and have to be worked in the service of the people as vigorously as before. Yet the workers engaged in these various activities must know that the success of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* alone will give life and strength to their activities.

As decided at Sevapuri, *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* Conferences have been held in Bengal, Assam and Rajasthan so far. The work for preparing the ground has been initiated in these conferences. Similar conferences will soon be held in Tamilnad, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Delhi, Andhra and Madhya-Bharat. Shri Shrikrishna-das Jaju, Shri Shankarrao Deo, Shri Vallabhaswami, Shri Dhotre, Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari and others are attending such conferences to explain to the workers the 'why and how' of *bhoo-dan*.

The workers in Gujarat have distributed the work among themselves districtwise. Leaders from M. P. experimented with walking tour and have secured 363 acres of land in their maiden venture in one Tahsil.

The province of Gopabandhu Chaudhary, the ex-Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh, cannot lag behind. Gopababu, along with his wife Ramadevi, undertook a walking tour of their province. The latest news is that they have collected nearly 2000 acres in Orissa.

The workers from Hyderabad are not prepared to lose the momentum which they have received from Acharya Vinoba Bhave's tour of Telangana. They have collected 6,351 acres since Acharya Vinoba Bhave's departure.

Anybody who wants to further the cause of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* may ask for propaganda literature from the convener of his area. In the initial stage, actual acres obtained are not the vital part of our movement. The progress of the mission is not to be measured merely in terms of these figures. What is of supreme importance is to carry the message of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* and Sarvodaya to the smallest unit in the land. "All land belongs to God or the community and it must be equitably shared by those who are ready to work on it for the community." This is the message of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*. The atmosphere of India should be surcharged with this message. Every village should vibrate with the talk of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna* and Sarvodaya. Therein lies the real success of our mission.

I should like to end this circular by making a pointed reference to Mangroth, a village in Banda district of Uttar-Pradesh. It has patriotic traditions. It is headed by a noble soul named Diwan Shatrughna Singh. All the 54 land-owners from that village donated all their lands to Acharya Vinoba Bhave. This is a ripe fruit of *Bhoo-dan-Yajna*. The story of Mangroth reads



like a legend. It should serve as a great inspiration to all of us.

#### Miscellaneous

Shri Narayan Desai, the son of late Shri Mahadevhai Desai, has pledged to devote his entire time to the cause of *Bhoodan-Yajna* for one year.

The Bhoodan Samiti of Delhi, under the guidance of Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, is preparing a list of land-owners who possess more than 100 bigas of land.

Shri Radharaman, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani and Shri Krishnan Nayar are contacting members of Parliament in Delhi to secure land donations from them.

Shri Omprakash Trikha and Bibi Amtul Salam are contacting Punjab legislators to secure their active co-operation.

The Punjab Bhoodan Samiti has translated Vinobaji's literature in Urdu and Hindi. It is being circulated throughout the length and breadth of Punjab.

Bihar Samiti has received the names of 158 workers who are prepared to devote their time for *Bhoodan-Yajna*.

The following table will give useful information to those who are working for the fulfilment of this mission in the remotest corner of the country:

Pradesh	Name of Convener of Bhoodan Committee	Address	Target for next two years	Lands donated
Assam	Shri Bhuvanchandra Das.	P. O. Boko, Dt.-Kamrup	25,000	..
Andhra	" * Ernani Subramaniam.	Gandhi Ashram, Gandhipuram, P. O. Agaluru, Dt.-Krisna	100,000	..
Uttar-Pradesh	" Karan Bhai.	Gandhi Ashram, P. O. Sevapuri, Dt.-Banaras	500,000	162,704
Orissa	" Sharatchandra Maharana.	P. O. Ramchandrapur, Via Tajpur, Dt.-Cuttack	50,000	2,000
Karnatak	" Timmappa Naik.	Gram Seva Samiti, P. O. Ankola, Dt.-N. Kanara	..	..
Keral	" R. Shrinivasan.	P. O. Palghat, Dt.-Malabar	..	..
Gujarat	" Jugataram Dave.	Swarajya Ashram, Vedchhl, P. O. Valod, Dt.-Surat	..	2,500
Tamilnad	" Vedaratnam Pillai.	P. O. Vedaranyam (Madras State)	100,000	..
Delhi	" Jyoti Prakash.	Gandhi Ashram, Chandni Chowk, Delhi	10,000	1,000
Punjab, Pepsu	" Lala Achint Ram.	Ambala (Cant.)	100,000	..
Bihar	" Babu Lakshminarayan.	National Hall, Kadamkua, Patna, 3	400,000	..
Bengal	" Charuchandra Bhandari.	P. O. Diamond-Harbour, Dt.-24 Fargana	100,000	..
Bombay	....	..	..	..
Madhya-Pradesh	" Dadabhai Naik.	Abhyankar House, Mahal, Nagpur, No. 2	100,000	7,363
Maharashtra	" * Annasahib Sahasrabuddhe.	45, Budhawar Peth, Poona, 2	100,000	..
Madhya-Bharat	" V. S. Khode.	P. O. Khargone (M. B.)	100,000	2,000
Mysore	....	..	..	..
Rajasthan	" Balwantising Mehta.	Lokawani Karyalaya, Jaipur	200,000	1,000
Vindhya-Pradesh	" Chaturbhuj Pathak.	P. O. Tikamgarh (V. P.)	40,000	1,000
Saurashtra	" Kanu Gandhi.	Rashtriya Shala, P. O. Rajkot	..	..
Hyderabad	" U. Kesharao.	830, Barakatpura, Hyderabad	100,000	18,569
Himachal-Pradesh	" Dharmadeo Shastri.	Ashokashram, P. O. Kalsi, Dt.-Dehradun	..	..
Extra (including Andhra, Tamilnad and Keral)				12,100
Total land donated by 15th June, 1952 (from report received by Sarva Seva Sangh)				210,236

\* These names are provisional at present.

A meeting of Bihar constructive workers was held to organize Vinobaji's tour in Bihar. Shri Jayaprakash Narayan attended the meeting and promised to work for the success of *Bhoodan-Yajna*.

Shri Charuchandra Bhandari, the convener of Bengal Bhoodan Samiti undertook a walking tour of Diamond Harbour area for 17 days. The tour roused good response.

Shri V. S. Khode of the Madhya Bharat Bhoodan Samiti had requested all the printing presses from his State to print as many copies of Vinobaji's *bhoodan* brochures as possible and to donate them to the Bhoodan Samiti. Vani Mandir Press of Khargone has responded to this appeal by promising to print 1000 copies of the brochure and 2000 copies of Vinobaji's appeal to the people.

Workers from Birbhun district of Bengal met at Ahmedpur. They decided to collect 10000 acres from the district. The 17 districts of Bihar are holding separate conferences before September '52. Rajasthan workers conferred at Hatundi on the 7th June. The volunteers of *Bhoodan-Yajna* in Orissa met in a jumbooree at Khandasahi village. The youths of Gujarat gathered round *bhoodan* fire at Rangpur.

SHANKARRAO DEO,  
Secretary,  
Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram

# HARIJAN

July 26

1952

## THE BOMBAY TAXES

The new taxes in Bombay have raised a spirited agitation in that ever alert State. One of the taxes is in the nature of a surcharge on land revenue. The other is a change in the method of the levy of the sales-tax from a single-point to a multi-point system. The Government feels that thereby it will increase its revenue without increasing the tax.

The agriculturist class has protested against the former, and the middle-class merchant in particular against the latter.

Both these classes are well-organized in Bombay and have represented their cause in an able manner. The Government will not be able to ignore them altogether, and, I believe, by the time this goes into print, some compromise will have been arrived at.

The class which will suffer most and which deserved to be represented, but being diffused and unorganized, has not been able to represent its grievances is that of the consumer. It is surprising that no paper or legislator has represented his cause.

Every system of taxing the consumer *ad valorem*, (and sales-tax is one such), is inequitable to him. In such a system the rich and the poor are taxed at the same rate. But the multi-point sales-tax becomes still further inequitable by taxing the poor consumer at a higher rate than a rich one. For instance, a person who can purchase, say, a bag of sugar of 80 lb., can purchase a better quality and at a cheaper rate from a whole-sale dealer, say, at the rate of 10 as. per lb.; i.e. for Rs 50/-. He will have to pay a tax on Rs 50/- only, and as he will purchase it from a whole-sale dealer, under the multi-point system, it will be at a lower rate. But if he is a poor person, who can purchase only 2 lb. at a time, he will perhaps get it at Re 1 per lb. instead of at 10 as. He will have to pay a sales-tax on Rs 2, and not on Re 1-4-0. Thus, per lb., the poor consumer is taxed on a higher value than a rich one.

Not only does he pay more because of his retail purchase, but pays the sales-tax over and over again on the same sugar. Thus, the multi-point system taxes the poor consumer at a higher rate than it does the rich one. As the majority of consumers is poor, and purchases in retail shops, though apparently the tax on each small transaction might seem negligible, in the aggregate the major part of the revenue is collected from the poor.

Similar discrimination in favour of the better land is shown in the surcharge on land-revenue

also. The poor soil is asked to pay surcharge at a higher rate than the rich one.

The system of *ad valorem* taxation levied on consumers is in the main unjust. It may not be possible in some cases to avoid it; e.g. in postal and telegraphic charges. But generally it should be avoided.

One of the reasons for the popular revolt against the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China was, in addition to its corruption, its system of taxation. Jack Belden, in his book *China Shakes the World* says:

"Shih's (a General of Chiang Kai-shek) officials instituted a vicious system of taxation. All coffins were taxed. Vegetables drying on the roofs of the people's homes were taxed. Every time a cow was driven into town, a levy was placed on it. People were forced to contribute gifts to government celebrations. If a kidnapped draftee ran away from the army, his village was fined one hundred suits of cotton clothing to replace the uniform with which the deserter had run off." (p. 76).

One of the most popular things, according to the same authority, which the popular government did was the doing away of all taxes, except one:

"Because of reduced taxes, they (the villagers) were better off than they had been for fifteen years. The Government, they told me, collected only seventeen to eighteen pounds of grain for each mow of land (one-sixth of an acre). Before they had had to pay innumerable surtaxes, including pig-killing taxes, drying vegetables-on-the-roof taxes, funeral taxes, and besides had to furnish much free labour. They thought there was justice in the present tax system." (p. 27).

Indian governments must take a lesson from this and evolve the art of governing well and at a cheaper rate.

Akola, 15-7-52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

## The Futility of War

But nobody believes that war really will be an effective means because of its results. And so far as I know, nobody really wants to have a war. In Russia I have told many times and in many places of the world, that personally I do not believe that there is a single millionaire in the United States of America today who would not gladly give up all his millions and starve and go as a beggar, if only he could prevent the third world war by this way. So I found that in Russia, as well as in my own country, really nobody believes in war as a means; nobody wants to have a war. But it is just the lack of confidence that the other one will not make war, and so people are afraid of each other, and that brings us into all our difficulties.

PASTOR NIEMÖLLER

(From *The Aryan Path*, July '52)

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## HANDS AND MOUTHS

In most of the States the new ministries have enlarged themselves. West Bengal heads the list with a team of thirty, including deputy ministers. The justification for the enlargement in this particular State is said to be the increase in public revenue. Then, most of the new ministries, if not all, have also decided to increase their own receipts from the public revenue. Legislators will also be expected to get their due shares.

Public revenue has, of course, increased in every State. But so also has the population in the legislatures and departmental staffs.

A place in the legislature is coveted not only for the opportunity it might provide to serve the people, but also, by some, as a profitable job, and, by some others, as a stepping-stone to still more profitable public office. Legislatures to a certain extent indicate the amount of unemployment in the country in the upper middle class.

The Planning Commission lays down the condition that village industries should be 'economically efficient' in order to merit Government patronage and subsidies. In view of the serious fact that legislatures and offices are for a good number of people so many 'employments' subsidized by Government, may I request the Commission to investigate how far the employments in these occupations are 'economically efficient'? And, if not satisfied, will they lay down a plan for making the places less attractive to the people so that they may not be sought for their pecuniary value?

I request ministers, legislators and public servants to consider seriously their own economic efficiency before ridiculing the *charkha* and the village industries as economically inefficient. They visibly produce something needed in life, and capable of maintaining them. If their per capita production is small, so also is their remuneration. The annual subsidy which they need will be, per capita, perhaps less than a week's *bhatta* of a member of a legislature. More mouths have to be fed from the public revenue now than ever before in the legislative, judicial and executive administration of the country. No doubt each mouth is accompanied with two hands. But the function of the hands and the mouth in public offices is opposite to that in the villages. The hands in the public officers do no productive work (except those of copyists and typists); they only consume. It is the mouths, which are supposed to perform the duty of working for the State. Hence instead of having two hands to produce for one mouth to consume, there is one mouth to produce (words) for two hands to consume (the revenue).

Wardha, 30-6-'52

K. G. MASHRUWALA

SHRI VINOBA'S UTTAR PRADESH  
TOUR — VII

From the Fyzabad District we entered the Barabanki District. We were expected to reach our camp at 8 a.m., but actually we were in at 7. A friend remarked to Vinoba that he was an hour earlier. This supplied Vinoba with a good theme to explain an aspect of village industries which is often lost sight of. He said: "The advocates of village industries must keep a good pace. It is creditable to the pedestrian if he can reach the place of his destination at 7 instead of 8. The speedier vehicles, the motor cars and trains can afford to delay and tarry, but not he."

And from this he passed on to the rather philosophical question of the effect of the time-saving machines on the mind. He said, "The speedier were the instruments given to us, the more indolent became our minds. The remedy lies in choosing simpler instruments and using them efficiently." A friend from Wardha who had paid Rs 40/- for his railway fare asked Vinoba at Delhi why he had not travelled by the railway train. Vinoba had explained to him: "You had to pay Rs 40/- for your ticket to Delhi. A labourer usually gets as. 13 only for his day's wage. That means you spent about 50 days' wages over your ticket. I took 60 days to reach Delhi, only 10 days behind you, calculating the time in terms of the money spent. But I secured twenty thousand acres during that period in the course of the journey. Now tell me whether my choice has not been cheaper."

People often argue that it is only Vinoba who can get land by asking for it; all cannot do so. There is some truth in this. For those who are approached to make the gifts do take into consideration the quality of the life of those who ask. Undoubtedly the donor is influenced by the latter's non-possession, purity of speech and love. But this should not deter us, for we have resolved to do it. And if we follow doggedly in the footsteps of our leader, even the ordinary workers will not be disappointed. For instance, Shri Harivallabh Parekh, a devoted worker of Gujarat, but with no advantage of either name or influence, vowed on the 30th January to collect one thousand acres within a year. He also decided not to make use of any conveyance. He started on his walking tour and he achieved remarkable success. In the first eight days he got 500 acres, and by the end of two months he was able to collect fifteen hundred which was 500 acres in excess of his target. When he was introduced to the audience in the Sammelan, his experience heartened small workers.

Barabanki had been asked to collect twelve thousand acres. During the four days that we were there, we could know at first hand that some few workers were actively going about the task and might show fairly good results if only they had someone to inspire them. From Barabanki, we were now going to Lucknow. The reports from Lucknow were not encouraging. It seemed to lag behind, though as the capital of the Province it should have taken a leading part. A friend from there said that they did not get enough time to prepare for the work. The statement appeared strange in view of the fact that Vinoba had been touring the province now for the past eight months.

In the after-prayer speech that evening, Vinoba administered quite a sharp rebuke to the sleeping workers. He said: "Some of us are so dense that seeing, they see not, and hearing, they hear not. We have been touring

your province for over seven months now, but there are workers who are still sleeping. They are still as listless as they were. In fact there are hardly any workers left. The few that are, have either gone into the Government, or they have fallen into the rut of domestic life. At the most, they content themselves with some literary work."

Proceeding further, he said, "They seem to have become so inert, that there is no sign of life in them. They take in the holy water of the Ganga, and utter the name of Tulsidas, they swear by *dharma*, but does any practise it? How can those who are caught up in the whirls of desires and sensual life,—how can they act boldly?"

He ended by an appeal, saying, "I shall not be here for long. I am here today, tomorrow I shall be elsewhere. I shall continue to pursue my work. 'Men may come and men may go'; you may or may not help. That will not make any difference to my work. Land is bound to come to the landless. As I said at Gorakhpur, the land has come already. That question is settled. What I ask for is whether I can get here, which is my last halt of your district, even five individuals ready to devote themselves to the service of the people? If there are any such, I should like to meet them. I should like to establish a personal contact with them."

Every word of the appeal was charged with sincerity, and could not but touch the audience to its depths, and inspire the workers to bestir themselves into activity. There was another meeting after the speech, and nineteen individuals submitted their names to Vinoba some of whom were well-known workers with a record of sacrifice. Vinoba usually goes into silence at eight, but it was long since eight and he was still busy meeting these friends. And he appeared very much pleased, which was natural, for like Tulsī had he not succeeded in provoking Rama into wakefulness in order that he might have His *darshan*?

When they came to see him, after having pledged themselves to work, Vinoba said, "Whatever the appearances, this is a vast revolutionary movement comprehending every sphere of our life, social as well as economic. And every one must contribute his share to it. He must devote to it a part at least of what he has. It is a call to every one of us to devote ourselves to the service of the people."

It was now two weeks since we left Sevapuri. The mathematician in Vinoba was set to work. Much in the way as though he were thinking aloud, he said in the prayer speech, "We have secured a lakh only. There remain 24 lakhs to collect, and as many months in which to do it. It means that on the average we must collect one lakh every month to fulfil our resolve."

The workers are now back at their places after Sevapuri and from the reports we are receiving they seem to have plunged themselves into the work in right earnest. They are convening conferences and appointing *bhoodan* committees. The movement is spreading and taking rapid strides on its forward march. Vinoba is keeping in close touch with the workers and encouraging them with his characteristically inspiring letters. Here are some choice specimens:

To a worker in Gonda, who could not come to Sevapuri, he wrote: "I am much pleased to know that you

could not come to Sevapuri because you are busy fulfilling your quota. It would be good if every week, on some appointed day, you could inform us of the progress made. I have praised your resolve as an example of devoted work at every place where I have been. If you would write to us of the growing progress of your work, that too would provide good encouragement to the workers elsewhere. In the Kali age, people require mutual encouragement to march forward. Few have the strength to go alone. Gonda's achievement will strengthen Lucknow, and vice versa.

"I do not know what Lucknow will show up in the way of results, though they have given us high hopes."

"Kanpur seems to have organized its work quite well in a planned manner. Of course, reports of growing enthusiasm among the workers are reaching us from everywhere."

To a friend at Etah he wrote the following:

"Etah quota must be fulfilled in any case. We have got to seek co-operation from every quarter. Since the Sarvodaya Sammelan there has been enough sympathy and an appreciable increase in the extent of a suitable atmosphere for our work. Congressmen are also realizing the importance of the work. We must endeavour to secure co-operation from *Gram-panchayats* also."

"I rate the workers' vow of dedication to this work higher than the quantity of the land collected. If Uttar Pradesh workers fulfil their quota of 5 lakhs, it is bound to add to their moral strength and that is bound to step up our efforts in every direction. Therefore you have got to pursue your work with the same pointed concentration as you evinced when I was touring your district. And this you must continue till the target is achieved..."

"Your aim in the proposed conference should be to decide on some definite work. At the present moment, *Bhoodan-Yajna* is the one basic programme of work which, pursued with zeal and devotion, may well sustain and foster all other items of our constructive effort. In case this programme is not attended to, they may, I am afraid, wither away. Therefore, the workers should resolve to devote themselves to this task and at once apply themselves to it with faith in God. We may well seek inspiration for ourselves from the zealous interest the U.P. workers have shown in this work. One and the same Soul, the Bharat Shakti, is at work in the whole of India, from Kailas to Kanya Kumari."

To the friends in Tamilnad:

"The Sarvodaya workers should now see to it that the Sarvodaya message is carried to every village and home. One can get co-operation from every party in this endeavour and this should be done. Shri Jagannathan has been with us for four months and he has seen how it is possible to carry out our mission through love and goodwill. I am sure in this task the Kaveri will not remain behind her northern sisters the Ganga and the Yamuna. I have done my best to achieve oneness with my Tamil brethren through the study of their religious literature. I have continued my perusal of *Kural*, even during my walk in Uttar Pradesh. I hope that my Dravid brothers will consider me to be just one of them, and take to *bhoodan* work with their utmost energy."



Let me quote just one more message at the end, the message to Bengal which he sent to Shri Charu Chandra Bhandari.

"It is good that the Bengal workers are meeting in a conference in order to discuss and plan *bhoo dan* work in their area. There is no doubt that Bengal needs this work done. Bengal is also suffering from this malady. And as Bengal is more emotional, these rivalries may also be more acute there. I would like the workers who volunteer themselves for this work to forget the party differences and work as lovers of Sarvodaya in the spirit of unity. We should not look at labels men are apt to affix to themselves, but at the indwelling Lord. If all unitedly set out to serve the poor, forgetting their little egotisms and sectarianisms, I am sure that Bengal can generate the power and force of a most benevolent kind, capable of bringing about universal good. If the land which gave birth to the Sankhya philosophy, Buddhist thought, *Shakti tantra*, and the *Vaishnava* school of *bhakti*, and which, in modern times, has shown its constructive genius in setting up an international institution like the *Vishwa Bharati*;—if that land agrees to take up this work it will certainly lay before the rest of India an example which the latter will be glad to follow after.

"The word 'Daridranarayan' was revealed by the seers of Bengal. Gandhiji took it up and carried its message to every Indian home. The *bhoo dan* continues that high endeavour in that it seeks to enshrine God Daridranarayan in every Indian heart. Let all of us, brothers and sisters unite in applying our entire energy that this God-given work may be carried to a successful issue.

"I expect much from the Sammelan."

(From Hindi)

D. M.

### 'Squander-mania'

Vera Brittain, the author of *Search after Sunrise* (MacMillan) visited Shantiniketan, and in the fifth chapter of that book (p. 67) described an incident of her sojourn there as follows:

"When I left the tent for the Tota House a group of small boys planted themselves in front of me, holding out albums with coloured pages.

"Your autograph, please?" they demanded in chorus.

"The boys varied in age from four to twelve, but even the youngest seemed to be equipped with expensive fountain pens. Describing the 'squander-mania' which seized India in the first exuberance of freedom, Dorothy Jane Ward refers in her book to a two-million dollar shipment of American fountain pens. Some of these had evidently reached Shantiniketan, bringing with them the American passion for autograph hunting. It was to prove a greater inconvenience than the anticipated snakes and mosquitoes; the hunters, complete with pens, descended like clouds of locusts upon camps, railway stations and public meetings."

India is even now not free, from this squander-mania. For although we are compelled to buy food grains on credit, it seems we are paying cash for portable air conditioners, available in three sizes, each costing Rs 2,400 and upwards.

V. G. D.

### I PLEAD FOR UNITED EFFORT

Kishorlalbhai (Mashruwala) has uttered a despairing and heart-broken cry in his leading article of June 28th (*Dissolve Gandhism*) which should stir us all to thought and action; but his recommendation to remove Bapu's name from our vocabulary surely does not solve the problem!

The remedy for the present situation in the Gandhian Group, as I see it, is not for each of us to have an independent programme, but for us to make a supreme effort to compromise on non-essentials, and all work together for *one programme*. I tried hard for this before starting the "Bapu Raj" movement, and am still longing for it.

The situation in India today is such that if we do not put our united strength into a clear-cut and comprehensive programme, which can give the masses a definite national objective on Bapu's lines, they are bound either to be tempted by money etc. into economic dependence on America, or—which is much more likely—to turn Communist.

So again and again I plead for *united effort*. All non-essentials, which may cause petty disagreement between us, can surely be put on one side! For instance, it is not essential for the salvation of India's masses that I should insist on the expression "Bapu Raj", or that Kishorlalbhai should insist on the black-out of Bapu's name. What is essential is that we should all get together regarding Bapu's bed-rock fundamentals without any further delay. If all cannot agree on a common programme in place of Americanism or Communism, then at least let us as many of us as can join hands.

Bapu's personality was so vast, that there can be no question of any single person replacing him. Each one of us may, however, reflect to a small extent, some aspects of Bapu's all-embracing nature. We should therefore, band together as democratic brethren, ready to sink our individual differences for the sake of the great cause.

Pilkhil, 6-7-52

MIRA

*Note:* Mirabehn has, I am afraid, misunderstood my article. I shall discuss the subject again next time.—K. G. M.

### Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

The Ensuing Examinations of the first three courses in Hindustani scripts of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, will be held on 14th September. 1952. Applications along with necessary fees should reach the Wardha office before 14th of August, 1952.

Except Bombay proper, the examinations will be held all over India. A minimum number of ten candidates is necessary to open a new centre. The application forms for opening new centres can be had from Wardha office.

For particulars, please write to:

15-7-52

AMRITLAL NANAVATI,

Secretary,

Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha

## INSTRUCTIONS TO BHOODAN COMMITTEES

[The following instructions were given by Shri Vinoba in the course of my talks with him some days ago concerning *bhoo dan*. They are published after confirmation by him.]

### 1. Custody of Gift-deeds

Gift-deeds should be prepared in duplicate, each of which should be duly signed and attested by witnesses. Regional Bhoo dan Committees should collect and keep them in their office and when a sufficient number is collected, they should send them to the Sarva Seva Sangh, Sevagram, under registered post to eliminate the chance of their being lost in transit. The Sarva Seva Sangh will return them to the respective regional committees after getting Shri Vinoba's signature on them.

### 2. Form of Gift-deeds

The forms sent from the Sarva Seva Sangh office will be used in places where the regional language is Hindi written in the Devanagari script. In other provinces, the form of the gift-deed should be printed in both Hindi (Devanagari script) and the regional language and script. The regional language form should be printed on one side and that of Hindi in the Nagari script on the other. Donors and witnesses should sign on the regional language form, and the Regional Bhoo dan Committee should fill in the names and addresses of the donor, witnesses and other details on the back in the Hindi-Nagari form, so that it might be understood by others.

### 3. Money Donations in the Bhoo dan-Yajna

Several persons have indicated their desire to donate money for purchasing land and distributing it to the landless. Vinobaji declines such donations and asks intending donors to purchase land themselves and offer it in the *Bhoo dan-Yajna*. The Committees should follow the same practice. They too will not accept money donations for *bhoo dan*. The same rule will be observed in respect of donations of bullocks, wells etc. That is to say, the Committees will ask the donors to donate in the form of land, wells, bullocks etc. Donations of wells should be accepted judiciously. For in several places it will be difficult to estimate the cost of wells. Hence, donations for wells should be taken only from persons, who are prepared to see through the construction of a well whatever it might cost.

### 4. Distribution of Gifted Land

(a) Land should be distributed only after a gift-deed is signed by Vinoba.

(b) The work of distribution can be carried on even in the rainy season. But land will belong to the new cultivator only after the crop is harvested.

(c) In the initial stage the work of distributing land should not be entrusted to local

committees. Though their help should be taken, and the preparatory work should be got done from them, the responsibility of distributing land should entirely rest with the Pradesh Committees. The work of distributing land plays an important role in the success of the *Bhoo dan-Yajna*. If it is not done properly, and deserving persons do not get land, the very object of *bhoo dan* will be defeated, and no new land-gifts will be available. But if it is carried on properly, new land-gifts might be obtained even at the time of distribution.

(d) No haste should be made in distributing land. It is not proper to start distributing land immediately land-gifts are obtained. It would be advisable to wait for some months before they are distributed to the landless.

(e) Our first object is to give land to the absolutely landless people. Those possessing some land (though not much) will be given if surplus land is left after it is distributed among the absolutely landless.

### 5. Acquiring Land-gifts

(a) Regional Bhoo dan Committees may, if necessary, form District and local Committees and appoint even individuals for the purpose of collecting land-gifts. In order to keep up the high standard of *bhoo dan* work and to co-ordinate it, it is necessary that the intending volunteers first send in their names to their respective Bhoo dan Committee and undertake the work only after they have received its consent. Regional Committees will declare names of volunteers from time to time.

Needless to say that every person is personally free to persuade his friends to make their offerings in the *Bhoo dan-Yajna*.

(b) Every donor should be explained at the time of accepting land-gifts that it will be his duty to look after the gifted land and even to sow crops in it if it is not distributed before the rainy season. He is expected to hand over the produce of the gifted land to the Bhoo dan Committee after deducting the amount of expense incurred by him on it.

Sevagram, 4-7-'52

VALLABHSWAMI,  
Joint Secretary  
Sarva Seva Sangh

(From Hindi)

## WHICH WAY LIES HOPE ?

By Richard B. Gregg

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