

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

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TWO ANNAS

NO GOVERNMENT, GOOD GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM FROM GOVERNMENT

(By Vinoba)

[From the prayer speech at Digapahandi (Orissa)
camp on 14-5-55]

During the day a co-worker posed the question: 'What should be the form of government?' I like workers asking such questions because I believe we can achieve good ends only through a constant practice of contemplation on the fundamental ideas and ideals which govern human social life.

The Law of the Family

The form of the government of a people depends on the state of their development. Let us take the instance of a family where the children are small and the parents young. Here the word of the parents will prevail and the children will obey their orders. That would be the form of rule in the family. In a family where the sons are not quite young, where they have developed in understanding and intelligence, and where the parents have not grown too old to be able to function, its affairs will be managed in co-operation by the sons and the parents; the latter's word will naturally not be final. And in a family where sons have reached a mature age and parents are quite old, the former will carry on the entire affairs of the family. Here the parents will be content to offer advice only, their orders will not prevail, nor will they be actually functioning in the management of the family affairs.

Thus the forms of rule in a family will vary with its condition. But in all the three conditions the basic principle governing family life will however be love and the apparent form of the rule will vary with the condition of the group without affecting the governing principle.

Just as the People So Their Government

Just as the basic principle underlying the family is love, similarly Sarvodaya should be the basic idea governing society. Sarvodaya is a fine word to indicate the fundamental principle on which society should function. In a society where the subjects would be totally ignorant of their responsibilities and where they have not attained the capacity to think, their government will hold wide powers and the people will expect protection from it just as small children expect it from their parents. That is, where the people are more or less ignorant and weak, the government will be nursing the Sarvodaya ideal but would act through the power it holds for the good of its subjects. The form of the government in this instance will be parental. As the subjects go on progressing growing in strength, fitness, and knowledge or understanding, as the tendency to co-operate with one another goes on being cultivated among the subjects the necessity of government for them will be less and less. Then government will not remain an institution which will order about people but will become one which will only advise them. Thus as the moral level of the people goes on rising, the power of government to govern will grow increasingly less and there would be less and less of government over the people. And we ultimately

hope to see the institution of the State withering away in this manner.

A Self-Governing Society

We conceive of a society entirely free of government in a social order which has attained the Sarvodaya ideal to perfection. We do not use the term 'no government'. In a society where there is no government we have anarchy or no order at all. The state of things where there is no order whatsoever and where the wicked can have everything their own way, could be termed having no government. Such lack of government in society is not our ideal. What we seek is to grow out of a state of affairs where there is no government into one where there is good government and from that condition to one where people are free of government altogether.* It would not be true to say that there will be no order in a society free from government. There will be government and order there. But it will be distributed in the villages. Therein the use of force will be completely eschewed. Some moral ideals will be so ingrained in the minds of the people that they will be constantly evident in actual practice in society and even small children would be naturally trained into them. People living under such a social order will, of their own free will, obey the moral law. That society will be a self-governing one.

Stealing and Non-possession

It is our experience that millions of people do not commit theft. The reason is not that there is a law against it. It is well that there is such a law on the statute book; but the millions do not steal because the moral principle that it is wrong has been tacitly accepted in human society.

Now, just as today because it has been generally recognized that stealing is wrong, people as a matter of course will not steal even though there is no fear of punishment or provision in the penal code against it, so too will people come to recognize that hoarding things for possession is wrong. They will not then keep things in possession. They will give away to society as soon as they collect with them. So also adultery is believed to be very wrong today

* Truly speaking this process should rather be called not one of growing out of good government but of progressively improving it and it should be seen and described as one of training people into condition of going to a state of greater and greater self-rule. Complete lack of government or a society fully governing itself, that is, a society free from government altogether are the two ultimate states which we conceive of to help us think logically. Both the conditions apparently show absence of government—one for the reason that it has no government or refuses to have one and the other for the reason of society having reached a perfect state. What we seek to achieve is good government which aims at or looks forward to a state of things embodying continuous progress in self-government; in truth the ideal of a democratic form of government is to have less and less of government and it is expressed in the dictum: that government is the best which governs the least.—M. P.

in society and people generally want to save themselves from it, though there may or may not be a law against it, because the moral principle has been accepted. So too the moral ideal that collecting things for possessing them is wrong will be accepted in the future. Society will then act upon the idea of non-possession and most of the problems that face human society now will be on their way to a satisfactory solution.

Now the idea that to steal is a sin is certainly good so far as it goes. But it is only part of a whole ideal. When, however, it will be recognized that to collect things and goods for possessing them is also wrong, society will gain in health and the two ideas together will form one single complete moral ideal. Today we see that one who has more of collection of things and goods in his possession is glorified in society, but tomorrow such a person will be condemned just as a thief is condemned today.

Government in a Self-Governing Society

When thus non-possession comes to be recognized as the basic principle of the social order there will be minimum need of power to coerce for government to rule. People living in a village will look to their own administration and government at the top will be there more or less in name. It will be a government which will guide by advice and not govern. Persons constituting such government will be men and women with good character and of clean behaviour. Therefore, the power they will exercise will be moral and not physical. This is the sort of Sarvodaya social order which we seek to establish. All our endeavour should be directed in the direction of this aim.

Socialistic Pattern v. Sarvodaya

The idea of a socialistic pattern of society and such others that have become current nowadays are all pertaining to good government and not to freedom from government. As, however, they are about good government they are implied in the aim of freedom from government. Just as the child in embryo developing in the mother's womb receives its sustenance from her but does not know of it, so also the Sarvodaya ideal is the mother within whose womb the idea of a socialistic pattern and such other things will grow and receive their sustenance. In fact these ideas progress on the nourishment they derive from the endeavour for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society. We have to progress from a state of no government or want of government to one of good government and from the latter to the ultimate state of freedom from government.

Good Government and Self-government

We will progress thus from one step to another. But if our ultimate aim is complete freedom from government we will have to carry on good government also in a manner so as to keep the way clear to the ultimate aim. When the ordinary human who does not know anything of controlling himself and his senses is taught the duty of a householder he marries and becomes a *grihastha*. He then begins to control himself as well as his senses. But if he were to stop in that state and were not to progress towards the higher state of *vanaprasthi* he ceases to grow. The householder's state which was a means to the controlling of his senses would become a hindrance to it. In order that man may practise control of himself and his senses and may get out of a state without any control whatsoever, the householder's order is established. But for his further progress man should cultivate the *vanaprastha* ideal. The householder should carry on his duties of the *grihastha-ashrama* with the aim of entering the *vanaprastha-ashrama*. Even so in the present state of society we should on the one hand carry on good government with an eye on the aim of freedom from government and on the other carry on our efforts to educate the people so that they can organize themselves for a social order which is free from government altogether.

Bhoodan and Freedom from Government

This is why we want to make the people conscious of their power through Bhoodan Yajna and to set them

on their own feet on the one hand and on the other expect to have a law for prohibition. The reason for the latter is that popular opinion in favour of the measure is sufficiently cultivated. If in such a state of the public mind there was no law to prohibit the use and sale of intoxicating drinks and drugs we would be having bad government which will come in the way of our progress towards the ultimate aim of freedom from government. That is why we ask for a prohibition law while at the same time seeking to achieve a state of society free of all government. But regarding the solution of the problem of land we want at this stage to create a psychological atmosphere among the people for ownership of all land in a village to the village itself. We want to educate the people so that they will accept the idea. As preliminary step in such education we are asking from the owners sixth part of the land they own. We wish the people will give in gift a sixth of their land out of love so that no one remains landless in a village. Thus we are making on the one hand an effort to teach the people to organize their power by themselves independently and on the other to transform mere government into good government.

Bhoodan and Law

If public opinion regarding converting the ownership of all land in a village to the village community itself as a whole becomes effective, that is, if thousands of people give land they own in gift for the landless, we can have a legal measure to convert the ownership of land in a village from individual owners to the entire village community. Such a measure of law would be favoured and not disfavoured by the people. Let us suppose eighty per cent of the people in a village give their land to the village and twenty per cent of them are not prepared to do so. They are not prepared to part with the land they possess because of their infatuation of ownership though they have accepted the idea of the ownership of the entire village community. Government can have a law in such a state of things. So our whole effort will be in the direction of persuading the entire people to accept the idea so that Government will have merely to record public opinion and to set their seal to it by enacting a measure of law. Just as when preparing a book we write out one chapter and put the words 'the end' where it ends, so also when people achieve something in actual practice it is for Government to write the words 'the end' to the chapter of people's progress. But if the chapter remained actually incomplete, the adopting of the words 'the end' by the Government would not in any way mean that the chapter was over. Writing of a chapter is finished by writing it out to the finish and not merely by adding the words 'the end' to it. For instance, we had begun to write the chapter of not having child marriages, but Government intervened to write the words 'the end' by a legal measure before it was fully written. The result, we all know, is that the chapter is not finished and the evil of child marriage still persists in practice.

If we viewed the whole subject in this fashion we will see that government also has a function in society. In the ultimate stage of development government would not have any function to perform, but in the present interim stage it has a definite one. But even in the present stage the people will initially go ahead and it should be for government to follow their footsteps behind them. This way we will not only have good government but will also go forward in the direction of the stage where there will be freedom from government. When we endeavour to be free from the rule of government we at least achieve good government, in the same way as, when we endeavour to collect a crore of rupees, we will have surely collected a lakh already.

Thus when we have before us the unique opportunity of going among our people to work a revolution through Bhoodan with such a great and glorious objective in view, we should surely feel great enthusiasm and have unwavering faith.

(From Hindi)

"BUILDING FROM BELOW" — III

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

We now go to examine the employment pattern as it obtains at present. In this connection, the first important consideration we have to note is the national income pattern as revealed by the following figures * :

Source	Income in Crores
Large-scale Industries	550
Small-scale "	500
Agriculture "	4800

This shows that agriculture and small-scale industries are the main sources of our national income. Naturally they also employ the largest part of our population. The following two tables are interesting here :

Employment Pattern in India**Table 1**

Distribution of India's Population	
Category	Lakhs
A. By Region	
1 Rural	2950
2 Urban	619
3 Total	3569
4 1 as per cent. of 3	82.7
B. By Livelihood	
1 Agriculture	2491
2 Non-agriculture	1076
3 Total †	3567
4 1 as per cent of 3	69.8;

"The distribution of population by region and by livelihood classes (Table 1) shows that 82.7 per cent of India's population is rural and 69.8 per cent of it depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The distribution of India's actual working force shown in Table 2 below reflects faithfully the importance of agriculture in India's economic life. (B. F. B., para 24)

Table 2

Actual Working Force			
	Self Supporting	Earning Dependents	Lakhs Total
Agricultural	710	310	1020
Non-agricultural	334	69	403
Total	1044	379	1423‡

The B.F.B. goes into further analysis of employment and says :

"The available classified employment data, set out in Table 3 below show that independent workers or self-employed workers constitute the majority of the labour force of the country. Closer study of the figures shows that self-employment is the dominant form of employment, accounting for 78 per cent of agricultural employment and over 50 per cent in non-agricultural employment. The overall picture, including agricultural and non-agricultural employment but excluding Government services, shows that self-employment accounts for 71.3 per cent of all employment in the country." (*Ibid.* para 26)

* See *Harijan*, 19-6-'54, p. 125, "Attend the Common Man's Economy First".

† The discrepancy in the two totals is due to the loss of about 2.5 lakh census slips in the Punjab.

‡ Source : *Census of India*, Paper No. 3, 1953, Summary Tables I and IV

§ Source : *Census of India*, Paper No. 3, 1953, Summary Table IV.

Table 3
Self-employed Population *

	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural	Lakhs Total
1. Self-employed	545	165	710
2. Total productive employment (Incl. of Govt. services)	694	324	1018
3. Total productive employment (Excl. of Govt. administrative services)	694	302	996
4. (1) as per cent of (2)	78.5	50.9	69.7
5. (1) as per cent of (3)	78.5	54.6	71.3†

Self-employment and National Income

"Not only is self-employment the predominant form of employment in the country but also it can be the most important single source of India's national income. In the absence of comprehensive detailed statistical information about the earning of self-employed workers in each sector, it is not possible to measure accurately the contribution of the self-employed sector to the national income. The figures set out in Table 4, based on the assumption that the income for a self-employed person in a sector is the same as the average income per earner in that sector, must, therefore, be treated as the total potential rather than the actual contribution of the self-employed sector. In other words, Table 4 shows that under appropriate organizational and other aids, the self-employed sector alone could have accounted for 49.9 per cent of India's national income for 1950-51." (*Ibid.* para 27)

Table 4**Contribution of Self-Employment to National Income**

	No. of earners (Lakhs)	Income per earner Rs.	Total Income Rs. Crores
1. Agricultural Income	545	500	2725
2. Non-agricultural Income	165	12'2	2032
3. Total	710	670	4757
4. National Income	1423	60	9550
5. (3) as per cent of (4)	49.9		49.9‡

Thus,

"The analysis of the employment pattern in India overwhelmingly proves that self-employment prevails and is the dominant form of employment in India's economy." (*Ibid.* para 28)

"An important point must, however, be stressed here. The prevailing pattern of self-employment is neither full nor integral. As a result the productivity of the self-employment sector today is inadequate to satisfy its own needs and help create adequate capital to facilitate further economic progress." (*Ibid.* para 29)

"Though the most important alike in numbers and in total productivity, the self-employment sector today is weak owing to the complete lack of organizational and financial strength. It faces the threat of gradual elimination due, mainly, to the failure of the prevailing economic order to recognize its existence and value. The absence of any scheme for its rehabilitation on the one hand, and constant pressure from the organized industrial and commercial sectors, on the other, its condition today is miserable. This is further accentuated by low productivity due to general inadequacy of its production tools. Any programme for its rehabilitation is, however, contingent upon the recognition of its importance, and

* The figures of employment in this Table exclude earning dependents and self-supporting persons whose principal income is not derived from actual work.

† Source : *Census of India*, Paper No. 3, Summary Tables IV and V.

‡ Sources : 1. Final Report of the National Income Committee, Table 30

2. Table IV ante

acceptance of its economic viability and inherent strength to initiate and sustain a socially significant pattern of development." (*Ibid.*, para 30)

"Thus the chief merit of self-employment at this juncture may be considered its employment potentiality. Of equal economic and social significance is the merit of the self-employment sector to begin contributing to the increase of national income without any time lag, as the nature of the investment in it enables it to go into production at once." (*Ibid.*, para 32)

It remains, at the end, to see and examine this proposition in its practical aspect, viz. the scope for this kind of employment in India.

9-7-'55

(To be continued)

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1955

SARVODAYA AND SOCIALISTIC PATTERN

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

Some few weeks back a prominent Congressman from Bombay expressed his view, so far as I remember, while speaking under the auspices of the Poona Vasant Vyakhyannamala, to the effect that they did not accept the Sarvodaya ideal because it ultimately implied no-State or freedom from government, while the Socialist pattern had an ideal aiming to have good government with the help of which to establish a Welfare State. The background behind the statement appears to be at variance with the one behind the opinion expressed by Pandit Nehru in this regard. Panditji points out in humility that persons not like him but like Shri Vinoba who work for the Sarvodaya ideal could with propriety use the word. The truth of the matter is that between the Sarvodaya view and the Socialist pattern view there is definitely a very vital distinction.

Both the Sarvodaya and the Socialist pattern ideologies accept a republican democratic form of government. However, the ultimate aims they seek to achieve have a residual difference which we should now clearly understand by giving close attention to it. It is essential because the difference which is at bottom very significant influences all our present undertakings in planning as well as other programmes of nation-building.

Gandhiji has indicated the distinction between the European democratic view and the Sarvodaya view in these words:

"A votary of Ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal."*

Discussing the same point Shri Vinoba in one of his speeches uttered the following words

* *Sarvodaya: Its Principles and Programme* (p. 4); Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, price As. 12, postage etc. As. 4.

which are really interesting and deserve close attention:

"During the last century an ethical ideal has developed in Europe which lays down the duty of achieving the good of the greatest number of men. It is described in short as the greatest good of the greatest number in the English language. This means that it is the duty of everyone to attempt to secure the utmost happiness for the largest number of people. Now, the Sarvodaya ideology does not accept this idea. It seeks to give the fullest happiness to all the people and not merely to their greatest number. This is why the Sarvodaya ideal is very consistent with our culture which has traditionally come down to us from ages past. It asks us to be सर्वभूतहिते रताः i.e. devoted to the good of all beings."

There is also another vital distinction between the two ideals, which Gandhiji has referred to in his writings. Quoting the words of the American writer Thoreau he used to point out that "the government which ruled the least was the best". This implies that the Sarvodaya ideology would accept the doctrine which is described as 'philosophical anarchism' or 'anarchism' in the language of European political science, because rule from outside does not ultimately lead to the true and full happiness or welfare of man. Just as good government for the people is not possible without self-government, and just as the preliminary condition of all good government ought to be self-government, so also true welfare or happiness or progress in the life of an individual is possible only when and to the extent to which he rules himself or has his own Swaraj. This is the significance underlying the philosophy of anarchism or of self-rule. It will be noticed that this theory is not one of anarchy or no-rule, though the word signifies both the concepts in the English language. It would be better if instead of calling it anarchy or no-rule we described it as self-rule.

This idea touches human development so closely and it is so apt and true for the welfare of man that every votary of democracy has to accept it unless, of course, he is a communist or is a votary of the Welfare State idea to be established through State power or is a socialist or is one who believes that rule from outside is always inevitably necessary for and beneficial to the individual.

A reference to the point made by Shri Vinoba in one of his recent prayer-speeches is worth looking into. It is published in this number as a separate article under the heading "No Government, Good Government and Freedom from Government".

All the above argument then boils down to this that our planning should be based on a faith in man and not merely on faith in science or technology and finance. The Sarvodaya ideology which is our ideal seeks to deal with the people and their government, keeping the ultimate objective of faith in man and his true progress in view.

We surely want good government. No one ever wants a state of society without government, that is anarchy. As a matter for that, there can never be total anarchy in any human society however primitive it may be. Human society will always create for itself a State in one form or another that may best serve its purpose. And good government is the aim of all forms of government. The problem is how to achieve good government.

For example, will it be good government if, an all-powerful monarch or a dictator ruled well? Certainly not, only because freedom or self-rule is an essential condition for the true development of the human spirit. The essence of good government consists of its potentiality of allowing increasing self-rule to its citizens. The measure of good government will be the measure of self-government it affords to man. This is to conclude that the State should be a self-governing democratic State because such a type of government only allows the largest scope for self-rule to man.

In the end, therefore, democracy will reach the stage of self-rule by the human spirit where the State will fade away. But this too is an ideal stage and in the constant endeavour for its achievement lies its fulfilment. An ideal is never fully achieved; it is a dynamic living process. As the citizen of the State goes on developing his capacity to rule himself or, in other words, goes on fulfilling his social responsibility of his own free will, we will be going nearer and nearer to the establishment of self-government and along with it of good government, so that the State will of itself be withering away to that extent. In the words used by Shri Vinoba in his speech, the communist or the socialist pattern is implied in it, lies within it; it is an interim stage in good government and not the ultimate one. The final stage is Sarvodaya or democracy with its roots in the ideal of self-government of, for and by man.

25-6-'55

(From Hindi)

Army and Alcohol

New Delhi PTI message of June 29 says:

"From next July 1 all toasts drunk in armed forces messes in India will be in non-alcoholic drinks. An order to this effect has been approved by the chiefs of staff of the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

"The ban on alcoholic toasts is an indirect testimony to the fact that consumption of alcohol has been going down in the services since Independence. The number of tee-totalers is increasing steadily with the giving up of the old belief that hard drinkers make hard fighters."

This is really good news. We hope it will facilitate the introduction of complete prohibition for our people including the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

8-7-'55

M. P.

VAANARA VILAAP

(By C. Rajagopalachari)

[The ban on export of monkeys has been lifted as transport conditions have now improved: A Health Ministry news-item]

Know you not what they'll do with us
In whose hands in callous cruelty
You trap and place us for a little pelf?
If you are tired of your cousins dumb,
And you think our number robs you
of your food,

Send us to lethal chambers
Or shoot us down among our jungle trees.
O give us sudden death, but do not make
Victims of us for tortures inconceivable,
More horrid than any disease
That man has earned by his various sins.

Have the tears of dumb creatures
No power now to move your hearts?
Put us not in a hell, crueller far
Than any Sita's enemies could devise.
We cannot speak the tongues of men
But the gods do hear and understand.
We did not grow to be quite like men,
And may be 'twas well we didn't
And we remained the innocents we are.
O stop this sacrilegious crime
On the heroes of your sacred book,
This cruelty on the nearest cousins
that science
Has found for humankind.

Foul not the ancient river of faith
That waters still your land
And makes you worthy of some attention
In the world of armed and greedy men.
Think you the tears of these dumb
cousins of yours
Have no power for a curse or that
misfortune
Cannot touch you now that science has
progressed?
Or that you can help the world
With knowledge got through execrable
cruelty?

'Tis true Ramachandra rules not now:
O thoughtless ones that ride your cars
Up the imperial way in Indraprasth
And sit on your little thrones in the
red secretariat,
You rule the affairs of an ancient people
Through whose veins still runs
The noble blood of compassion,
Whose pious eager ears drink still
The music of Tulasi and great Valmeeki,
And their undying voices give
Solace and hope to agitated souls.

Not for this did the Father of the people
Clear the chambers of power
For you to take the chairs the foreigner filled
He had might unlimited in those chairs,
But he ever acted with a care that was wise
And so unlike your present thoughtlessness
Look upon us the same as your

little ones

The sweet children who're dear to you,
O do not send the race of Hanuman
For unbearable tortures to foreign lands.

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS DAY BY DAY

(By Damodardas Mundada)

Vinobaji completed his tour of the Ganjam district on the 28th May and entered the Koraput district where a new chapter in the process of the Bhoodan Movement has opened in the form of Gramdan.

The following figures which were announced when Vinobaji arrived at Avada, the first halt in Koraput district, are self-eloquent:

Collection — Koraput District

Up to	Land received in acres	Number of Donors	Sarvasva-dani villages
7th May 1955	55,818	8,594	80
28th May 1955 (since 8th May '55)	3,424	284	11
Total up to 28th May 1955	59,242	8,878	91

Distribution

Up to	Families receiv- ing land	Number of people	Acres distributed
28th May 1955	213	983	1,412

(N.B. The collection in Koraput district is the highest in the whole province.)

The people of Koraput accorded a most hearty welcome to Vinobaji at Avada. On the border of the district, he performed the opening ceremony of a new road of 11 miles they have built to connect Ganjam and Koraput districts. Workers, leaders and officials rarely visited this part. But whosoever came had to reach it via Andura Desh. The new road has brought the contacts within easy approach. It was not, however, an easy job. Huge rocks had to be blasted and big trees of the dense forest removed; temporary bridges also had to be constructed. At some places the road on mountain slopes was steep beyond imagination. Imagine the mass of men, women and children descending these steep slopes all the while beating drums, playing trumpets and carrying Bhoodan placards. In the heart of this jungle eighty miles away even from postal facilities beautiful arches were erected, flowers showered upon, folk dances merrily performed and the whole atmosphere filled with the traditional music of the Adivasis. It was all so picturesque!

Addressing the gathering at Avada Vinobaji in the very beginning congratulated the people of the district on their unique achievement of Gramdan and expressed his hope that all the villages in this district will, without exception, fall in line with the new movement, thereby giving an opportunity for an experiment of establishing Gramraj of Sarvodaya concept.

It may be recalled that he has been trekking through a dense forest inhabited as much by men as by wild animals also. With a pointed reference to wild beasts, he modestly observed that there would be no difference between the life of men and that of those self-centred beasts, if the former did not realize that they had many responsibilities towards the society to be scrupulously discharged and that there did exist the pressing need of expanding the concept of a family from its present narrow form of the four walls of an individual's house to the broader field

and boundaries of the whole village. "Let us all, the inhabitants of a village," he said to them, "live as one family. Did not our saints teach us the same? But our lust for money has verily made us forget those lessons of our saints and forefathers and we are no more ashamed of robbing each other day in and day out."

And then he put them this simple but pertinent question: "What will accompany us when we shall leave this world? Money or love? Are we the human beings destined like the tigers and other wild beasts only to be born, fed and die?"

Continuing the discourses he went on: "The beauty of a man's life lies in the natural instinct to render service unto others inclusive of his kinsmen and also the animals around him. God has given us hands for this purpose as also for doing manual labour for maintaining ourselves. God has given us these hands not to rob our fellow brothers but to give them what we have. Did not Lord Christ ask us not to let our left hand know what the right hand giveth? How then are we justified in robbing our own brothers?"

On the first day of his entry into the Koraput district, he gave them the following five Mantras:

1. Redistribute all your land amongst yourselves and live as one family;
2. Spin and weave your cloth;
3. Give up the drink habit;
4. Get rid of lethargy and idleness; and
5. Engage both your hands always in some creative work.

Thus outlining the five Mantras, he said, "This will so transform your life that when the proper time comes, you will be glad to surrender it at the feet of the Lord!"

A special feature of today's gathering was the sudden appearance of a number of the Saura ladies fully clad in home-spun cloth. On enquiries we learnt that they were from Kujendri, a Gandhi Seva Centre, fifteen miles away. They had all come to receive Vinobaji. This Centre, we were told, was self-sufficient in cloth. We eagerly looked forward to our visit of this Centre couple of days hence.

Immediately after the prayer meeting these ladies went to Vinobaji. He asked them about their book of songs. One of them handed over to him a pocket-size booklet of their language cyclostylized in the Roman script. Vinobaji immediately started to acquaint himself with some of the words of this language. According to him, the language is quite an independent one similar neither to Telugu nor to the Oodiyas. It has only seven letters in its alphabet. Out of the thirty words he learnt, only one appeared somewhat similar to Hindi and another to Sanskrit.

At Jumpapur, the next halt, Vinobaji distributed 32 acres of land among nine families of the nearby village Konduguda.

In his post-prayer speech that evening he traced the history of how the land was formerly never considered to be a marketable commodity or a transferable property on the payment of a price because no monetary value was ever attached to it and how later on, it came to be mortgaged for valuable consideration in terms of money under the evil process of money-lending and 'money-economy' of the modern times.

Explaining the significance underlying this dangerous process, he appealed to them to change their concept of land as the property of an individual as at present and said, "It is high time that you bury this demon of fixing valuation of land in terms of money by the simple and noble process of redistributing the entire land of a village amongst all the families inhabiting it and by considering the whole village as one family."

Vinoba went on to say further that he did not mean in the least that only the land shall be shared in common. Even big industries and factories, he continued, ultimately must needs be commonly shared both by the employers and the employees, so much so that there would be no

more any master nor any servant in the current meaning of the words and that all would be their own masters and their own servants simultaneously. Every one will then work for common good of the whole society. Not only that the present gulf between the employer and the employee would be bridged but also the very grounds denoting such classification would automatically vanish. The idea of the individual's property rights and ownership would then become a talk of the past, all the wealth in the society being then shared in common by all according to needs. The beginning of this process had to be made somewhere. It was really good that the question of land, the problem of problems, was being tackled first.

Vinobaji then explained in his simple and lucid style how the solution of the land problem will naturally keep resolving all other economic problems. He, therefore, appealed to the villages to donate all their lands, thus take the lead and strengthen his hands.

Vinobaji then pointed out how he was never tired of repeating in every village his new Mantra that land like air, water and light of the sun was a divine gift and, therefore was meant for all and was not a privilege of the selected few individuals. He had been repeating these words often and without an exception in every village on every occasion and as such had verily assumed the form of a Mantra for him.

And, last but not the least, giving his friendly and precious advice, he warned:

"Those who desire to live as separate units and long for individualistic way of life had better retire to the jungles and spend their lives there in caves and dens as the lions, tigers and other wild beasts of the jungle do. Those who love to live a civilized life shall lead a corporate social life, i.e. they shall live as one family only. They have no other alternative."

66-55

REVOLUTION AND PEACE

(Prof. Nemi Saran)

In the process of revolution man has advanced from one stage to another not by force exercised over him from without but by a process of evolution or gradual change, which spontaneously revolutionizes the entire outlook of man. By revolution we mean a complete and thorough transformation in the sphere of thought, feeling and action. Revolution is the final change-over from an old order to the new one after a long and continuous process of evolution has completed itself and has prepared the ground for a fresh establishment of new values spiritual, moral and material. Thus revolution has a certain atmosphere behind it. It is the smooth and spontaneous culmination of a process of change.

Evidently therefore a change effected in the social, economic or political set-up of a particular people forcibly is not a revolution. Revolution is obviously a gentle, delicate and quite smooth but immediate conclusion of a particular process of change already going on voluntarily or involuntarily in the social mind. It is the happy end of that process. A revolution means the voluntary acceptance of a particular set of transformed values which are designed to transplace the prevalent system of values, by the commonest of the human beings.

Therefore, imposition of the will of the majority over an unwilling or innocent rather ignorant

minority is not a revolution. Revolution cannot be thrust upon a people. It must intrinsically be a natural expression of the transformed views of the people: It is a manifestation of a change of heart and mind.

A revolution is not an operation like the one you may make just to drop off the limb you are annoyed with. It is on the contrary infusing the new blood into every nerve and vein in the body of the human society. Revolution, therefore, postulates the transformation in the virtual interest of all.

A revolution is not a fight of one man against another as, Hobbes tells us, was the case in the pre-State period. It is also not a conflict between the two antagonistic classes based on exclusive thinking. It is a proper adjustment of relations between man and man on one side and man and matter on the other. It is, therefore, not possible to even think of the vehicle of violence for the march of a revolution. It should be clearly borne in mind that the necessity of a revolution arises only when at a particular moment the various institutions of a particular society become degenerated and they cease to operate as media of every man's good; rather, on the contrary, they begin to suffer from a sort of civil war where the different members of the community begin to work against one another and develop a biased notion of antagonistic interests fanatically under dogmatic beliefs. This state of affairs is a state of violence. To put an end to this social injustice, violence and self-contradiction a revolution emerges. Revolution is a force against prevalent violence. It aims at rooting it out. It, therefore, must be non-violent in its nature and effect. It is a pledge to establish peace and order not for a few or a large section of the human society, but for all. It is the acceptance of the creed of peace. As such it is essentially an outright rejection of the idea of war or bloodshed. Revolution is peace embodied, working to end war and to establish harmony and concord in the human society.

But when a situation arises in which some people are found supporting the old values and opposing the new ones, how will a revolution deal with them? Evidently the success of a revolution depends upon its power to convert. This conversion must be mental or rational in nature brought about by discussion, logic and presentation of facts.*

A revolution is a project against the prevalent violence of some against others, as we have already stated above. This project cannot succeed unless it has a basic faith in the natural goodness of man. The basic sanction of revolution consists in the doctrine: "Take no man's life, for every man is good by nature and he can revert to goodness provided a rational approach is made."

* In this connection, see the note 'Technique of Non-violent Revolution' added at the end of the article. — M. P.

Technique of Non-violent Revolution

I may add a note here. I draw the attention of the reader to a remark of the author where he says, "conversion must be mental or rational in nature, brought about by discussion, logic and presentation of facts." A reader may well ask in this connection, what if reason, i.e. as the author says, discussion, logic and presentation of facts, — what if they fail to convert? The doctrine of Satyagraha is the answer. As we know, Gandhiji came to it in South Africa, exactly in a situation where "conversion by discussion, logic and presentation of facts" of General Smuts and his government failed. To quote Gandhiji himself :

"Up to the year 1906, I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very industrious reformer. I was a good draftsman, as I always had a close grip of facts, which in its turn was the necessary result of my meticulous regard for truth. But I found that reason failed to produce an impression when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. My people were excited; even a worm will and does sometimes turn — and there was talk of wreaking vengeance. I had then to choose between allying myself to violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis and stopping the rot and it came to me that we should refuse to obey legislation that was degrading and let them put us in jail if they liked. Thus came into being the moral equivalent of war. I was then a loyalist, because, I implicitly believed that the sum total of the activities of the British Empire was good for India and for humanity. Arriving in England soon after the outbreak of the war I plunged into it and later when I was forced to go to India as a result of the pleurisy that I had developed, I led a recruiting campaign at the risk of my life, and to the horror of some of my friends. The disillusionment came in 1919 after the passage of the Black Rowlatt Act and the refusal of the Government to give the simple elementary redress of proved wrongs that we had asked for. And so, in 1920, I became a rebel. Since then the conviction has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings; war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or espoused more forlorn causes than I and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason

is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man. Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword." (*Young India*, 5-11-'31, p. 341)

Satyagraha is persistent assertion of, and living up to, the truth one perceives, through love and non-violence. As such, it seeks to convert the opponent through the irresistible and un-failing appeal of loving action to the whole of the human personality. Thus Satyagraha becomes a form of non-violent revolution or the peaceful and proper way of social change and transformation to desired ends of human good. Really speaking, this is the law of the eternal process of human evolution going on in society. It may emerge, on an occasion, as a revolutionary action — as a non-violent fight specifically needed by a particular revolutionary situation wherein the above revolutionary process of Truth-assertion might have been impeded or thwarted by violent or non-progressive elements in society. But the *raison d'être* of such action or fight will be the assertion, at all cost and through peaceful and non-violent action, of the truth one may hold. The action must be legitimate and planned for the good of all — not selfish and unreasonable.

28-6-'55

M. P.

By Mahatma Gandhi

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(Foreword by Shri C. Rajagopalachari)

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