

# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

## EINSTEIN

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Dr. Albert Einstein, modern world's greatest Mathematician and Physicist passed away on April 18, 1955, in a nursing home of his adopted town Princeton (New Jersey, U.S.A.). The great savant had entered the hospital only a few days ago on account of an illness, not so serious according to doctors. Therefore the death was quite unexpected; it was not known to his friends even. As we learn, only a nurse was present at that time. His daughter was in another part of the same hospital at that time, receiving treatment for sciatica. The world was taken by surprise at the sudden news of his demise.

He was born in Germany on March 14, 1879. From his childhood he showed innate abilities for mathematics with which he amazed the world in his later life. He devoted his whole life to his pet studies, rejecting such a great honour like the Presidency of Israel after the death of her first President, Weizmann. As we know, he was a Jew, which brought him trouble in his home country during Hitler's regime. He had to flee from it in 1933 leaving his home and property to the Nazis. By then he was already the world famous inventor of his great Theory of Relativity (1905), had won (1921) the Nobel Prize for Science and many more other honours and distinctions from the world of science. But all this could not save him from the Nazi persecution, which not only exiled him but also put a price of 20,000 marks on his head.

Einstein was not a mere scientist; he was a great humanist and an avowed lover of peace and freedom for man. He loved individual freedom, which betokens the dignity of man and is the only assurance of any progress worth a human being. He was so awake to this need of freedom that he had once said, "As long as I have any choice, I will stay only in a country where political liberty, toleration and equality of all citizens before the law is the rule." In recent times when we find in U.S.A. a kind of anti-Communist witch-hunting fanaticism, we saw that the great refugee from Germany raised his voice against it and stood with those that were being persecuted for their honest belief. He revered life and though he was an agnostic he was humble and devout and believed in a supreme

existence, to which belief he was led by his scientific studies. These were as fundamental as the search for the basis of the physical universe. His instrument for this vast research was pure mathematics; and he gave the world a formula on the nature of mass and energy as they appear to behave in the three dimensions of space and time together. In one vast sweep of imagination he took the whole visible universe—mass, energy, inertia, motion, space and time etc.—as one total object of study and gave us a unified theory of the material world—its geometry and physics. It was a work comparable to that of the Indian Sankhyas and Vaisheshikas, who, scanning the physical reality, put it into its basic categories and ended with suggesting a supra-reality unscannable any more. Einstein said about such inner experience of his in the following words:

"The most beautiful and the most profound emotion we can experience is the sensation of the mystical. It is the power of all true science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger, who can no longer wonder and stand rapt in awe, is as good as dead. To know that what is impenetrable to us really exists, manifests itself as the highest wisdom and the most radiant beauty which our dull faculties can comprehend only in their most primitive forms—this knowledge, this feeling is at the centre of true religiousness."

Hence he had declared once that,

"The cosmic religious experience is the strongest and noblest mainspring of scientific research." "My religion consists of a humble admiration of the illimitable Superior Spirit who reveals Himself in the slight details we are able to perceive with our frail and feeble minds. The deeply emotional conviction of the presence of a superior reasoning Power which is revealed in the incomprehensible universe forms my idea of God."

Therefore he said,

"I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals Himself in a harmony among all people, not in a God that worries about the action and destiny of man."

It was this immediate experience of the Reality and the deepest Truth of our being that led the great scientist to love man and peace on earth.

As the world knows, it was his mathematical formula of the mass-energy-relationship that provoked a brilliant guess,—nay more, an assurance, that the atom could be split. But he went no further in that direction, and when the warring world began to exploit this stroke of brilliant mathematical imagination for the wicked purposes of killing mankind, he all along stood against it and did not prostitute God's gift of his

great scientific mind to help it in any way. It was this noble trait of the great scientist-humanitarian that made him love Gandhiji and India intensely. We know the stirring words of tribute he spoke on Gandhiji's passing away from here. He deeply appreciated Jawaharlalji's work for peace and wished him all well. He was a real *Jnani*, who avoided all glamour and lived a simple life engrossed in intense meditation on the nature of the universe and its deep secrets. Thereby he revealed to the world that it was possible to release the immense energy that lies locked by Nature in the wonderful atom. As a writer in the *Hindu* (April 20, 1955) says,

"It is ironic that Einstein, who was as intensely pacifist as Mahatma Gandhi, should have been responsible for setting the wheel in motion for constructing the deadly atom bomb. In a letter to President Roosevelt in August 1939, he warned that atomic research had reached a stage where an atom bomb could be made and Germany was so much ahead of others in this field that the Nazis might be able to build the bomb soon. That letter goaded Roosevelt into action and resulted in the atom bomb which was dropped on Japan. To his last day, Einstein regretted having initiated that move and also having given man the secret of the atom. He was shocked to see how atomic energy had become a menace to mankind instead of a boon."

But he could do nothing more. The hare that he first saw lurking in the atom was started, and its mad race is now on. The world in general, and U.S.A. in particular can only pay its tribute to this departed pacifist-scientist by refusing to use the atomic secret in a manner in which its inventor did not desire. He believed that it was U.S.A. that should do it even unilaterally—as Shri Rajaji is in vain dinning into the ears of the American world. May he rest in peace.

25-4-55

## PRINCIPLES OF NEW ECONOMIC

### POLICY — II

(Contributed)

#### Village Industries

##### (a) Handloom and Khadi

6. Viewed against the background discussed above, the handloom sector of the cotton textile industry appears to deserve the treatment and assistance due to an expanding sector of an industry. While the Textile Enquiry Committee estimate that 1.5 millions are employed in the handloom industry on the basis of 1.25 persons per active loom and a total number of 1.2 million active looms, the latest census of the Handloom Board, which estimates the number of active looms at 1.9 million, warrant the estimate of the number employed in the sector at 2.375 millions on the same basis. A comparative study of the employment ratio worked out by the Textile Enquiry Committee with that of authorities such as J. B. Clark or Sir Alfred Chatterton, or the Fact Finding Committee, shows that it is an underestimate. Whatever the basis of calculation, it is admitted today that the handloom sector provides employment for a large number; and given the appropriate conditions of work, assured raw materials and market, it can be progressively en-

abled not only to undertake the responsibility for the production of the major portion of coarse and medium varieties of cloth but also to provide in the process employment for a considerably larger number than at present. For this purpose, however, it is necessary to *prohibit the expansion of the capacity of existing cotton textile mills.*

7. To direct the development of handloom industry in accordance with its productive capacity and employment-potentiality, decentralization of yarn production is also necessary. Such a decentralization will reduce administrative and organizational difficulties involved in arranging for the even distribution of mill yarn. Towards this end, the hand-spinning industry in the country could be appropriately assisted to increase its output through improved spinning wheels such as the Amber Charkha, which is capable of producing higher counts of better yarn of requisite tensile strength and uniformity.

8. To ensure adequate yarn supply to the handlooms, the Textile Enquiry Committee recommended an increase in the spindleage and non-expansion of the loomage in the mills. In addition to non-expansion of loomage in the mills and consistent with the main objective of providing larger employment during the second Five Year Plan and also with the needs of the industry, policy must:

(a) ban the establishment of any additional spinning mills,

(b) reserve the major portion of mill yarn for the handlooms and, through appropriate agencies, ensure its equitable distribution,

(c) exclusively reserve additional yarn requirements of the handlooms to the hand-spinning industry, and

(d) increase the output of hand-spun yarn through improved Charkhas such as the Amber Charkha.

9. Reservation of additional yarn requirements exclusively to the Charkhas is of the highest national significance. Calculations based on the average daily rated capacity of the Amber Charkha shows that production of 360 million lbs. of yarn through these Charkhas can provide directly full employment to about 11.5 lakh spinners, carders, and ginners, and, indirectly, to a considerable number of carpenters and other skilled rural workers for a total direct capital outlay of Rs 9.6 crores on the manufacture and supply of Charkhas. This compares very favourably with the estimated capital outlay of Rs 32 crores on the installation of 1.75 million spindles. Moreover, such a reservation policy may gradually improve conditions in the Khadi industry as well. Given the right price policy as suggested above, the phased technological development of each section of the industry can be initiated, and the present undesirable conflict between hand-made and machine-made goods can be satisfactorily resolved.

##### (b) Village Oil Industry

10. The development of the village oil industry depends upon a clear recognition of the

need to reserve the production of edible oils mainly to the village ghanis from the nutritional as well as the employment points of view. To enable the village ghanis to undertake progressively the crushing of all edible oil seeds the Board suggested :

- (1) prohibition of expansion of the existing oil mills,
- (2) ban on the establishment of new mills,
- (3) freezing of the operations of mills at existing levels, and
- (4) redistribution of oil seeds between mills and ghanis as shown below :

No.	Seeds	Mills		Ghanis		Additional seeds available to ghanis due to expected increase in production	Total crushing by ghanis
		Pre-sent	Allo-cation	Pre-sent	Allo-cation		
1.	Groundnut	12.00	10.00	5.68	7.68	2.00	9.68
2.	Mustard & Rape	5.00	4.00	1.67	2.97	0.53	3.50
3.	Sesamum	0.22	Nil	2.46	2.68	0.22	2.90
4.	Niger, Kardi	Nil	Nil	1.00	1.00	—	1.00
5.	Linseed	2.60	2.60	0.25	0.25	—	0.25
6.	Castor	0.90	0.90	0.10	0.10	—	0.10
7.	Mahua	0.90	0.90	0.10	0.10	—	0.10
8.	Cotton Seed	0.50	5.00	—	—	—	—
		22.12	23.40	11.26	14.78	2.75	17.53

11. To facilitate the development of the village oil industry, the Board recommended the levy of a cess at Re 1/4 per maund of mill oil and the utilization of its proceeds to stock oil seeds, subsidize ghani oil and finance research to improve the efficiency of the ghani oil process. The Board further suggested :

(1) the grant of subsidy of Rs 2-8 per maund of oil to be paid only to co-operative societies or recognized institutions or as an alternative, payment of interest on capital blocked in stocking oil seeds for ghanis by co-operative societies and recognized institutions, and

(2) the reservation by the State Governments of all edible oil seeds for the ghanis.

12. To offset the loss of edible oil seeds to the mills, the Board suggested the crushing of cotton seeds wholly by the mills in progressive stages, removal of all impediments to their inter-State movement and abolition of all levies on such movements, compulsory use of a certain percentage of cotton seed oil by all producers in the manufacture of Vanaspati and substitution of groundnut oil by cotton seed oil in soap manufacture.

#### (c) Handpounding of Rice

13. There is little dispute now among nutritional experts that milling of rice in any form destroys the nutritive value of a cereal which accounts for 80 per cent of the diet of a large number of people. To foster the development of this industry the Board recommended :

- (i) a ban on the establishment of additional huller type of rice mills,
- (ii) prevention of the expansion of the capacity of existing rice mills, and
- (iii) closure of existing huller mills.

In view of the relatively smaller recovery of rice in machine-milling and the lower nutritive value of rice so recovered, and also of the employment-potentiality of this industry, estimated at 43 lakhs of persons, it is urgently necessary in the national interest to prohibit machine-milling altogether.

#### (d) Gur and Khandsari

14. The gur and khandsari industry today is of the highest national significance. Apart from its present and potential capacity to provide employment to large numbers, the overall deficit in sugar supplies has made it a strategic industry. India imported last year 7 lakh tons of sugar at a total cost of Rs 52 crores and plans to import 8 lakh tons next year, while owing to accumulating stocks prices of gur are falling. The development of this industry by appropriate policy and through the provision of centrifugals to process the *rab* into sugar will not only provide employment on a large scale and augment domestic supplies of an essential commodity but also effect considerable savings of scarce foreign exchange, required for more essential purposes. To ensure such a socially significant development, Government should prohibit :

(i) expansion of capacity of the present sugar mills,

(ii) establishment of new mills,

(iii) imports of sugar and

(iv) obtain all additional sugar from khandsari sugar.

#### (e) Woollen Blankets

15. The development of the woollen Khadi blankets industry has been handicapped partly by the lack of facilities for the proper grading and processing of wool, and partly by the competition from domestic large-scale industries and imports. Assured purchases of the blankets by Government for defence services in preference to either indigenous or foreign blankets will facilitate the development of this industry. The specific aids required are :

(1) assured Government purchases,

(2) provision of research, technical and other training,

(3) ban on the imports of woollen blankets of qualities already manufactured in the country.

16. Viewed from the proper long-term perspective, it is possible to formulate policies that are directly conducive to an increase in productive capacity, employment and equitable distribution. Studied industry-wise or product-wise, each of the village industries caters to the basic needs of the people, protects their health and provides maximum occupation during the agricultural off-season. To ensure their development commensurate with the need for a progressive increase in employment opportunities, production of essential consumer goods and their equitable distribution, it is necessary to consider their needs from the long-term point of view, and frame accordingly the country's policy for economic development.



# HARIJAN

April 30

1955

## DEMOCRACY AND THE PARTY SYSTEM

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We can plainly see that legislatures and politics together now form an inevitable feature of our social life. In truth that was what we sought when we asked for Swaraj. The question facing us now is this: granting that we should have a democratic system of government, is the democratic practice of a party system also inevitably necessary? Shri Vinoba raised the question some time back.

The reason why such a question arises is not far to seek. When the idea is for pure service of the people the question of party wranglings hardly crops up. But in administering public affairs service and power go together and cannot be separated. It is felt that such service requires a certain modicum of power or some position of authority. All that the argument means is that service and power or authority are very often knit together with one another.

Again, the party whip follows the party system almost as a matter of course. It is asked in this regard: does not the institution of a party whip undermine the individual's freedom? Basing their argument on this question some people have gone to the length of advocating independent candidature and a non-party democracy.

Even those who have their faith in pure service of the people only, wish, and advocate the need of, persons going to the seats of power like legislatures etc., accepting an overall command and control of some authority like a national service league to be set up for the purpose. For instance, Shri Vinoba has propounded at the Puri Sammelan:

"There is always a need for service in human society.....But in a non-violent social order the biggest organization will, in the nature of things, be devoted only to service, to serving the people. The idea of a Lok Sevak Sangh visualized that barring certain very few fields of social life the rest of society, almost all the functioning of society would have absolutely no need for the coercive power of the State; service would have occupied the throne of sovereign authority as queen and power would have been her maid; the organization devoted to the service of the people would have had the authority of control over the instrument of power; indeed, elections would have been run only after the organization had sanctioned and blessed them." (Harijan, 16-4-55, page 55).

This is to say that even a Lok Sevak Sangh functioning in society would develop into some kind of authority or power! In short, service allied with power and differences of opinion on matters of public policy and action, and party—all these are allied to each other as *vidya* is inseparably allied to *avidya* or word to its meaning

and content. When thinking about corporate life there is no escape from this problem.

So we have to conclude that every nation has to face and solve this problem for itself. A nation may choose to solve it either by setting up a dictator, or by adopting a system of rule of a moral dictatorship which I would name *sant-cracy* or *rishi-cracy*, or by setting up a dynasty of saints, or by having an absolute monarchy, or by accepting the democratic system of free institutions like legislatures etc.; but that the problem has to be faced and solved admits of no doubt. All these various types of machinery of government have their drawbacks even as, in the language of the author of the *Bhagavad Gita*, fire is inevitably wrapped in smoke. But it can be asserted without much fear of objection that the method of government which safeguards man's freedom and his progress or development as an individual is the way to freedom. Our people have decided that such method of government is the democratic one. So it is up to us now to cultivate the character and temperament of our people for it.

The British nation has shown distinct progress and development of national character and temperament suited to democracy during the past six or seven centuries. The British people form their government by elections based on adult franchise and the party system. They have reached such efficiency that, for instance, they will now smoothly finish the job within a matter of a few days; thus they will find out and determine public opinion on immediate and vital issues touching their national life by this method and form their government.

One significant point regarding formation of government has not yet been as thoroughly understood in our country as it should be. Those of our workers who have devoted themselves to constructive work would do well to give their attention to it. The point is this. Among the various constructive activities of the country, formation of all the governments in the land in the best manner possible and to keep them working as well as can be done is a constructive work essential under Swaraj. It was in this sense that Gandhiji had said that the parliamentary programme had come to stay and it was for the nation to spare for the purpose the necessary number from amongst the band of its national constructive workers.

Had we been able to keep our sentiments of service and power, self-interest and patriotism and such others in their proper proportion and place according to their propriety we could easily have implemented Gandhiji's suggestion. Unfortunately we have not been able to strike the proper balance between them. It does not however mean that we should avoid the duty of forming governments, nor can we escape it. It is very likely certain persons conscious of their temperament and *svadharma* may not choose to join in this function just as every one of us does not join

the army or does not take to imparting education. But we as a nation as a whole cannot avoid the duty of forming and carrying on governments. So what remains to us or better say devolves upon us is consciously to cultivate the habits and virtues of democratic practice.

It is the duty of the Indian National Congress to undertake the responsibility. The machinery of the Congress has from the beginning adopted and respected the democratic method; and the organization proved capable of taking over the responsibility of administering the country from the British as it went on functioning democratically. On that account also we could with ease set up a constitution for the country unlike the Muslim League who has not been able to do so in Pakistan because the make-up of its organization and method of work were entirely different. But it would be well for us to realize that we are not yet fully conversant with the democratic system. Rather, it is only now we are facing it for learning its true lessons. It is likely we will be committing mistakes therein, but we cannot afford to be impatient or rash or desperate about it.

In the end, I would like to draw the attention of the readers to a fine recent example of the working of the election method and the party system from England. It has been recorded in the 15th April number of A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*. A member of the Labour Party, Mr Bevan, had, during the controversy about the policy regarding the atom bomb, attacked the leader of his party. Disciplinary action was taken against him on that account. Explaining his position Mr Bevan said,

"In a great party such as ours there must always be argument about how to apply the principles of socialism to a particular situation. The essence of democracy in a political party is to enable the argument to proceed while at the same time maintaining the effectiveness of the party in action. It is not always easy to achieve this, but we must always strive for it."

A statement pregnant with deeper meaning was made by the leader of the conservative party, Sir Winston Churchill. Commenting upon the Bevan affair this veteran of British politics said on March 26:

"The first duty of an M.P. is to do what in his faithful and disinterested judgment he believes right and necessary for the honour and safety of our beloved country.

"The second duty is to his constituents, of whom he is the representative but not the delegate.

"It is only in the third place that a man's duty to the party organization or programme takes rank.

"All these three loyalties should be observed, but there is no doubt of the order in which they stand in any healthy manifestation of democracy."

Such a statement from a seasoned statesman like Sir Winston Churchill should be taken as an ethical canon of democratic and party practice. When an individual selects and joins a party to work through he does not certainly give up his patriotism, his view of the welfare of the nation, or his self-respect and freedom of opinion regarding the view. The individual will usually choose

and join the party which allows him scope for all these. And if persons belonging to all the political parties make it a rule of public behaviour the fundamental truth behind the non-party attitude also comes into operation. While behaving in this manner individuals not only remain true and loyal to their own parties but differences obtaining between parties take the form of honest and harmless difference of opinion or point of view leading to the strength, effectiveness and progress of democratic government. To take democratic practice to this stage is a great constructive task of social education lying ahead of us and everyone of our citizens should do his or her part in it.

22-4-'55

(From Gujarati)

## PURI SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

(By Suresh Ramabhai)

The Seventh annual session of the Sarvodaya Samaj, held at Puri (Orissa) on March 25, 26 and 27 last, was presided over by an unsophisticated man, Shri Ravishankar Vyas or shortly 'Maharaj', as he is known in Gujarat. The proceedings began at 9 a.m. with sacrificial spinning for half an hour. It was followed by all-religions prayer. Then Shri Shankarrao Deo, the secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj, welcoming the delegates, compared the Sammelan to a *satsang* and observed that the Bhoodan Yajna movement had introduced a new chapter in the life of our people as also in the history of the country in which they were all mere tools, whence the greater need and importance of such *satsangs*. He next requested Shri Ravishankar Maharaj to preside over the Sammelan.

After Acharya Hariharadas' brief welcome speech, Vinoba inaugurated the conference.\* In his seventy-five minutes' address, he did some loud thinking on the burning problems of the day. At the very outset he observed that he had full faith in what he was going to say, but he did not insist upon its acceptance by all and sundry, his only object being to place his views unreservedly before them for their consideration.

The afternoon session began with a speech by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. He placed the basic issue of the day in the following few words:

"If we feel that legislation or administrative action cannot bring about the Sarvodaya Samaj—it may set up a communistic or socialistic order—we must face the question: how to establish the Sarvodaya Samaj? Shall we resort to armed power, legal power or to popular power of the people? Which shall lead the way? Which path shall we take up?"

After going into the pros and cons of the various paths, he declared: "God has chosen Vinoba as His instrument. Let us forget him and devote ourselves to the revolutionary work, the basic work of establishing Sarvodaya and founding a new society, an objective which is being fulfilled through the process of the Bhoodan movement. I would, therefore, humbly appeal to all those who are given to the Sarvodaya ideology, but are working today in Governments, political parties or constructive circles, to think solemnly over this issue and act. Worry little if you have to abandon your old favourite programmes or even lock them up, but please give up all of them and concentrate on this work."

Then followed other speeches. The Congress President, Shri Dhebarharbhai declared, "I am aware of the fire burning in Vinoba's heart. He expects many things from the Congress. And he should. He has a right over the services of the Congress." Praying for greater success of the Bhoodan movement, he closed with the words,

\* An abridged version of the speech appeared in the issue of 18-4-'55.



"Bhoodan work is not a responsibility of Vinobaji alone or of the Sarva Seva Sangh. It should be as much a concern of the Congress or of the Praja Socialist Party. I assure my whole-hearted co-operation in the great endeavour."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad pointed out that the basic difference between Sarvodaya and other ideologies was that whereas the former stressed on non-possessions, the latter did on more and more hoarding. The Bhoodan movement was a symbol of the former even as Charkha was that of Gandhiji's movement. It sought to tell us how to feel content in *nirvriti*, experience happiness in other's happiness and feel joyous in giving what we had. Rajenbabu confessed that India could not claim to have abandoned army. In fact she was spending far more on it than ever during the British rule. But the little say that she commanded outside was not due to her military prowess but to the moral weight of her stand. "How long," asked he, "shall we continue to be in this state of confusion? Our heart and feelings guide us one way, while the situation in the country and abroad leads us in another direction. Those in Government and outside have to think over this. I do know that this problem does not worry each and all of those who are enjoying power today. Some of them regard even the very discussions irrelevant. But others do not hold this view and lean towards Gandhiji's ideology. Now it is for the Sarvodaya Samaj to devise ways and means to draw them on its side body and soul. As Vinobaji says, the way is to generate more and more *jana-shakti* (self-reliant power of one people)." He concluded saying that we must try all such ways as may enable the people to become independent of Government. Not because there was any apathy between the two, but because a self-reliant people were a great asset. He called upon the believers in Sarvodaya to stand on their own feet even as is done by many thoughtful parents who do not seek their children's support.

In his post-prayer address in the evening, Vinoba stressed on the great responsibility before the Sarvodaya workers who could fulfil it only when we made a consistent effort to reduce ourselves to zero. We would have to keep constant vigil over ourselves and always remember that we were but servants meant for the service of our master, the people of India. Besides we must also realize that the work we had to do was inspired by some Omnipotence in whose hands we were mere tools.

In the morning of the 26th, the delegates broke up into five sections to go into details of various issues before them: (i) Land collection (ii) Distribution, (iii) Construction work and Nal Talim, (iv) Sampatidhan Yajna, and (v) Sootanjal.

The afternoon meeting commenced with an eloquent oration from Sant Tukdoji whose popular, devotional *bhajans* and folk-songs have earned for him an imperishable place in the hearts of the people of Berar and Maharashtra. He made it clear that two years' hard and intelligent work would lay so strong foundations of New India that she could survive all ups and downs for the next five thousand years. He asked the workers to stand firm on their post.

Then followed eleven speeches (three minutes each) from different workers stressing some urgent issues in Bhoodan or allied work.

Then we were treated to the most important speech of the day and a highlight of the Sammelan by the veteran Acharya of the Gandhian Economics, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa. In his fifty minutes' address, he reiterated his faith that by the *mantra* of Sarvodaya given to us by Gandhiji we could dissolve the Hydrogen bomb and wipe out the war-clouds hovering today. But he deplored that many of those in the Sarvodaya movement had not fully understood the implications of the non-violent economic order. The roots of the H-bomb lay in the economic order brought by the West, which we had to get rid of and rebuild and reform our lives on the basis of what Gandhiji taught us.

Relating the parable of 'Unto This Last' which gave the word 'Sarvodaya' to Gandhiji, Dr. J. C. warned us of the price-mechanism and dwelt on the importance of self-sufficiency which had a definite bearing on non-violence. He added that things like Rifle Clubs were as bad as the Hydrogen bomb. He appealed for making a search in our own home first.

In his post-prayer address Vinoba said that the Sarvodaya worker was like a *sadhak* who had nothing to fear from those in other camps, but from those in his own camp, from his own self. A *sadhak* must have the discrimination not only to distinguish good from evil but what he should do and should not. Our objective was to create *jana-shakti* for which we must develop, as Gita teaches us, *vyavasayatmika buddhi* (resolute understanding, not irresolute or many-branched). We were, therefore, not to involve ourselves in one philanthropic business or another but only in such a task as would enable us to meet the challenge of the age. We had to seek the guidance of our *buddhi* and if we had not the requisite *buddhi*, we should go to those who had it. If we could not recognize the latter we must seek God's shelter; but that was not an easy thing, for God is not manifest. "In two coming years," pointed out Vinoba, "we are going to be put on trial. Employing ourselves in one good work or another will be of little avail. We must devote ourselves to some definite task and mission."

On the third and last day, the sectional reports were read out in the morning and then some workers expressed their opinion on them.

Shri Shankarraoji Deo then came with a resolution,\* submitted for the Sammelan by the Sarva Seva Sangh.

It was only now that Shri Ravishankar Maharaj, the President of the Sammelan, spoke a few words. In his charming patois, Maharaj entreated for purity of conscience without which nothing substantial could be gained. He said that there was no dearth of brains in the country. What was wanting was the element of *tyag* (sacrifice). And it was due to the sad fact that our apathy towards productive manual labour was day by day aggravating. We have succumbed to a strange faith that those who laboured by hand deserved less than those who did not. This attitude must be discarded and we must grow industrious. Lastly, he called upon his countrymen to obey the call of the resolution put before them by Shri Shankarraoji.

After this long sitting, we had the evening prayer from 5-55 to 6-20. Thereafter, a revered Japanese monk, speaking in his sweet Japanese (translated into Hindi by a Japanese disciple of his), blessed the Bhoodan movement—a phenomenon in the footsteps of the Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi—and expressed the hope that it would surely succeed in paving the way for the further evolution of the science of non-violence.

Then followed Vinoba's valedictory address which would be regarded as one of his greatest utterances. Undaunted by the atomic clouds, hovering in the sky he thundered aloud:

"If such a material and inert particle as the atom can be a source of tremendous energy what a mighty tower of profound energy can such a vital, life-containing and knowledge-bearing object as man can be!"

Vinoba explained that systematized and limited violence had now reached the stage of '*ati-himsa*' (extreme violence). Some had begun to think about keeping it within bounds. But the wheel of progress did not turn back. It went ahead straight. Likewise, this '*ati-himsa*' had to transform itself into '*A-himsa*' or adopt more fearful forms and reach the consummation of ending the life of man as such. Urging upon his audience to gather courage he asked them to prepare for complete '*Ahimsa*' by wiping out '*Ati-himsa*'. In other words, he went on to state, we had to strain every nerve for founding the *danda-mukta* (arms-free) and *shasan-mukta* (State-free) society.

\* The Resolution was given in the last issue.

With confidence all his own, he declared:

"Man is likely to be redeemed within two years. We must gird up our loins in such a manner as to establish a new society in the whole world. Let us be sure of the ineffectiveness of these arms and take to our task with inspiration."

Further:

"I feel that some divine dispensation is so working as to entrust me with the task of reshaping mankind. I feel that 1957 will pave the way for the establishment of *shasan-mukta* (administration-free) society in the whole world."

Dilating upon Satyagraha, he put forth its *shastra* (philosophy) in clear words:

"Those who think about Satyagraha believe that even as small violence is followed by big violence which is again succeeded by 'anti-himsa' (extreme violence), likewise Satyagraha would be taking more and more extreme forms. I submit that my walking tour is a type of Satyagraha. They accept it as gentle Satyagraha but ask me whether I would not resort to some sharp form in case it does not succeed. But our thinking must be just the reverse indeed. If the gentle Satyagraha now in force would seem to fail, I would search for some gentler variety so that its vitality may increase. And if even that did not suffice, I would seek out the gentlest variety in order to make it more vital still."

"In the domain of violence they proceed from gentle weapon to fast and faster ones. But the process of the working of non-violence must be entirely different. If our gentle Satyagraha does not yield the desired fruit, we must infer that there is something wanting in our gentleness itself and we must, therefore, render it finer, gentler. This is, in fact, the real nature of Satyagraha."

Vinoba elucidated that the Satyagraha offered during the British rule was a negative action. That was a process met with in special conditions, in a peculiar and qualified situation. He added:

"Keeping this in view, we must appreciate the new circumstances—the new forces working in the world as also in the post-freedom democracy of the country—and realize that we would have to operate more and more gentle varieties of Satyagraha. Gentle, gentler, gentlest. If Satyagraha evolves forth in this manner, its vitality and effectiveness would grow on."

Coming to the Sarva Seva Sangh resolution he remarked that the said resolution was no command but a prayer to the world,

"Unless we work strenuously for two years to render our society State-free, non-violence will not accrue. The resolution placed before you stands for the welfare of the whole world, for the benefit of the entire creation. '*Sarvabhoothite ratah*' is the word of this conference. It is not only a matter of tackling the land issue. We have, in fact, to wipe out all Governments of the world for they cannot succeed in limiting the sphere of armed activity. We have to found non-violence, I ask for land-gifts for the sake of world peace."

Further on, he pointed out:

"Wherever you go for land donation, tell them that every *dan-patra* is conducive to world peace. Don't you want peace in the world? If you do, won't you offer your share in the Bhoodan and Sampattidan scheme of solving the land problem? Your donation of one-sixth is a vote for world-peace."

And then he said,

"Let all of you put your shoulder to the wheel for two years. This call of mine is not addressed to the people of India alone or merely to Sarvodaya devotees, but to one and all. I urge upon the whole world to leave no stone unturned for two years so that an arms-free society may come into force by 1957."

## VINOBA IN ORISSA—II

### Who Should Lead the People?

On the tenth instant Vinobaji encamped at Jamzadi. Addressing a large gathering in the afternoon Vinobaji spoke as follows:

"We learn from newspapers how the leaders of America and Russia have been declaring that they are ahead of any other nation in their experiments with instruments for destroying the world. Representatives of nations talk about these matters in all seriousness and without any sense of shame. They make the declarations in the press with pride and arrogance. Really speaking if nations are compelled to increase their armaments it is something which should be mentioned with shame and not with pride. And what surprises us most is that the nations have handed over power to such brazen and arrogant men. America has accepted the leadership of a man from the army, Russia who felt that she was left behind by others in this matter has corrected herself by handing over power also to a man from the army. The state of the people of these nations is truly pitiable in that in their extreme terror they have entrusted the reins of their governments to the hands of men of unsteady intellect. We cannot believe this is freedom; the people in these nations are not really free. The reins of the State should always be in the hands of the man of steady intellect. From the story of ancient India we learn that our people even in those days had sense enough to put the reins of power in the hands of a man of steady intellect like Manu."

Vinobaji proceeded to say: "In such times the memory of Gandhiji is going to be of immense help to us. The culture and civilization of India had flowered into his message of non-violence and desistance from vengeance and retaliation. But the experiment of non-violence in the struggle for Swaraj was lame. As a consequence people have still their doubts regarding the efficiency of non-violence. Though we experienced to a certain extent the miraculous power of non-violence in the experiment our hearts still remained unconvinced of the power that is non-violence. But if we could solve our problems of social and economic inequalities peacefully through non-violence that is love the world which is now tired of violence will surely follow the way of non-violence."

### Avadi Congress Resolution

Welcoming the resolution of the Congress to establish the future order of the country on a socialistic pattern Vinobaji declared: "Some people have been expressing their doubts about the Congress implementing its resolution in actual practice. I for myself have no such doubts. How does man proceed to act? He begins by making a good resolution. Then he declares it. He then discusses the ways and means for implementing his resolve in practice, with his friends and others, and finally begins to act on it. I have therefore no doubt; I fully trust the Congress to implement the resolution. A great organization which passes a resolution in all seriousness and does not act upon it is sure to go down and to lose all the great reputation it has earned in the past."

### Root Cause of Want of Peace

On the twelfth of February the annual *shraddha* day of the Father of the Nation, hanks of yarn were being offered by men, women and children in homage to his memory. The inhabitants of Bhadraka City who witnessed the scene are sure to carry its memory in their hearts for many days to come. Speaking to the gathering Vinobaji said: "I am reminded on this occasion of the vow that we took seven years ago at Pavnar on the bank of the river Dham. We bind ourselves, we declared, to follow the ideal which Bapu taught, which seers and saints of our country and teachers and prophets of the world have placed before us and establish a Sarvodaya society in India."

Pointing out the root cause of the fear which had taken hold of the world and the present atmosphere of



restlessness of the people in all countries Vinobaji went on to say:

"If we tried to seek the root cause we perceive that man has not yet realized his primary duty and seeks to live by exploiting another. Truly, this is a terrible state of affairs. If we desired to save ourselves from it we should endeavour to find out such ways of life wherein the livelihood of one man is not associated with the exploitation of another. The seers who have given us our scriptures have described such ways of life by the name of *avivrodha*—non-opposition. सर्वोपायविवरोधेन—live without being in antagonism to anyone, they have said. The true remedy to bring about such a state of affairs in society is to accept the principle that the man who lives by eating food should perform some productive labour or the other. It is argued that the duty of production by their own labour should not be imposed on students because they are engaged in the performance of an equally important duty. The teacher, the trader, the policeman, the beggar, the *yogi* or the saint, the *bhakta* or the devotee of the Lord—all these classes of men do not share the labour required for producing things and articles for the use of man. As a consequence the burden of maintaining these classes of men has to be shouldered by the rest who engage themselves in the labour for production. I would therefore exhort everyone to take the national vow, nay, the humanitarian vow of producing things and articles of consumption by one's own labour. We should also look upon all our activity for production as worship of the Lord of the universe. The Vedas have said: चक्रिन् विद्वानि चक्रयत् । If we want to offer anything to the One who created this Universe it must be something we have produced by our own action or labour and we should at the same time realize that such labour of ours should not be in antagonism to any one. Antagonistic productive labour and unproductive labour are both injurious to the good of men and society. This small spinning wheel is the symbol of non-antagonistic productive labour. That is the reason why it is the symbol of non-violent revolution. We must make up our minds to perform some labour or the other for producing things and goods every day. We must take such a *brahma* vow that is the vow to add to the wealth of the universe. The scriptures have given the name *yajna*—sacrifice to this process of production. This spinning wheel can be plied by almost every one. Even a man who is ill or a man who is travelling can work it. I know of no other simple instrument of production. And besides, wealth produced by labour on the wheel can be used by every one of us."

Concluding Vinobaji pointed out, "The faith Gandhiji had in the spinning wheel was so firm that on the various occasions when despair took hold of the minds of the fighters of freedom, when voices were heard that the whole country had despaired of the cause, Gandhiji used to reassure us by saying, why despair? Have we not our spinning wheel? It will surely save us."

14-2-55

#### Learn More Languages Than One

Vinobaji is never tired of repeating that superficial differences which are easily apparent have no significance but the thing within which is one and underlies those differences bears a very great significance in our national life. He also often emphasizes the need for every one of us to live in harmony with each other and the need for strengthening the unity of our people under Swaraj. Indicating the responsibility all of us have to fulfil in Swaraj he said on one occasion:

"Countries like Germany, France and England have each a language of their own. Therefore the nationals of those countries have no need to learn any other language but their own. They may, however, if they desire to extend their knowledge, learn languages other than their own. But the country we have the privilege to call ours is really

a huge one. We have, therefore, to learn many languages for intercourse amongst ourselves. This necessity is in truth a matter of privilege and the pride of our country. So, we must study the mother tongue of course, but along with it must also study with equal diligence Hindi, the language of inter-provincial intercourse or the national language. But I would plead with all those who claim to love the country that over and above the two, the mother tongue and the national language, they should make it a point to learn well two or three more of the languages of India in which one at least should be an *Adivasi* dialect. We should not feel it a burden to learn the dialects of our *Adivasi* brethren."

When Vinobaji was journeying through the Santhal Parganas in Bihar he had begun to study the Santhal dialect. Since he has set foot in Orissa he devotes an hour or two every day to the study of Udiya, the language of the province. He prosecutes this study, as is his wont in all matters of duty, with concentration without being conscious of anything else for the time being in the spirit of worship.

#### Distinctions of Intellectual and Labourer should Go

Pointing out another equally great responsibility devolving on us as nationals of India under Swaraj Vinobaji, on another occasion, said in clear words that all of us have to rise above the distinctions which make us say, here is a labourer who lives by the labour of his hands and here is an intellectual who lives by the labour of his mind or intellect. In the new order that we envisage every one must get food in his own right, everyone must work with the hands and everyone must have opportunity to cultivate and develop his or her mind i.e. intellect.

#### Key to Bringing Power to the People

Pointing out that under democracy people enjoy power merely in name, that such power is a mere illusion Vinobaji in his speech at Saro said in words clear enough for every one who heard them:

"We have Prohibition in the States of Bombay and Madras but we do not have it in the other ones. This surely does not mean that public opinion in these two States favours Prohibition and does not do so in the other States. This state of affairs only means that those prominent among the persons elected to the legislature in the States of Madras and Bombay are keen on having Prohibition and prominent persons of the same sort in the other States are not. This also applies to the law regarding prohibition of cow slaughter. All of which clearly means that power in reality will come into the hands of the people only when they will begin to free themselves from the power of the State and begin to carry on their own administration in a decentralized manner." Proceeding he humorously remarked that neither the power of the *Babu* nor of the *Babu* should rule; the power of thought, idea and ideal, the power of one's soul only should be allowed to rule over men and women.

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K. D.

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