ENDS AND MEANS IN BHOODAN.

(By J.C.Kumarappa)

In an Ahimsic Order we have to be always vigilant to keep clear the ends and means. A slight over-emphasis on the end will lead to attachment and thence to Himsa. Bhoodan Movement being a drive towards the establishment of Sarvodaya Order we must carefully examine its component parts and separate its ends and means and be ever watchful of our attitude to these.

The ends and means of Bhoodan may be classified as follows:-

- 1) Economic: The End: Removal of Poverty.

 The Means: Proper production and utilisation of Land.
- 2) Social:- The End: To vest ownership in the community.

The Means: Redistribution.

3) Political:- The Ends: Peaceful Transfer of Land.

The Means: Change of character and outlook through persuation.

In visualising the end clarity is needed, while we should look for purity in the means. The ends will take care of themselves as long as we employ the proper means.

Therefore we shall here concentrate consideration on the Means:-

1) Removal of Poverty can be accomplished only by put ting the land to proper use. When we produce for
export or for the mills we create unemployment and
increase poverty and distress. We should, therefore,
concentrate on production for local use based on
self-sufficiency. To educate farmers and workers
on the details of this programme we urgently need
Agrarian Colleges and Demonstration Centres.

- 2) At present private ownership characterises land holdings. We have to change this. There should be no private ownership -- large or small. It is not good enough to take the land from the large owner and give it in small pieces to individual farmers. The lands must be leased out to the tillers for a period of years and their performance should be subjected to careful scrutiny. This step also needs the education of the workers through establishing Agrarian Colleges.
 - 3) Persuation should lead us to affect transfer of land peacefully. To persuade and appeal to the heart of the people we need workers. Trained worker is our means of attaining this. Here again the pointer towards the establishment of Agrarian Colleges.

This short analysis drives us to the conclusion that our concentration must be on the worker. Focusing our attention on time and extent will lead us to violence. Targets are part of violent planning.

The workers being our means the core of our problem reduces itself to finding them. We cannot just draft the available ones from existing institutions. It will amount to violence.

To clarify this, I may be allowed to cite one or two outstanding instances in which during the emotional upsurge workers had deserted their post of duty to fill, what was considered to be a present need. During the call for Jivandan, the Assistant Secretary of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh nobly came forward to dedicate her services to Bhoodan. Is this right? Was not her life already dedicated to Basic Education? Nai Talim is part of the Sarvodaya Order, While Bhoodan concerns itself with Economic, Social and Political spheres of Sarvodaya, Basic Education is a cultural and spiritual contribution towards

building up of the future citizens. Which is more vital?

Abandoning Basic Education and taking to Bhoodan is definitely a retrograde step. To use Biblical language, "It is not lawful to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs."

Similarly the two Secretaries of the Sarva Seva Sangh had taken to Bhoodan. These are in the position of a wife abandoning her truly-wedded husband and eloping with a newly found friend! There are hosts of others, but these few are mentioned only to illustrate that our choice of means -- workers -- should not hamper the rest of Sarvodaya Programme.

When Gandhiji made a general call for Satyagrahis he cleared the courts, colleges and schools which were all outside the order, nay, they were "Anti-Sarvodaya" and their weakening was a progress. I may mention that I received definite instructions from Gandhiji at the time of every movement not to leave my post of duty. "Don't court arrest or do any overt act. And if you do your duty properly they are bound to arrest you." I had never done an overt act or courted arrest and yet I was in Jail seven times! If our life is a dedicated one within the Sarvodaya Order, we cannot desert it under any conditions. Fixing targets leads overenthusiasts to resort to such acts. Let us beware of temptation.

There is no high or low in Sarvodaya. Even if it be scavenging, if it be done in a true Sarvodaya spirit, it is as important as any other. The only thing that matters is Ahimsa. There is no greater urgency than that.