



SARVODAYA

SEPTEMBER—1961

Volume XI

123rd Issue

Number 3

Sarvodaya - The Call of the Age

“During the course of the last ten years of my Bhoodan - Yatra, I have felt that there is a great demand everywhere for Sarvodaya literature. The various ‘isms’ have proved their inability to satisfy the Indian mind. On the contrary, inspite of the fact that Sarvodaya workers have almost failed so far to demonstrate the application of Sarvodaya philosophy in their lives, the attraction towards the ideal of Sarvodaya is increasing day by day. This is the characteristic of *Yug Dharma* or the call of the Age. ...Under the circumstances, it is the duty of Sarvodaya workers to carry this literature to every home. ”

—VINOBA

(From a message for the nation-wide Sarvodaya Literature Sales Campaign from Sept. 11th to Oct. 2nd.)

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SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA TANJORE (S.I.)

SARVODAYA

A Monthly Digest running its eleventh year is endeavouring to present within its small compass the Sarvodaya ideology of Mahatma Gandhi—the Welfare of all based on Ruskin's "*Unto This Last*", with special reference to its application in action to the socio-economic life through the Bhoodan Gramdan movement of Acharya Vinoba during the last ten years and similar trends of thought and allied movements in other parts of the world with the Sarvodaya values upholding the sanctity of life and freedom of man and for the peace of the world.

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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,
Tanjore, Madras State, India.

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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,
Tanjore, Madras State, India.

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All India Sarvodaya Literature Sales Campaign

From 11th September

VINOBAJI'S BIRTHDAY

To 2nd October

GANDHI-JAYANTHI

*

PLEASE participate in the
Sales Campaign of Sarvodaya
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Subscribers for Bhoodan -
Sarvodaya Periodicals

*

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Sarvodaya Prachuralaya,
Tanjore, Madras State.

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Sarvodaya Literature Campaign

VINOBAJI suggested four years ago to devote a few weeks in a year to conduct a campaign for sale of Sarvodaya literature and for enrolling subscriptions for Sarvodaya periodicals throughout Tamilnad. Eleventh of September was an appropriate day for inaugurating such a campaign. It is the birthday of Vinobaji. It is also the anniversary day of the great Tamil Poet, Subramania Bharathy, widely celebrated in Tamilnad. The campaign ran for a fortnight. The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal, The Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh and the Sarvodaya Prachuralaya jointly organised the campaign.

The Community Development officers with their staff, the constructive institutions, Basic Teachers' Training Schools, educational institutions and Sarvodaya workers made a combined effort to carry the message of Sarvodaya everywhere by organising exhibitions and house to house sale of Sarvodaya literature, discussions and discourses by eminent persons, and elocution and Essay Competitions among students simultaneously throughout Tamilnad. Great enthusiasm and a new tempo for Sarvodaya ideal and programme were witnessed on an unprecedented scale. The Campaign appeared to be a Sarvodaya festival. The Second Campaign in 1959, and the third in 1960 were more successful with new features.

While preparations for the Fourth Sarvodaya Literature Campaign in Tamilnad were going on we were overwhelmed with joy to see the appeal of Sri Nawakrishna Chowdhary for conducting a nationwide Campaign for Sarvodaya literature Sale from 11th September, the birthday of Vinobaji to 2nd October, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. This appeal and Vinobaji's special message appeared in the last issue of Sarvodaya.

There is indeed a weariness of 'isms' and a hearty reception for Sarvodaya literature among the people. Let us hasten to concentrate in sowing the seed of Sarvodaya ideal and programme of non-party, and non-power character through the Sarvodaya literature and the periodicals with the twofold purpose of arousing the consciousness or Janasakthi of the masses and awakening the conscience of the intelligentsia for the creation of a new Sarvodaya order of society based on truth and non-violence.

JAI JAGAT!

COUNT TOLSTOY

MAHATMA GANDHI

IT is believed that, in the western world at any rate, there is no man so talented, learned and as ascetic as Count Tolstoy. Though he is now nearly eighty years old, he is quite healthy, industrious and mentally alert.

Tolstoy was born of a noble family in Russia. His parents had enormous wealth, which he inherited. He is himself a Russian noble man, and has, in his youth, rendered very good service to his country by fighting gallantly in the Crimean War. In those days, like the other noblemen of his time, he used to enjoy all the pleasures of the world, kept mistresses, drank and was strongly addicted to smoking. However, when he saw the carnage and bloodshed during the war, his mind brimmed over with compassion. His ideas changed; he began a study of his own religion and read the Bible. He read the life of Jesus Christ which made a deep impression on his mind. Not satisfied with the then current Russian translation of the Bible, he studied Hebrew, the language in which it was originally written, and continued his researches into the Bible. It

was also about this time that he discovered in himself a great talent for writing. He wrote a very effective book on the evil consequences of war. His fame spread throughout Europe. To improve the morals of the people he wrote several novels, which can be equalled by few books in Europe. The views expressed by him in all these books were so very advanced that the Russian clergy were displeased with him, and he was excommunicated. Disregarding all this, he kept up his efforts and began to propagate his ideas. His writing had a great effect on his own mind. He gave up his wealth and took to a life of poverty. He has lived like a peasant for many years now and earns his needs by his own labour. He has given up all his vices, eats very simple food and has it in him no longer to hurt any living being by thought, word or deed. He spends all his time in good works and prayer. He believes that:

1. In this world men should not accumulate wealth ;
- 2 no matter how much evil a person does to us, we should

always do good to him. Such is the Commandment of God, and also His law ;

3. no one should take part in fighting ;

✓ 4. it is sinful to wield political power, as it leads to many of the evils in the world ;

5. man is born to do his duty to his Creator ; he should therefore pay more attention to his duties than to his rights ;

6. agriculture is the true occupation of man. It is therefore contrary to divine law to establish large cities, to employ hundreds of thousands for minding machines in factories so that a few can wallow in riches by exploiting the helplessness and poverty of the many.

These views he has very beautifully supported by examples from various religions and other old texts. There are today thousands

of men in Europe who have adopted Tolstoy's way of life. They have given up all their worldly goods and taken to a very simple life.

Tolstoy is still writing with great energy. Though himself a Russian, he has written many strong and bitter things against Russia concerning the Russo-Japanese War. He has addressed a very pungent and effective letter to the Czar in regard to the war. Selfish officers view him with bitterness, but they, and even the Czar, fear and respect him. Such is the power of his goodness and godly living that millions of peasants are ever ready to carry out his wish no sooner than it is spoken.

(From Gujarati)

Indian Opinion, 2-9-1905.

Courtesy :- The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. 5 of Publication Division of Government of India, New Delhi.

The periodicals play an important role in literature. The periodicals reaching regularly in various places would carry constant inspiration to the people. Hence, particular attention should be paid to popularise Bhoodan periodicals.

Vinoba

LOVE THINE ENEMY

Subramaniya Bharati

*Love thine enemy, heart of mine, Oh!
Love thine enemy.*

*Hast thou not seen the shinning flame
Amidst the darkening smoke?
In foeman's soul lives Krishna, whom
As Love the wise invoke.*

*Oft we have preached to men that God
In all that is doth shine.
Why, then, my heart, 'tis God that stands
Arrayed as foemen's line.*

*Dost know that limpid pearls are found
Within the oyster vile?
Hast seen on dunghill, too, sometimes
The starry blossom smile?*

*The heart that fans its wrath, shall it
The Inner Peace possess?
The honey poison-mixed, shall it
Be wholesome nevertheless?*

*Shall we who strive for Life and Growth
Lend thought to Sad Decay?
'Thine evil thoughts recoil on thee,'
So do the wise ones say.*

*When Arjun fought, 'twas Krishna whom
He faced, disguised as foes;
'Twas Krishna, too, that drove his car
In charioteering pose.*

*Strike not the tiger threatening thee
But love it, straight and true;
The Mother of All hath donned that garb,
Salute her there, too.*

*Love thine enemy, heart of mine, Oh!
Love thine enemy."*

(Original in Tamil)

From 'Subramania Bharati'— A Memoir—by P. Mahadevan

Price Rs. 3—available at SARVODAYA, TANJORE.

VINOBAJI'S APPEAL TO FILM PRODUCERS

(The following is from a letter written by Vinobaji to Sri. Sriman Narayan, member of the Planning Commission.)

I have learnt from newspapers that the censoring of films is now being done a little better than before under the direction of the Government and that film producers have launched a virtual campaign against this slight tightening up. I am pained at this report.

You know that I have repeatedly stated that I am not opposed to the film industry. On the contrary it can prove to be a good medium of education as well as entertainment, provided it is regulated and planned properly. As Ruskin had observed every industry ought to keep before it the public good as one of its objectives. Within this broad objective there can be a place for fair profits also but it would be intolerable in this age of science, if the film industry is guided solely by the profit motive and does not care for the public good even when the harm that is being done to the public is obvious.

I would go a step further and say that if the film producers continue to have this attitude it would be regarded as dangerous to allow an Industry which excercises such a powerful influence on

the public mind to remain in the private sector.

You know that I am not opposed to Private Sector. On the contrary (in a Sarvodaya Society) there would be cent per cent opportunity for the private sector and cent per cent scope for the public sector as well. The Sarvodaya mathematics postulates that both added together will also add up to 100 per cent. Hundred plus hundred is equal to hundred — this mathematics has not been postulated by any University, but we have accepted this formula. It would therefore be deplorable if we are to consider whether the film industry should continue to remain in the private sector or not.

I do not have any conservative or outmoded notions about what is decent and what is indecent in films. I insist on scientific thinking in these matters. All my colleagues know this. It was painful for me to launch a Satyagraha against indecent posters; but I was forced to do that. Posters are but the external symptoms of an internal malady.

Along with the curb on posters, censoring of indecent films and

Continued on page 71

SHANTI SENA MANDAL MEETING

A meeting of the All-India Shanti-Sena Mandal was held on August 11 and 12 under the presidentship of Sri Nabakrushna Choudhary. The following are some of the main decisions arrived at the meeting :—

(1) To create a favourable atmosphere for national integrity of India an effort should be made to prepare a Peace Pledge and get it duly signed by crores of people. In this Pledge, the citizen will say :—

“all the differences occurring between citizens, groups of men, institutions and organisations be resolved peacefully is the minimum requirement of a cultured society. I will, in no way, apply physical violence in my neighbourhood or in any part of India.”

The final phase to this Peace Pledge should begin with the approval of the different political leaders of the country.

(2) The routine of Lok-sevaks and Shanti-sainiks should include the following distinguishing features :—

- (a) They should have regular contacts with the people of their vicinity and understand the questions facing them.
- (b) They should have special contacts with the peace-lovers of the locality.
- (c) They should have a knowledge of disruptive and fissiparous tendencies working in the locality.

(3) The Training Scheme for the ensuing year was adopted.

(4) The Headquarters of the Shanti-Sena Mandal will remain at Rajghat, Kashi and a branch office at Kasturbagram, Indore.

Continued from page 70

indecent songs is also necessary. I am therefore happy that the Government is now attending to this matter. I would appeal to

the film producers to adopt a co-operative attitude and give a lead in building up a healthy and dynamic younger generation in the country.

APPEAL TO READERS

Sarvodaya Prachuralaya is the Southern Branch of the Publication Department of the Akhila Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Rajghat, Kashi.

It has been publishing a Tamil monthly 'SARVODAYAM' for the last 14 years, with annual subscription of Rs. 3/—

The English Sarvodaya monthly is running its 11th year.

The detailed statement showing the number of titles of Sarvodaya literature published and sold during the last 10 years is given on the last cover page.

The Tamil and English journals are working at a loss for want of sufficient circulation. No commercial advertisements are accepted on principle and therefore, there is no other source of income except the subscriptions paid by friends and the price paid by the casual purchasers. The total number of copies printed per month is on an average only 1500, out of which about 800 copies are for regular subscribers in India, besides about a hundred in other countries; about 500 copies are being sold by the Railway bookstalls and other agencies. The present annual loss can be avoided only if the total circulation is doubled.

We, therefore, appeal to every one of the readers who appreciate the usefulness of this small journal, to kindly help with at least one new subscription or with a gift subscription in the name of friends and relatives in India or abroad. Gift subscriptions for friends in other countries are accepted in India at Rs. 6 per annum as a special case.

Editor, Sarvodaya.

SARVODAYA - THE GOOD OF ALL

Jayaprakash Narayan

BHOODAN is not a sectional rural, national movement, though it may have local application. It is universally applicable to the entire human race. It aims at the good of all which includes my good also. It does not exclude my personality. If everyone's good is achieved your good is also automatically achieved. When it does not exclude any one, then what justification can there be for any individual to remain aloof from it or to have objection to it? Lack of correct understanding of the Fascist ideology of this movement can only make one say that one is not interested in it. Everyone of us should say that we are for Sarvodaya i.e. the good of all. What is good for all is good for me also.

Why should we want good of all? Is it at all possible? There are two answers to the first question: One is psychological and other practical; The psychological answer is that this difference which we experience today is only an appearance, and an unreality. In reality, all of us are one. We may have different bodies, different complexions, different occupations, different nationalities etc. All these differences are there. But we are

human. My Real "I" and your Real "I" are the same. I am something different, my body, hand, eye etc. That "I" by whatever name you call it is one. It is the fundamental truth. Because of this fundamental reality which lies under diversity, we should desire the good of all. My good is your good and your good is mine. If I suffer you suffer too. If I go down you also go down. If we understand this fundamental unity, we would automatically desire the good of all.

Now the practical answer: Suppose an epidemic breaks out in your city can any one say that I have taken all necessary precautions that it does not come to my house? No one is sure of that. The only guarantee, the only perfect insurance against the epidemic is that your city is completely free from it. If you have both the rich and poor, happy and unhappy at the same time in society, can anyone be sure that even though one is happy today, one may not be unhappy tomorrow? One who is rich today can become poor tomorrow. A nation which is proud of its wealth today can it be sure that it will be the same to-

morrow? Hitler challenged the whole world single-handed but we all know that he had to commit suicide at the end. We have witnessed the rise and fall of nations in history. There cannot be only a fall or a rise. So long as there are happiness and unhappiness, wealth and poverty in society you will not be sure what you will be tomorrow. So even in your enlightened self interest you should form a society in which every one's self interest is secured. If there is educated unemployment in India, you may not know that your son will be a prey to this disease. You will be sure of employment only when unemployment is banned from society. So the good of all is a guarantee of our own individual good. So, for our own good every-one should work for Sarvodaya.

Good of All

What is the good of all? There are thieves, black-marketeers, exploiters in society. One might ask as to how you can talk of good of these people? Do you want to give freedom to all these? There is no doubt that these people today are doing wrong, they have gone astray, they have lost their way, and are following a path of

evil. So their good consists in weaning them away from that path and not in punishing them. We should change the circumstances so that people may not go wrong. If your son falls into bad company, there is every possibility that he may go wrong, But it is not the boy who is responsible for it but the circumstances in which he has to live. A poor man who has to save his children starving is driven by hunger to steal. Evil circumstances induce people to commit evil acts. We should treat them just as we treat sick persons in hospital. Give them love and achieve the good of them. Modern law says that punishment is not good. What are you going to achieve by punishing the evil-doers? By hanging such persons you are hanging and condemning yourself. In Russia there is no mercy for political offenders, they receive the most barbaric and brutal treatment which deserve strongest condemnation from all. But criminals in Russia are treated as citizens. They are given opportunity to correct themselves, they are put to work. Just like that rich people in society can also be given opportunity to correct themselves. Accumulation of wealth is not possible by virtue. That is why Christ said, "*It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man*"

to enter the Kingdom of Heaven". Christ would not condemn anyone unnecessarily. Everyone of you present here, like to amass as much of wealth as possible and become multimillionaires. Even the poor people want to be rich. But we all know that wealth cannot be amassed except by exploitation. We are all middle-class people and we certainly take more than what we should; so we are also exploiters.

Every man is born with certain potentialities and tendencies of good and bad qualities. Our good consists in our being guaranteed fullest possible scope for the development of all virtues in us. If we are given this opportunity everyone can achieve his good. How can this be done? Let us take the history of Europe. There was feudal society in Europe for a hundred years; then there were conflicts, and revolutions, in which feudalism was finally defeated. One character of feudalism is that every individual was bound by certain obligations; there was no freedom for the individual. So concepts of "*Laissez faire*" to let everyone do what he likes and to let everyone go wherever he wants came to prevail. The idea of freedom was expressed through bourgeois revolution or capitalistic revolution. It was assumed that if everyone is given

freedom to work for his own good, then automatically good of all would be achieved. Adam Smith was its prophet. He was a revolutionary in his own times. But history of the last 200 years is a tragic failure of "*Laissez faire*". Theoretically the worker was free to move wherever he wants, free to choose his occupation. But in practice, if he did not accept the wages offered to him, he had to starve. One of the greatest literary figures of this age, Anatole France, has written that "bourgeois law, in its majestic equality permits the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges to beg or to steal". The history of last 200 years is a history of new limitations, new regulations placed on the freedom of individual. Workers had to work for 18 hours a day in the factories. So the factory laws came into existence. All these regulations have accumulated into three different political systems—(1) Welfare State (2) Socialist State, (3) Communist State. There are degrees of limitations in each of these three systems. If everyone is working for one's own good, the good of all can never be achieved. It can be possible only when everyone works not for one's own good but for the good of society. Can anyone claim that good of all is achieved either in the Welfare State or in the Socialist or Com-

munist State? They do not achieve the object for which they have been made. It can be achieved when everyone works for the good of all, voluntarily and not compulsorily. When there are two sections in society, compellers and compelled, what good can be achieved of those who are compelled? What guarantee is there that those who have this power to compel will use it for the good of all? So we must create a society where there is no need for compulsion. Vinobaji has said that human beings are not sheep and we do not want mere shepherds. I am saying this not because any saint has said it, but because I have come to that conclusion by studying history, that if we work for our own self-interest it cannot be achieved and there is no guarantee that it will be achieved for ever.

Bhoodan—Gramdan

Bhoodan — Gramdan concerns everyone of us. There is an idea that human happiness, peace and well-being can be achieved only if we give up the idea of self-interest and come to believe that our own good can be achieved only when we achieve good of all.

This is a very simple and noble idea. All great teachers of the world have said this. But it has to be practised. Bhoodan—Gramdan movement is an attempt to practise this idea. It has to be started somewhere. India lives in the villages. If villages rise, India will rise. So Vinobaji started this movement in the villages. People often ask that cities being the centres of culture, education, business and politics etc. why didn't Vinobaji start this movement in cities? But it is applicable to cities also.

The message of Bhoodan is that you should share whatever you have, land, property, intellect, etc., with your neighbours. Ultimately every village will become an enlarged family. Then every nation, then the whole world would become one family. We have to practise this idea. It may be possible for saints to practise it alone. But for common people Bhoodan and Sampattidan are the first steps. It is only partial sharing. But Gramdan is total sharing at least of land to be followed by sharing of other things.

WHICH WAY PEACE MOVEMENT ?

Marjorie Sykes

DURING my young childhood then occurred the 1st World War. Then I was a little child in England. My father was a school teacher. He after a great mental struggle decided to join the army and went to the fighting in France. He came back safe. I remember when I was growing up and learning about world affairs, my father used to talk about his experiences in the War. When the peace treaty in 1919 was being negotiated he said if there is a war in which nations treat each other then there will certainly be another world war when my son grows up to manhood. And exactly when my brother was 28 he faced the 2nd world war. Father used to say "I will not have anything to do with war any more". He talked very little about the war days, experience but it was clear that that suffering was terrible. These days people think that the terribleness of the war has reached to unbearable limits but I feel that the same held good in 1914-19 too. I wonder if there can be any increase in the suffering of the humanity then what it has been exposed during the world wars of this century. So

to my mind, in the 1st world war, people suffered no less than the 2nd because psychologically there can be no comparison nor worse.

Nationalisation and Internationalisation :

Now the movement of Pacifism or World Peace grew at the time of the 1st World War itself and during these 45—50 years it has grown. The realisation of oneness of the world had begun to dawn upon the thinking people as early as the beginning of this century. The forces of Unity and the forces of division have been working simultaneously and concurrently. During the 1st world war narrow nationalism was lustily encouraged but at the same time the first glow of international feeling was also felt. In my school days during the 1st world war the five flags of the allied nations were unpulled and respected. This was a step in thinking beyond one's narrow nationality. Thus the horrors and futility of the war brought about the birth of such international bodies in Europe as the war Resisters International, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Vo-

luntary Service and the like. In the years following the Ist world war these ideas thrived among the youth. At the same time the ruthless repression of liberties of the vanguished people like the German hardened the hearts of the German youth and what followed was the nurture and flowering of an extreme type of nationalism namely Nazism. This was a terrible phenomenon and the reply to it can be only a more and all embracing feeling of internationalism.

World Map Has Changed !

We find today a movement in which people discard the narrow political boundaries of the country to which they belong and that the patriotism of the nation is fast becoming obsolete. The world Union forces are coming to a head and a wider and more international outlook is developing. The question of peace will be decided by what forces sway the minds of the people. This critical decission is to be made not only in Europe and America but alao in Africa and Asia. Probably this will be decided in Asia only. The geography of the world has changed completely now even small countries count greatly. Countries like Congo and Angola which were unknown have come

to the fore in deciding world events. Hence there is no country which we can call as insignificant and therefore consciousness for world peace is to be evoked in all countries. It is heartening to note that the immense number of new minds that are getting alive to the Peace Movement.

Gandhi Showed the Way !

The international organisations which were working for world peace in many countries preached non-conscription in army and resistance to compulsory militarization. But they did not apply themselves so much to the causes of War — the unjust economic and social justice, Gandhiji pointed out to the European Peace Movement that they accepted the basically unjust order in which roots of war are born. He showed to them these roots. As the movement for peace matured in the west they became more and more alive to the connection between Peace and Social Justice. Take for instance the WRI (War Resisters International). It is devoted to the finding and curing of the root causes of war. This is a whole new horizon.

The unhuman divisions between man and man are the roots of all wars. This has to be fought at along with the militarization that

manifests due to these causes. Thus Gandhi showed a positive side to the resistance to militarization programme that the peace bodies were practising. This was the programme of constructive work—the social and economic programme to end all exploitation of man by man. Thus the secondary programme of resistance against practices which are inconsistent with the building of peace was complemented by the primary step of constructive programmes.

Progress in Peace Work :

After the 1st world war there was a great deal of talking about peace movement by now the progress in the movement is that people want action. This new feature is very hopeful. The great public demonstrations for peace in many countries that are being organised by these bodies which believe in non-violence are now attracting larger and larger number of people. In U.K. the Aldermaston March is organised every year an Easter. Aldermaston is the main military research station 70 miles from London. Peace People gather there and silently protest against militarization and then they proceed on foot march to London. This year 50,000 people took part in this 7 day Pada Yatra.

Two years back when I was in London I met the people who

organise these marches and found that they were young men and women of 20—22 age group. In U.K., U.S., Germany and many other places I find the younger generation is getting eager to act for peace. The elder people help them but it is the young that lead. They want to express by action that “We want Peace”.

In India :

Recently there was held an international seminar at Dharmasala in which 14-15 countries of Asia were represented. They came together and discussed “What action can I take to help forward the cause of peace”. The young Canadian who organised the camp told me that 200 practical suggestions came out of this meet. Thus this new thing will grow and develop in India too. There are three things we have to do :—

1. The level of international affairs of the country : we must be able to solve them peacefully. Until we are able to solve our international problems, people can ask, “what are you doing to apply ‘peace rules’ to your trouble spots?” One level at which we must build peace is in our international affairs. When we seek for a direct action in the field of economic and social injustice it is here that

we need to apply non-violence most. We must evolve a basically peaceful social and economic condition in India.

2. At the level of individual life in all our affairs we must try to solve problematic issues by discussion and reasoning and not by force. Only absence of war is not peace but managing our affairs by resorting to reason than by force is the direction in which we must strive. This path has risks but let us be brave to take risks in the right direction. A person who gets angry when his position is challenged and fights for it is not working for peace. The man who can settle quarrels both in individual cases and in wider spheres amicably, creates the spiritual bases for the movement of peace.

3. In the case of international questions we must have a clear outlook. The claims of national sovereignty is one of the causes of war and patrio-

tism is stressed to support one's country be it in the wrong or right. But we should humbly and clearly point out when our own government is in the wrong. This may lead us to dangers but we should be prepared to suffer the consequences. Democracy is the right to express one's opinion and it should not be used to suppress truth if the same is against the selfish interest of a group or a nation.

We all have specially beloved places to which so many of our tender feelings are attached. This is a natural and right feeling. I still remember and love the village, I was born and brought up in. But this feeling of affection that we may have for a place or an epoch must not be exploited by political powers for their selfish ends to incite passionate feelings to narrow down our outlook. *The wider we will make our outlook the more we will work for world peace.*

S. P. S.-Indore.

'BHOODAN'

A Weekly organ of the Bhoodan Movement.

Editor : Siddharaj Dhadra

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THE MEANING OF LOVE

Derek Neville, Itteringham, Norwich, Norfolk.

IN that lovely passage that is to be found in the 11th chapter of Isaiah, verses 1-9, it is the last verse that especially touches upon a profound truth. It says: "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea." The first thing to be noted about this verse is that it makes a statement and then gives a reason for that statement. It describes a result and then tells us the cause of that result. It says that because the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the LORD — because of that fact — "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain."

In other words, in this verse we are told as clearly as it is possible to be told that when the earth is filled with the knowledge of the LORD, nobody will want to hurt or destroy anything.

This ideal state may seem to some of us to be very far away, but it must be remembered that any ideal state envisaged for a world or a nation must first be made a reality in the lives of individuals. For this world will only be perfect when its individual members are themselves

capable of perceiving perfection at the heart of everything.

Thus we are able to bring this vision considerably nearer than we might imagine. We do not have to wait until there is a perfect world in order to put into practice the great principles of truth and of love that are the very foundations of the Kingdom of heaven.

We should look at this verse again and apply it to the individual life. Then we shall see that as soon as an individual is filled with the knowledge of the LORD - at that point such an individual does not want to hurt or destroy anything at all. He may sometimes be obliged to destroy something - but it is not because of a desire on his part to do it, but only because it seems to be the only possible thing to do.

It has always seemed to me that this deep reverence for the rest of life is one of the most fundamental things in the life of the spirit. I remember many years ago now John Moreton telling me that there would never be an end to war until people had stopped killing the animals

for food. I thought he was going a bit far at the time. Although I myself was a vegetarian - I did not feel that the matter had much to do with the cessation of war.

But John Moreton was right. When we go down deep enough into the root of things, we come to this verse in Isaiah where an unerring finger is laid upon the whole problem and where it is clearly stated that when we are filled with the knowledge of the LORD we do not want to hurt or destroy.

God is love and when we are filled with a knowledge of that great love, we must at the same time be filled with a deep and abiding reverence for all life. Love is a creative inward desire for the highest good of the rest of creation. It is a desire that is far deeper than thought, far wider than the compass of any human mind. It is a desire that results in an interior knowing without any valid mental reason for the same. It is a desire that is not chained to logic but is brought about because of the awareness of the unity at the heart of creation. To be filled with the knowledge of the LORD is to be filled with the knowledge of love. One cannot know love by means of the mind. To know love is to experience it. The knowledge of love must be a

deep interior knowledge whereby the spirit of man meets the spirit of the LORD.

When this takes place, so that the love of God is operating within the soul of man, so that the soul of man is now sending forth a positive dynamic desire for the good of all creation — how can that man want to hurt or destroy? It is an impossibility! There may come a moment in his life, when because he can see no other possibility if he is to act for the good of all, he is obliged to hurt or destroy. For instance, he may feel obliged to weed his garden, and as he does so on some summer's afternoon, he cannot help but be conscious of the uprooted weed that must now droop in the heat and die or be cast aside to be burned on some bonfire. He cannot be blind to the beauty and perfection of the little flowers that have to die just because they are in the wrong place at the wrong time. But in this very atmosphere of compassion and reverence he can find his peace. I am not sure of the quotation, but I have heard it said that Albert Schweitzer has pointed out that a farmer may plough up a field and still be in harmony with life, whereas anybody who picks a single flower in thoughtlessness or waste is out of harmony with life. I think

this is very true. When we are filled with the knowledge of the love of God, we cannot thoughtlessly hurt or destroy other forms of life. The wayside flower or the leaves of the tree become holy to us, and we know them to be vessels of the divine life — not to be plucked without thought and cast aside. As to the possibility of killing the birds or animals thoughtlessly or for our own selfish ends — this becomes an impossibility.

Indeed it may be truly stated that such things are possible only when we are not filled with the knowledge of the LORD, only when we push aside that knowledge and conveniently forget it. It is for this reason that if in any country such as Britain men and women had to kill their own animals in order to obtain their meat — then I would unhesitatingly suggest that 95 per cent of them would become vegetarians! Very few people indeed would be prepared to take the life of another creature in order to eat it. And of those who were so prepared, very few would be able to continue doing so for long.

To be filled with the knowledge of the LORD is to be filled with an all-embracing love that takes in the rest of life. It is a love that sees deep down into the heart of

the universe, a love that can make one individual at one with another able to feel as another feels, and to see with the eyes of another. It is a mysterious power because it is not confined to individuals. It is a love that looks out and enters into the being of a creature, feels as the creature feels and sees as the creature sees. Or it is a love that enters into the herbs that grow, the trees, the roots of things. It is not a blind love that misses imperfections altogether, or that sees imperfections as lasting for ever. It is a love that sees a struggling world, that does not miss the pain and the darkness, the mistakes and the follies of those that struggle towards the light—but it is a love that at the same time sees the light to which all travellers into that light. That is what love is — a desire to help each other part of creation into its true fulfilment and into the awareness of the knowledge and the glory of the LORD.

And that is why those who are themselves filled with the knowledge of the LORD cannot hurt nor destroy thoughtlessly or needlessly. They live to bless and to heal and restore, and it is the operation of such lives that will bring peace on earth and show us the kind of world to which Isaiah refers.

TWO WHO COULD HAVE BEEN FRIENDS.

Heinz Kraschutzki, Germany.

(1) The German Soldier

[I]t was in Summer 1916 that a British nurse, Miss Edith Cavell, was sentenced to death and executed by a court-martial of the German Occupation Army at Brussels, Belgium. She had helped young Belgians to get out of the country and join the Belgian Army in France.

I got news that some incident had happened at that execution, and started an investigation. It was not before 30 years had elapsed that I learned the truth.

Miss Edith Cavell was led to a cemetery for civilians, there she had to sit down on a chair to which she was bound. The execution squad took their stand some 15 steps in front of her, rifles down. The lieutenant gave order to lift the rifles. Eleven rifles went up, pointing at the heart of the woman, one rifle remained down. The lieutenant took out his pistol and said: "Rammler, will you obey?" The soldier Rammler said: "No, Sir." At this, the lieutenant killed the soldier Rammler with his pistol, then he ordered: "Fire!" and Miss Edith Cavell was killed by eleven rifles.

Rammler had heard the voice of his conscience, which forbade him to fire against a woman. He gave his life rather than to disobey that voice.

When I had found out this, I published it in "Peace News", London. I got several letters from England. One wanted to know, whether I could perhaps find out the family of Rammler, but my efforts were unsuccessful. Another Englishman wrote me: "Miss Edith Cavell has a monument in England, for her patriotism. Why is there no monument for Rammler?"

(2) The French Soldier

It was in the first months of 1945. The French Army penetrated into the Black Forest, South-Germany.

In one small village, situated in a narrow valley, the men were nearly all absent, in the Army. But the women, with their children, were in the street, to have a look at their new masters.

The French cars stopped at the centre of the village, and the soldiers stepped out of them.

At this it happened to one young soldier, that a hand grenade, that was hanging at his belt, was caught by a nail or something, and began to burn. He knew that now an explosion was imminent, but what could he do? He yelled "Attention!", but the women in a German village do not understand French. They did not move. Could he throw the hand grenade away? But where? It was in a narrow street, with women and children all around. So he did the only thing that could save those women, he pressed the burning hand grenade against his own body, and that against the lorry.

There the explosion took place. He was torn to pieces and died immediately. But the women and children of the so-called enemy were safe.

The name of the French soldier is not known. But the people in the village will never forget him.

The French and the Germans have often been called hereditary enemies. But there were those two soldiers, one of each nation, for whom the voice of their conscience meant more than anything else. If they had met in life, would they not have been friends?

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GOVERNMENT AND BHOODAN

THE First Five Year Plan recognized the importance of the Bhoodan movement which gave to the landless workers an opportunity to obtain land which was not otherwise easily available. The Second Plan has emphasized the need to provide wider opportunities to agricultural workers and has recommended that detailed schemes should be drawn up in each State for their resettlement on land. Lands which will become available from Bhoodan will be included in these schemes. While special personnel for organizing the resettlement of the workers will be required, the resources needed for development should be available from the allocations made in the Plan for agriculture, National Extension and Community Development, village industry and other programmes.

The Second Plan characterised the Gramdan movement as an important step in the direction of co-operative development of the village economy. It observed :

“The practical success which is achieved in the development of Gramdan villages will have great significance for co-operative village development elsewhere in the country. Co-operative villages should receive

in special measure the various forms of assistance specified earlier for co-operative farming societies. Two other aspects need to be emphasized. In these villages, land revenue should be collected through the village panchayats. Secondly, depending on the form in which individual rights are held under the village community, credit and other assistance should be made available either to individuals on the strength of security which the community can furnish or on the basis of shares which individuals hold in the village lands. Such adaptation in existing revenue and co-operative legislation as are required for the transformation from individual to co-operative or community holding of land should be carried out.”

The Government recognizes the usefulness of the movement and render such assistance as is compatible with the ideals of the movement. A number of States such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, the Punjab, Rajasthan, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh have enacted legislation to facilitate the distribution of the donated land. In Bombay, Kerala, parts of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, adminis-

trative instructions have been issued to facilitate the donation and distribution of land.

At the Sixth Development Commissioners' Conference held at Mussourie in April 1957, it was decided that Gramdan villages should receive preference in the establishment of Extension and Community Development centres. It has been further agreed to integrate the programme of Community Development with that of Gramdan. This will foster the growth of social cohesion and will inculcate the spirit of collective interest in the field.

In the Yelwal Conference in Sept. 1957, it was agreed that the closest co-operation was desirable between the Community Development movement and the Gramdan movement. The matter was discussed in detail by a working group in the Ministry of Community Development and after further considerations at the Development Commissioners' Conference held at Mt. Abu in May 1958, certain decisions were arrived at for bringing about closer co-operation between Bhoodan and Community Development movements.

By the end of December 1958, about 44 lakh acres of land had been received in Bhoodan. Out of these, nearly 8 lakh acres had

been distributed. The number of villages donated as Gramdan was 4,570, Orissa leading with 1,960.

Besides assisting the movement through legislative measures, the Central and State Governments have also given it financial aid. For instance, the Ministry of Home Affairs has approved a scheme of the All India Sarva Seva Sangh, costing Rs. 94 - 15 lakh for the Second Plan Period, for a comprehensive development of villages donated under the Gramdan movement in Koraput, Ganjam and Balasor districts of Orissa. These villages are predominantly inhabited by members of the scheduled tribes. The Government of India is contributing Rs. 68 lakh of the sum required, the rest being found by the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and other non-official organisations. The Ministry of Home Affairs also gave an outright grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Orissa Government during 1955—56 for the development of Gramdan villages in Orissa.

Similarly, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture sanctioned during 1957—58 a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs as financial assistance to 10,000 landless agricultural workers settling on Bhoodan lands in Bihar. This included a sum of Rs. 22,50,000 as subsidy and Rs. 7,50,000 as loan.

Continued on page 88

A MESSAGE FOR SARVODAYA

Dr. Vempati Suryanarayana, Tenali.

Any one who has even a slight experience in the field of journalism knows how difficult it is to run a journal of this kind in these days when the generality of people are fond of cheap, light and frivolous literature.

The country today is passing through a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It is proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the world cannot bear the strain of a Violent War in this age of Atomic Weapons. Nevertheless, the world is fighting shy of settling its problems through peace, truth and nonviolence.

Under these circumstances, the urge of the hour is worldwide propaganda of the cardinal principles of truth, love and compassion. Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sarvodayapatra, Santi Sena and last but not the least-Lok Nithi are the means to bring about the new values of life.

Vinobaji insists that all constructive workers should spare no pains to educate the public in the right directions through the medium of all languages.

SARVODAYA has just been struggling against so many odds to do that very thing in the English speaking public both in India and abroad for the last ten years.

May the Editor's efforts meet with the success the journal richly deserves in the years to come! May SARVODAYA inspire people to subscribe to it in larger numbers and enable them to enrich their knowledge in the art of right thinking and living.

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In addition to the above-mentioned grants, the Ministry of Community Development has undertaken to supply certain Bhoodan and Gramdan literature during 1958-59 to block headquarters, training centres and village libraries at an estimated cost of Rs. 5,25,000.

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Financial assistance has also been given by the various State Governments.

—From "*Land Reforms in India*"
- a Govt. of India publication, priced at 25 nP.

SARVODAYA OR SOCIALISM?

Esme Wynne—Tyson, Sussex, England.

AT the present time, Britain is said to be going through a financial crisis. But the situation is really more serious than that. It is an exposure of the shaky foundations of the Welfare State, which was started by taxing the wealthy up to the hilt, and, in the case of landowners, sometimes out of existence. This compulsive, Robin Hood method of robbing the rich in order to give to the poor, was naturally bitterly resented by the majority of its victims. To lessen the economic gulf between rich and poor was a worthy and ethical aim, but to impose appalling taxation upon a large section of society without its consent was the wrong means of achieving the right end. The right means is now being exemplified by Vinobaji in his advocacy of Sarvodaya.

About two years ago, in an article entitled *Sarvodaya and Bhoodan* printed in *Sarvodaya*, P. Natarajan, M.A., Professor of History, wrote: "Sarvodaya is derived from the Sanskrit word which means all round progress. It was coined by Gandhiji in 1908.....It teaches the moral that God provides for all. Sarvodaya promotes all-round progress of

the individual, and also the uplift of the society...Every Champion of Sarvodaya is a crusader in the noble cause of uplift of the society." In this definition 'uplift' is the key word. This appears to be the great and vital difference between Sarvodaya and Socialism, for the latter ensures that everything is levelled down, quality being continually sacrificed to quantity. The taste of the unevolved masses prevails in the press, in films, in radio and television programmes and in the general culture, which is, in almost all departments, greatly inferior to that of 30 or 50 years ago. Those once known as Upper Classes seem often to be busily trying to outdo the common man in his commonness. Religion is considered reactionary, only to be tolerated when it doesn't interfere with the individual's private life. The animal facts of life, about which people used to preserve a decent reticence, are everywhere paraded. Words that were once used only by the lowest elements of society are now openly used and printed in books and newspapers. Voices have coarsened, especially those of the children who receive a standard education at free schools. People

who show any signs of refinement are accused of being 'squares'. To earn a living, it is necessary to come down to the level of the mentalities of the vast majority. In such a society there is little place for quality, or for inward improvement. It is easier to descend than ascend. The classes once known as 'Upper' no longer set the high standard that they did in the Victorian times, and, lacking models, the proletariat do not attempt to improve themselves inwardly. The urge to betterment, which is the evolutionary urge in all men, finds expression, in this era, in demanding only external improvements, and a worship of gadgets and commodities. It is a selfish, grasping society which does not seem to understand that the wealth originally gained by robbing the rich is not inexhaustible, and that a Welfare State founded on such means can only be maintained by the increasing labours of the beneficiaries. Instead, the demand is continually for a larger pay packet and less hours spent in earning it—a situation which, at last, is being recognized as untenable.

How much wiser and better is the Sarvodaya method of upliftment! Where the founders of the Welfare State demanded

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money of the reluctant wealthy at the point of a Tax form, Vinobaji *persuades* the rich man to do the will of God in providing for his poorer fellow men. He raises the wealthy to altruism at the same time as he raises the poor from their penury. On the one side there is beneficence, on the other, gratitude. Both classes of society are therefore united and uplifted by this method. It may take longer, but it is safe to prophesy that it will last longer, for its foundations are morally sound. Let us hope that impatience—the argument that Sarvodaya takes too long, and that some sort of compulsion would be quicker—will not spoil the idealistic plan of Gandhiji and Vinobaji, who, like the wise men of all time, know that good ends are never finally achieved without the employment of good, moral and non-violent means. A persistent policy of ever-increasing compulsion, which is violence, has brought humanity to the verge of extinction, and therefore an alternative must be found and practised if mankind is to survive. Sarvodaya not only provides this alternative, but it aids the process of spiritual evolution which both Tolstoy and Gandhiji believed to be the aim of life. Socialism, with its perpetual sacrifice of quality to equality, makes it impossible.

EARTH FOR ALL CALENDAR FOR SEPTEMBER

(Extracts from the book compiled by Earnest Crosby and published in New York)

September 1

Wandering on through notches which the streams had made, by the side and over the brow of hoar hills and mountains, across the stumpy, rocky, forested and bepastured country, we at length crossed on prostrate logs over the Amonoosuck, and breathed the free air of Unappropriated Land.

—H. D. Thoreau, *Week on the Concord & Merrimac* (1849) p. 414.

September 2

The earth in its natural uncultivated state was, and ever would have continued to be, the common property of the human race.

—Thomas Paine, *Agrarian Justice* (1797) *Paine's Writings* Vol. III p. 329.

September 11

Do you know any honest men who have a will of their own among your neighbors? If not, set yourself to seek for such; if any, commune with them on this one subject, how a man may have sight of the Earth he was made of, and his bread out of the dust of it—and

peace! And find out what it is that hinders you now from having these and resolve that you will fight it and put an end to it.

—John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, Vol. II., End of letter 16.

September 21

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another

keeps;

The robes ye weave another

wears;

The arms ye forge another

bears.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley,

Song—To the Men of England.

September 22

The plowman plows, the

sower sows

The reaper reaps the ear,

The woodman to the forest goes

Before the day grows clear;

But of our toil no fruit we see,

The harvest's not for you

and me;

A robber band has seized

the land,

And we are exiles here.

—Edward Carpenter, *The People To The Land, Chants of Labour*, p. 51.

Satyagraha in Tamilnad against Eviction

A non-violent direct action against eviction in Muthirulandipatti, one of the 42 Gramdan villages in Melur Taluk, Madura District, was launched by Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal on August 19. 52 Persons including 4 women were arrested. On 20th, viz. the second day, 61 persons including 2 ladies were arrested. Sri A. Kanakasabapathy, an active Bhoodan worker in the area and Sri V. Balakrishnan of Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal Office were also arrested. The whole of Melur Taluk was surcharged with the atmosphere created by the non-violent satyagraha against eviction. Hundreds of villagers were full of enthusiasm to join the fight.

This is the history of the problem in brief:

One absentee - landlord from Melur, who has interest in this Gramdan village, advised the original land-lord to sell away all his land of 2.50 acres. He himself purchased a patch of land and made two others of the same village, who had not joined the Gramdan fold, as owners of the 90 cents on which there was this tenancy trouble. The trouble over this patch of land in the matter of tenancy is 3 years old. Compromise was also made last

year. But later the villagers were dragged to the court where the Judgment went against them in the absence of any record as the land-lords generally do not give anything in writing for the tenancy rights.

In this village of Muthirulandipatti, the land-lord with the Court Decree in his favour, planted Plantains in one of the plots and gingele in another, simply to oppress the villagers of the Gramdan village. They now resorted to Satyagraha by entering into the plots to retain their tenancy rights.

The first batch of Satyagrahis entered the plot of land on August 19 led by Sri Sangilia Pillai, a veteran congressman since 1920, Convenor of Madura District Shanti-sena, singing Ramdhun and shouting slogans 'Gramdan is our objective'. About 185 satyagrahis were arrested till 25th August. The police resorted to lathi-charges. The first group who entered the plot started manuring and watering the trees. In another field where gingele crops had grown, the second batch started reaping. It was at this stage that the Police intervened and took them into custody. This kind of Satyagraha went on for a

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MELUR SATYAGRAHA - AND AFTER

S. Jegannathan, Secretary, Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal

THE eviction is only a fringe of the land problem. It is the final stroke of the land-lords to squeeze out the cultivator as a 'Cooly or Pannaiyal'! Once an independent farmer in possession of his own land becomes a dependent tenant to the non-producer. Then he is driven out to the abject slavery as a Cooly or Pannaiyal! This is the sad story of thousands of tillers of the soil.

Muthirulandipatti people have been resisting the eviction from the particular land for the past 3 years. It is the Gramdhan spirit which brought them together and gave them the united strength to fight out the injustice. When the decision of the Munsiff Court confirmed the eviction they had no other go except resorting to Satyagraha. It is self-suffering on the part of villagers. The peasants are considered to be the last vanguard of revolution, but they stand

foremost in a nonviolent revolution and it is quite suited to their tradition and culture. Muthirulandipatti is the first of its kind to raise in revolt against the injustice in a nonparty and nonviolent way. There was no party string attached. 329 Satyagrahis participated. The Land-lord came forward for a compromise and it was a victory to the people. The particular land under dispute was given by the landlord to the Sarvodaya Society for cultivation.

This is just a beginning towards an end. This process of transferring the land of the absentee landlords or non-producers to the society should continue. In Muthirulandipatti village itself 153 acres are owned by outside non-producers. Some of the Gramdhan Sarvodaya Co-operative Societies are appealing to the absentee landlords to transfer their lands to the society. They have also written to the Government regarding this

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week. We are happy to say that ultimately there was a peaceful settlement among all those concerned on the 25th August.

Vinobaji expressed his surprise at the lathi charges made by the

police in his telegram, and he advised the Satyagrahis to strictly adhere to nonviolence in thought, word and deed. Sri S. Jagannathan and his colleagues were staying in Melur guiding the Satyagraha Movement.

matter. These villages can be self-sufficient in food and clothing only when these lands come under the management of the societies. It is hoped that the landlords would realise their responsibility and transfer the ownership of the lands when the society offers to purchase the lands, or for the time being at least the tenancy right to the society. This will ensure to stabilise the society. Production is sure to increase by this adjustment.

Acharya Vinobaji has also recently declared in a statement to the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Mandal

that the lands belonging to the absentee landlords should be available for cultivation to the Gramdhan people and the Gramdhan society should undertake to pay the fair rent according to the Government Act. It is not right on the part of the land-lords to bring in outside labour for cultivation.

Acharya Vinobaji has also written a personal letter to Shri Kamaraj, Chief Minister of Madras requesting him to take action with regard to the problem of the lands belonging to absentee landlords in Gramdhan villages.

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Conference in Lebanon For World Peace Brigade

A Conference to establish World Peace Brigade will be held at the Brummana High School, outside Beirut in Lebanon in December. Michael Scott, Chairman of the Conference Preparatory Committee in London, says that their effort is a novel peace-making one and that the implications of the World Peace Brigade concept will be a dramatic step forward for the forces of peace and commonsense. He appreciates the favourable reaction of the Lebanese Government.

The sponsors of the Conference are :—

(1) Vinoba Bhave (2) Danilo Dolci of Sicily, (3) Prof. Leopold Infeld, the Polish Pugwash Scientist, (4) Kenneth Kaunda, African leader in Northern Rhodesia, (5) Dr. Martin Luther King, Leader of the racial integration movement in the U. S. A., (6) Prof. Georgi Nadjakov, Chairman of the Bulgarian Peace Committee (And Vice-Chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for the Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy), (7) Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, Indian Sarvodaya leader, (8) Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, (9) Dr. Martin Niemoller of West Germany, and (10) Alan Paton, the South African author.

International Conference in London in September

An International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament on non-governmental level, will be held in London from Sept. 14 to 18. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan is expected to attend the Conference. A number of distinguished persons like Bertrand Russell, Albert Schweitzer, J. B. Priestley, Vinoba Bhave, Prof. Lange, Martin Luther King, J. H. Holmes and Narman Thomas, are its sponsors. The list includes 3 persons from Soviet Union, 6 from the U. S. A. and 5 from Great Britain.

The Conference will consider Nuclear disarmament in relation to total disarmament, with special emphasis on the question of how to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and what steps can be taken to persuade those countries possessing them to abandon them. This will also discuss problems standing as barriers to nuclear disarmament and try to remove distance between the East and West.

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