

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

Vol. XVIII. No. 43

AHMEDABAD—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1954

TWO ANNAS

## NON-VIOLENCE AND CULT OF THE RIFLE CLUB

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Shri J. C. Kumarappa writes as follows in the December number of his *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

"The Press Trust of India reports that Shri G. V. Mavalankar, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and the President of the National Rifle Association of India, addressing prominent businessmen of Bombay said that 'discipline and quality of leadership could be installed in the people only through military training. As a first step towards compulsory military training people could join rifle clubs or rifle associations and prepare themselves to be the 'second line of defence' in times of emergency'.

"Shri Mavalankar made a claim that he was 'an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his principle of non-violence' and went on to 'guarantee' that Gandhiji never wanted non-violence to be practised in a way people became cowards, and as 'an ardent follower of Gandhiji' proceeded to apply the Gandhian principle by adding, 'As for myself, I will always attack the man who comes to assault me. That is my philosophy and I would like every one to be prepared to strike before the foe strikes'.

"It would be amusing, if it were not so tragic, to find a great lawyer, interpreting non-violence in this fashion. Nobody would care two straws for Shri Mavalankar's opinion on non-violence, so he has to drag in Gandhiji's name. Can an ardent follower of Gandhiji strike the foe before he strikes? For that matter, even after he strikes? By enunciating his own philosophy he has proved himself anything but a Gandhian. We much deplore that such advice should come from the executive head of Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Kasturba Memorial Trust.

"Shri Mavalankar has not understood the basic difference that underlies non-violent discipline and military discipline. The first is internal self-control and is the only foundation for true independence and Sarvodaya, while the latter type is mere carrying out of orders of others and so leads to slavery and dictatorship.

"We wonder what his colleagues on the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi make of such a confused thinker on non-violence as their leader. Shri Mavalankar's speech smacks of the spirit of a military recruiting sergeant rather than that of a Gandhian leader.

"It appears to us that Shri Mavalankar is attempting to serve God and Mammon, which is, in the nature of things, an impossibility. He should reconcile himself to abandoning one of these two masters. Which shall it be?"

When I read the P.T.I. report noted by Shri J. C. K. in his above article, I had also felt that it contained something vitally wrong in its approach to and understanding and

interpretation of Gandhiji's non-violence. I say this on the assumption that the P.T.I. report is correct.

One is entitled to one's own views, but to bring in Gandhiji's name to substantiate them in a manner is a different matter. It is still more so, if one who does so holds a high and responsible position in public life. The occasion may demand public notice, as in the present instance. Shri J. C. Kumarappa's righteous indignation is an instance on the point.

It may be true to say that 'Gandhiji never wanted non-violence to be practised in a way people became cowards'. He rather said that it would not be real non-violence, with the practice of which people became cowards. On the other hand, he also never said that the rifle and military training instilled bravery or non-violent discipline. The latter are the virtues of the soul; and Gandhiji did not believe in the materialistic interpretation of inner virtue as a product of outer conditions. Nor did he ever preach compulsory military training for the youth of the nation and say that they should take to the rifle and become the second line of defence which that deadly weapon may be capable of provide. As we all know, he was for Shanti Sena — for stout brave hearts born of the discipline of love for one's fellowmen who are all creatures of the same one loving Father. Therefore, he stood for the discipline that such love engenders, viz. the service of our fellowmen, even if any one of them mistakes us to be his foe. He believed in the doctrine of praying for one's supposed enemy even that God may, in His mercy, pardon him and set us erring children of His in the right.

Therefore, to propagate the cult of the rifle club, associating with it in any way the name of Gandhiji and non-violence and its discipline, would be wholly wrong and to do so would be doing injustice to him.

17-12-54

By Mahatma Gandhi

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR

Vol. I. Pages xxii+512 Rs. 7 Postage etc. Re.1

Vol. II. Pages xxi+403 Rs. 5 Postage etc. As. 14

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

P.O. NAVAJIVAN, AHMEDABAD - 14

## MILITARY TRAINING vs. EDUCATION FOR PEACE

I

[The Secretary, F. F. T. Wardha, sends me a statement on Military Training in India, issued by that Association after its Fourth Annual Meeting at Delhi, on September 11, 12, 1954. In view of much loose thinking that goes on in our educational sphere at present, in the name of N.C.C. and its new variant the A.C.C., the statement is a welcome voice calling us to think seriously about a problem which seriously affects questions not only of true education, but of peace or war in our national psychology.

11-10-54

M. P.J.

The Fellowship of Friends of Truth (F.F.T.), which is an organization seeking to bring together people from various religious backgrounds, in "a common endeavour to realize the good life for all through the way of Truth and Love", wish to express its great concern over the growing tendency to militarism in India. We strongly feel that this development in Indian society should not go unchallenged, especially by those who have seen light through the life and witness of Mahatma Gandhi. Military training for youth is claimed to serve the immediate need of providing much-needed discipline in schools and colleges, and to provide for adults an outlet for patriotic endeavour; but we submit that very careful consideration should be given to the implications of a pattern of training which, as history shows, will not serve the supreme cause of Truth and Love. Military training is necessarily related to war, potential or actual, big or small, defensive or aggressive. Modern war, as everyone will admit, is diabolical in its consequences and is a total denial of Truth and Love, however glamorously it may be presented to its potential trainees and victims. We do not admit that the noble purposes of training, discipline and patriotism can only be fulfilled through our youth and adults being submitted to a course of training which involves such hindrances to the realization of the good life for all mankind. We therefore, urge upon the Government and people of India to discover ways and means which will enable our youth and adults to secure such training, discipline and outlets for patriotism, as will truly develop their characters in an atmosphere of Truth and Love. We suggest specific training for village service or disciplined training on the lines of the Shanti Sena or the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements as positive and constructive alternatives to stereotyped military training. Some of our members are already engaged in building up the Shanti Sena and in giving training to big groups of young men and women in various fields of Constructive National Service. They will willingly undertake, if called upon to do so, to extend the scope of their training courses and to provide for the youth and adults of the nation training on constructive, instead of destructive, lines. True defence lies in the building up of Truth and Love amongst the people, and not in the accumulation of armaments or training in the use of weapons of destruction. May the India of Gandhiji give a lead to the world in this matter and be a shining example of creative, vital pacifism!

[After the above, I got a statement on the same subject, from the Secretary of the Joint Conference of the Historic Peace Churches in India and the Fellowship of Reconciliation (India)—for Upper India—held at Raipur M.P., on 15th, 16th and 17th October, 1954. It is also reproduced below.

5-11-54

M. P.J.

Our concern as Christians and as educators is that the forms of military and cadet training now becoming increasingly widespread are likely to have very undesirable effects on the minds and thinking of the youth involved. There is a basic conflict between the ideal of human brotherhood, and the assumption underlying all militarily directed training that there are some people who are not brothers. Further military training provides for that part of life lived under orders, but taps no resources which make possible disciplined living without external orders.

The present programmes of N.C.C. and A.C.C. which give much time to constructive social work should not make us unaware of the military ends which they may ultimately be designed to serve. The urge of young people to get recognition for, and display their qualities, at high school age, may be channelled towards destructive ends by the military training which is so attractive to them. The same attraction needs to be shown in a "Love Thy Neighbour" campaign, centred in constructive nation-building activities.

In one or two schools A.C.C. has been started with the idea that the positive and constructive activities might be emphasized, and that when specifically military training was asked for the answer would be "No". But there is grave concern that A.C.C. may be the beginning of a programme aimed at fuller military training.

There is a general feeling amongst us that every individual will probably not be forced but that institutions may by various means be compelled to provide for military training. The management of a school not willing to provide for such training may find itself going against the wishes of some of the parents and teachers. If such a school had to close the onus would be on Government to provide schooling and training as it wished. Our school programmes should be part of a whole way of life, and not merely alternatives to Government plans. Our Christian faith will find fuller expression in training for and practising effective community living; in this is a distinctive Christian witness.

We feel the need for a challenge and incentive to youth in training for certain legitimate and constructive purposes, such as fighting fire, flood, and other emergencies; there seems to be a place for uniforms, drill, and obedience to functional orders which serve in the achievement of a commonly accepted end. In such activities the young people need to be fully sensitive to the significance of what they are asked to do.

The attraction of the kind of mechanical and other technical training available in various military schemes is very real in a situation where the

fear of unemployment is so great, and there is a growing need for such training. Our schools and youth training should aim at giving their boys and girls a sense of usefulness in society, and some ability to meet their own everyday needs. Parents too should be made aware of the aims of such training.

In meeting these needs we should learn from and use the techniques and disciplines envisaged by Gandhiji in Basic Education and Shanti Sena. Groups undertaking such training should be ready to act as reconcilers in situations of social tension and emergencies in the villages, or to take part in Bhodan or Sarvodaya work. We should try to take steps for further consultation and planning for such activities with Sarvodaya leaders where our common interests may be served.

27-10-'54

## HAND-POUNDING INDUSTRY:

### A CASE-STUDY

(By *Economicus*)

Rice is the most important cereal in Indian agriculture. In 1953-54, it accounted for 37 per cent of the area and 49 per cent of production of cereals in the country. According to the surveys of the Nutrition Research Laboratories, rice supplies nearly 80 per cent of the calories in a person's daily food in the major portion of the country. Any measure that augments its availability and improves its nutritional value has, therefore, a special economic and social significance. It is against this background that the case for the development of the hand-pounding industry must be viewed.

#### The Economics

1. Contrary to common economic opinion, hand-processing of rice is more efficient than machine-processing. Hand-pounding facilitates a higher recovery of rice from paddy, both raw and parboiled. The available data on the comparative rates of recovery in hand-pounding and machine-milling, set out in Table A, shows that the recovery of rice in hand-pounding is,

TABLE A  
Percentage Recovery of Rice

State	Mills	Hand-pounding
West Bengal	67	69
Himachal Pradesh	65	75
Madhya Bharat	61	75
Punjab	57.5	61.5
Madras	70	73
Bihar	67.6	73
Orissa	67	71
Madhya Pradesh	68	73
Mysore	67	69
Average	66.1	69.9

Source: Survey of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board.

on an average, 3.8 per cent higher than in machine-milling. In other words, continuance of machine-milling is a waste of scarce national resources and needs, therefore, immediate corrective measures.

2. Not only is the recovery of rice in hand-pounding higher than in machine-milling, but also the quality of the recovered rice is richer in food values. The analysis of the comparative food values of each type of rice, shown in Table B shows, beyond doubt,

TABLE B

Food Values	Raw		Parboiled	
	Milled	Hand-pounded	Milled	Hand-pounded
Proteins	% 6.9	8.5	6.4	8.5
Biological Value of Proteins	% 5.52	6.80	5.12	6.80
Fat	% 0.4	0.6	0.4	0.6

Minerals	%	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.9
Carbohydrates	%	79.2	78.0	79.1	77.4
Moisture	%	13.0	12.2	13.3	12.6
Calcium	%	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Phosphorous	%	0.11	0.17	0.15	0.28
Iron	%	1.0	2.8	2.2	2.8

Vitamin B1  
(Units per 100 gms.) 20 60 70 90

Carotene  
(Units per 100 gms.) 0 4 0 15

Calories  
(Unit per 100 gms.) 348 351 346 349

Source: Government of India Health Bulletin No. 23.

that from the nutritional point of view, hand-pounded rice is superior.

3. The bran recovered in hand-pounding is purer than in machine-milling, and is an ideal cattle food. Machine-milling leaves far too much of fibrous particles of paddy, which are not only indigestible but positively harmful to cattle, and, therefore, involves loss of valuable cattle fodder.

#### Price Factor

4. Available comparable price data shows that prices are the same for unpounded hand-pounded or machine-milled rice. In hand-pounding, polishing is an additional process and, therefore, involves additional costs; in machine-milling, polishing is a continuance of milling and, consequently, involves no additional cost. But hand-polishing leaves a larger volume of better quality rice, whereas machine-polishing leaves a smaller volume of inferior quality rice. Therefore, objectively assessed and qualitatively compared, price differentials in both types of rice are of little significance, particularly as hand-pounded rice contains body-building, disease-resisting Vitamins such as Vitamin B1 and Pro-Vitamin A.

5. Of greater and more immediate economic importance are the employment potentialities of the hand-pounding industry. Present estimates show that 60 per cent of present production is hand-processed. If all the paddy available for consumption is hand-processed, employment, particularly to women in rural areas, at a time when it is most needed, viz. during the agricultural off-season, can be provided for a large number. As the main objective of the Planning Commission's recent proposals is the provision of increasing employment opportunities, the potentialities of hand-pounding industry may be illustrated. The capacity of a person to process paddy varies from 15 to 30 seers a day of 8 hours. For purposes of this illustration, it is assumed that the capacity is 22½ seers per person per day.

	Tons
Production of rice in terms of paddy for 1953-54	40,000,000
Seed Requirements and allowance for waste	.. ..
— 12½% .. ..	5,000,000
Available for processing .. ..	35,000,000
Quantity not available at present for hand-pounding .. ..	14,000,000
Capacity of hand-pounding at 22½ seers per person per day and an average working season of 150 days .. ..	3.0
Number of people that can be employed .. ..	4,666,667
Employment by rice mills, small and big .. ..	50,000
Additional employment that can thus be provided is .. ..	4,616,667

At an average payment of Re. 1 per person per day for 150 days .. .. Rs. 692,500,000

Hand-pounding of rice can thus provide additional employment to about 4,617 lakhs of persons and ensure a wider and more socially significant distribution of income of Rs. 69 crores per year. Such a change in employment opportunities and in the pattern of income distribution can be effected by a mere change in the present methods of processing.

(To be continued)

(From *Khadi-Gramodyog*, November, 1954)

# HARIJAN

Dec. 25

1954

## 'PRIVATE' AND 'PUBLIC' SECTORS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A few days ago, in the course of his speech, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said that the future pattern of the country will be broadly on socialistic lines. This statement reminded me of a similar declaration that he had made in 1936-37. Jawaharlalji had declared then that the future map of our national economy should be socialistic. It had then evoked sharp resentment of many an industrialist or capitalist of our country and they had come out with a statement in protest. It was then followed by what was called "The Bombay Industrialist Plan" which declared the faith of the framers of the Plan that the welfare of the people and the Government lay in encouraging private enterprise.

The second World War has changed a little the course and the trend of economic thought as also the meaning of Socialism. The world has seen experiments of Socialism being carried on in several countries. But coming nearer home, we see a tremendous change between then and now: We are now an independent nation and Jawaharlalji is the Prime Minister. I do not know how our industrialists have received the recent utterance of Jawaharlalji. But it is significant that the above-mentioned Bombay Plan is again being heard in the planning world. If I remember aright, the reference to it came from the mouth of the Union Minister for Industry and Commerce, and the important part in the Second Five Year Plan that is being framed seems as if it is what is called the 'Private Sector'. This is how winds are blowing in our country. This will be considered as a victory of our industrialists. For on its basis they will use the schemes under the Plan to their benefit, and the interests of the common masses will be thrown in the background, which in fact should receive the prime importance.

How does this become possible? Is it that a particular meaning of Socialism has taken hold of our thinking? What does Socialism wish to achieve? Its cardinal principle is said to be the Government ownership of the means of production. That is why a question is often asked whether our Government will follow the same principle in our country. In reply it is stated that 'private' sector will remain, but it will be controlled. In the Second Five Year Plan that is being framed there is a place for this sector and it will be Government's duty and responsibility to find capital, resources etc. for its expansion.

The capitalist will, on this basis, reap his benefits from the Plan. It is not difficult today to get it done by our ministers and civil servants.

On the other hand, the 'Public Sector' is interpreted to mean Government sector and big projects such as the Sindri Factory, Air Lines, Arey Colony etc. are founded, and their organization does not differ essentially from that of private projects.

If it is the aim to serve the people — 'public', the attention should be concentrated on the development of industries that serve their need and find increasing employment for them. These industries are our cottage and village industries, agriculture and cattle-rearing. This is the public sector in its right sense. But we see today that the main work which ought to be done is side-tracked. I do not mean to say, this is being deliberately done. No doubt it is often said that our aim is to serve the poor people of the land. But when we begin to think for it, we are caught in terms of 'Private' and 'Public' sectors; and the object which should guide our plans is forgotten and is given a secondary importance. The object is to find full employment for our people through village industries. This cannot be achieved by following the outmoded methods like a wealthy man throwing some alms to beggars on the street. What our Government and the capitalist do in what are called the 'Public' and 'Private' sectors vitally affects the poor people and their village industries. Therefore, both of them shall have to formulate their programmes in a new way and different direction. This is not clearly visualized. Such clarity is very necessary today. Words like 'Socialism' do not help to give a clear picture before the minds of the people, for they do not understand them. It should therefore be done in the language of the people. The problem is economic rehabilitation of our villages. This cannot be done by bringing into existence industries which drain wealth from villages and place it at the disposal of the cities. This will not add national wealth. At the most it may bring some more money to villages. But that the city people will draw away from them by other means. Though our commerce may develop and new industries may seem to come into being, the state of our villagers will remain as before. If it is the aim to increase national wealth, villagers must be provided with new work.

Let Government and capitalists formulate their programmes in this direction and be prepared to adjust them if necessary in the light of the needs of our village industries and full employment.

11-12-'54

(From the original in Hindi)

**GANDHIJ'S LETTER TO MRS. BESANT**

[This is from Gandhiji's archives. It is very probable that Mrs. Annie Besant would have replied to this letter to her. The archives do not have it. If the Theosophical Society, Madras, has a copy of the reply, we will feel obliged if they send it to us.

17-12-'54

M. P.]

(Gandhiji's Letter to Mrs. Annie Besant)

13th May 1905

Dear Madam,

The Managers of the International Printing Press have sent me your letter to them regarding the reprint of your Bhagwad Gita. The responsibility for the advice, as to the reprint and inclusion of the portrait, must rest entirely on my shoulders. I knew that ordinarily it would not be considered a proper thing to reprint a book without the author's permission. A gentleman offered to have a translation of the Bhagwad Gita printed for distribution among Hindu boys and others if the Managers printed it at cost price. He was also in a hurry. Reprint of your translation was suggested. The matter was referred to me and after much careful thought, as there was no time left for reference to you, I advised that your translation might be reprinted for circulation in South Africa. I felt that the motive of the management was pure, in that when the circumstances, under which the edition was published, were brought to your notice you would overlook any apparent impropriety. Simultaneously with the publication, a letter, explaining the whole of the circumstances, was sent to you over the signature of the Manager and Proprietor. It seems to have miscarried. We were all wondering why there was no letter from you, either of disapproval or approval. Your letter of 27th March however explains the absence of any previous communication from you. As to the portrait, I can only say that if a mistake has been committed, it has arisen from excessive reverence for yourself. When I suggested the inclusion of the portrait I had in my mind the interpretation that was likely to be placed upon the act by some people, but I again felt that you would not resent the indiscretion, if such it was, when you came to know that a large number of the copies went to the Indian youths. Rightly or wrongly, as you are aware, publication of printing of such portraits, in sacred works, is not uncommon in India. Only 1,000 copies were printed. Of these there are perhaps not more than 200 left, and these are being distributed or sold now probably at the rate of 5 pence per month, and then only among real inquirers.

I have now placed the whole position before you, and it remains for me to express my deep regret for the offence done to your feelings, and to apologize for it. If you consider that any public statement is necessary, or complete withdrawal of the book, from further circulation, or simple

taking out of the portrait is necessary, your wishes shall be carried out.

I remain,  
Mrs. Annie Besant, Dear Madam,  
Central Hindu College, Your obedient servant,  
Benaras City. M. K. Gandhi

**ENDS AND MEANS**

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

An European correspondent from Berlin asked an U.S.A. editor the following poser (*Manas*, 2-6-'54):

"What would you in U.S.A. say if in a nearby country, say Guatemala, an army was maintained with Russian money with the open and admitted aim to create as much trouble as possible in order, finally, to overthrow your government? But American Government officials have admitted that the Formosa Government and army are maintained for no other purpose than to create subversive movements on the Chinese mainland."

The question may well apply, in a general way, to the whole of U.S.A. foreign policy today, which, in its fanatic anti-communism, by a queer law of polarization, almost approximates communist methods of the ends justifying means.

The Berlin correspondent also clearly described what were moral methods. To put them in his own words:

"Gandhi in his evening prayers used to emphasize the following five points, which could perhaps be considered as the essence of his life:

1. I will keep to Truth.
2. I will not use violent means.
3. I will not surrender to injustice.
4. I will be free of fear.
5. I will see the divine spark in every human being and appeal to it."

And he pertinently asks whether the U.S.A. was right in using enormous sum of money "to finance subversive activities in the Satellite States and the Soviet World." And he cites underground organizations with unlimited resources who, with immoral means, conduct subversive activities. And he says:

"These men and women are the exact opposite of what Gandhi thought man ought to be. Let us consider them in connection with his five principles:

1. They never tell the truth; deception is their nourishment.
  2. They prefer violent means.
  3. They do not fight against injustice, but spread it.
  4. They create fear and mostly are full of fear themselves.
  5. The idea that they should think of 'that of God' in every other man is simply absurd.
- All this is immoral; it cannot lead to a moral society."

It is such unscrupled looseness about the means we employ to achieve desired ends, that is the fruitful cause of suspicion and misunderstanding, fear and hatred, tension and conflict in the world today. Can humanity commandeer enough moral resources to remedy it? The hope of peace and happiness lies in that only.

18-10-'54

## VINOBA IN PURNEA—IV

(By "Dadu")

### Individuality vs. Institution

"How is it that you are not lending the same support to the Congress as Gandhiji used to do?" This question was put to Vinoba by a Constructive-congress worker. Vinoba appeared to be in a pensive mood. Our friend repeated the question: "While remaining outside the Congress you can, like Gandhiji, help it much."

"These times are different," said Vinoba thoughtfully.

"Congress is a ruling body today."

"I don't think you would have accepted Congress Presidentship even during those days."

"Of course, not! My thinking and experience lead me to a different conclusion." Then after a pause Vinoba added, "I had also often talked with Bapu on this point. And he had very nearly accepted my position. My innate feeling is that such organizations or institutions are a definite obstacle in the smooth growth of the individual. Once you get involved in them you have to yield to all weaknesses and even compromise with the principles, which seriously hampers one's development."

This pacified our friend. But I put in: "What if those institutions were *kanchanmukta* (gold-free) and be running on bodily-labour alone?"

"Then that's an entirely different thing," remarked Vinoba. "*Kanchanmukta* institutions would basically differ from the existing ones, free from much of their evils." After a little while he continued (he seemed to think aloud), "But an institution is an institution after all. For a free flight of the soul I would rather keep away from all of them."

"Would you then advise us also to do likewise?" posed in our friend.

"It depends upon the person in question. I do not, however, deny the significance of institutions. Good institutions have a place of their own. But Bapu had a wonderful capacity to break institutions. No temptations could hold him. We must all develop such power."

This explains why Vinoba has formed no party of his own for Bhoodan Yajna work. Nor does his name appear on the members' roll of any organization. He is not even a member of the Sarvodaya Samaj, established at his specific suggestion after Gandhiji's departure.

But this is perhaps the reason why Vinoba is able to obtain the goodwill of one and all. He calls all workers as his and insists on conveying the right thought to the people.

We were at the small village of Nichtpur on Sunday, November 7, 1954. The business community of Nichtpur and the near-by localities presented him a welcome address in which they assured him to offer their full co-operation as and when required. Vinoba expressed his gratefulness for the said assurance.

### Need for Large-heartedness

Nawabganj-Pukharia was the next halt. Addressing the people gathered to receive him he said that mutual discord had been the curse of our life. The British who came to trade became our rulers simply because they succeeded in creating dissensions and rupture amongst us. "But," said he, "ours is a big country. So we must have a large heart too. Big country and small heart cannot go together. We must build up *ek-ras* (uniform) society in our country. Abolition of landownership is the first step in this direction."

In his post-prayer discourse he called upon the people to be brave. "Just have courage, work unitedly and make yourselves strong. Today everybody in the village looks after his or her own interests. But if you turn the village into a single family, it would become an impregnable fort and you would all be happy. I do not say that your destiny lies in my hands. It is in your hands, in your hands alone. I have come here to tell you how you can come into your own." Concluding, he observed, "The Quran teaches us that one must rely on God even though He is not visible. They only really believe who believe in the *Gheb* (the

hidden one). Likewise, you are five in your home. The sixth one is *gheb*. He is not visible to the eye, but he is there all right. He is there as a representative of God. Realize his presence and follow your *iman*. Accordingly give him his share. And you have to give not only land but also seeds, ploughs, bullocks etc. to settle him on the soil."

As we were going to the village Kalyangan on Tuesday, the local people welcomed Vinoba with an original song:

"सीता सीता राम बोले ।

राधे राधे द्याम बोले ॥

सबको भूमिदान देदो ।

सबको संपत्तिदान देदो ॥

सीता सीता राम बोले" ॥

Vinoba liked it very much. In his post-prayer address he called upon the people to sing this song regularly. He added that Bhoodan and Sampattidan must be a regular feature of our life. "In fact, you must transfer the ownership to the society and regard yourself as a trustee on behalf of the society. Otherwise, if you hoard and refuse to share things with others, you give rise to robbing and evil deeds. A miser is the father of a thief. If we behave as trustees, everybody will work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need."

Vinoba continued, "Religion does not consist in bathing in the Ganga or fasting during the Ramzan. Where there is no love, there is no God. Love must find a manifestation in your life."

### India's Way of Life and Culture

Next day it was full-moonday as also Guru Nanak's birthday. Walking down some twelve miles we reached Barsi, a railway junction, at about nine. In his post-prayer address, dwelling on the main characteristic of the Indian life, Vinoba observed, "Everywhere, man has been dancing to two tunes—that of his ego (*man*) and that of the material world (*sansar*). So also in India. But there is a third thing which commands the faith of the people of India. It is peculiar to them. That is the *atma* or soul. Different from both ego and matter, it pervades and is at the basis of entire Indian life. A structure raised by those who build only an ego and matter and do not recognize the force of *atma* cannot survive. From one corner of India to another, one can realize this unity of the soul. It continues on from time immemorial. That is why India could face so many shocks and onslaughts and is still living. The background of soul and our reliance on it is responsible for it. You will not find such a ceaseless flow of faith in soul anywhere else. This is why every Indian believes that the same *amatatwa* (vitality) resides in every being. Again, this is why India does not so much appreciate nationalism as internationalism, rather humanism."

### Titles and Medals

"But," he continued, "these days we are losing sight of this *soul-force* and giving undue importance to money or show. We measure everything in terms of money or medals. Had Tulsidas been offered a prize of, say, five thousand rupees or a 'Bharat-Ratna' medal, would he have rejoiced at it? I do not understand what has led our Government to introduce the system of titles or medals. They adore you with Padma Vibhushana medal on your chest on account of your services! Why? They say, it will entuse others. It only shows that our society is yet at the stage of a child. I know that prizes don't help even children at all. But giving them to adults is fantastic! And specially so in our country which is built on the foundation of non-egoism. Here the greatest servant of the people has always regarded himself as a mere nothing. Ability or wisdom is measured here in terms of selflessness. If a learned man parades his knowledge or is conscious of it, he finds no place in society. Even today in India, only he who works without any egoism commands reverence. This is true for both Hindus and Muslims. When I worked

among the Meos. I asked them whether they knew Akbar the Great. No, they did not. They only know Allah-O-Akbar! So also the Hindus don't know Ashoka the Great, though they know Ashoka the tree! Both of them know Kabir who had no vanity at all, and who regarded himself inferior even to an ant. This is the glorious heritage of ours. Those who do not realize this cannot serve India or raise her status. Sacrifice (*tyaga*) appeals to the Indian mind as nothing else does. Whenever anybody who calls for sacrifice, for restraint (*sanyam*), for loving the neighbour as oneself, or for *dan*, strikes a responsive chord in the heart."

He closed with the words, "More than 60 villages (the figure has now reached 100) have been offered in *toto* in Bhoodan. I believe that this is a conquest far greater than the one achieved through mass slaughter by any victor, like Alexander, with a huge army. They have all donated with love and intelligence. My reliance is on the spiritual element, the knowledge and perception of the soul. A house built with soul-rocks is bound to survive."

#### Lathi vs. Fearlessness

As we reached Samari on Thursday morning, school students welcomed Vinoba with a display of their *lathis*. This humoured him and he said, "I am very glad to see you all here. You are the future builders of the country. You have taken up *lathis* to look after the management. I am sure you would do far better if you had *Mangal Prabhat* or *Gita Pravachan* in your hands instead of the *lathi*. There are no better means of management or administration than righteous thought (*sadviचार*) and polite tongue (*priya vani*). Right thought prevails. I, therefore, want you to realize your inner strength and develop the power of *antar-atma* (soul). Of course, you must have a good physique. You may also know the use of *lathis*. But these *lathis* cannot be our mainstay. Our real strength lies within. Fearless are only those who are true at heart, sweet in tongue, soul-reliant (*atma-nishtha*), who envy or hate none, regard none as inferior or superior to themselves, and see themselves (*atma-roopa*) in all. Only he is brave who can recognize the soul as distinct from the body. Not those who depend on outside weapons. We have to build the strength of the soul. If we have *atma-jnana* (knowledge of the soul) we can all get strong. We would then fear no arms or bombs. We would go to a sten gun as innocently as to an exhibition. All this strength is to be generated. We would fear none. We would frighten none."

#### India's Social Science

After the evening prayer Vinoba was presented with some garlands by the children of the locality. Then he began his address: "Presenting flower garlands is a special trait of our country. Every flower, separate in itself, is connected by a thread or *sootra*. This symbolizes the structure of our society. On the other hand, there is *guldasta* (a bouquet) in which flowers are tied together and the flowers have no freedom of their own. This also represents a social formation. Some sociologists maintain that individual freedom is meaningless and the individual, who comes here for a short stay, must submit his interests to that of the State formed on behalf of the society. But according to the *samaj shastra* (social science) of our country, an individual must have faith in the society and should be *samajparayan* (sincere to the society) of his or her own accord: the individual must get every chance of development and thus social discipline would accrue naturally. True this thought has not been acted upon in a thorough manner. We should now give it a shape according to the call of this age. That is Sarvodaya Samaj. How to achieve it?

#### Two Ways

"There are two ways: one of military and mechanization, the other of love and self-reliance. If we choose the former we will have to maintain a huge army irrespective of the interests of our masses, equip it heavily either by weapons made in the country or by those, as Pakistan has done, imported from abroad. We have then to be

camp-followers of America or Russia. If we choose the latter course, we will build up a *sahayogi, swavalambi, a-virodhi* (co-operative, self-sufficient and enemy-less) society whose unity would be its armed strength."

Vinoba continued, "Today, Governments are feverishly raising their armies. Should this craze for bigger armies and more fearful instruments continue the very existence of man or society is in jeopardy. There is an interesting story in Ramayan. While in Lanka, Hanuman met a she-demon who threatened to devour him up. Hanuman grew twice as large. Then she magnified herself four-times. They went on until she grew sixteen times as much. Then Hanuman thought of a device. Tulsidas says that he contracted into *ati laghu roopa* (a very minute form) and conquered his adversary. So also we have to ponder over whether we should also join the race with U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. of growing 16 or 32 times as much. This is also the age of science. We should follow Hanuman and adopt the minute form, i.e., we should have the spade in one hand and *charikha* in the other. We would then be self-sufficient in food and clothing as also housing. But we must not have houses like those in front." (In front stood the school building where we encamped for the day; the rooms had bamboo and mud walls but were covered by corrugated iron sheets).

#### "Mixed Economy"

Vinoba concluded, "There is little sense in having those sheets for roofing. I am sure that if they had *chhappar* or *khappel* roofing, the boys would not have acquired less wisdom or knowledge under them. But this is regarded as high intelligence. They call it 'mixed economy'—the economy of mud and corrugated iron sheets. These days mixing or adulteration is very much in fashion in our country. You cannot get anything pure. We have, therefore, to decide whether we should take to the course of hoarding and growing 16, 32, 64 or 128 times or that of the 'minute form'. In the case of the former we would have to ape U.S.A. or U.S.S.R., accept their slavery and barter our freedom. Hence I insist on building up a *swavalambi, sahayogi and a-virodhi society*."

#### Need of Independent Public Work

Sonali was the next halt. Addressing the post-prayer meeting there, Vinoba observed, "From the point of view of public work, the people of India are in a very elementary stage. There was a time when many workers came forward for public work. But now with the achievement of freedom, they believe that all public work is now to be done under Government auspices and that there is neither any need nor scope for independent public work done by dint of Jana Shakti (the self-reliant power of the people). In case workers cease to work on independent lines and do not contribute to the generation of Jana Shakti, they would be sapping the very foundations of State power. In a democracy, the State cannot go ahead of the advancements made by the people independently. Take, for example, the problem of education. Intelligent and learned people must produce independent specimens showing how educational institutions are to be run hereafter. Only then can the Government avail of them and take any new step. Otherwise, when everybody, from the President and the Prime Minister downwards, condemns the current system of education, how is it to be changed and by whom? Those who follow the old model or pattern dare not try anything new. They avoid new thinking. Whence of all the institutions in our country, the universities are among the most orthodox and conservative. The learned fraternity is prepared for changing a comma here or a para there, but not for any basic alteration. If old education is to go, experiments of new one must be carried out."

#### Bhoodan and Politics

He continued "Some people imagine that Bhoodan bids farewell to all politics. They ask me that if eminent personalities like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan give up politics, what of the future? One of them went so far as to say that Shri Jayaprakash has taken to *sannyas* or asceticism.

They do not realize that there is no aspect of public life that is not included in the 'non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan Yajna and with village industries as its mainstay'. Does it not include politics? In fact, this revolution seeks to root out the current politics altogether. These days bye-elections are in fashion. They are a mere replica of the Western pattern. Otherwise, I do not find any political wisdom in them. The Congress takes so much interest in them as if its citadel will fall down without participating in them. The P.S.P. behaves as thoughtlessly. They do not feel that five years' continuous work among the people is far more important and fruit-bearing than these little fights. In truth, both are power-mad. While one of them is power-holder, the other is power-aspirant. Elections seem to be at the centre of all their activities.

"There are three tenses in grammar; past, present and future. Likewise there are three periods in the grammar of these parties: pre-election, election and post-election. There is no fourth and they are supremely unaware of the great Ghost of Time. They fail to grasp that strength lies not in politics but in *samaj shastra* or social evolution. When Lokamanya Tilak was asked what portfolio he would take up after Swaraj, he replied, 'I would like to be a professor of Mathematics or shall study the Vedas.' So long as a country is not free, all strength must be concentrated in politics or in securing political power. But once the latter is attained every effort must be directed towards the achievement of social and economic revolution. Hence if you feel that strength lies merely in capturing political power, I must then say that you have missed the secret of Swarajya. You should, therefore, understand that those who offer life for the new Bhoodan-Yajna-based non-violent revolution in India do not at all give up politics. They aim at breaking it up. What does the sun do? It does not fritter itself by shining among the various stars in the sky. It comes only to eliminate them out. Similarly, the Bhoodan movement seeks to wipe off the present party-differences and establish, what I call, Lokaniti or popular polity."

#### Real Socialism

Vinoba concluded, "Pandit Nehru has recently observed that the picture of the future India before him is of the socialist variety. But our Socialism would have to be different from that of the world, which is essentially constitutional. The Socialists of Britain differ little from the Conservatives and both equally aspire for capturing the administrative machinery of the State. They do not work on the basis of independent Jana Shakti. This is possible only when the present values are replaced by new ones. Hence Bhoodan is not a movement of charity or little love and kindness. It is one of 'Love-power'. It, therefore, includes political affairs in their true sense and works at setting up Lokaniti after knocking out what is regarded as 'politics' today."

Chanapur was the last halt of the week. On our way we stopped for a few minutes at Durgaganj. There was a huge gathering, specially of women. The sun was just rising on the eastern horizon. The sight gladdened Vinoba's heart and he began to recite Veda-mantras. In his brief speech he expressed the hope that those who had donated land would take to the service of the poor.

#### Man vs. Nature

Perhaps the morning scene enthralled Vinoba all the day. He began his post-prayer discourse thus, "Man cannot define God precisely. He has tried to describe Him by different names. One of them is '*Anand-svarupa*' (Joy-incarnate). This is regarded as a distinguishing trait of God. We also realize Him in the great Nature, which is as much joyous. Yet there is so much misery in our life. They even go so far to say that life is a misery. Then why this antagonism between God or His creation and man?" Vinoba went on to explain that it was due to the simple fact that man goes against the laws of nature. He grows tobacco instead of corn; he extracts

wine out of sweet grapes; he keeps awake till midnight; he has reduced marriage to a screen on his 'durachar' (ill conduct); he has created so many differences of high and low, rich and poor; while thieves rob at night, he robs his brethren in open daylight; he thrives on others' misfortune or misery. Hence all this disaster. Vinoba concluded, "Bhoodan Yajna is in keeping with our genius, our nature. It follows God's law. In the Quran there is a chapter on 'iron'. The Prophet says that God produced iron in order to test man whether he turns it into sword to kill others or into ploughshares to cultivate land and produce wealth. But man has so misused this iron that he has endangered even his own existence. Therefore, the reason of the existing misery lies neither with God, nor with His creation, but with us. Bhoodan Yajna seeks to build the society anew, establish brotherhood and extend fellowship and co-operation."

We are for one more week in Purnea district.

11-12-54

### BHOODAN FIGURES (Up to 10-12-54)

S.N.	State	Total Collection (Acres)	Total Distribution (Acres)
1.	Assam	1,692	—
2.	Andhra	20,361	—
3.	Uttar Pradesh	5,16,819	65,997
4.	Orissa	1,15,207	708
5.	Karnatak	2,180	239
6.	Kerala	28,032	—
7.	Tamilnad	28,259	316
8.	Gujarat	36,170	942
9.	Delhi	9,245	58
10.	Punjab	10,143	—
11.	Bengal	6,889	254
12.	Bihar	21,27,268	1,616
13.	Madhya Pradesh	80,481	7,638
14.	Maharashtra	15,480	—
15.	Madhya Bharat	62,412	—
16.	Mysore	4,390	—
17.	Rajasthan	3,25,374	5,842
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	5,656	331
19.	Saurashtra	41,000	—
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,900	—
21.	Hyderabad	1,03,706	21,027
22.	Bombay	123	—
Total		35,42,787	1,04,968

#### Entire Villages received in Bhoodan (Acres)

1.	Uttar Pradesh	1
2.	Orissa	74
3.	Bihar	17
4.	Hyderabad	2
		94

P. O. Buniyadganj,  
Gaya (Bihar)

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA  
Office Secretary,  
A. I. Sarva Seva Sangh

CONTENTS	PAGE
NON-VIOLENCE AND CULT	
OF THE RIFLE CLUB .. Maganbhai P. Desai	341
MILITARY TRAINING vs. EDUCATION	
FOR PEACE ..	342
HAND-POUNDING INDUSTRY:	
'A CASE-STUDY .. Economicus	343
'PRIVATE' AND 'PUBLIC' SECTIONS .. Maganbhai P. Desai	344
GANDHI'S LETTER TO MRS. BESANT ..	345
ENDS AND MEANS .. Maganbhai P. Desai	345
VINOBA IN PURNEA—IV .. "Dadu"	346
BHOODAN FIGURES .. Krishnaraj Mehta	348