



INDIA'S SOCIAL MIRACLE

DAWN OF A NEW DAY
IN THE EAST

AND HOW IT MAY
REACH THE WEST

DANIEL P. HOFFMAN

INDIA'S SOCIAL MIRACLE

By Daniel P. Hoffman

In the terrible crisis of a world hovering on the brink of thermonuclear war, few brighter rays of hope have appeared on the horizon of world humanity than the story of the Bhave Movement, told about in this book. A. Vinoba Bhave, India's saintly spiritual heir of Gandhi, has walked across thousands of miles of dusty plains, over mountain ranges and through jungles to bring love, hope and a new life to India's teeming millions. Breaking down outmoded rules of caste, superstitions, prejudices and the hates that destroy the true spirit in man, not only in India, but all over the world, Bhave is creating cooperative communities in which man is drawn back to closeness with nature and God.

Here is India's answer to the challenge of Communism combined with a spiritual call to America to wake up to the need of replacing a blind materialism with a love and understanding of man and nature if the chaos of war and hate is not to overcome the world. The author has written movingly and penetratingly both of India's discovery of inward and outer peace and of the opportunities of America to learn from this great human adventure before it is too late.

So, sincerely and clearly, with a humbleness that is real and refreshing, the author leads you on an exploring trip into a new world where man gives signs of realizing his destiny as a child of God. Here is adventure, pathos, tenderness and supreme understanding involved in the great effort of healing the social sicknesses of India, which are also the sicknesses of the world.

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INDIA'S SOCIAL MIRACLE

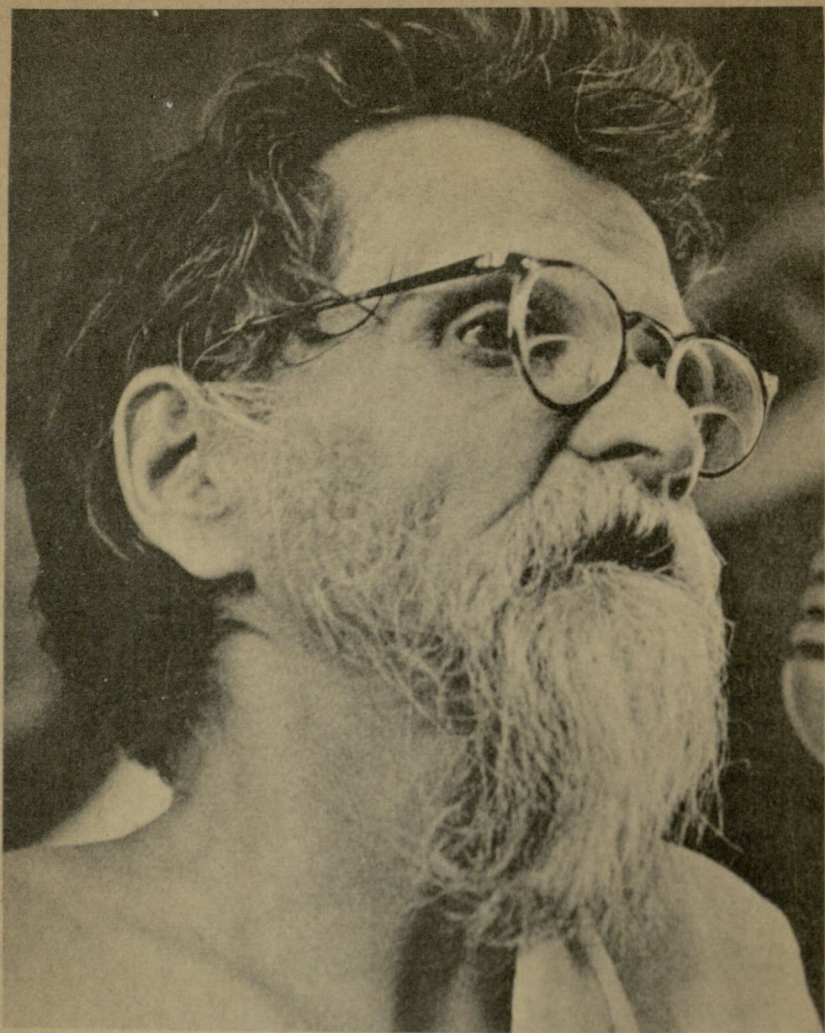
The Story of Acharya Vinoba Bhave and His Movement for Social Justice and Cooperation, along with a Key to America's Future and the Way for Harmony between Man, Nature and God.

By
DANIEL P. HOFFMAN

With a foreword by
H. B. Stevens and R. St. Barbe Baker

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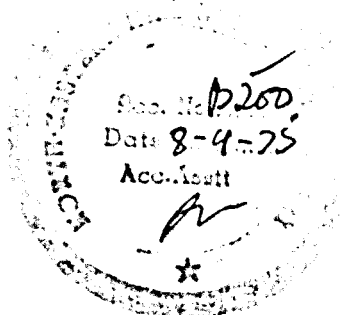




ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

Dedicated to all who seek
spiritual progress and the
brotherhood of man.

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HOF.



FOREWORD I

Access to land is almost as much a requisite for human beings as access to air. When people are shut off from either, they languish.

It is well, therefore, for America to appreciate the message of India's newest saint, who, by the sheer power of goodwill, is winning back so much of the earth's surface for the land-starved villagers of his country. We have lacked awareness of their plight and of Vinoba Bhave's almost superhuman achievement.

For our own part our land problem is of a different sort. America is new to the exploitation of resources. Our human population per square mile is only a fraction of that in the East. Here we have turned the greater part of even our best land over to animals.

Meat consumption in America has reached the astounding total of 212 pounds per capita, fifty times that of India and four times that of the world average. In terms of calorie production this is an extraordinary waste of land. Agricultural economists admit that crops grown directly for human food require only one sixth as much area as crops fed to livestock and delivered in the form of animal products. Since two thirds of this country's tillage land is devoted to animal feed, this means that we are operating it at only 16 percent efficiency. The waste on pasture land is no less telling. Loss of trees and resulting erosion are fast bringing the desert into this hemisphere and will ruin it even as they have done in the Old World. This is the price which our children will be paying because of our supplying them and ourselves with so much steak and pork chops.

Since it is the consumer who ultimately determines to what use land will be put, we must turn to the consumer for relief. He who forsakes a carnivorous diet can justly feel that he is releasing about one and one half acres of land for more productive use.

Meat is not a necessity under the conditions in which we live. The ice age passed away several thousand years ago, and with it should go this Eskimo habit. The ancient wisdom of India understood this truth. In the light of it the practices of the West appear barbarous and revolting. I am glad that my friend, Daniel Hoffman, with whom I traveled several thousand miles in India, has caught so well the vision of this ancient land, to whom our culture owes so much.

Henry Bailey Stevens, October 10, 1961, Durham, N. H.
Retired Director of Univ. of N.H. Extension Service and professor in Agriculture and Home Economics, author of the Recovery of Culture, (Harpers), Tolstoy, Johnny Appleseed and Paul Bunyan.

FOREWORD II

Victor Hugo said: "Nothing is so powerful as the idea whose time has come." History has proved the verity of this statement, and it may well be that historians of the future will find that the publication of this book was the turning point in the tide of destruction now threatening the world. I believe that destiny has singled out the author of **INDIA'S SOCIAL MIRACLE** at this hour of world crisis to release to the West rays of hope coming from a movement in the East, the like of which heretofore the world has not seen.

It was in India that I had the privilege of meeting Daniel P. Hoffman, where we were attending a Congress under the Presidency of a valued mutual friend and a strong helper in our campaign to save the finest redwoods of Northern California. We also treasured the friendship of the author of The Recovery of Culture, Henry Bailey Stevens, who, too, was with us. When I got to know Dan Hoffman I felt these two had much in common, for they were both dedicated to an idea for the betterment of their fellow men, for each had arrived at the realization that "the Earth is but one and mankind its citizens."

During that Indian Congress we three frequently found ourselves on the platform being called upon to speak or take part in radio broadcasts, and it was with Dan Hoffman that I shared a private audience with Prime Minister Nehru through the good services of one of the most outstanding women of India and a hostess of the Congress.

Dan Hoffman moved among the people of India as though he belonged to them, and wore their clothes with ease and dignity. He had traveled extensively about India and had undertaken profound research in the socio-economic field with the light of the higher morality and planning of the Bhave Movement in which he had interested himself so greatly and the results of which blossomed forth in this significant book. However, it was only after we had met again at the First Redwood Reunion, September last, in the Grove of Understanding, that Dan Hoffman was revealed to me as the man destined to show the West a possible and feasible solution to the ghastly plight into which we have drifted.

When the author describes his findings and the Miracle Worker of India he becomes animated and his enthusiasm is infectious.

My wife and I, together with my son and daughter, had the privilege of visiting Dan Hoffman at his beautiful San Mateo home, surrounded by his own delightful family and their friends, and we all found him a perfect host and a modern and understanding father.

FOREWORD, II

Dañ Hoffmån belongs to an age of chivalry not of the past but of the future, still young and with a quietly dynamic personality. He has that quality of vision and integrity which was so evident in another D. H. - Dag Hammarskjöld - and which has now descended upon him,

I have tried to tell you something of the man; as for his work it will surprise you and stimulate you. Here is adventure, pathos, spiritual inspiration, presented with a profound sincerity and inherent humility. You will find that your own understanding sympathy will spark to it; faith and confidence will be kindled. You will read it again and again, keeping it by your side for inspiration and support in the difficult and challenging days that lie ahead.

Richard St. Barbe Baker, F. I. A. L., October 17, 1961. Mt. Cook Station, Fairlie, N. Z. Silviculturist; Founder and Director, World Activities, MEN OF THE TREES; author of The Redwoods, Dance of the Trees, Land of Tane, Africa Drums, Green Glory and others.

Richard St. Barbe Baker*

*Author of The Redwoods, Dance of the Trees, Land of Tane, etc.
Founder: MEN OF THE TREES.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the terrible threat of nuclear war, the world is now in a position to make great strides. The relationship of men and nations has been a comic opera composed of individual egos competing against each other. Time and again it has been said that morality and ethics have to move up and keep pace with science if man is not to destroy himself. The fragmentary social order of our age is indeed doomed, ~~if we cannot~~ ^{we must} make progress spiritually. But man's suffering to regain a life with God-consciousness is not to be futile, for the future, whose seeds are present now, brings new concepts much greater than the disconnected and selfish ideas of most of humanity today. The root of morality lies in the endeavor of man to realize his unity of existence with the Universe; to realize himself.

The Bhave Movement of India is a step in this direction. The ability to answer the needs of mankind in the socio-economic field with the light of the higher morality and planning of the Bhave Movement can possibly be questioned, but it is not an easy task. This is because the Bhave or Bhoodan Movement is the first practical living example on a large scale in centuries that illustrates that man is a spiritually cooperative being. The deeper appeal of the movement is spiritual in nature, but its practical aspects present a fascinating story of human engineering and adventure.

This book is not just a biography of Acharya Vinoba Bhave, nor even a biography combined with the story and plan of the movement he has started. It is instead all of this synchronized with their relation to the problems of America and its future. I believe with all my heart that America can learn deep and wonderful lessons from India's Social Miracle.

Daniel P. Hoffman
 October 18, 1961
 San Mateo, California

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following persons gave valuable advice or assisted in various phases of the work on the manuscript of this book: V. A. Thompson, a learned friend; Dr. Louis Van den Berghe; G. K. Vora of Bombay; K. L. Panjabi, the Indian Counsel in San Francisco. The typing assistance of Helen Cambridge and Margaret Moyer should also be acknowledged, as well as the valuable assistance of Vinson Brown, the head of Naturegraph Company, Publishers.

I wish to acknowledge the quotations from the books listed below, with their publishers and authors:

- Suresh Ram, Vinoba and His Mission (India).
 John G. Niehardt, Black Elk Speaks (Univ. of Nebraska Press).
 P. A. Sorokin, The Crisis of Our Age (E. P. Dutton & Co., Publishers, New York City).
 R. P. Masani, The Five Gifts (Wm. Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd. of London, England).
 E. O. James, Marriage in Society (John de Graff, Inc., New York City).
 Stephen K. Bailey, From the Ethical Problems of an Elected Political Executive, Chapter 2 of the forthcoming volume, Ethics and Bigness: Scientific, Academic, Religious, Political and Military.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE	THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUTURE	
Chapter 1	Great Leaders of Modern Progress	11
Chapter 2	New Prophet with Reborn Ideas	19
Chapter 3	The Social Aspects of Violence and Materialism	26
PART TWO	SPIRITUAL PROGRESS	
Chapter 4	Acharya Vinoba Bhave, A Living Example	39
Chapter 5	Origin and Progress of Sarvodaya (The Welfare of One and All)	48
Chapter 6	The Politics and Economics of the Bhave Movement or Sarvodaya	68
Chapter 7	Sharing and the Social Dynamics of Sarvodaya	89
PART THREE	PROGRESS AND AMERICA	
Chapter 8	Comments on Community Life in America's Past	98
Chapter 9	The Chain Reaction of Diet, Violence to the Creatures, and Health	105
Chapter 10	The Necessity of a Non-Violent Revolution in Politics and Economics in America	111
Chapter 11	The Future and Conclusions	117
APPENDIX		130

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PART I

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUTURE

CHAPTER II

A NEW PROPHET WITH REBORN IDEAS

"Our love is Thine, help us to bear
Thy love through all our service."
J. Todd Ferrier

The real spiritual successor to Gandhi in India is Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Bhave is not a politician of the Gandhi pattern, although Gandhi called him his adopted son. Bhave appeals to the spiritual instincts of the people and thus accomplishes unheard of tasks. The Bhave Movement, which later chapters will fully deal with, appears to be on the "lunatic fringe" from a practical Western viewpoint. However, the leaders of India, including Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, India's President, pay tribute to Vinoba Bhave, because they recognize him as a great spiritual leader of the Indian people, and they even consider Bhave India's greatest present leader and man. Most of the Westerners who have witnessed the work of Bhave remarkably and suddenly are converted to the idea that human nature can be changed and that the hearts of people can be opened.

Most Westerners who know little of the Bhave Movement of India look upon its leader as a "do-gooder" who is temporarily succeeding. They forget that the appeal of Jesus was His manifestation of truth and love, and that He had unheard of power as a result. The writer is not endeavoring to be offensive in comparing Jesus with Bhave and Bhave makes no claim to being a Prophet comparable to Jesus, but certainly Bhave in high degree uses good sense and shows great power in manifesting truth and love toward his fellow men. No one in India dares to question his integrity. They know it to be true. This is the reason for Bhave being sought out by India's political leaders who have made pilgrimages to his abode.

In the Western world our lives may become too complicated and materialistic to appreciate a Bhave. We cannot see the woods because of the trees. Western society is one of fragmentation. America would not foster a spiritual leader like Bhave as India does -- certainly not at present. This fact, as well as the simplicity of Indian village life, is a tremendous aid to Bhave in accomplishing his mission.

Hallam Tennyson describes in his book about Bhave (India's Walking Saint) the simplicity of a meal while accompanying Bhave on a

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF VIOLENCE AND MATERIALISM

"Is there not a sort of bloodshed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immorality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now."

From Essay on Civil Disobedience
by Henry David Thoreau

Violence and Materialism are very closely related. Power and materialism in world trade have resulted in wars or mass violence and much ruthless exploitation of helpless peoples. If we can rid our hearts of violence, our nation will live peacefully. Peace and non-violence are primarily spiritual objectives.

Any nation that spends billions on war equipment, lives under fear. The United States and Russia are no exceptions. This book advocates a grass root approach to peace that is primarily spiritual, which will be fully illustrated when dealing with the Bhave Movement.

Before taking an Indian approach to the problem, a statement follows from an address by General Omar N. Bradley on November 8, 1957, at the St. Alban's School in Washington, D. C. General Bradley was formerly U. S. Chief of Staff.

"The central problem of our time -- as I view it -- is how to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind. For we have defiled our intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of destruction that we are now in a desperate danger of destroying ourselves. Our plight is critical and with each effort we have made to relieve our position by further scientific advance, we have succeeded only in aggravating our peril..

"Time is running against us with the speed of a Sputnik. Admittedly, the problem of peaceful accomodation in the world is infinitely more difficult than the conquest of space, infinitely more complex than a trip to the moon. But if we will only come to the realization that it must be worked out -- whatever it may mean even to such sacred traditions as absolute national sovereignty -- I believe we can somehow, somewhere and perhaps through some as yet

PART II
SPIRITUAL PROGRESS

CHAPTER IV

*ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE, A LIVING EXAMPLE

We ask no other wages
But to share the travail which
makes "Thy Kingdom Come".

Bhave does not encourage biographers to report about his outward life. Being a true spiritual character, he lives a humble inward life seeking understanding with the Divine. In a manner, he could be compared to Jesus, who said He was a son of God and intimated that His conscience, or God's light, directed His footsteps.

Gandhi wrote Experiments with Truth, which is the nearest thing to his autobiography. If and when Bhave writes his story, it will be similar to Gandhi's and not filled with sentimental trifles of the outer life. It undoubtedly will be an inspiring story of the pilgrimage of a man in constant meditative contact with his soul and God-seeking to serve his fellowman. This attitude is rather difficult for the average Westerner to understand.

Bhave was born on September 11, 1895, at the village of Gagode in the Kolaba district near Bombay of a Brahmin family. His father was a textile technologist, a person of stern character and discipline. His mother, Rukmini Devi, was a deeply pious woman. Bhave was the oldest of the family and spent most of his early childhood with his grandfather, a very upright and religious person who had an excellent reputation in his locality. There were five children in the family. Only two brothers are now alive. One is running a nature cure clinic and the other is a scholar of ancient Indian literature.

His mother dedicated practically all of her acts to God, and thus Bhave became exceedingly conscious of good thoughts and acts. There is a dedication and self-effacement, as well as an asceticism that is extremely evident in Bhave. His father taught him English and mathematics, and Bhave later attended the English school. While he was an avid reader, his favorite subject was mathematics.

*Most Americans, unfamiliar with India, associate the Bhave Movement with the Baha'i World Faith, which originated in Persia. There is no direct connection between the two, though their principles appear to be in essential harmony. Bhave, of course, makes no claim to being the Founder of a new religion.

CHAPTER V
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF SARVODAYA
(THE WELFARE OF ONE AND ALL)

"The famished, the homeless raise their hands toward Heaven and utter the name of God.

"Their call will never be in vain in the land where God's response comes through the heart of man in heroic service and love."
(Rabindranath Tagore)

Bhave was on a walking pilgrimage in the old state of Hyderabad and arrived in a village called Telangana. Because of the great difference and dislocation of wealth, this area had virtually become a cesspool of hate and Communism.

Bhave found in the village of Telangana that the population was 3,000, and its cultivable area was 3,000 acres. But only 90 families owned the entire land, while 600 families were landless. Nor was there any cottage industry in the village. The weavers in the village hardly got yarn sufficient to keep them engaged for eight or ten days in a month. The trouble in Telangana was due to unequal distribution of land and indiscriminate growing of cash crops, like ground nut and tobacco.

The conflict was virtually a class struggle between rich landlords and poor landless peasants. Vinoba Bhave had once said that -- "the rich, in fact, are responsible for the creation of the communists; the rich, in fact, are the fathers of the communists." The only way to root out the trouble was to remove the unequal distribution of land.

In this particular village (Telangana) there was bitter friction between the land owners and the landless. This was a Communist area where the Communists, when the British left, tried by force to assume some government controls. It had become a menace, and the government had to take police action, which caused people to be hurt -- some of whom were undoubtedly innocent. The government in this situation had to rely on mere "stooge" reports, which could have been based merely on guilt by association and similar unreliable evidence. Some Americans -- victims of unjustly devised "black lists" -- can appreciate this situation.

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE
BHAVE MOVEMENT OR SARVODAYA

"So walk I on uplands unbounded
And know that there is hope,
For that which thou didst mold out of dust
To have consort with things eternal."

From the Book of Hymns of the Dead Sea Scrolls

There are undoubtedly many devout leaders who are assisting Bhave, but one man plays a role that is outstanding. His name is Jayaprakash Narayan. Narayan is considered the political spokesman for the movement. He has been quoted heretofore in regard to the meaning of Shanti Sena, or the peace army. Not only is Narayan interesting to the writer personally, but his political evolution whereby he found practical idealism in the Bhave Movement is heartwarming. Narayan's evolution in political progress will undoubtedly assist many of the future generations in appreciating a non-violent and peaceful approach to life. Non-violence is the true religious approach whether it be Christian, Jew, Hindu or Baha'i.

A brief summary of Narayan's life follows because it illustrates a most interesting political evolution.

As a boy and young man Narayan said he was lifted to the sky by Gandhi's voice of freedom, which was sweeping India like a hurricane. This experience to the "inner being", as Narayan describes it, left an imprint which the "ugliness of reality" could not remove. Freedom had become a passion which Narayan would not see compromised.

At the University of Wisconsin, the home of La Follette progressivism, from 1922 to 1929, Narayan became a confirmed Marxist. The writer entered this University the year Narayan left. A true spirit of independent seeking was present even if the direction by various groups was incorrect. One of the most interesting experiments of the period in all education was the Wisconsin Experimental College under Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, who had been President of Amherst College, and later became head of the American Association of University Professors. This school in Humanities compared American capitalism with every phase of the great Greek Republic

CHAPTER VII

SHARING AND THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF SARVODAYA

"The Heart will I again cause to beat in unison with Thy Will; for I will renew its substance."

From Ezekiel, a Cosmic Drama, by J. Todd Ferrier.

The stories of presentations of land for Sarvodaya are beautiful and wonderful in themselves. The Gift of the Magi and The Widow's Mite were often repeated during Bhave's pilgrimages throughout India. The story of some of the gifts follows.

Two brothers who each had 30 acres wanted to donate 1 1/4 acres each to Bhave, and he turned them down, saying, in effect, that they were considered prosperous, and he continued, as follows, as reported in Vinoba and His Mission:

"It has pained me no less. But I tell you that if I accept your offer of love, people will call you a cheat or thief. They will say that you cheated Baba (Bhave) by offering 1 1/4 acres out of your 30. I don't want you to be ill-talked about. I am very particular in upholding everybody's dignity. It is better that they should not talk of you rather than that they should talk ill of you. I would ask you to ponder over the implications carefully and then come with an offer befitting your position."

Silence reigned in the room. Both the brothers and the worker sat motionless. Breaking the silence Vinoba remarked: "First let me know, why did you two brothers separate?"

They blushed. One of them murmured, "Differences cropped up in the household."

"I know this is frequently happening these days. But, if you were one at heart, you could persuade your wives too. What is the use of breaking families like this?"

Their faces turned pale in anguish. They were on the point of shedding tears. There was a sadness in the air of the room. Piercing it, Vinoba said to the elder brother, "How many are there in your family?"

CHAPTER VIII

COMMENTS ON COMMUNITY LIFE IN AMERICA'S PAST

"Truth is certain, soon or late, to appear
 In front of us, whatever we may do
 To avoid the meeting. Better when we hear
 Her steps approaching for the interview to
 Prepare at once, and meet her face to face."

J. Todd Ferrier

The American Indian had a community culture whereby nobody in the community suffered from want unless everyone did. Each individual had status, but it was far from a non-violent society. There was a tribe and race consciousness, which we do not have in a possessive materialistic society, certainly not in the same degree. John J. Niehardt wrote a biography of "Black Elk", one of the last great medicine men and a chief of the Oglala Sioux Indians.

This race consciousness is illustrated by what Black Elk said to Niehardt,

"And I, to whom so great a vision was given in my youth -- you see me now a pitiful old man who has done nothing, for the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead."

Even the remaining American Indians to this date do not think in terms of industrial American possessive ideas. There is a common history among the tribes of discrimination and exploitation, while wards of the Government. At present the U.S. Government is engaged in a relocation program which is voluntary. Of the four hundred thousand Indians in America, two hundred and fifty thousand are still living on reservations. These reservations, even if developed to their highest potential, can support, as economically sufficient units, less than one hundred thousand people; so the populations on the reservations have to be reduced.

The cities and urban areas to which many American Indians are now migrating are places of lonely isolation and impersonal feelings. The migrant is giving up a past after his people have been placed in

CHAPTER IX

THE CHAIN REACTION OF DIET, VIOLENCE TO
THE CREATURES, AND AMERICA'S HEALTH

"Blow winds of God, waken and blow
The Mist of Earth away!
Shine out, O light divine, and show
How wide and far we stray."
Whittier

There are undoubtedly many people in the Western world who are "crushed by happiness", as mentioned by Bhava in the parable about the Bullock and Sugar. The French humorous movie, "My Uncle", is based on this theme, and is exceptionally well done in illustrating this idea. Materialism is still the goal of modern man in Western society.

A statement by Mr. A. Price, President of Westinghouse Electric Company, is interesting in describing the future so far as household appliances are concerned. Clothes within twenty years will be automatically laundered when you hang them up. In reference to the kitchen, Mr. Price mentions the following:

"In the morning, you will set the time at which you want to eat. From the schedule of foods in the freezer, you will select the items, up to four, you will want at that meal. You push the appropriate selector buttons, and that is all. At the proper time, each selected package of food will be moved from the storage rack and lifted to the appropriate oven, so that it will be cooked and ready to use at the hour selected on the timer."

With the increase of technology in the kitchen, the problem and time of cooking is lessened. By putting "convenience" in our food, we really subtract from the taste. Preserved foods are not blood strengtheners. One wonders how long preserving and predigesting foods with the consequent loss of vitamins can go on. Cooking is an art, and eating can be one of life's greatest pleasures, if carried on in the proper atmosphere. How far can the technologist go before we revolt or surrender?

The supermarket, with its processed foods and preservatives, is contributing to over-eating and causing health problems, though just

CHAPTER X

THE NECESSITY OF A NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION IN
POLITICS AND ECONOMICS IN AMERICA

"Where the mind is without fear
 and the head is held high,
 Where knowledge is free,
 Where the world has not been broken
 up into fragments by narrow domestic ^{g-}wills;
 Where words come out from the depths of truth;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms
 toward perfection;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not
 lost its way into the dreary desert sand
 of dead habit;
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee
 into ever widening thought and action -
 Into that heaven of freedom,
 My Father,
 let my country awake."

Rabindranath Tagore

In prior chapters mention has already been made of Western and American problems. For example, our economic outlook is based on materiality. A text book on economics does not discuss any ethical or spiritual reasons for theories, because there are none. All of our economic laws (such as Gresham's law that cheap money drives good money from circulation) are based on material concepts. Our economists take the viewpoint that man will never change, and that individualism means some degree of greed.

Bhave's work in India proves to those who carefully investigate it that it is possible for man to live in an economy dominated by spiritual instead of material laws. To bring this close to home we need only to think of human marriage. When marriage is dominated only by the physical sex urge it is a very inferior marriage, easily broken by unfaithfulness and divorce. But when marriage is dominated by a higher and more spiritual love it produces partners for life and a truly delightful harmony and understanding in which unselfishness towards one's marriage partner is adopted as a matter of course. Bhave

CHAPTER XI

THE FUTURE AND CONCLUSIONS

"God send us men whose aim t'will be,
 Not to defend some ancient creed,
 But to live out the laws of Christ
 In every tho't and word and deed.

* * * * *

God send us men with hearts ablaze,
 All truth to love, all wrong to hate,
 These are the patriots nations need,
 These are the bulwarks of the state."

F. J. Gillman

Our highly technical Western civilization is constantly on the brink of violence -- the "Brink of War". Further, it is possible, although it might not be proved from present knowledge, that men have created for the future destructive forces of nature. These forces could have as great or more effect than the recent Chilian earthquakes. F. C. Juenger, in his excellent work called The Failure of Technology, elaborated somewhat on this possibility.

In this regard it might also be pointed out that a slight change in the depth of the ocean near Greenland could result in a new ice age according to an article recently published by Harper's Magazine and written by two scientists, Dr. Maurice Ewing of Columbia University, one of America's leading oceanographers, and Dr. W. L. Donn, Professor of Geology at Brooklyn College. It is there contention that the Gulf Stream could already possibly have been deflected so that it ultimately will melt the Arctic Sea.

In this case the prevalling winds would pick up moisture from the frozen Arctic Sea and deposit snow in great depths on areas that now have rather moderate climates. These snow storms would ultimately form glaciers over what is now a green belt in America. This might sound fantastic to the reader, although the more elaborate scientific explanation does not.

It appears that the world has gone through many violent changes. Geology and prehistoric plant and animal life show evidence of it.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX NUMBER 1

In 1957 Albert Schweitzer wrote a warning about atomic weapons tests. There follow excerpts from his statement:

"I raise my voice, together with those of others who have lately felt it their duty to act, in speaking and writing, as warners of the danger. My age and sympathy that I have gained for myself through advocating the idea of reverence for life, permit me to hope that my appeal may contribute to the preparing of the way for the insight so urgently needed. . .

"From official and unofficial sources, we have been assured, time and time again, that the increase in radioactivity of the air does not exceed the amount which the human body can tolerate without any harmful effects. This is just evading the problem.

"Even if not directly affected by the radioactive material in the air, we are indirectly affected through that which has fallen down, is falling down, and will fall down. We are absorbing this through radioactive drinking water and through animal and vegetable foodstuffs, to the same extent as radioactive elements are stored in the vegetation of the region in which we live. Unfortunately for us, nature hoards what is falling down from the air.

"None of the radioactivity of the air, brought into existence by the exploding of atom bombs, is so unimportant that it may not, in the long run, become a danger to us through increasing the amount of radioactivity stored in our bodies. .

"What this storing of radioactive material implies is clearly demonstrated by the observations made when, on one occasion, the radioactivity of the Columbia River in North America was analyzed. The radioactivity was caused by the atomic plants at Hanford, which produce atomic energy for industrial purposes, and which empty their waste water into the river.

"The radioactivity of the river water was insignificant. But the radioactivity of the river plankton was two thousand times higher, that of the ducks eating the plankton forty thousand times higher, that of the fish, one hundred and fifty thousand times higher. In young swallows fed on insects caught by their parents in the river, the radioactivity was five hundred thousand times higher, and in the egg yolks of water birds, more than one million times higher. (Apparently plant life does not absorb and keep radioactivity the way animals do, especially animals that eat other forms of life. It, therefore, seems possible and reasonable that habitual flesh eating in any form may become more dangerous so far as the coming generations are concerned.)

"We are forced to regard every increase in the existing danger through further creation of radioactive elements by atom bomb explosions as a catastrophe for the human race, a catastrophe that must be prevented under every circumstance.

"There can be no question of doing anything else, if only for the reason that we cannot take the responsibility for the consequences it might have for our descendants. They are threatened by the greatest and most terrible danger.

"That radioactive elements created by us are found in nature is an astounding event in the history of the earth. And for the human race to fail to consider its importance and its consequences would be a folly for which humanity would have to pay a terrible price. When public opinion has been created in the countries concerned and among all nations, an opinion informed of the dangers involved in going on with the tests and led by the reason which this information imposes, then the statesmen may reach an agreement to stop the experiments.

"A public opinion of this kind stands in no need of plebiscites or of forming of committees to express itself. It works through just being there. The end of further experiments with atom and hydrogen bombs would be like the early sun rays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for."

APPENDIX NUMBER 2

Portions of From Socialism to Sarvodaya, by Narayan.

"My final break with Marxism, though not with politics, had come during the three weeks' fast at Poona. It was then that a long process of questioning started by the Russian purges came to an end and it became clear that materialism as a philosophical outlook could not provide any basis for ethical conduct and any incentive for goodness.

"If man and his consciousness and the society and culture which he has built up are mere manifestations of matter -- howsoever dialectically active -- I can see no reason why in such a society anyone should try to be good, that is, be generous, kind, unselfish. Why should then one feel sympathy with those who are weak, poor or sick? What is matter will dissolve into matter after death. So, what incentive can there be for moral behavior? Lust for power or wealth, or desire to win the acclaim of the people, or the regard of one's peers, may be incentives to action. But such incentives can have no concern with valuations of right or wrong. Ethical ideas have no doubt a history and a social origin, but when the individual begins to question his inherited standards of conduct and ask himself why he would act ethically, materialism offers him no answer. A person may have grown up with the ideas of social service, sacrifice, freedom, equality and the rest. But if he begins later to ask himself why he should subscribe to those ideals at all and put himself to trouble and loss on their account, the philosophy of materialism, dialectical or otherwise, would not be able to give him any satisfactory answer. I am not suggesting that among philosophical materialists there have not been examples of great sacrifice for noble causes. What I am suggesting is that their action was not consistent with their philosophy.

"A way out of this difficulty may be the assumption that a human being is an automaton, that his behavior is wholly conditioned and that he has no choice of action and no freedom of will. On this assumption, of course, Marx and Lenin could not help work and suffer for the exploited people of the earth. But I doubt whether even the most bigoted Marxist would be prepared to reduce man to such a mechanical entity. Indeed, the whole Marxian theory of revolutionary leadership is based on the assumption of free will.

"A great debate has raged in philosophy whether matter came first or consciousness. The point is that no matter which came first, there are today modes of existence that may be described as matter and consciousness. The mistake Marxism made was to assume that consciousness (whatever its origin) could be understood in the same manner as matter. It did not realize that the laws of matter cannot be applied to the realm of consciousness. The study of matter is an objective exploration, whereas that of consciousness is subjective realization. The study of matter, the objective exploration, science in short, is necessarily amoral. The Marxists (and the materialists generally), having reduced consciousness to a behavior of matter, naturally knocked the bottom out of ethics. They talk a good deal no doubt of revolutionary ethics, but that is nothing more than the crassest application of the theory that the end justifies the means. Once an individual persuades himself, sincerely or otherwise, that he is on the side of the revolution (or the Party of the People) he is free to commit any infamy whatsoever.

"Not only the Marxists and materialists, but also those who differ from them in philosophy, attempt to understand consciousness by the methods of science. Mental science also, therefore, provides no basis for moral behavior. Nor is it ever possible for science to understand consciousness, which can only be subjectively experienced. Subjective experience is by its very nature incapable of being expressed in material categories. Therefore, all the mystics and yogis who had experience of subjective reality, or absolute consciousness, have been unable to express it in any language. As Roger Godel has said: 'The philosopher thinks his philosophy, the sage lives his wisdom'.

"Modern science has reached a point where the dualism of matter and consciousness becomes too tenuous to be real. Says Godel in his essay on The Contemporary Science and the Liberative Experience of Yoga:

"But now suddenly -- around a bend of quantum mechanics.-- exploration of the objective field brings the theorist of the physical sciences to a most disquieting position. Before him appears an ambiguous universe where the observer and the phenomenon observed are inextricably commingled. So close is their confrontation that each is reflected in the other, powerless to separate or to fuse.

"In this realm of indetermination, all the symbols and formulas familiar to our experience of things vanish. Notions of energy and of matter require so profound a transformation as to lose their original meaning; energy condenses into matter, matter dematerializes into radiation. The waves associated with propagation of light quanta need no substratum in order to propagate in space-time; they undulate neither in a fluid, nor in a solid, nor yet in gas. Only the unreal thread of analogy links them to the image of a wave rippling the surface of water. They are in fact waves of probability, waves of consciousness which our thought projects afar: curvilinear variations of an abstract function.'

"Science cannot resolve this dualism completely, because in objective study the seer and the seen must remain different, no matter how 'inextricably commingled'. It is only in the ultimate spiritual experience that this dualism is

shed and the seer and seen become one.

"The root of morality lies in the endeavor of man to realize this unity of existence, or, to put it differently, to realize his Self. For one who has experienced this unity the practice of morality becomes as natural and effortless as the drawing of breath.

"To some all this might appear to be irrelevant to the political and economic struggle. In all humility, I would demur. All actions, personal or public, political, economic or other should have an integration and the center of this integration must be a philosophy of life.

"This leads me at once to an aspect of the task of social and economic reconstruction that both socialists and communists have neglected. Socialism and Communism both lay great emphasis on material prosperity, on evergrowing production and on an ever-rising standard of living. It cannot be denied that the material wants of man must be reasonably fulfilled. And when it is realized that socialists and communists are always the advocates of the poor and down-trodden, their emphasis on material progress and happiness can be appreciated. It is also true that in poor and backward countries like India it is the main task of social reconstruction to raise quite considerably the people's standard of living. But it would not do here or elsewhere to apotheosize material happiness and encourage an outlook on life that feeds an insatiable hunger for material goods. There can be no peace in the minds and hearts of men, nor peace amongst men, if this hunger gnaws at them continuously. That would necessarily set up an uncontrolled competition between individuals, groups and nations. Everyone would be trying to outdo his neighbor and every nation not only to catch up with other nations but to leave them all behind. In such a restless society violence and war would be endemic. All values of life would be subordinated to this over-mastering desire for more. Religion, art, philosophy, science would have to serve that one aim of life: to have more and still more. Equality, freedom, brotherhood would all be in danger of being submerged in a universal flood of materialism. There would be no poise in human life, no real satisfaction because the possession of more would only whet the appetite for still more.

"I am aware that there have been and are quite a number of socialists who have been aware of the danger of a purely materialistic view of life, but nevertheless the main concern of socialism has been and is with the material aspects of life. The socialist or labor parties and the trade unions do not educate the people about a balanced or whole view of life. If the socialist movement became conscious of the issue I am raising, its whole attitude towards science, industrialization and social organizations and international relations would be revolutionized.

"Disciplining of the bodily appetites is essential for a moral life and growth of the human personality and the blossoming of all human qualities and values. This is true particularly of socialist values. The socialist way of life is a way of sharing together the good things that common endeavor may make available. The more willingly this sharing is practiced the less tension and coercion in a society and the more of socialism. I believe that unless members of society

learn to keep their wants under control, willing sharing of things may be difficult, if not impossible, and society would be bound to split into two divisions: (1) comprising of those who are trying to discipline others and (2) comprising of all the rest. Such a division of society always leaves the question open: who would discipline the discipliners, rule the rulers? The examples of the communist countries and the experience of socialist governments show that the answer to this perennial question is extremely difficult. The only solution seems to be to restrict as much as possible the need and area of disciplining from above by ensuring that every member of society practises self-discipline and the values of socialism, and among other things, willingly shares and cooperates with his fellowmen.

Rajniti and Lokniti or Party and Non-Party Politics

"This brings me to the very heart of the problem of sarvodaya and socialism, party and power politics and non-party and non-power politics or rajniti and what Vinoba has simply called lokniti.

"I decided to withdraw from party-and-power politics not because of disgust or a sense of any personal frustration, but because it became clear to me that politics could not deliver the goods, the goods being the same old goals of equality, freedom, brotherhood and peace.

"But was there an alternative to politics? Could society be changed and reconstructed in any other manner than through the agency of the state? Politics is but a science of the state.

"There was an alternative. Mahatma Gandhi had placed it before us. But, I must admit, it was not clear to me at that time.

"Gandhiji has shown us an alternative to armed conflict in the course of our struggle for freedom. And we had followed him -- not so much out of conviction as because his prescription had worked. Nothing succeeds like success -- as the saying goes -- and Gandhiji's satyagraha (non-violence) campaigns were topping successes in that they stirred up the people and roused them to action as nothing had done before. All competing programs and ideologies had to accept defeat and take a back seat.

Gandhiji's Lok Sevak Sangh (Service to the People)

"But Gandhiji had no time to give a practical demonstration of his non-violent technique for changing and reconstructing society. No doubt he had spoken and written much about it, but, before he was able to put it into practice, he was cruelly snatched away from our midst. Looking back, it seems clear now that he had already begun to lay the foundations of his future course of action. But the significance of what he was doing was entirely lost upon me, as perhaps upon many others. The significance of the fact, for instance, that, after having led the freedom movement to a brilliant success, he did not take power himself to use it for remaking the country in accordance to his ideals, had completely escaped me. Likewise, when he proposed that the Congress should withdraw from the field of politics and turn itself into what he called a Lok Sevak Sangh, the

import again of that extraordinary proposal was lost upon me. Nor had the country a chance to consider that proposal dispassionately, because the grief and anxiety into which it was plunged were too overpowering for clear thought. Besides, all eyes were turned to those who, in the absence of the ship's captain, were expected to steer her to safety. And from them not a word came about the Master's 'last will and testament'! On top of it all, when it was seen that every one of Gandhiji's political colleagues had taken to the traditional path of politics, it could not even be suspected that there was in Gandhi-ism an alternative to the method of party and power.

Gandhiji and Party Politics

"A question might be raised here why it should ever be suspected that Gandhiji, who had devoted his whole life to politics, should have at all thought in terms of an alternative to it. In my humble opinion Gandhiji never had anything to do with politics in the sense I am considering here. The movement for freedom that Gandhiji led was 'political' in the sense that its goal was the national independence of India; it was not 'politics' in the sense that it was a struggle for power for any particular party. If its aim was power, it was power for the entire Indian people, including those who separated to form Pakistan and for all the parties that existed, or were to be formed in the future in both Indias. Gandhiji was not a party leader fighting and maneuvering for power for his party. Had it been so it could never have occurred to him to ask the Congress to quit the field of power politics. He was a national leader fighting for the freedom of his country; nay, he was a world leader of humanity, working to free his fellow-men from bondage. The Indian freedom movement was a 'people's movement' par excellence. It was not rajniti (politics of the state), but lokniti (politics of the people).

The Party System

"Be that as it may, the questions raised by politics kept humming in my head, leaving me dissatisfied and urging me to seek an alternative. The party system, with the corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in it, disturbed me more and more. I saw how parties backed by finance, organization and the means of propaganda could impose themselves on the people; how people's rule became in effect party rule; how party rule in turn became the rule of a caucus or coterie; how democracy was reduced to a mere casting of votes; how even this right of vote was restricted severely by the system of powerful parties setting up their candidates from whom alone, for all practical purposes, the voters had to make their choice; how even this limited choice was made unreal by the fact that the issues posed before the electorate were by and large incomprehensible to it.

"The party system as I saw it was emasculating the people. It did not function so as to develop their strength and initiative, nor to help them establish their self-rule and to manage their affairs themselves. All that the parties were concerned with was to capture power for themselves so as to rule over the people, no doubt, with their consent! The party system, so it appeared to me, was seeking to reduce the people to the position of sheep whose only function

of sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare! This to me did not spell freedom -- the freedom, the swaraj, for which I had fought and for which the people of this country had fought.

'Decentralization of Power from Below

"Democratic socialists had no doubt talked vaguely of decentralization of power, of the four-pillar state and of other similar concepts. But in practice I found that their entire concern was, as it still is, with the capture of power. They seem to believe that even decentralization of power was possible only after the present centers of power had been conquered, so that decentralization and de-institutionalization could then be legislated into being. They do not see the absurdity of this procedure. Decentralization cannot be effected by handing down power from above to people who are politically emasculated and whose capacity for self-rule has been thwarted, if not destroyed, by the party system and concentration of power at the top. Today village panchayats are being established according to laws made in the Vidhan Sabhas (the 1950 constitution of India. These are not true panchayats (councils of village elders), not what Gandhiji understood by gram raj (local self-government). In Gandhiji's pregnant words the panchayat 'can function only under a law of its own making.' This capacity to self-regulate the life of the community must be created and not be bestowed from above in the name of decentralization. The process must be started from the bottom. A program of self-rule and self-management must be placed before the people, and, by a constructive non-partisan approach they must be helped to translate it into practice. It is clear now that it was in order to undertake such a program on a nation-wide scale that Gandhiji was thinking of converting Congress into a non-partisan Lok Sevak Sangh (servant of the people). It is exactly this task that Vinobaji has undertaken. Naturally he did not have the lead in the race that Gandhiji would have had, but it is remarkable that in the brief span of six years he has succeeded in creating a movement of social revolution and reconstruction from below as well as a new band of lok sevaks (the Peace Army) to assist in the process.

Cooperative Politics

"As a way out of the faults and failures of the party system, I toyed for some time with the idea of a cooperative, rather than a competitive, system of parties. I realized, however, that in the first place, there was no climate for such a political experiment, and, in the second place, the experiment would not succeed within the given frame-work of the struggle for power and the system of parliamentary democracy, except for limited purposes and limited periods. I still believe, however, that, given the psychological climate for it, such a political experiment might yet be made. But for that the frame of reference will have to be changed from parliamentary democracy to something different. Be that as it may, my disenchantment with the party system kept on urging me to seek a better substitute for it. Gandhiji's non-partisan constructive approach towards people's self-rule seemed to offer one hopeful line of exploration.

The Place of the State

"As questioning about politics was not confined to the party system alone, fundamental questions arose in my mind as to the place and role of the state in human society, particularly in relation to the goals of social life that had fixed themselves before me. Perhaps my schooling in Marxism, with its ideals of a stateless society, made these questions more pointed and troublesome. Though I had given up the basic postulates of Marxism, because they did not promise to lead me to my goals, I continued to feel strongly that human freedom could be fully and wholly realized only in a stateless society. I was, and am, not sure if the state would ever wither away completely. But I am sure that it is one of the noblest goals of social endeavour to ensure that the power and functions and spheres of the state are reduced as far as possible. I became at this time, and still am an ardent believer, like Gandhiji, in the maxim that that government was the best that governed the least. The test of human evolution for me became man's ability to live in amity, justice and cooperation with his fellow-men without outward restraints of any kind. That is why I have considered the human and social problem to be at bottom a moral problem.

"With this conception of the role and place of the state in society at the back of my mind, I viewed with very deep apprehension the march of the state to greater and greater glory. Democratic socialists, communists, as well as welfarists (not to speak of the fascists), are all statists. They all hope to bring about their own variety of the millenium by first mastering and then adding to the powers and functions of the state.

"The bourgeois state had a monopoly of political power. The socialist state threatens to add to that the monopoly of economic power. Such a great concentration of power would require equal, if not greater power, to control and keep it in check. There would be no such power at hand in a socialist society. Paper constitutions could hardly be expected to guarantee freedom and sovereignty to the citizen. The economic and political bureaucracy would be so strong and in occupation of such vantage points that the liberties and rights of the people, as well as their bread, would be entirely at its mercy.

"I am aware that democratic socialists are conscious of these dangers and are trying to devise 'checks and balances'. The Independent trade unions are supposed to be a great bulwark of freedom, though it is recognized that the great trade unions are themselves becoming more and more ridden with bureaucracy. Plans for industrial democracy and public accountability for state enterprises have been drawn up. Consumers' associations and cooperatives of all kinds are rightly supposed to function as balancing and restraining factors. Even decentralization of authority and functions has figured of late in socialist thinking. But after all is said and done the democratic socialist state remains a Leviathan that will sit heavily on the freedoms of the people.

People's Socialism vs. State Socialism

"The only remedy for this that I could think of took me farther away from politics and towards sarvodaya. The remedy obviously is, as I have said above in the context of internal and external discipline, to make it possible for the

people to do without the state so far as practicable and to run their affairs themselves directly. Speaking as a socialist, I would put it thus: the remedy is to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavor of the people rather than seek to establish socialism by the use of the power of the state. In other words, the remedy is to establish people's socialism rather than state socialism. Sarvodaya is people's socialism. Whether every socialist agrees or not with sarvodaya, he should agree that the more of people's or voluntary socialism and the less of state-enforced socialism, the fuller and more real the socialism. Unfortunately, there are very few socialists who are giving much attention to people's socialism. Speaking of British Socialists, Mr. Jack Bailey, the British Cooperative leader says: 'In Britain the concentration of most socialists upon the capture and use of state power has tended to blind them to the validity of non-state forms of socialism.' (Quoted by Harold Campbell in Socialist Commentary, July, 1957). What is true of Britain is true of all the world. It should be obvious that in order to develop non-state forms of socialism, it should be unnecessary for any one to function as a party or to engage in a struggle for the capture of power. Both power and party have no relevance in this context. What is needed rather is a band of selfless workers prepared to live and move in the midst of the people and help them to reorganize their lives on a self-reliance and self-governing basis. One cannot help being reminded here of Gandhiji's Lok Sevak Sangh (servant of the people) again.

The Community of the Future

"The question now arises, what will be the form of that society in which it will be possible for the people to run their affairs directly and develop all those values of life that characterize a socialist society: cooperation, self-discipline, and a sense of responsibility? This is a question to which socialists have paid the least attention so far. Human society has so grown that we have the complex industrial civilizations of today, with great human forests that are called cities, with economic and social relationships that are utterly impersonal and non-lifegiving, with modes of work that are irksome and bereft of joy and opportunities of creativity and that have the sole criterion of productivity and efficiency to recommend them. Science has shrunk the whole world into a neighborhood, but man has created a civilization that has turned even neighbors into strangers. Such a complex and top heavy society cannot but be a heaven for bureaucrats, managers, technocrats, statisticians. Such a society cannot be a home for brothers to live together as brothers. Socialists, in the name of science, production, efficiency, standard of living and other hallowed shibboleths, have accepted this whole Frankenstein of a society -- lock, stock and barrel -- and hope, by adding public ownership to it, to make it socialist. I submit that in such a society the very breath of socialism would be hard to draw. Self-government, self-management, mutual cooperation and sharing, equality, freedom, brotherhood -- all could be practiced and developed far better if man lived in small communities. This is beginning to be realized by forward-looking thinkers even in the West.

"Further, man is a product both of nature and culture. So, for his balanced growth, it is necessary that a harmonious blend between the two is effected.

This blending, in spite of parks and green avenues is not possible in such centers of modern civilization as London, Paris, New York, Moscow. As a result, modern man's development is warped and one-sided. A harmonious blending of nature and culture is possible only in comparatively small communities. Let me quote Aldous Huxley from his Science, Liberty and Peace: 'Now it seems pretty obvious that man's psychological, to say nothing of his spiritual, needs cannot be fulfilled unless, first, he has a fair measure of personal independence and personal responsibility within and toward a self-governing group; unless, secondly, his work possesses a certain aesthetic value and human significance; and unless, in the third place, he is related to his natural environment in some organic, rooted and symbiotic way.'

"It was for these reasons that Gandhiji insisted that the Indian village and village self-government (gramraj) were the foundations for his picture of society -- the society of equal and free beings living as brothers in peace.

Science and Small Production

"Living in small communities and producing mostly for self or local consumption on small machines may be regarded by some as setting the hand of science backwards. Science and centralized large-scale production and large conglomerations of human habitations are thought to go necessarily together. Nothing could be more absurd. Science is of two kinds: (a) pure science and (b) applied science. I would call pure science alone science and the other technology. Now, the application of science does not depend upon science itself but upon the character of society. Large-scale, big machine production was profitable for the money makers, so technology took the course of that particular type of production. The money makers were the dominant class in society and their will had to be done. Governments also -- irrespective of ideologies -- preferred centralized, big-scale production because that was necessary for war-making (or defence, if you please), and -- no less important -- because it also concentrated great economic, and, therefore, political power in their hands. Thus governments and profiteers combined to create a Frankenstein of modern society. Poor science had no say in the matter. Rather, if the scientists had their way, many of them, I believe, would be happy to smash many of the engines of production and destruction that their discoveries had helped to create. But suppose society had pursued not the aims of power, profit and war, but of peace, goodwill, cooperation, freedom and brotherhood, science could have been equally applied to evolve the suitable technology. If that were to happen, it would not be regression of science, but progression in a creative rather than destructive direction. It should be pointed out that atomic energy has made more possible than ever before the dispersal of production and the development of small technology, that is technology appropriate to production in small units and by small-sized machinery. Let me quote Huxley again:

"My own view, which is essentially that of the decentralists, is that, so long as the results of pure science are applied for the purpose of making our system of mass producing and mass distributing industry more expensively elaborate and more highly specialized, there can be nothing but ever

greater centralization of power in ever fewer hands. And the corollary of this centralization of economic and political power is progressive loss by the masses of their civil liberties, their personal independence and their opportunities for self-government. But here we must note that there is nothing in the results of disinterested scientific research which makes it inevitable that they should be applied for the benefit of centralized finance, industry and government. If inventors and technicians so chose, they could just as well apply the results of pure science for the purpose of increasing the economic self-sufficiency and consequently the political independence of small owners, working either on their own or in cooperative groups, concerned not with mass distribution, but with subsistence and the supply of a local market. The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath; and the same is true of applied science.'

Small Communities and the Great Society

"I am not suggesting that the whole picture of this new society is clear to any one or that all of its problems have been thought out and resolved. How, for instance, would these small, self-reliant, self-governing communities be related together is a major question that immediately springs to the mind. There is, of course, Gandhiji's grand conception before us:

"'In this structure, composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose center will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance, but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.'

"Gandhiji's words give us direction, but much thought and experience will be necessary before the picture becomes more clear. However, one warning must be sounded. While it is undoubted that life in small communities, permitting and promoting personal relationships, will be more suited to the realization of sarvodaya ideals, it should not be imagined that small communities, by virtue merely of their size, will necessarily be sarvodaya communities. Had that been so, we would have encountered sarvodaya in every village of India today. The outward forms of living have relevance only when the inward forms are given. Men must understand and accept the sarvodaya view of life before they can proceed to investigate in what environment and social frame-work they could live that life best.

"The fear is often expressed whether self-reliant and self-governing communities will hold together and the unity and integrity of the nation will abide. In a sarvodaya world society the present nation states have no place. The sarvodaya view is a world view, and the individual standing at the center of Gandhiji's oceanic circle is a world citizen. But let us leave for the present the world picture of sarvodaya. There is no reason to suppose why self-governing small communities will be hostile to one another or isolationist or selfish in their inter-relationship. If the internal life of a community is laid on sound foundations, its external life cannot but be equally sound."

APPENDIX NUMBER 3

In order to complete the political and economic aspects as really worked out by Narayan, who is considered more or less the political and economic spokesman for sarvodaya, the following outline of his regarding the workings of a self-governing community will prove useful:

The Economy of the Community

"(1) The aim of the community's economy is the welfare of the community and each of its members. Its aim cannot be individual profit, exclusive of the welfare of other individuals in the community. The community's economy is neither exploitative, nor competitive; it is cooperative and co-sharing.

"(2) The community comprehends the whole of man and is interested in his all-sided development. The life of the community is therefore balanced and not one-sided. The economy of the community must therefore be subordinate to, and subserve, the aim of a balanced development of human life. Therefore, it cannot be an economy of unlimited wants, as it is in the existing society. In this country Gandhiji and Sri J. C. Kuarappa have laid the foundations of such a New Economics.

"(3) The community is an enlarged family, and like the family it represents the eternal flow of life. Just as the family is interested not only in its present members but even in those who are unborn, so the community thinks of the future generations. Its economy therefore is not wasteful.

"It is particularly careful about the non-renewable resources of Nature which are being wasted at such a criminal rate by the so-called advanced nations of the world. A balanced economy concerned with the future generations of men, that is, with life rather than death, would try to do its best to return to nature what it takes from it. It will therefore try to restrict consumption so far as possible to renewable resources and use as little as possible of the resources it cannot put back. The economy of the community is in cooperative harmony with nature, while present-day economy, both of the West and East, is at perpetual and destructive war with Nature.

Why Self-Sufficiency?

"(4) The economy of the community, further, should be as self-sufficient as possible. The idea of self-sufficiency, in this age of international trade, strikes many as parochial, isolationist, reactionary. But for the community it is most natural. The primary concern of the community is to provide for satisfaction of the primary needs of its members. It is therefore natural for it to produce all it can for them in food, clothing, shelter and other necessities of life. It is also the community's responsibility to see that every able-bodied individual in the community finds useful employment. But, if the economic activities of the community are not primarily related to its needs, the community would be at the mercy of the market -- not only national, but also the international market -- which may spell unemployment and economic ruin for it. We have already seen

in our discussion of the atomization of society how modern industrial organization has made the individual a helpless human grain ruled by forces which he neither understands nor can control.

"Therefore, it is inescapable that in the economic sphere the community should, in the first instance, engage in activities that would be completely under its control. That is the sphere of production for self-consumption or consumption within the community. It is obvious that such production must, in the first place, be in the field of primary needs of life.

"(5) The community would obviously have other than primary needs. No community would be able to produce all that it needs. Even in the sphere of the necessities of life every community may not be able to produce all that may be required. No community can be self-sufficient in every thing. The question is, how are those other needs to be satisfied?

"The economic life of the communitarian society would be so organized that human needs are satisfied as near at home as possible: first, in the primary community, -- in that ascending order. This means that each expanding area of community life would be as self-sufficient as possible. Incidentally, this would save much of the unnecessary energy and time devoted today to the business of commerce, advertisement, etc.

Planning in Communitarian Society

"(6) This would naturally set the pattern for planning. Planning would begin from the primary community and therefrom fan outwards. In our scheme of things the regional plan, i. e., the plan of the regional community, would be the pivotal plan. This would mean that the regional plan and not the village plan, which would be too small for the purpose -- would be the unit out of which the whole national plan would have to be constructed. The existence of large, unbalanced cities would complicate communitarian planning, and necessary adjustments would have to be made. The towns would, of course, be integrated with the regional, and district communities. But the integration of the cities would be difficult. It will be recalled that I have already suggested that, as far as possible, the cities should be re-constituted as federations of communities.

"(7) All natural resources would belong to the community. How they would be divided between the communities would be decided upon by common agreement. Generally speaking, each community would have possession of the natural resources that fell within its boundaries. But there are resources that are unevenly distributed, such as forests, mines, etc. These would have to be shared by all by common agreement.

"It follows that land would belong to the community; and, in the nature of things, each primary community would own the land that fell within its area.

"(8) Great economic inequality is inconsistent with the spirit of community. Up to a point differences in income or wealth may be tolerable. Vinobaji gives a homely illustration to drive this home. He gives the example of the five fingers of the human hand. They are unequal, but the inequality is reasonable; so that,

spite of it, the fingers can cooperate and work together. But, if the difference was too great, so that one finger was only a few inches long while the next was measured in feet, the hand would be utterly useless.

Work and Worker

"(9) In the community the position of the worker would be central, because it would be realized that work was the most essential thing required for the community. Without work the community could not exist. Therefore, every adult in the community would be a worker. At the same time, work would be a 'meaningful expression of human powers, rather than meaningless drudgery,' because the worker would be a responsible participant in the work process. There would be no over-specialization tending to reduce the worker to an automaton. Rather, the agro-industrial nature of the communal life would make it possible for him to follow a diversified occupation.

"In this connection M. Madariaga has an interesting observation to make. He writes, 'What in fact do the workers want? I ask one day of a Spanish syndicalist leader, and he replied "not to be a workman." He adds, 'That, I think, is the true root of the labor question; -- in his heart of hearts he (the industrial laborer) feels that it is not a question of obtaining such and such an advantage for his class, but that his class should not exist at all. His instinct tells him that the working class is not a natural class in the social body, that, if it were healthy, social nature would not of itself produce a working class; and that there had to be a deviation artificially imposed on human society by economics and mechanism in order to arrive at these two cancers -- the factory and the urban concentration.'

"And, after a most interesting discussion, he concludes thus, 'when all is said and done, it is a question of transforming the life of the worker by means of three revolutions: he must be given a taste for, and the possibility of, creative power; variety must be given to his work, and he must be brought back to nature. This triple aim could be achieved in the following way:-

"'-- His working day should be reduced to four hours.

"'-- He must be installed in a house with sufficient land for himself and his family to be able to add to his earning at the factory by the sale of produce from his land.'

"I hope that when it is realized that Salvador de Madariaga is a modern European intellectual living at Oxford and not a village-idolizing Gandhian of India, the weight of his words would be properly appreciated.

The Organization

"(10) A few words about the organization of industry, commerce, etc. I have already stressed the agro-industrial character of the communities -- as opposed to purely agricultural or purely industrial. I have also stressed the need for a new kind of technology, 'adapted to the scale of man.'

"A social organization and technology of the kind proposed here would assure that the bulk of industrial and other economic institutions would remain confined within the region and district. There would be some institutions of provincial, and a few of national, dimensions.

"(11) These institutions might be of the private, cooperative or communal type. In the primary, regional and district communities a large part, maybe the greater part, of industry and commerce would naturally be of the owner-worker type. The rest would be cooperative or communal. A few units might be of the private-employee employer type. The provincial and national undertakings would be of the cooperative, communal or even private types.

"(12) Perhaps a word of explanation is necessary about the communal undertakings. They would be undertakings established by the communities and run either (a) by bodies set up for that purpose by the communities concerned, and working with full participation of the 'employees'; or (b) by bodies directly set up by the employees themselves.

"(13) Self-government in industry, as in every other economic undertaking, would be a cardinal principle of the communitarian economy. In owner-worker units, the problem does not arise. Cooperatives formed only of producers also do not raise any problems in this regard. But in such undertakings, large or small, where there are employers, managers, technicians and workers -- no matter who the employer may be -- a joint body representing all the elements would be set up for internal self-government.

"(14) The idea of classes at war with each other is foreign to the communitarian order of society and opposed to the spirit of community. That spirit requires harmonization of interests, which is possible only on the basis of fair sharing and acceptance of responsibility -- the cardinal principles of community life.

"It follows that such things as strikes and lockouts would be foreign to the community way of life. Non-cooperation might be a possible course of action in extreme cases involving moral issues.

"(15) Every economic institution, no matter what its type, from the point of view of ownership, would be integrated with the community to which it territorially belongs. This means that its establishment and development would be in response to communal needs; it would function according to conditions laid down by the community; and that it would be held responsible and accountable to the latter.

"(16) A word about private enterprise. Private enterprise, in the sense of purushartha, the individual's spirit of enterprise, would have fullest scope in the community, for the reason, among other things, that 'the individual', as Madariaga so well expresses it, 'is far more of a creator than the State' or any other collectivity for that matter. But, in the community the individual would be imbued with the spirit of community. Therefore, private enterprise in a communitarian society would also partake of that spirit and work for private as well as communal good. Further private enterprise would also be subject to the principles of self-government and responsibility to, and integration with, the community."

APPENDIX NUMBER 4

The following quotation is from page 272 of *THE SANE SOCIETY*, by Erich Fromm, reprinted with the kind permission of the publishers, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., New York City.

"Christianity has preached spiritual renewal, neglecting the changes in the social order without which spiritual renewal must remain ineffective for the majority of people. The age of enlightenment has postulated as the highest norms independent judgment and reason; it preached political equality without seeing that political equality could not lead to the realization of the brotherhood of man if it was not accompanied by a fundamental change in the social-economic organization. Socialism, and especially Marxism, has stressed the necessity for social and economic changes, and neglected the necessity of the inner change in human beings, without which economic change can never lead to the "good society". Each of these great reform movements of the last two thousand years has emphasized one sector of life to the exclusion of the others. Their proposals for reform and renewal were radical - but their results were almost complete failure. The preaching of the Gospel led to the establishment of the Catholic Church; the teachings of the rationalists of the eighteenth century to Robespierre and Napoleon; the doctrines of Marx to Stalin. The results could hardly have been different.

"Man is a unit; his thinking, feeling, and his practice of life are inseparably connected. He cannot be free in his thought when he is not free emotionally; and he cannot be free emotionally if he is dependent and unfree in his practice of life, in his economic and social relations. Trying to advance radically in one sector to the exclusion of others must necessarily lead to the result to which it did lead, namely, that the radical demands in one sphere are fulfilled only by a few individuals, while for the majority they become formulae and rituals, serving to cover up the fact that in other spheres nothing has changed. Undoubtedly one step of integrated progress in all spheres of life will have more far-reaching and more lasting results for the progress of the human race than a hundred steps preached -- and even for a short while lived - in only one isolated sphere. Several thousands of years of failure in 'isolated progress' should be a rather convincing lesson."

APPENDIX NUMBER 5

Selections from TOWARDS A NEW SOCIETY, by Appa Patwardhan, with kind permission of the author:

LAND

"1. Usurpation: Private ownership in land has historically been the first instrument of the domination and exploitation of man by man. The owner of all land is obviously the Creator. But he had no locks and keys to guard His estate, so men seized the open lands and established their own ownership through sheer force. This did not happen all at once but in slow steps, so that neither the agent nor the spectators were aware how the change came about.

"Because the savage man, our ancestor, lived even as wild animals do, he lived a solitary animal life, seeking shelter in the hollow of a tree for the night, and roaming about the whole day in search of food. Hunting was the mainstay of his livelihood. He ate ripe fruits, dug out fleshy roots or killed wild game, ate up their raw meat and wrapped himself up in their skins against the cold.

"But even the savage man was intelligent and so was he (sometimes) kind of heart. He could easily stone the sheep to death but had not the heart to kill the charming kid. He fed and fondled the kid (or lamb) and behold! the kid too reciprocated his caresses. Man thus developed sheep-farming. The tamed sheep was secure game to fall back upon in times of emergency. Thus the hunter gradually developed into a shepherd catching, taming and tending not only sheep but also cows, horses, camels, poultry, etc. The world, which was originally a (wilderness) for game, now also became a pasture for grazing his flocks. Even then all land was free, not owned. At this time man developed the institution of the family. 'Gotras', meaning cowherd families, are the product of this stage. But the families had no permanent abode. When one pasture ground was used up, the families followed their flocks to another.

"Gradually man invented and developed agriculture. Then the family had to settle down. The valiant hunter and the jolly shepherd now stopped to labor in the fields. He cleared the virgin land of shrubs and rock, levelled, fenced and arranged it into plots, dug wells, planted and watered trees and developed the land beyond recognition. He was naturally attached to the land in which he poured his life-blood and acquired a claim over it. But he reserved much larger areas than he could immediately cultivate, because his family was fast growing and his multiplying progeny would require all the land he could seize and reserve. Man's acquisitive instinct found a free play in the seizure of land. As a matter of fact his usurpation was against all the rest of his fellows, but they did not resent it, because there was enough land left for their occupation also. Nor did all his contemporaries take to agriculture overnight. Hunting was a far more noble and attractive occupation and provided a far more delicious menu -- fruit, milk, meat and honey -- than the seeds of grass accruing from agriculture. The hunter regarded the pioneer farmer with scorn. But the life of the farmer was insured against starvation, whereas hunting was a game of fortune.

So men took to agriculture in growing numbers and consequently all available land was occupied and claimed by one man or another. Even those who had no inclination for or no intention to do farming joined the scramble for the occupation of land, and their prudence was justified, because presently there remained no free land left for new comers to occupy. The later must either fight with the earlier settlers and oust them or they must buy them over with presents of livestock and honey or the promise of rent in the form of a share of the produce. This price and this rent accrued to the original occupant altogether unearned and at the cost of the later settler.

"Ownership of land is thus rooted in brute force and is the primary instrument of exploitation and extortion. Land has been seized and held just as colonies were seized and held by brave European settlers. It is the outcome of man's predatory instinct.

"Each one holds to his space at the cost of all others. The (typical village) holds a crowd and not a community. In a community the members have to be knit together by ties of justice, cooperation and neighborliness. Our village folk must rectify the cold war implied in the private ownership of land if they are to form a real community. Land ought to belong to the community and should be so stated as to equally satisfy the needs of all.

"2. Acquired Ownership: Special allowance, however, deserves to be made in the case of developed land. All land no doubt belonged to the Lord but the Lord's virgin land was largely barren. It is the husband man that makes her fertile.

"Villagers can broadly be divided into two classes with regard to the size of their holdings, viz: (1) Those holding more than average land or the 'landed', and (2) those holding less than the average or the 'landless'. It is evident from the above that the landed should in the name of justice part with their excess land in favor of the landless. But if the land parted with is developed land in which the previous owner has invested his labor, he is entitled to compensation from his successor. This compensation may take the form of rent to be paid for a certain number of years, or of immediate payment in full of the computed amount of the rent. If the owner waives off his claim to rent in view of the fact that he has recovered enough rent during the last number of years, it is his goodness, for which he will indeed be still more amply rewarded by the gratitude and goodwill that he will earn not only from the recipients of his gift but also from the general public. 'A good turn is never lost', but one could not, and should not, be compelled to be good to others as one can be, and should be compelled to desist from robbing another.

"3. Land Distribution in Gramdan: Gramdan is in essence an acceptance and an implementation of the principle that private ownership in land is usurpation supported by brute force. Gramdan is abdication of the usurped throne. It is a correction of the wrong committed so far. All of us have been equal participants in that wrong, the 'landed' as well as the 'landless', and we have now to atone for it. We resolve severally and collectively to rectify past wrongs and resolve also not to repeat them henceforth. All the land within the village will

belong to the community, meaning thereby not only those who have been just now actually living in the village but also those who may choose to immigrate to this village in the future. It will be presumed that they came because of there being greater crowding elsewhere. Certain conditions may be laid down to test their needs as to whether they are bonafide, but these tests being satisfied they will be entitled to accomodation no less than the older residents. How precisely to accomodate all the claimants is a matter for the residents themselves to decide. They may cultivate the land collectively or make equitable distribution, several farmers cooperating with each other for such matters as they choose. Some artisans may even do without land if they are assured of maintenance out of their respective trades. It is all a matter of convenience and not of principle. All distribution of land will, however, be tentative and subject to periodical or occasional revision. There need be no difficulty in such revisions, because those who will have to part with their land will be entitled to compensation in the form of rent or price.

INTEREST, RENT AND DIVIDENDS

"In the preceding chapter we considered how land will be distributed in a Gramdan village. But that is only the alfa and not the omega of Gramdan. Gramdan is not limited to land alone. It is the abolition of exploitation in all its forms and the creation of an equalitarian society, offering equal opportunity to all, within the small compact area of the village at least. Equitable distribution of land will eliminate exploitation only so far as private ownership in land is concerned. Our quarrel is not with ownership but with exploitation, which is only a euphemism for highway robbery. All gain without personal labor, that is the cost of another's labor, is robbery and such robbery is being committed in various forms and disguises in broad daylight and under respectable names. It behooves us to hunt out the robber from under each disguise he hides under. And it is no use driving him away from one field to thrive in others.

"1. Interest: The feudal landlord usurps, by sheer force, an immense tract of land. He then divides the land into say a hundred sizeable plots and very kindly (1) lets them out to as many tenants for a return of half of the seasonal produce. The tenant earns only a few maunds of grain after the year-long toil of the whole family and the landlord amasses tons without moving a finger.

"But that is not all. The tenant exhausts the last grain of his meagre store by the time the sowing operations of the next season are over and is faced with starvation till the next harvest. He has per force to approach his landlord for a loan of grain. He is in dire need and must submit to whatever conditions the creditor lays down. An unequal tussle follows, or even without the least tussle, and the tenant not only 'agrees' to pay heavy interest but even pressingly 'offers' it and the creditor reluctantly accepts! The tenant's difficulty is the landlord's opportunity. What could be more sinful than making an opportunity of a neighbor's difficulty? In this particular case the sin is still worse, because the

tenant's difficulty is of the landlord's own making. And yet the Sahukar (landlord) is the kindest and most respectable gentleman of the realm!

We know that a good deal could also be said in condemnation of the other party too. The borrower is generally a foolish, imprudent, lazy spendthrift, a drunkard, a gambler and what not! But that does not justify the greed of the wiser userer. The latter has probably been an industrious man leading a simple and frugal life. Perhaps he has had to deny himself even the barest comforts in order to lend a portion of his hard earned produce to another. So 'shall he not expect to be rewarded with interest on his advance?'

"No. The only legitimate objects of saving are (1) insurance against future want, famine or adversity or even acquisition of a right to have a holiday whenever one chooses, or (2) capital-formation designed to facilitate and increase future production. It is not the piling up of private property through interest, rent, cornering, profiteering and other forms of loot. We shall later on have occasion to deal with the latter object (capital formation) at greater length.

"The former object of saving may be described as preservation of consumption goods. This preservation is limited by the action of time. Thus we dry up and store ripe grapes for future use. But even dry fruit, howsoever carefully packed, does not last longer than a year or two. And it is the mercy, not cruelty of Providence that we have to exert ourselves continually and produce fresh food and clothing, etc., for our needs. Life means fresh effort and fresh meals from day to day. Perfect preservation of food, wholly eluding the ravages of time, would make man sluggish and indolent and stultify all progress. So it is wise and kind on the part of Providence that man has to exert himself ceaselessly in order to live. Life is exertion and exertion is life.

"Saving is indeed innocent and permissible and even commendable where production and consumption are limited to an individual. It was certainly wise on the part of Robinson Crusoe to store food against future want. So far as production goes on a family basis the saving should belong to the family; and so they generally do. But in these days production is mostly social, requiring the cooperation in numberless ways of numberless persons from all parts of the world. Under the circumstances the individual and even a family is entitled to share the produce in common with all others for his current needs only, and all that is left must belong to the community. From this standpoint private property amounts to theft. But our life is an eternal compromise. The terms of that compromise have to suit to the particular level that human society has attained for the time-being. A logically thorough socialization of property will also present unsurmountable difficulties with regard to its administration. Hence a judicious degree of separation and distribution has to be allowed and even enforced. The direction of progress should be fixed, but the steps should be graded and both the steps and halts should be easy.

"However carefully I save and preserve my food it is bound to decay, so that the lender is sufficiently rewarded for his thrift, charity and risk even if he recovers the principal without interest, because he is exempted from the inevitable decay, which would have ensued if he had held the saving in his own possession. So it is really extortionate on the part of the lender to demand interest.

"The source of interest is the unequal bargain between the needy and the affluent, between foolish or helpless need and wise greed. The parent of interest is the anti-social, as opposed to the altruistic tendency in man.

"An altruistic banker will advance loans for worthy purposes only. It is quite likely that more often than not men borrow for unworthy purposes, for drink, litigation, marriage and pomp; in short for the present enjoyment at the cost of their own future. Men have really no right to mortgage the future for the sake of the present, any more than a father has the right to sell away his son in order to buy a horse for himself to ride. So an altruistic banker will sanction loans only after careful investigation into the dealings and plans of the prospective debtor. The worthy occasions for borrowing are (1) calamity, not of the person's own making but due to misfortune, or (2) his solicitude to provide for the future by capital formation, by digging a well, or planting trees or setting up a machine, provided the scheme is feasible and socially beneficial, that is, the loan is not needed to fit up a gang of robbers with lethal weapons, for example. On other occasions altruism consists in refusing loans altogether. On worthy occasions the debtor deserves help and encouragement and not penalties in the form of interest.

"2. Development Tax: Production will thus be exempted from the liability to pay interest on the leavings of the past, but it will, instead, be subjected to an opposite levy, that is, a Development Tax for the growing appetite of the future.

Human population is yearly growing and the standard of human life is also rising. We have thus to provide for the growing appetite of a growing number. Production must, therefore, increase in square proportion. It is the responsibility of the present to provide for the future, even as the present was provided for by the past. We of the present generation have been freely enjoying the fruits of the toils of Antiquity. The best way to repay the debt is to pass it on, with our own contribution added to it, to posterity. The levy of a 'Development Tax' on production will serve the purpose. It is the duty of every producer to lay by a portion of his produce and capitalize it for the sake of added production for the growing future. That will make our economy growing and progressive instead of stultified and retrograde as interest renders it. Interest makes of the world a vast cemetery where a minimum space is permanently reserved for each ancestor until no room is left for the living generation! Death has precedence over life and growth is wholly out of the question. 'Bhoota' means both the past and ghost. Interest is indeed 'Bhoota-badha' or literally ghost-possession!

"There is room in our scheme for interest as repayment of the loan in periodical instalments. There will thus be a uniform rate of interest and Development Tax. The incidence will be single and successive; the producer will be liable to interest until the loan is fully paid and then will pay the Development Tax.

"The capitalist and the laborer will thus enjoy equal opportunity with this only difference, that one will be entitled to withdraw and enjoy his past savings at his own sweet will, but also at his cost. There will be three classes of persons:

(1) absentee capitalists, living on their past savings till these are fast exhausted; (2) working capitalists who will own their own factories and will also work. These will not have to pay rent to another but will indeed have to save it for renewal of their tools; and (3) laborers who will be offered the ownership of the factory as soon as they make up to their financier the finances advanced to themselves.

"3. In Defence of Interest: Let us examine the arguments that are generally advanced in defence of interest.

"It is argued that if interest is denounced and abolished, no one will save. The human family is still very poor; our country (India) is particularly so. Again we have to provide a rising standard of life for a continually increasing number. Our annual production must accordingly increase in a square proportion. For that a portion of our current production must needs be saved from current consumption and capitalized. Capital means not hard cash but tools, implements, machinery and kindred means that render further production easier, ampler and better. A boat, a wheel-barrow, a saw, a diesel engine and even construction of a railway line are instances of capital formation. Everybody must be encouraged to save for the nation and for humanity and it is argued that even as capital facilitates production so will interest promote saving.

"But care has to be taken that the incentive of interest does not overshoot its mark and kill men instead of pigs! And that is exactly what the institution of interest has been doing all along.

"It is just like wine. Man ordinarily works for bread. He will no doubt work more zealously if he is promised wine. For a while he will work furiously, but in the long run a drunkard's longevity and output is bound to be much lower than that of a tee-totaller.

"Similarly interest will prompt one to save for the immediate present, but it also serves as a stronger dis-incentive for an infinite future. The inflow of interest without the least labor absolves the investor and his heirs forever from the need to exert themselves for their maintenance and thereby creates idleness and indolence in the lending class and proportionately increases the excess burden on the borrower and producer class who have to work the more feverishly to eke out a bare subsistence and have still to borrow more and more. The more they borrow the more desperate is their plight. They borrow directly or the state borrows on their behalf and recovers the interest from them in the form of lower wages, taxes, enhanced prices, and so forth.

"As national debts mount up, the class of drones also increases in numbers, the ranks of hard-working bees proportionately thin out and they have to toil still harder and harder. Interest thus is a time-bomb that can bring about the extinction of the whole nation quite silently but far more surely than the atom-bomb.

"In India, under British rule, we were told a baronetcy was a hereditary endowment, but the aspirant for the honor had to deposit with the government a sum of rupees (Indian dollars), thirty lacs (30 thousand) in lieu whereof the government paid to the Baronet and his heirs an annual pension of one thousand

rupees. A whole dynasty was thus emasculated beyond cure. Woe to the nation where such Nobility (?) grows in numbers!

"4. Primitive Conditions: It must be conceded, however, that certain primitive conditions justified the levy of interest and were probably responsible for its origin. The primitive form of currency was live-stock. Again in those days cattle and sheep, poultry and pigs, did not require any stall-feeding. They grazed and multiplied themselves of their own accord without any labor on the part of their owners. Once they were captured and tamed, time alone sufficed to multiply the herd. If, in those days, an owner deposited his flock with a neighbor, it was bound to increase with the passage of time, so that the neighbor was in fairness bound to return the deposit with interest. No sane person will, however, plead for the application of those ancient customs to our present times, so that even if interest was once just, it is now an anachronism in the 20th century.

"But the interest-fat banker and his highly-paid advocates still argue that even in the present times capital invested in agriculture, commerce or industry does multiply itself. A single grain of corn may return to you in the form of an ear of corn within a quarter of a year. Money invested in industry and commerce also often yields liberal returns. Why then should the industrialist and the merchant who make huge profits with my money not pay me a share of these profits? Even if, instead of lending the sum to industrialists or merchants, I buy the shares of a joint stock company, I get ample dividends. Or, if I busy a house, it becomes a source of permanent income in the form of rent. Why then should interest alone be banned?

"Actually interest is not the only means of exploitation, but there are also other ways equally or even more extortionate.

"5. Rent: Since interest is exploitation of the weak by the strong, all religions, without exception, have denounced it in the strongest terms. Manusmriti, the religious code of the Indus, forbids taking food off the hands of a Brahmin who commits usury. Christianity not only condemns usury but even has stringent controls on the ownership of land. Under Judaism every fiftieth year was the Jubilee year when all debts were to be written off and all accumulated property to be equally divided. Islam, however, is most emphatic in the prohibition of interest and many a devout Muslim will not even touch interest money. But they respect the word and conveniently ignore the spirit. They build houses and let them at such exorbitant rents as to realize many times the interest they could expect from a bank. It is like our devout friend who has vowed not to touch cash. He won't accept a cent from any one, but he does not mind accepting hundreds of rupees enclosed in an envelope, because he does not have to touch the money!

"Rent, as it is recovered at present, is nothing but veiled interest. All attempts to secure a permanent income in virtue of labor put in for a limited length of time is exploitation. There could be no permanent income without continuous labor. But, by an ingenious devise, the labor is another's and the income mine. Clever but very unjust!

6. Dividends: The same principle applies to dividends. All those working in the factory, including the managers, engineers, skilled and unskilled laborers, watermen, sweepers and all ought to be the masters of the factory. They shall reap the fruits and bear the burdens of the factory. They owe to the shareholders the capital advanced by the latter. As soon as the paid up dividends equal the cost of the shares the owners are debt-free. The factory was so to say mortgaged to the shareholders, but now the mortgage is freed. The dividends are the collective savings of the workers and they have earned the ownership by dint of their accumulated savings.

COMMERCE, BARGAIN AND GRAMDAN

"1. Commerce And Profits: We have so far dealt with four main forms of exploitation, that is land, interest, rent and dividend. Another field of exploitation is commerce and profits.

"Here too we have to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate profits. The expenses of transport, the cost of sharing, rent, pay of the staff, etc., need to be added to the cost price to arrive at the selling rates. These are legitimate profits, but the profit or loss due to market fluctuations makes a gamble of commerce. The merchant deserves neither the profit nor the loss. They should go not to the individual but to the whole community. Trading ought to be in the hands of the State, of local bodies or of cooperative societies whereof all the customers or producers are members. Market fluctuations are social in their origin and hence the resulting losses or gains should rightly go to the whole community and not to one or more individuals.

"Under such an arrangement too there remains the danger of the exploitation by a whole community, say of producers, of another whole community of consumers and vice versa. But this danger could in its turn be also averted by the communities concerned being members of a larger Cooperative Union which will taken over the dealings between their individual members. Thus each individual will do all his buying and selling from and to the community to which he belongs and the communities in their turn will deal not with one another but with wider communities of which they will be members. In this way we can have a Cooperative Union of the whole world. Market fluctuations will then be minimized and such fluctuations as persist will be dispersed and shared as widely as possible and the individual citizen will be protected from the vicissitudes of the market.

"2. Bargain: Bargain is again a great and universal source of exploitation of one party by another. Most of the dealings between individuals are based on bargaining. And bargain is a tussle wherein each party tries his utmost to plunder the other. The prices of commodities and of persons are determined by the ratio of supply and demand. All prices are fixed by auction, sometimes open but oftener tacit. The fluctuations in demand and supply are originally and largely dependent on the whims of Nature: one crop is plentiful in one season or in the region and scanty in another for no reason within man's control. This affects their comparative values and market prices.

"As with the rates of commodities so with the rates of services, that is of persons. A lawyer costs much more than a barber because the supply of quality pleaders is inelastic and the demand, whenever it arises, is very pressing. A professor demands and commands a much higher price than a primary teacher because the supply of the latter is much more elastic and plentiful.

"Bargain rates, however, ignore and trample down human values. The innocent client is already injured and entitled to consolation if not also compensation. But, if he approaches a pleader, the latter seeks to fleece him still further because he himself cannot do without a warm suit and also because the woollen suit is temptingly comfortable as well as being more respected and envied.

"Thus it is not right but might that prevails. This is not congenial to human social life. So man has been time and again revolting against this rule of might and trying to regulate the prices of persons and commodities by custom and convention instead of by 'free' trading.

"3. Custom or Bargain? Custom is certainly a more humane approach to the problem of fixing prices. But custom can hold sway only in compact and well-knit communities. And again custom or social law must not in itself be inequitable. Now the canons of equity continually change and develop. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new' -- and a better order. Man has continually been trying to discover himself and has ever been making fresh conquests over his own unsocial and predatory instincts. He is a school-boy requiring continual schooling, but is also a promising boy who has been doing continual progress and is being continually 'civilized'.

"4. Gramdan: Gramdan is just such a forward step in the civilization of man. Gramdan is the subdual of man's unsocial tendencies, which prompt him to self-seeking at the cost of his fellows. Our Gramdan village will be just such an Ashram (place of meditation and good thoughts). There all the dealings between neighbors will be closely governed by the Gramsabha in which the villagers, male and female, will fully participate. The Gramsabha will be the embodiment of each citizen's higher, that is, social, self, so that Gramraj will be a synonym of Swa-raj (self-rule).

"The Gramdan need not actually be a joint family. It can consist of a number of separate families, with their separate belongings, separate houses and kitchens and even separate plots of land, but the separation will be subject to certain general laws of equity. The land will be equally and equitably distributed and redistributed among all who need it. In their off-time the farmers will also practice some useful craft like pottery, carpentry, smithy, weaving, sewing, flaying, tanning and shoe-making, primarily to satisfy the needs of neighbors and secondarily for export of the surplus. Some may even go without land if they are assured of maintenance through some other occupation. The comparative prices of all their products will be so fixed, subject to revision by trial, as to enable each householder to enjoy a common standard of life in return for a fixed measure of diligent labor. In the private life of the villagers, in their diet, clothing, pastimes, and so forth, there may be a variety of all sorts, but no large disparity of goods.

"Imports into and exports from the village will be made jointly through the village store. The dealings between one village and another could also be effected through the agency of a larger union, of which the villages will be members. That will avoid unequal bargaining even at higher levels.

"The decisions of the Village Assembly will be taken and implemented with the consent of all, implementating being held up in case the least of the fraternity be opposed to it. The dissenter in his turn will then naturally be anxious to let the majority have their will. There will thus be secured unity of hearts even in the face of difference of opinion.

"Neighbors will make advances in the form of labor, commodities or cash to each other according to the needs and means of the parties concerned, and with the express or tacit consent of the Assembly. No borrowing or lending will be allowed for luxury, pomp, extravagance or dissipation, but only for fateful calamities or for fresh enterprises provided they are feasible. The advances will be subject to refund, but no interest will be charged. The loans could even be secured by the fresh projects, the house or the developed land of the debtor. Rents too will be reasonably charged.

"The village store will issue to the individual villagers receipts for commodities service or foreign exchange handed over by the latter either for sale or as deposit. These receipts will serve as demand draft cheques against the store and will even serve as current coin within the borders of the village and, as the prestige of the store rises, even across the borders. The village state will thus be sovereign within its own borders, issuing its own currency, running its own mint and entering into commercial treaties with neighboring states, even as national leaders now do. This is liberty par excellence, and it is ours almost for the mere wish.

"Our ancient village communities were indeed such compact states under the autocratic but wise and benevolent rule of the village headman. Now the days of autocracy are gone. The old order has vanished but a new democratic order suited to the genius of the age has not yet been evolved. Gramdan fills up that vacuum.

CURRENCY RESTRAINED

"1. A Flaw in Our Scheme? Our scheme is consistent and comprehensive enough. Still there are certain difficulties left in its implementation even within the borders of the Gramdan village.

"Cooperation is the law of human life. Alone, man is the most helpless creature in the world. His power and prosperity spring from men's mutual cooperation. Borrowing and lending are necessary and important items of cooperation and they must be allowed to have full play. It will not do to insist on free and unconditional gifts, instead of loans, from those that happen to be better off to those that are worse off. Men will rarely rise up to that expectation. Consequently there will be a deadlock in men's dealings and in cooperation.

Borrowing and loaning for worthy reasons and on fair terms require to be safeguarded and encouraged.

"But, if we prohibit or condemn interest there will be no incentive for lending cash, though there is enough incentive for lending commodities. Even if the lender has to forego interest on his commodity, he is saved from the deterioration that his goods would otherwise undergo. He thus gets a sort of negative interest. But there is no such reward for lending money, because money is not subject to deterioration as actual commodities are. Why then should the owner entrust his cash to a neighbor, who, however honest and good natured, may be unable to repay. He must either give it away as charity or refuse it outright. The middle path of lending is closed.

"This is not only an extremely intriguing but even a very vexing and baffling anomaly. That same anomaly has also been thwarting man in a hundred other ways.

"2. The Mischief of Money: What is money? Money is not wealth. It has no independent value of its own. It only represents exchangeable commodities or services. Money is the general name for all sorts of real wealth. Real wealth is the noun and money the pronoun. But the pronoun has in human affairs superseded the noun. The shadow has eclipsed the substance. As a consequence man has become money-minded, and a perverted mentality has grown all around. Every one is eager to escape from real wealth, from the Goddess Laxmi, who comes to interview him in the form of life-serving commodities. He turns her back as soon as he confronts her and exchanges her for cash, because cash can be reconverted into commodities and services at will. This happens partly because money is easier to store and transport than commodities. But a more important reason is that commodities, if possessed, are subject to deterioration and decay, while money is immortal.

"Hence everybody is after money and runs away from living wealth. As a result production is at a discount and money-mongering at a premium.

"There are stringent limits set by Nature itself on the storage and possession of commodities. You could not, and would not, for instance, possess bananas far beyond your current needs. The surplus, if any, must be helplessly given away to others. But, with the device of currency, man's capacity to store increased infinitely and with it increased his greed.

"Man seeks security, but money has put him on to a false track. Money apparently is immortal wealth. With interest it has even been self-multiplying. So man runs after it in the hope of security, but is destined never to reach his goal, because his very route or direction is mistaken. The farther he runs, the farther recedes his goal and the more nervous does he grow.

"A farmer who owns say a dozen acres of good fertile land and enough cattle for dairy and draught purposes; enough of fruit and timber trees standing on his land; who has two or three sons all healthy and grown up and married to equally healthy and well-behaved brides; who owes no ill-will or feud to his neighbors; can face death calmly, gratefully, without the least anxiety, and

with the satisfaction of duty fulfilled. Merciful Providence has endowed him and his with all they needed, and he has fulfilled his duty to his children. So he departs calm and happy.

"Not so the millionaire on his death-bed. He is suspicious of his own children and dear ones, who are possibly waiting for his death so that they can divide the property among themselves. Nor is he satisfied that he has made sufficient provision for his children. He has no means to estimate the bank-rates and market rates that will prevail after he departs. So he feels it would have been still better if he could leave another million behind himself.

"Currency in itself has been of great service to mankind. It has facilitated exchange, which is only another name for cooperation and mutual help. But it also lifted off nature's limits on the amassing and hoarding of wealth and thereby generated insatiable greed in man. Money economy is virtually a sort of speculation. In the mad race after money human values are ignored and trampled under foot. For example the best pension-fund for men is the bringing up of dutiful children or the acquisition of loving neighbors. But under a money economy man is led to put his trust instead in bank deposits and those deposits lead him further to distrust his own children, who, in their turn, are also led to put more trust in their own bank deposits than in their old parents.

"3. Depreciation of Money: If we agree that interest is exploitation and must be prohibited and if still we must encourage interest-free loans in our money as in kind, we are led to the conclusion that money too should deteriorate and decrease as commodities do. It is not a difficult thing to bring about. The year of issue is already printed on each coin and note. The currency issued for 1959 should then be valid for a year only. It will have to be renewed for 1960 and the renewal will cost a fee of 5%, so that 100 rupees of 1959 will automatically become 95 rupees in 1960.

"The depreciation may apply at the end of each calendar year, or it would possibly be more just to apply it at the end of twelve months from the date of issue. This latter will, in that case, have to be stamped on the coins and notes. Or smaller coins could even be exempted from depreciation altogether, so as to ease the execution of the depreciation.

"The rate of annual or periodical depreciation will also have to be thought out very carefully. If currency is subjected to depreciation, people will try to elude the same by storing instead durable commodities that are by nature subject to slower deterioration, like precious metals and precious stones. All these are questions for administrators to think out if the principle is conceded.

"We need not mind if people store durable goods like gold and silver. This they would do even if there were no State-sponsored currency and barter were the only form of exchange.

"Printed currency is certainly a far more convenient medium of exchange, and now that paper currency is firmly in vogue gold is no longer needed for purposes of either exchange or hoarding.

"If the State takes over or controls the stocks of gold in the citizens' possession and rations it out for the legitimate purposes of industry, medicine or ornamentation, this will not only prevent the evasion of the depreciation of money, but will also save a good deal of human energy at present being misspent in the digging up and purification of gold ore. The gold already in stock would suffice for men's legitimate uses, mentioned above, for a number of generations to come. The energy thus saved could be devoted to the production of more food, clothing, shelter and medicines for mankind.

"4. The Theory of Currency: Again it is nothing but superstition to say that currency must be supported by gold reserves. We saw before that even a Gramdan village, or for the matter of that, an Ashram, where there is a certain degree of division of labor, can float its own currency to facilitate internal exchange without a grain of gold to support it, and that that currency may even grow to be respected beyond the borders of the village or Ashram respectively. The State and Central Governments are far more competent to do what a village can do. Currency is credit, and credit is belief. Currency is nothing but a socially accepted convention.

"Can the State then issue any amount of paper currency without limit. What shall be the proper measure for the issue of currency?

"The commonsense reply seems to be that there must be a proportion between the amount of currency floated and the amount of exchangeable commodities in the hands of the community. If there is an excess of currency, prices will fall and, if there be deficiency of currency, the prices will rise, causing undeserved suffering in particular portions of the community. With a bumper harvest and flourishing industries, currency must be expanded. If the crops fail and industry wavers, the Finance Department ought to freeze a portion of the floating currency.

"The only point we want to make out here is that currency is a social creation and the agency that created it is also bound to put reins around its neck and restrain it, even as a horseman who rides a horse across fields must restrain his horse so that he does not trample down or eat up the way-side crops. The automatic depreciation of currency proposed by us is just such a restraint. At present the beast is let into the fields but not controlled. As a result some people must needs suffer.

"The proposed depreciation of currency will bring cash loans into line with commodity loans. It is logically sound and is indispensably needed to fill up the yawning gap in our fence put up to ward off exploitation. If we shirk the job because it is too irksome, interest will be let loose and the growing crop of a cooperative society exposed to the depredations of stray cattle.

"That is why we insist on commending our proposal for careful consideration on the part of the Guardians of the Field (those who establish the new society).

OUR CLAIM

"We claim that the scheme for a better Society so far explained has numberless merits to its credit. It is simple and easy, sound and logical, integrated and comprehensive, revolutionary but discriminating, radical but conservative, just and impartial, clear and specific.

"1. Simple and Easy: Our remedy for the abolition of exploitation is ridiculously simple. One uniform policy is applied to all sorts of economic dealings between man and man. It needs no distinction between rich and poor, low incomes and high incomes, heavy industries and small industries, etc.

"It supplies an easy solution to many of the sicknesses of present-day society. Thus there is with us the problem of the Adiwasi, the backward communities and Harijans. We seek to uplift them with various concessions and facilities. But their main grievance is exploitation by the advanced classes, no less ruthless than the exploitation by man of beasts and bees. This is the fundamental malady of the Adiwasi and the 'Native' the world over. Welfare centers and milk-centers opened for them are either vain palliatives or wicked attempts to conceal the basic harm inflicted on them. The correct and simpler remedy is to withdraw the robbing hand in the first place and then alone the stretching out of the helping hand could have some meaning.

"One of the basic teachings is that of the 'Trusteeship.' In itself it is a sound prescription based on a correct appreciation of the facts. Wealth is a social product even as the cricket ball belongs to the whole team. It would be a foul game on the part of an individual player to claim and retain the ball because it happens to fall into his hands. It is equally foul for the individual in society to claim the wealth that happens to reach his hands as his own and reserve it for his own use. 'Fair play' consists in passing it on to the team. That is Trusteeship. But abstention from exploitation must have precedence over Trusteeship. The Trustee must earn his wealth with fair means only. It is foolish, if not knavish, to pose as a Trustee and still continue exploitation as before.

"2. Sound and Logical: Everybody must admit the compelling logic of our proposals. There is no flaw anywhere. Its appeal is not altruistic or other-worldly but only for fair play and worldly wisdom.

"3. Integrated and Comprehensive. Our scheme is integrated even as gear-wheels in a machine are fitted into one another. Any one of our proposals entertained by itself is ineffective for our purpose. They stand or fall together.

"Piecemeal reform cannot succeed in evolving a new set of values or a re-orientation of social relations. Bhoodan by itself would be such a piecemeal reform unless it is accompanied or immediately followed by parallel action in all the other fields of economic dealings. Bhoodan, though sought to be brought about through persuasion and voluntary surrender enunciates a jurisprudence of its own. It is that land must not be abused for bringing in unearned income. But if you prohibit unearned income in the field of landlordism alone, you will only drive away capital and enterprise to other and safer fields and cause the

starvation of agriculture. If in addition you condemn usury only, capital will only emigrate to the kindlier shores of rent and dividend. At the same time you will 'discredit' the erstwhile landless laborer, who cannot obtain interest-free finances for his operations and who will be forced to sell-away his house to buy bullocks and implement and to live in a rented house. The tribute he for so long paid to the landlord will only be transferred to the house-owner. The revolution will only mean disorder and the liberty only a change of masters.

"So there is needed a total, uniform and simultaneous ban on exploitation in all its forms. This is provided for by our scheme.

"4. Just and Impartial: The urge behind our proposals is a better human life, a better world, the rectification of wrongs in general, not retaliation against the wrongs done to a particular class or group. Ours is not a revolution of the laborers or the farmers. It is equally that of the landlords and the capitalists. All stand to gain and all also to lose by the proposed changes. Intellectual and administrative lethargy is not less difficult to conquer than physical lethargy. The fight is with common enemies and for a better and fuller life.

"Herein what one loses in one field he will gain in another. The erstwhile farmer, who has been away to the city in search of an ampler livelihood, will here rightly forfeit his title to land in favor of his tenant, but he will automatically acquire ownership of the tenement where he has been paying rent during the same period and also a share in the ownership of the factory where he has been working at low wages and leaving large surpluses for compensating his 'sleeping partner' (the shareholder). The city rat in his turn will also be eligible, if he chooses, to a safe snug hole in the country corn-fields.

"Our States have no doubt by their agrarian, housing and industrial legislation put restraints on the extortions of feudalism and capitalism, but they have not abolished them. Nor could they do any better so long as they themselves lend and borrow on interest. Thus they are no doubt impartial, but the impartiality consists in uniform favors to the 'haves' and uniform injustice to the 'have nots'. Our scheme, however, is as just as it is impartial.

"5. Revolutionary but Discriminating: Our scheme is revolutionary. It categorically repudiates the forcible possession of land and prohibits the perpetual exploitation of the poor by the rich. But it discriminates between just and unjust claims, fully respecting the former and repudiating only the latter. Ownership of virgin soil and the occupation of excess land is repudiated, but full allowance is made for the development of land effected by the farmer and gardener. Similarly we do not at all propose a moratorium on debts. The principal is to be fully repaid and interest alone is disallowed. Similarly the house-tenant must fully compensate the house-owner. He is required to buy the property at full price. The factory worker too must serve a sufficiently long term of apprenticeship or candidature before he grows into ownership.

"The reform we envisage will put the rich and the poor, the advanced and the backward on an equal footing, entertaining equal solicitude for either. The change over will be smooth and orderly, not sporadic and confused. There will

also come about a steady but sure assimilation of the 'haves' and 'have-nots' inasmuch as the possessions of the 'haves', the cash no less than the commodities, will be subject to perishing in time.

"6. Radical but Conservative: Our solution though radical in nature respects tradition and commitments. Some enthusiasts argue that since the landlord, the banker and the shareholder have already been amply compensated for their investments the transfer of ownership must be immediate. But we feel that that would be treacherous. We must take into account the other side of the medal. The privileges of the 'haves' were, in their own times, linked to corresponding duties and responsibilities which were as exacting as rent and interest. Moreover, relying on prevailing law and custom, some people might have quite recently bought lands at high prices and shares at much higher prices than the fair amount according to our new ethics. These, at any rate, have not been compensated like the longer-standing Sahukars (property-owners).

"Then there are others who wanted to sell away their lands, houses or shares for their own pressing needs, but were slow to accomplish the transaction because there was apparently no need for haste. It would be a breach of trust on the part of the community to expropriate such persons all of a sudden. That would be as treacherous as the total and abrupt forfeiture of all coins and notes of more than twenty years standing. You and I are in a way committed to the transactions that we allowed or connived at till now and it would be wrong to take the owners unawares. They deserve due notice.

"Our solution therefore pays due respect to the past, though it prevents it from preventing the onward march of the future. Still our reform and growth involves a certain break with the past and there will be some loss and suffering in one quarter or another. In our scheme the chances of suffering are minimized by the simultaneous application of the new policy to all fields of economic transactions, so that what one loses in one sphere he will gain in another. Still some suffering may remain, and it is a matter of duty, and not only an act of kindness, on the part of the community to relieve the suffering as far as possible. The suffering is incidental to the purification of human relations, and, as such, it ought to be accepted with a glad heart by the sufferers themselves. Suffering voluntarily undergone for the atonement of age long sins is a matter of joy.

"7. Clear and Specific. It is quite common in these days to complain bitterly against economic inequality and exploitation in general terms, but such cynical complaining leads nowhere. A correct and specific diagnosis of the disease alone can help. That is the task of this book.

"8. Self-confidence of the Common Man: But the greatest merit of our scheme seems to us that it fixes upon the common man his share in the conflict between selfishness and unselfishness that is found everywhere in present-day society, and also inspires him with self-confidence that he holds the key to world peace. The common man is taught to realize that he is not a helpless spectator, but as good a hero in the strife as the greatest world figures, and that he is competent to give, by his own conduct, a mandate to all the world leaders to disband their respective armies.

CONCLUSION

"1. Festival of Penance: If the wrong that neighbors have been doing each other under the influence of custom and with the most pious of intentions is clearly explained to them, they are expected to repent and reform their manners henceforward. That will throw up a wave of mutual good-will and of faith in human nature all-around that will go a long way towards bringing about the elevation, progress and well-being of mankind.

"But the repentance to be complete and evident must also do amends for past wrongs. 'I have wronged numberless people in numberless ways, even as I have suffered myself to be wronged by them. All our possessions are tainted property. Let us therefore forgive and pray for forgiveness. And let us signify our repentance by a token penance.'

"So all should participate in a festival of penance, each to the best of his own capacity. Each one should give away his particular possessions to such others as need them most without judging whether they deserve them. Let no one grudge that another did not give away more. Let each one judge his own capacity and leave others to judge theirs. The wrongs to be atoned for are common property and the liability to atonement proportionate to each one's capacity, which can best be measured by himself.

"2. Harmless Inequality: If the rules explained by us are accepted and observed by the people, most of the present inequality between individuals, communities and nations will vanish and with it will vanish most of the existing causes of conflict. We shall thus make considerable headway towards the establishment of a non-violent society.

"Some inequality will still remain. But we must remember that our fight is not with inequality but with iniquity or evil. Equality means equality of opportunity, not necessarily of achievements. Different individuals will make different use of identical opportunities. Nature too is whimsical in her favors and her frowns. We need not mind this. Inequality resulting from healthy competition is not only permissible, but even beneficial for human progress. Comparative affluence resulting from industry, frugality and prudence is deserved riches. It is not attained at the cost of others, and need evoke no jealousy but will only stimulate others to emulate the good example. Even then it is expected of us as human beings that we should help each other unconditionally. Charity practiced towards others is nothing but accumulation of deposits in the World Bank. The beauty of such charity consists, however, in its freedom and spontaneity. To have it forced out of anyone is to destroy its true meaning.

"3. The Basis of Society: In society, as in the family, the members hold on by bonds of love and service. Men are to approach each other to give, not to use. 'What could I give for the friend opposite?' should be the question suggesting itself to each neighbor meeting another, not 'what use can I make of him?' Then alone is society worthy of the name.

"4. 'How Will You Enforce This?' That is a question invariably put to us by friends.

"Well, in the first place, what should concern us is how we mold our own behavior. The very molding of our own individual behavior leads us into molding public behavior. Our life practice, if done sincerely, humbly and with constant emphasis on trustworthiness and full service to mankind, will prove a force that will compel others to follow suit. Let us therefore confidently forge ahead. And let us also patiently preach and explain what we practice. Many of our neighbors are as good-natured and God-fearing as ourselves if not better. They will not fail to respond.

"Realization of error is a sure step towards its correction. It will take some time and cost an amount of effort and struggle. But never quit. The resolute pilgrim is destined to reach the goal.

"Society may be roughly divided into three classes, that is manual workers, intellectual workers and non-workers. The line of demarcation between the first two classes is blurred. All that is needed is great assimilation. The third class indeed deserves to be liquidated. They are no doubt the guardians of thought, art and culture and, as such, deserve loving and respectful handling on the part of society. But they too must re-educate themselves. Theirs is not a very enviable position. They have been trying to cross the unfathomable waters of life, riding on the back of their tenants, servants and employees. They do not know how to swim. Neither are they accustomed to a cold bath. So they are mightily afraid of the deep but buoyant stream and your movements naturally fill them with panic.

"But let us in the first place convince them that we are their friends. It is not then difficult step by step to encourage them to enter the cold but invigorating waters and realize the mounting delight of swimming on their own! Thus the whole crew could be landed on to the safe shores of a self-improving, self-realizing, self-governing and egalitarian society to the equal satisfaction and thanksgiving of all concerned. Amen."

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INDEX AND GLOSSARY

- A & H Bombs, 27, 28, 52
 Agricultural colleges, 109
 Agriculture, 62
 Ahimsa (live and letlive in peace), 15, 16, 58
 Air, 46
 Algeria, 30
 Alibi, 17
 America, 14, 19, 30, 33, 37, 48, 84, 112, 122, 125
 American Assoc. of University Professors, 60
 American education, 3
 American farmers, 109
 American progress, 33
 American society, 32
 American urban culture, 34
 Amherst college, 68
 Amish, 35-36, 102
 Andrews, Edward, 100
 Anglo-Saxon, 15
 Anna Karenina (by Tolstoi), 12
 Arabic, 44
 Aramic, 118
 Arctic Sea, 117
 Ashram (a retreat for study and meditation), 41
 Assam, 22
 Atom, 63
 Auctioneer, 35
 Aurobindo, Sri, 85
 Australians, 62
 Babylon, 103
 Baha'i World Faith, 40, 68, 95
 Bailey, S. K. 124
 Baker, Richard St. Barbe, 30
 Bapu (affectionate nickname for Ghandi), 45
 Benares, 41
 Benares Hindu University, 41
 Bengal, 41
 Bhagavad Gita (Indian religious epic), 15, 42
Bhave, Acharya Vinoba, 13, 14, 18-24, 31, 34, 39, 40-67, 68, 87-96, 104, 106, 111, 114, 119, 123
 Bhave Movement, 19, 21, 22, 24-26, 36, 71
 Bhoodan (a gift of land), 20, 21, 51, 53, 62, 120, 121, 122
 Bible, 110
 Birth Control, 66
 Black Elk, 98, 100
 Bombay, 40, 58
 Boone, J. A., 108
 Booth, Gen. Wm., 108
 Bradley, Gen. Omar, 26
 Brahmin, 40
 "Brink of War", 117
 British rule, 69
 Brooklyn College, 117
 Brookville, Ohio, 114
 Buddha, 44, 58, 103
 Buddhist, 15, 95
 Bukharin, 69
 Bullock, 21, 105
 Calcutta, 58
 Canton, Ohio, 35
 Capitalism, 23, 36, 112
 Carpenter, Prof., 15
 Caste system, 23, 24
 Castro, 16, 30
 Catastrophe, 118
 Champallion, T., 118
 Chaturvarna (early social system of four major groups in India), 85
 Chemistry, 32
 Chicago American Indian Center, 99
 China, 70
 Chinese proverb, 18
 Christianity, 14, 18, 46, 68, 100
 Christian Science Monitor, 35
 Christ, Jesus, 14, 16, 19, 20, 40, 44, 127
 Cleveland, Ohio, 36
 College graduates, 31
 Columbia University, 117
 Commercialism, 87
 Communism, 21, 22, 23, 36, 112
 Communist Party, 70
 Communists, 48, 49, 69, 120, 121
 Congress Socialist Party (in India), 69-71
 Congress (U. S.), 35
 Contribution of land (Bhoodan), 47
 Corruption, 87
 CPI (political party in India), 69
 Creative Leisure, theory of, 21
 Crisis of Our Age (by P. A. Sorokin), 126
 Cuba, 16, 30
 Cultures, 99, 100
 Dacoits (gangsters), 22
 Dana or danda (punishment in Indian law), 56
 Dead Sea Scrolls, 16, 46, 68
 Delhi, 45
 Desai, M., 44
 Diet and Diet Reform (by Gandhi), 18
 Donn, Dr. W. L., 117
 Drinking (alcoholic), 65
 Drummond, Henry, 128
 Dubois, Dr. Rene J., 109

- Ecclesiastes, 122
 Education, 63
 Egypt, 103
 Egyptian, 118
 Einstein, Albert, 18, 106
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 30
 Electrons, 95
 Emerson, Ralph, 15, 18, 67, 128
 Engineers, 21
 England, 52, 70
 English, 63
 English rule, 42
 Equality, 61
 Equity, 114
 Esperanto, 43, 44
 Essenes, 46, 102
 Ethics, 32
 Evans, Elder Frederick, 101
 Ewing, Dr. Maurice, 117
 Exchange, 11
Failure of Technology, (F. C. Juenger), 117
 Fall of Man, 110
 Fear, 30
 Ferrier, Rev. J. Todd, 19, 89, 98
 Fishing, 17
 Flavian period, 32
 Fortune Magazine, 33
Foundations of Indian Culture, the (by Sri Aurobindo), 85
 Fragmentation, 19
 Freeman, Orville (U.S. Secty. of Agr.), 109
 French Academy of Science, 27
 Fund Collecting, 60
 Galileo, 32
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 11, 13-20, 40-43, 52, 58, 61, 68-70, 87, 96, 104, 106, 119, 126, 127
 Gandhi, Experiments with Truth, 40
 Geology, 117
 George, Henry, 101, 113
 German Republic, 121
 Gift of the Magi, 89
Gita Pravachan (The Song of God) (by Bhave), 44
 God, 16, 20, 24, 40, 46, 47, 61, 62, 87, 93, 94, 101, 103, 104, 113, 125, 127, 129
 Golden Rule, 124
 Gramaraja (complete unity of the village), 55
 Gramdan (gift of all the land), 55, 56, 119, 120
 "Gray belts" (American cities), 34
 Greek, 118
 Greek Republic, 68
 Greenland, 117
 Gresham's Law, 111
 Gulf Stream, 117
 Harijan area, 49
 Harper's Magazine, 117
 Harvard University, 15
Hidden Persuaders, The (Vance Packard), 32
 Himalayas, 41
 Hindu, 22, 55, 68, 95
 Hindu Scriptures, 15
 Hiroshima, 52
 Hitler, 69
 Hoodlumism, 34
 Howard University, 64
 Hunting, 17
 Husbandry, 62
 Hutterites (of South Dakota), 102
 Hyderabad, 48, 53
 Hydrogen Bomb, 65
 India, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 45, 62, 65, 69, 106, 119
 India Exhibition, 122
 Italian (American), 98
India's Walking Saint (Hallam Tennyson), 19
 Industrial-military elite, 30
 "Investment in Men", 123
 Jail, 42
 James, E. O., 32
 Jefferson, 61
 Jesus, 103
 Jew, 68
 Jewish, 95
 Juenger, F. C., 117
 Kamenev, 69
 Khadi (homespun cloth), 65
 King, Rev. Martin Luther, 14
Kinship with All Life, 108
 Koran, 44, 61
 Kremlin, 69
 Krishna (ancient Prophet of Hinduism), 55
 Kuwait, 99
 Labor, 113
 LaFollette Progressivism, 68
 Lagace, Robert, 99
 Land, 46, 113
 Life Magazine, 33
 Lincoln, 61
 Lincoln, James (Pres. of Lincoln Electric Co.), 36
 Lippman, Walter, 112
 Literature, 64
 Long, Huey, 34
 Love, looting for, 24
 Lyons, Eugene, 69
 McCarthy, Sen. Joseph, 34
 McMohan, 64
 Machine Age, 21

- Madison, Wisconsin, 6●
 Magnetic field, 118
 Mao-Tse-Tung, 70
 Marathe, Varayan, 41
Marriage and Society
 (E. O. James), 32
 Martin, Charles Noel,
 27, 28, 29
 Marxist, 68
 Marx, Karl, 70
 Materialism, 26, 112
 Meiklejohn, Dr. Alex-
 ander, 68
 Menon, Krishna, 24
 Mexican War, 15
 Mhavira, Lord, 58
 Mikoyan, J., 36
 Military elite, 30
 Mira (Indian maga-
 zine), 25, 31, 43
 Money, 64, 65, 99, 113
 Morality, 95
 Morgan, Dr. Arthur E.,
 34
 Mormon persecutions,
 101
 Moslem, 22, 91, 95
My Uncle (French mo-
 vie), 105
 Nagpur, 42
 Narayan, Jayaprakash,
 36, 68, 72, 73, 120
Natural Law in a Spirit-
 ual World (Henry
 Drummond), 128
 Nearing, Scott, 60
 Nehru, J., 19, 21, 27, 44,
 45, 53, 57, 58, 122, 123
 New Delhi, 122
 New Lebanon (Shaker
 community), 101
 New Republic Magazine,
 The, 124
 Newspapers, 64
 Niehardt, John J., 98
 Nirvana, 14
 Non-violence, 15, 26
 Noyes, John, 102
 Nuclear explosions, 28
 Oglala Sioux Indians, 98
 Chio, 114
 Old Age Survivors In-
 surance System, 35
 Olympics, 109
 O'Neida Community, 102
 Organization Man, 30, 33
 Orthodox Greek Catholic
 Church, 13
 Oxford University, 58
 Packard, Vance, 32
 Pakistan, 45, 65
 Patwardhan, Appa, 114
 Peace, 26
 Peace army, 59
People Called Shakers,
The (Edward An-
 drews), 100
 Philo, 102
 Pike, Albert, 125
 Population, 66
 Power, 26
 Praja Socialist Party, 71
 Prasad, Dr. Rajendra
 (India's President),
 19, 44, 45, 53
 President of U. S., 30
 Press, 65
 Price, Dr. Weston A.,
 105, 106
 Primitives (cooking), 106
 Princes (Indian), 41
 Progress, 18
 Progress (Spiritual), 38
 Property rights, 113
 Protestant, 95
 Proxmire, Wm. (U. S.
 Senator), 99
Public Philosophy, The
 (Walter Lippman), 112
 Punishment (for vio-
 lence), 22
 Purans or Puranas
 (historical tales), 15
 Quaker communities,
 101
 Radek, Karl, 69
 Radhakrishnan, Dr. S.
 (Vice-President of
 India), 95
 Railroad train, 114
 Rajas, 66
 Ram, Suresh, 49, 50
 Reader's Digest, 86
Recovery of Culture,
The (Henry Bailey
 Stevens), 106
 Reddy, Sri V. R. (ori-
 ginal donor of land),
 50
 Regenerative force, 34
 Reincarnation, 14
Reporter, The, 29
 Reverence for Life, 17
 Revolution,
 counter, 70
 Russian, 23
 violent, 22, 31
 Rockefeller Institute of
 Medical Research,
 109
 Roman Catholic, 95
 Rome, 103
 Rural life, 34
 Russia, 13, 21, 26, 36,
 69, 70, 112
 Russo-Turkish War, 13
 Rykab, 69
 Sage, 17
 Sahara Desert, 30
 St. Alban's School
 (Washington, D.C.),
 26
 Salvation Army, 108
 Samadhi (type of chair),
 91

- Sampattidan (money gifts), 57, 59, 60, 61, 66, 94
- Sane Society, The (by Erich Fromm), 87
- Sanskrit, 41
- Sarvodaya (the welfare of one and all), 46, 57, 59, 61, 71, 72
- Sarvodaya, spirit of, 121
- School of Living, 114
- Schwitzer, Albert, 11, 17, 18
- Civilization and Ethics, 17
- Science 31
- Scientists (Bhave's advice to), 31
- Secretary of Agriculture, 109
- Seeker, 127
- Sekelj, Tibor, 43
- Sex, 33
- Shakers, 100
- Shanti Sena (peace army), 55, 57, 58, 68
- Shaw, George B., 18, 106, 107
- Slaughtering, 107
- Smoking, 65
- Social dynamics, 89, 93
- Socialism, 23, 72, 87
- Spiritual, 104
- Socialists, 70
- Social Security Legislation, 102
- Sorokin, Dr. Peter A., 31, 126
- South Africa, 15
- South Dakota, 101
- Sputnik, 26
- Stalin, 15, 69, 70
- Status quo, 30
- Status Seekers, The (by Vance Packard), 32
- Stevens, Henry B., 106
- Stooge reports, 48
- Swedenborg, A., 128
- Tagore, R., 48, 111
- Tanjore City Univ., 63
- Tapas, 56
- Tax (Inheritance and Income-Russia), 36
- Avoidance, 95
- Technology, 105
- Telangana (village where Bhoodan started), 48-52.
- Tennyson, Hallam, 19
- Theocracy, 103
- Theory of Balance of Power, 65
- Thomas, Norman, 69
- Thoreau, Henry D., 15, 18, 25, 26
- Tolstoy, Count Leo, 11, 12, 13, 15
- Confession, A, 12
- Essays on Religion and Peace, 12
- Great Iniquity, A, 13
- How Much Land does a Man Need?, 13
- Kingdom of God, 12
- Resurrection, 13
- Trotsky, 69
- Truth, 16, 20, 64
- TV (violence on), 33
- TVA, 34
- Twain, Mark, 12
- Union Club (Cleveland), 36
- United Nations, 21
- United States, 15, 21, 26, 28, 30, 108, 121
- University of Michigan, 64
- Upanishads (ancient Indian religious writings), 15, 42
- Urban communities, 109
- Urban populations and cultures, 34
- Utopia, 33, 70
- Vaishnava Saints (men who embodied love and kindness), 24
- Value, 113
- Van den Berghe, Dr. Louis, 85, 100
- Varshram (four social orders), 24
- Vegetarianism, 16, 30, 58, 106
- Velikovskiy, J., 118
- Vinoba and his Mission, (Suresh Ram), 49, 60, 69
- Virtue of Civil Disobedience (Thoreau), 15, 25, 26
- Wafford, Harris, Jr., 64
- Waste Makers, The (Vance Packard), 32
- Water, 46
- Webster, Daniel, 11
- Wells, H. G., 102
- Western civilization, 18, 30, 31, 117
- Western society, 19, 20
- Whittier, 105
- Widow's Mite, The, 89
- Wisconsin Experimental College, 68
- Wisconsin, Univ. of, 68, 69
- World War II, 69
- Wright, Frank Lloyd, 69
- Yajna (laws), 56

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Daniel P. Hoffman, B. A., University of Wisconsin, 1933, and LLB, Georgetown University, 1938, has traveled extensively about India, collecting information on the land and people. Besides this he has spent four years of intensive research gathering the materials for this book. He has practiced accounting in Burlingame, California, for the last fifteen years, and has written articles for both Indian and American magazines. He is married, has four children, and lives in San Mateo, California.

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