

**PRINCIPLES
OF
SARVODAYA PLAN**

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**SARVODAYA PLANNING COMMITTEE
NEW DELHI**

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I

The history of human civilization is the history of the struggle for freedom. Eastern philosophy holds that the goal of individual's growth and evolution is freedom. He has to liberate himself from the yoke of his passions and appetites and attain freedom even from birth and death (*Moksha*). How best to gain freedom sums up all the aspirations and struggles of humanity. These struggles also bear witness to his martyrdom.

In primitive society the individual's freedom, to grow and develop, was hampered by fixed caste, immemorial custom, rigid convention and taboo. These created an unequal and unjust society impeding free growth. Where the individual is in shackles society cannot develop. Later freedom was denied to the individual by the kings, princes, aristocrats, priests, slave-owners and guild-masters. Art, literature and sciences were all under the yoke of old ideas and patterns. Everything was permanently decided for the individual by his status in society. Man was not merely a slave of social forces but to disease and to natural forces of flood, famine, earth-quake, etc., which he had failed to train or conquer. There was no free movement of men, goods and ideas.

The breaking of the various bonds of the family, the church, the king, the baron, the guild, the slave-owner, and the harnessing of nature to fruitful channels mark the advent of modern times. In society not status, but free consent regulated the relationship between man and man. In religion, freedom of worship and individual conscience were recognised. In politics, free institutions developed into democracy, where the ruled are also the rulers. Commerce and industry were freed from old shackles introducing free-trade. On this all-round freedom were built the dreams of the idealists, poets, philosophers and reformers, of perpetual peace based on continuous progress.

However, unfortunately for humanity, as old shackles were removed, even in the process of their removal, new bonds were forged. These introduced into society fresh injustices and inequalities. The mastery of nature through science coupled with geographical discoveries ushered in the Industrial Revolution. This created plenty in place of want and deficiency. But plenty was confined to a small section of production, with the result that society was again divided into the few haves and the many have-nots, into masters of machines and the wage-slaves. This inequality of wealth produced a permanent inequality of status. The old ties and loyalties having been broken, the only nexus binding men was that of self-interest and cash-payment. Nay, philosophers were not wanting who rationalised this self-interest into altruism and humanism and assured us that the whole of morality was built upon enlightened selfishness.

Inequality of wealth did not merely affect economic life. It made inroads upon political and cultural life. Possession of wealth gave to a small class all the advantages of education; culture, political power and social pre-eminence. In the political field equality before law became a mere form and so also the free vote. The democratic principles instead of expanding were narrowed down till what was left was merely formal democracy. In the international field, the search for raw material, for expanded markets, for fields of lucrative investment and cheap labour, produced the capitalist and so-called democratic-imperialism, that crushed the industrially backward peoples of Asia and Africa. The earth lust of rival modern nations led to new international conflicts that were sought to be settled by ever-mounting armaments and new and more destructive weapons invented by science, culminating, for the time being, in the atom bomb. Every armed conflict tended to become global. Science that had trained the forces of nature and put them at the service of humanity introduced its own iron laws and the determinist rigidity of cause and effect in the social field. This coupled with centralisation in industry made science not the slave of man but his master. Soon in the social field it was apparent that not the motives and intentions of people or what they desire, are the deciding factors in any social situation but a combination of material forces. The social whole has a dynamics of its own. This led Marx to believe that "the fundamental problem of the social science is to find the law according to which society produces the state which succeeds it and takes its place." From this he arrived at the conclusion that "it is not the consciousness of man that determines his existence; rather, it is his

social existence that determines his consciousness" (Capital). Marx interprets this social consciousness in economic terms. He holds that the economic organisation of society, specially the means of production and their ownership, are fundamental to all social development. And such a social development is decisive of not only the evolution of our culture, art, science and philosophy but also of our individual character. Marx, it would appear, had found society's law of motion. This law was inexorable, men's ideas and efforts to the contrary notwithstanding. All that the individuals can do is to recognise the necessity and inevitability of the violent revolution, predetermined by the march of human history, and then "mitigate its birth pangs."

Marx, therefore, wanted on one hand the destruction by violent revolution of the capitalist imperial social order, that had enslaved man everywhere and made democracy impossible, and on the other hand, the establishment in its place of a social order built upon justice, equality, the rights of the individual and democracy. That he wanted the freedom of the individual and democracy is plain from the fact that he contemplated the withering away of the state. However, the Marxians often have conceived their task differently. One sees no signs of the withering away of the state in Soviet Russia, whose polity is supposed to have been modelled on Marxism. If anything, the State has become all-powerful and all-pervasive. It dominates not only the political and economic but also the moral, cultural and intellectual life; nay, it dominates art, literature, philosophy and even science. On the other hand we have the totalitarian regimes destructive of freedom and democracy, based on ideas of nationality, race, geopolitics and the right of the exceptional and the elite to rule and dominate. All these totalitarian creeds, Communist, Nazi and Fascist, claim to be scientific and deterministic. They not only describe social and political forces as they are at work to-day or have been in the past but they are prophetic of the future. The individual finds no place in them. He is an ensemble of social relations or a cell in the body politic. He has no existence apart from the social whole. If Capitalistic social order departmentalised life and divided it into air-tight compartments, social, political, economic, individual and collective, each with its own set of rules and morals, often in conflict with and contradictory to each other, the totalitarian creeds are unitarian. They believe in a kind of mystical materialism. The whole of life, individual and collective, moral, political and economic is derived from one principle, either from the economic or the racial, the national or the will to power and dominance. In

both the capitalist and the totalitarian philosophies there is no co-ordination, correlation and inter-dependence between the different facets of life. Also from their different approaches they produce centralisation of power, economic and political. Too much centralisation is destructive of individual freedom. Capitalism, beginning with freedom destroyed freedom, as it must, when it is unregulated. Free trade and *laissez-faire* combined with centralised production created monopolies, combines and cartels and with these such inequalities of wealth and power in society, the conception of democracy was well nigh defeated. As a reaction came Communism, with its aggressive championship of the disinherited, in the interest of justice, equality and the freedom of the individual. But by its centralisation of power, economic and political, in the State, it destroyed the freedom of the individual and with it the moral values that condition his full development. Fascism of all sorts likewise was destructive of freedom and individuality.

Here then comes Gandhiji with his idea of a synthetic philosophy, of an integrated and co-ordinated life, individual and group, social, economic, political and moral. Gandhiji neither divided life into separate compartments each with its own set of values and ideas of right and wrong, nor did he so unify it as to obliterate all distinctions. That there is inter-relation creating an inner unity he firmly believed. But unity is based upon the fundamentals of the moral law. He was not therefore a determinist. He did not believe that there was a fixed and inevitable course of human history and a reformer could with certainty find "the law according to which society produces the state which succeeds it and takes its place". Nor did he believe that "it is his (man's) social existence that determines his consciousness". He rather held that as the individual's character can be moulded so can society's by some kind of social engineering. There is no predetermined and inevitable course of society or history. Men's minds, ideas, ideologies and the way they think and act are factors that can to a great extent shape, and mould social institutions. Individual and society act and react upon each other. It is as useless to speculate whether the individual was first or society, as it is to speculate whether the egg was first or the hen. He, therefore, could neither ignore the individual or his exchange of matter with nature. Matter for Gandhiji was not something to be despised. As the physical body so the body social was the medium through which the spirit of man could work its highest good. In man's commerce with nature, Gandhiji assigned a

very important place to the economic factors which mould their lives and their social institutions. Important as are the economic factors, they are not as with the Marxians, all-embracing. However, they can be neglected only at one's peril.

It is a well-known fact that the advent of Gandhiji in the public life of India was through economics. It was the poverty of the Indian masses that moved him most profoundly. He often said that he could not carry God to the poor except in the shape of a bowl of rice. His campaigns in Champaran, Kaira, Borsad and Bardoli were all connected with economic questions. His participation in the industrial disputes was on economic grounds. Even in 1930, when he was in search of a law which he could conveniently break and ask the nation to break, he selected the poor man's salt which was heavily taxed. When he elaborated his constructive programme, Khadi and cottage industry occupied the central place in the material regeneration of the nation.

Not only did he recognise the importance of economic life and give it its proper place but he also held that the modes of production and distribution of material goods powerfully affect moral, political and social institutions. He wanted the establishment of a social order based upon truth and non-violence. He realised and made others to realise that such a social order was impossible under the capitalist system of production which rested upon the moral and material exploitation of labour. Gandhiji held all exploitation, whether through wealth or power, to be violent. And wherever there is violence, untruth must creep in. He held that the production and distribution of goods, that is the economic life of the community, should be so arranged as to avoid untruth and violence. He therefore elaborated his idea of decentralized industry and agriculture to be organised, if need be, on co-operative basis. Unlike the Marxists, Gandhiji did not want a bloody revolution to eliminate the capitalist social order. He did not advocate violent expropriation of the wealth of the exploiters. Neither did he want to put all the instruments of production, through the ownership of which capitalists are supposed to create 'surplus value' and exploit labour, into the hands of a centralised totalitarian or bureaucratic state. He rather wanted to destroy capitalism at its very root, at its production stage. With decentralised production of material goods there can be no master of the machine and its slave. The tools or the small machines that the artisan uses in his home can be owned by him without creating economic, social

and political inequality. Also the artisan is the master of the tools and instruments he uses and is not the slave of a huge machine, whose working he scarcely understands. Decentralised production also avoids the accumulation of big capital in the hands of a small and ever diminishing class. Such an arrangement works for economic equality. This equality is a great asset to democracy. If centralised capitalist production is destructive of democracy, centralised communistic production under state ownership and management is no less destructive of democracy. The latter destroys individuality as effectively as the former. Communism may supply the individual with economic goods quickly and cheaply but it does this at the expense of freedom. Without freedom there can be no moral, political or cultural progress.

However, it is objected that such decentralised industry by limiting production keeps the standard of living low. Gandhiji, thinking as he was of India with its teeming millions and its colossal unemployment, did not contemplate any such contingency. He thought it would be demoralising for a community to keep the human machine idle while providing work for the material machine. But where necessary he had no objection to the use of labour-saving devices worked by mechanical power that could be sub-divided and made available to the generality of the people. Electric power provides this possibility. He had therefore no objection to the use of electric power. Gandhiji did not believe in raising the standard of living beyond particular limits. He held that material goods, though they help the average individual in his intellectual and moral growth and freedom, enslave him and hamper his moral growth if multiplied beyond those limits.

Yet Gandhiji recognised that centralised big industry could not be altogether eliminated under modern conditions. Transport, communication and some other key industries will have to be centralised in big factories. But such centralised industry must be organised and managed by public corporations and, if need be, by the state for the general good.

If a new democratic equalitarian social order, free from exploitation, is to be put on firm foundations, decentralisation in economics must go side by side with decentralisation in politics. Men are not exploited through defective economic organisation alone; they are also exploited through defective political organizations. A centralised democracy has a tendency

to become bureaucratic and totalitarian. Gandhiji wanted convenient regions not only to manage their own economic but also their own political life. He wanted every region to be a small republic. He believed that democracy, which implies real freedom to manage one's own affairs, can effectively function only in small units. Such units are to exercise under direct supervision the functions of the government in respect of their own affairs. The State is to be a kind of federation of such semi-independent units.

This in brief is the social order contemplated by Gandhiji. Only in such an equalitarian social order free from economic and political exploitation can the average man lead a free moral and spiritual existence. Otherwise, as wealth and power have hitherto been monopolised by a minority, so moral and spiritual life will remain the exclusive preserve of the anchorite, the exceptional and the elite.

II

The Ideals and Objectives of Sarvodaya

The ideal then is realisation of a non-violent society by progressive steps for the fulfilment of the individual and social personality of man, under a pattern of life, in which the regions would tend more and more to be self-sufficient in the objects of material well-being and co-operative in social, moral and cultural pursuits.

The pace of our progress towards a non-violent society would depend on our ability to eliminate violence which generally manifests itself in one of the three forms :—

(i) Exploitation of man by man

(ii) Crime and Punishment

and (iii) War

An effort, should therefore, be made to pattern the life of society on that of the family so that the motive for exploitation ceases, and wrongs are redressed, evil resisted by good, crimes treated as maladies to be cured, and wars rejected as an instrument of settling disputes.

Plain living is essential to a non-exploitative society and conducive to the fulness of life. For the building of such a society it is necessary that every individual should put in an amount of physical labour in the production of the basic needs of life. Regions should be increasingly self-sufficient in respect of material wants. In our opinion whatever falls within the sphere of decentralised production should not be produced by centralised industries, for which, limits must be laid down. Such regional self-sufficiency, does not restrict, but promotes fellow feeling and human relationship in ever-widening circles. Man should, therefore, be trained and equipped more and more to participate in an intelligent and responsible manner in inter-regional, social, moral and cultural efforts.

Regional self-sufficiency based on decentralisation of both economic and political power which avoids concentration of wealth, power and population is essential for the development of the whole personality of man.

In such a society which will not be based on caste and class there will be equal opportunity for all which will result in the full and proper utilisation of human, animal and natural resources for the purpose of enabling each individual to secure full self-expression and attaining that level of productive efficiency which will assure the requisite standard of life.

Property.—All property being socially produced must be subject to the control of the society. It may vest in the individual and the community. The present competitive economy will yield place to a social economy based on co-operation.

Proprietorship in agricultural land will vest in the tiller of the soil under regulations laid down by society.

In decentralised industries, the instruments of production will be owned either individually or co-operatively.

Centralised industries would be owned by the community and run by the State or Public Corporations or Co-operatives.

Consumption

National Income.—Such an arrangement of property rights and organisation of the productive system on the basis of maximum regional self-sufficiency and decentralisation would utilise man power to the best advantage and would greatly reduce the ratio of the non-working and parasitic part of the population to the working population. Besides, by decreasing the pressure on land, production per capita would be increased.

We therefore feel sure that the production of wealth in the country would be enough to give adequate food, clothing, housing accommodation and other necessaries of life to the people and to meet the obligations of a government which would aim at governing the least and be wedded to a policy of progressive realisation of non-violence in the administration of the State. Over and above the material well-being, there will be greater contentment among the people and therefore happiness and a feeling of prosperity all round.

The service of the neighbour embodied in the principle of Swadeshi that is '*Padoshi Dharma*' being an element in non-violence and considering the economic position of the country, which demands at present a large measure of austerity, nothing that the nation can do without, should be imported and no such goods as are in short supply should be exported.

Standard of life.—The minimum income should assure to an average family adequate food, clothing and housing accommodation which may be expressed on the basis of the present price level by a monthly income of Rs. 100/-. Every effort should be made to reach up to the minimum standard as early as possible. Disparity in incomes in every sector of economic life should be levelled down. Under such a social order the gap between the minimum and the maximum incomes should not be such as would jar public conscience.

Ceiling of incomes should be enforced on all income groups, none being allowed to hold any property which will yield an income greater than the maximum laid down. Ceiling to all incomes should at present be imposed at 20 times the minimum income to be brought down within a reasonable period of time to 10 times the minimum income.

Adequate arrangements should be made for cheap and easily available services for education and health. Arrangements should also be made to provide, for functional efficiency, communally-owned equipments like libraries for all, research laboratories for scholars and advanced students, medical instruments for physicians and transport facilities for all.

Production.

The system of production should subserve the following principles :

- (1) It should distribute wealth widely and evenly.
- (2) It should supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for.
- (3) It should be a means for eliciting all the faculties of the worker and developing his personality.
- (4) It should be conducive to peace and harmony in society.
- (5) It should create wealth as efficiently as possible.

Agriculture.

Planning of production should centre round agriculture and industries allied to agriculture such as animal husbandry.

Behind the varied systems of land tenures, agricultural conditions and practices prevalent in the different provinces, our agrarian economy today presents a remarkably uniform picture of inefficiency, low productivity and small units of production.

Land Reforms.—There cannot be any lasting improvement in agricultural production and efficiency without comprehensive reforms in the country's land system. Abolition of Zamindari should therefore be expedited. But, even after the abolition of the zamindari system, there would remain a large element of non-cultivating interests in land. In the agrarian economy of India, we feel, there is no place for intermediaries, and land will vest in the tiller subject to regulations by the community. Subletting of land should be prohibited except in the case of widows, minors and other disabled persons. Only those who put in some amount of physical labour and participate in actual agricultural operations should be deemed to cultivate land personally.

Protective tenancy should be immediately granted to those who have been cultivating land continuously for a period of six years. The maximum rate of rent should not be more than $1/3$ or $1/4$ of the yield in dry or wet areas respectively, or double the land revenue. The *assessment of rent* should depend on the convenience of the tenant and be determined from time to time by the Land Tribunal described below. All evictions should be stopped and a record of rights should be prepared by local land tribunals composed of (1) representative of the Sarvodaya Ideal, (2) tenantry and (3) land-owning peasantry. The owner of the land will have the option to resume the holding to the extent necessary to make his self-cultivated holding economic. The tenant should also have the right to purchase a holding at a reasonable price to be determined by the Land Tribunal empowered to determine the fair rent. Such purchase should be facilitated by the rural credit agency.

Pattern of agrarian economy.—The existing pattern of agrarian economy is so complex and the problems which it has to face are so variegated that no single uniform method of land utilisation can meet the requirements of the situation. The

agrarian policy of the country should, therefore, subserve the principles governing the system of production as stated above. While there may be more than one type of farming,- a variety in form, there would be unity in idea about the agrarian pattern to be evolved

Sizes of holdings.—Types of farming should vary according to the size of holdings. There may be three norms for the sizes of holdings—Basic, Economic and Maximum.

The central concept is that of an *Economic Holding* to be determined according to the agronomic conditions of different regions on the following principles :—

- (i) it must afford a reasonable standard of living to the cultivator,
- (ii) it must provide full employment to a family of normal size and at least a pair of bullocks. Full employment should not mean denial of leisure or opportunities for self-culture to the woman-kind. They should be assured adequate time for leisure and self-development.

The number and percentage of holdings below the economic size requiring rehabilitation is so large that the task of rehabilitation of such a vast sector of the agrarian economy would be beyond the organisational competence of the machinery of land management. Therefore, the concept of a *Basic Holding* may be evolved. Such a holding will be smaller than the Economic Holding and therefore uneconomic in the sense of being unable to provide a reasonable standard of living to the cultivator, but not inefficient for the purpose of agricultural operations and yield per unit.

Maximum Holding.—Because the supply of land in relation to the number of people seeking it is so limited and the present technique of cultivation does not require managerial capacity and financial resources which an average cultivator cannot provide, the maximum size of a holding may be put at three times the size of an Economic Holding.

We do feel that in determining the maximum size of a holding, the provisions regarding the fixation of the ceiling to incomes mentioned above should be kept in view.

Exceptions should, however, be made in the case of joint families (provided each branch of the family puts in manual labour in agricultural operations) and institutions with objects of social good.

Modes of Farming

Peasant Proprietorship.—On all holdings between the basic and the maximum sizes, proprietorship in agricultural land will vest in the actual tiller of the soil under suitable regulations. Such family farms should without any exception, take the help of the village multi-purpose cooperative in the matter of marketing and agricultural credit.

The idea of proprietorship in which the owner could use or misuse land as he likes, is incongruous with the economic and social needs of our times. Rights in land should, therefore, be shared between the community and the tiller. The cultivator will have a permanent transferable and heritable right of cultivation in land subject to the following conditions :—

- (i) That he does not sublet his holding ;
- (ii) That he transfers his holding according to well-defined priorities laid down by an appropriate authority and at a price which is reasonable and not speculative ;
- (iii) That he conforms to the test of good husbandry and the scheme of crop planning proposed from time to time by the Land Council.

The rights vested in the community are to be exercised by the Land Council through agencies at different levels, the basic one being the Village Panchayat, elected on adult franchise. The Panchayat will be in charge of all the common assets of the village viz., the waste land, village sites, tanks, forests etc. It will also be responsible for the collection of land rates from the cultivators.

Cooperative Joint Farming.—All holdings below the basic size should be organised into cooperative joint farms. This does not mean that the below-basic holdings should be lumped into a single giant cooperative in which the cultivator may lose his sense of ownership and creative personality. The cooperative joint farm can be formed, whenever the requisite number of below-basic holders club together and constitute a holding of the maximum size. The gradualness of the

programme, intelligent propaganda, liberal state-aid and its judicious implementation by a specially trained Rural Economic Service attached to the machinery of management of land should reduce the psychological hesitation of the peasants, if there is any, to cooperative joint farming. A beginning may be made in selected areas under the planned direction and control of the Provincial Cooperative Farming Board attached to the machinery of the land management.

Collective Farming.—To satisfy the land hunger of the landless labourers and to test the economies of large-scale mechanised farming, collective farming by landless labourers may be experimented upon on reclaimed lands. The use of mechanical devices like tractors should be restricted to such essential operations as breaking of land etc. In the initial stages the machinery of land management should provide the requisite assistance and as the labourers are trained in the management of the farm, the control and direction by the Land Council should withdraw.

Farm for Research and Experiment.—Under the auspices of the Land Council there would be a variety of farms to evolve better technique of farming, improved variety of seeds and more efficient and cheaper implements.

Land Management.—The present system of administration pertaining to the different aspects of land use and management suffers from the lack of an integrated outlook necessary for the comprehensive solution of the problems of our agrarian economy and is vitiated by bureaucratic procrastination and want of sympathy and imagination. The machinery of land management should be functionally organised. There should be a single integrated machinery with regional units, composed of different elements—persons of Sarvodaya outlook, experts and representatives of the agricultural population, with the powers and responsibilities vested at present in various departments dealing with the problems of the agrarian economy. Maximum effort should be made to decentralise the functions of this administrative machinery by endowing the units at the bottom of the pyramid with more substantial powers.

There will be regional bodies over a group of villages, the basic unit being the Village Panchayat.

At the apex, there will be a Central Land Council representative of the regional bodies to evolve an All-India scheme of crop

planning and allocation of scarce resources according to priorities. There will be Regional Land Councils representative of the units at different levels with a wider range of functions and responsibilities. The Regional Land Council will be assisted by a number of Boards such as those for Rural Finance, Cooperative Farming, Wage and Price Determination etc.

Rural Economic Civil Service.—There will be neither adequate food for men nor fodder for cattle unless the country can raise a veritable land army with a crusading spirit. There must be a band of men who can share the joys and sorrows of small men in their surroundings of poverty, illiteracy and ill-health. Their aim is service, their determination steady and their patience measureless. Young men and women with general education and proper outlook should be recruited. They should be trained in the theory and practice of agriculture, cooperative movement and organisation of agro-industries, and placed for a period of probation in cooperative and collective farms before they are absorbed in the Rural Economic Civil Service.

The Regional Land Council would be completely autonomous in the administration of its policy of planning, development and management of the rural economy. Its general policy, however, would for some time to come, be subject to the approval of the Provincial Government.

In order that the Council may function independently and effectively, it must have independent sources of revenue.

Agricultural Planning.—To formulate a crop plan, there should be a census of requirements of the total population of the country, human as well as domestic animals, on the basis of a *balanced diet* and the standard of life assured under the policy. The aim of such a plan should be increasing self-sufficiency of the regions in agricultural requirements. The productive capacity and the requirements of each region and those of the country as a whole should be so interrelated that there is a proper balance of the forces of centralisation as well as decentralisation. Emanating from the gatherings of peasants under village communities modified at different regional councils the plan would take shape ultimately in the Land Council but both the formulation as well as the administration of the plan would be democratic and decentralised in character.

Agricultural Indebtedness and Rural Finance.—In spite of high prices of agricultural produce, the burden of indebtedness

for the bulk of the agrarian population has not been diminished. There should be compulsory scaling down of the debts of the farmers and landless labourers on the basis of the paying capacity and equity of loans. The higher price has benefitted the surplus producers who constitute a small percentage of the agrarian population. The greater number of agrarian population being deficit producers and landless labourers have been affected adversely by the rise of prices of such commodities. All money-lenders should be registered and their operations regulated. Simultaneously provision should be made for alternative credit at reasonable rates under a unified agency through multi-purpose cooperatives in the villages and regional land mortgage banks. Credit should be as far as possible controlled, functional and in kind.

The greater impediment in the progress of institutional credit has been that the percentage of uncredit-worthy cultivators is vast and numerous. Any scheme of credit confining itself to credit-worthy cultivators touches only the fringe of the problem. Therefore, in an ideal arrangement of agricultural credit, lack of credit-worthiness should not as far as possible come in the way of cultivators securing the essential requirements of farming. This consideration is of paramount importance till the whole agrarian pattern is recast according to the policy stated above.

Regulated markets, marketing of the surplus agricultural products through local multi-purpose cooperatives and licensed warehouses should be the major planks of planning rural marketing and finance.

Agricultural-Labour—While in recent times money wages of agricultural labourers have gone up, the real wages are still far below the minimum standard of living. There are places even today where agricultural labourers live under sub-human conditions of life and agrestic serfdom is still in vogue. Immediate efforts should be made to abolish serfdom and to assure the minimum standard of life to this vast exploited section of humanity. The major problem of the agricultural labourer being unemployment and under-employment, there should be an immediate plan to transfer the bulk of this population to collective farms and agro-industries. A decentralised economy can alone facilitate such planned rehabilitation.

Efforts should also be made to organise the agricultural labourers scattered over our vast and difficult country so that exploitation ceases. When full control over the agrarian economy

is restored to the Village Community, the chances of such exploitation would be few and far between.

Agricultural Prices—In order to stabilise our agrarian economy, there should be a scheme of Crop and Cattle Insurance as well as a technique and a machinery to maintain parity of prices between agriculture and industry. Today there is much that is arbitrary in the fixation of prices of agricultural and rural products. It is marked by a two-fold exploitation of the village by the city. The price of agricultural produce is decided by the buyer in the city and the finished commodity going to the village is sold at a price determined by the seller in the city. If agriculture is to provide a reasonable standard of life to the cultivators and a minimum standard of life to agricultural labourers, this injustice in price fixation must be immediately put an end to. Unless this is done, the real disease of the village remains unattended viz the exodus of wealth and talents from the villages to the cities.

Industry

The guiding principle in the industrial sector of our economy should be : Whatever could be produced adequately by decentralised industries should not be produced by centralised industries.

The organisation of industrial production should subserve the general principles governing the system of production enunciated above. Ultimately all consumption goods would be produced by decentralised industries and centralised control and production would be limited to *defence-industries*, generation of power, mining, metallurgy, forestry, heavy engineering, machinery and machine tools, and chemicals. Ceaseless researches should be carried on to explore the possibilities of decentralising the present centralised industries producing consumption goods and organising the centralised industries which will have to be also resorted to even in the ultimate arrangement of our life and society on smaller units of production located in rural areas. The planned location of such large-scale industries would lead to an even development of the country.

Industries connected with food processing and other prime necessities should be decentralised and competition by centralised industries in these lines should be immediately banned. Particular care should be taken that in processing nutritive value of the

agricultural product is not wasted. This, specially applies to methods as are adopted in Rice, Vanaspati, and Sugar Mills.

Centralised industries should be viewed as auxiliaries to decentralised industries, inasmuch as they increase the productive efficiency of the latter by providing implements and raw materials. They should be owned by society, and run by autonomous corporations or by cooperatives, if possible. Such centralised industries should be socialised on payment of compensation calculated on the basis of the ceiling income allowed under the scheme and which would be only a rehabilitation allowance to the dispossessed. Till these industries are socialised, they should be controlled in the interest of the community and the ideal to be attained. The destructive competition between centralised industries and decentralised industries should be immediately put a stop to by reserving some sectors of production entirely for village industries and by subsidizing the village industries out of the taxes imposed upon the competing centralised industries. The depreciated capital equipments in such centralised industries should not be replaced nor fresh installations allowed. In course of time such centralised industries would go out of existence as their places in the economy are taken up by decentralised industries.

The organisational and technical efficiency of the Basic industries should be improved through rationalisation, and placed under the direction of a separate council under the Planning Commission. The Sterling Balances should henceforth be primarily used to get capital goods for the rationalisation of these centralised industries. Import of capital goods on this account should be the first charge on the foreign balance which we might have even under our scheme of restricted international trade. Priority in utilising foreign exchange resources in this respect should be determined by the Planning Commission, representative of Agriculture, Decentralised Industries and Centralised Industries.

Foreign Concerns—In the economic order envisaged by us there is no place for foreign concerns either in the sector of centralised industries producing consumer goods or in the sector of key industries. As the indigenous centralised industries producing consumer goods would go out of existence under the scheme of taxation and subsidy and restricted production and the centralised industries in the sector of key and basic industries would pass under social ownership, foreign concerns would

either go out of existence or pass under public ownership. In these matters no discrimination should be made either in favour of or against foreign concerns.

Economic Civil Service—To secure efficient development and conduct of socialised industries, suitable administrative agencies should be set up. Particular attention should immediately be given to the following matters :—

- (1) Creation of an Economic Civil Service which will furnish industry with executives of different grades. The experience and managerial ability of some of the owners of the centralised industries may be utilised by absorbing them in the Economic Civil Service,
 - (2) Training of the requisite industrial cadre,
 - (3) Technical training and general education of workers,
 - (4) Control of scarce and strategic resources,
- and (5) Intensive and detailed economic survey.

Industrial Research.—Promotion of technical and organisational efficiency of Basic industries depends greatly on well-directed industrial research. So far research has been organised to increase the profit of centralised industries. Henceforth, such research should be so guided that centralised industries increase the organisational and technical efficiency of decentralised industries and become instruments of service to the community. Researches should also be directed to explore the possibility of organising these centralised industries on smaller units and dispersing them in rural areas and developing small scale industries which might be auxiliaries to these centralised industries.

Decentralised Village Industries.—Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to these industries. They should provide full and varied employment of man power and natural resources of the region.

Such industries should be promoted through industrial cooperatives on service basis that undertake to supply raw materials, guide the production and sell the goods of the members and if possible provide them with a common workshop, where they can produce jointly. There should be a separate council under the permanent Planning Commission which

should direct and co-ordinate the organisation of these industries. The structure that is to be built up is a federal one consisting of primary societies, the regional unions and associations and the apex federation.

The technical efficiency of these industries may be improved by the use of electricity if it is available to all artisans in the region and by the introduction of such mechanical devices as would not hamper full employment.

The artisan and the worker free from the responsibilities of procurement of raw materials and sale of finished goods will concentrate on production.

Direct loans and subsidies necessary in many industries in the initial stages should be arranged by the Rural Finance Board attached to both the Land Council and the Council of Decentralised Industries under the Planning Commission, through the industrial co-operatives.

The following immediate steps may be taken to stimulate the development of decentralised industries.

The Government and public bodies should patronise as far as possible the products of village industries. The raw materials and accessories required by cottage and village industries and their products may be exempted from Octroi duties, terminal taxes, sales tax and such other charges. Priority should be given to supply forest produce to these industries at standard rates. The Government should also change its present revenue based policy in case of forests and aim at producing materials needed by the people. An arrangement should be made to distribute on the basis of priority raw materials in short supply to these industries such as steel, coal, caustic soda and other chemicals. When the Planning Commission with the council of Decentralised Industries begins to function in full swing, determination of such priority would be easier. The development of these industries would greatly depend on the creation of the right type of leadership. A cadre of organisers, technicians and administrators should be trained up. The Rural Economic Civil Service should throw up men and women to serve the cause of decentralised industries.

Labour and Industrial Relations.—In the economic system based on industries, decentralised and public-owned centralised,

the problem of industrial relations would be much simpler. In the decentralised industries, there would be very little scope for the use of hired labour. Besides, as they will function in the context of an intimate social life, there would hardly be any chance of exploitation.

In the public-owned centralised industries, the employees would enjoy all the amenities and privileges of Government service. They will also be associated with the management of these industries.

In the period of transition, stable and friendly relations should be established between labour and capital through increasing association of labour with management in industry and through profit-sharing. The establishing of Works Committee in each undertaking to settle differences in the day-to-day administration, and of Regional Labour Boards in each industry to determine wages and conditions of labour, should be on the basis of adequate representation being given to duly elected representatives of labour. In the interest of uninterrupted production, all disputes between employers and workmen should be settled through the machinery of conciliation, arbitration and adjudication. The workers should be guaranteed minimum wages, proper housing and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

Banking, Insurance and Currency.

Economic planning in the ordinary sense presupposes formation and investment of capital on a large scale. The plan which we envisage, being essentially a plan of decentralised village industries, is labour intensive rather than capital intensive. Nevertheless, on a much wider field, capital will have to be invested, though thinly spread out. But as replacement in the centralised industries producing consumer goods will not be allowed, the capital consumed by such industries would be available for equipping the decentralised industries. There will be further saving on account of minimising the use of capital in trade which will be organised as far as possible among the self-sufficient regions on the basis of barter through multi-purpose cooperatives.

As against this, agriculture and the basic industries will make a huge demand upon our capital resources, if their technical efficiency is to increase in order to provide the

standard of life envisaged in this policy statement. To ensure the prosperity of agriculture, crop and cattle insurance will be organised, payment of premia being in kind.

The immediate programme should be to organise mass savings and control investment in the interest of agriculture and decentralised industries and ultimately to socialise banks and insurance companies to save the national economy from the vicious manipulation of high finance. Under the Rural Finance Board there should be a net-work of multipurpose cooperatives flung widely over the vast country and reaching the lowest stratum of society. They should canalise even the tiniest bit of saving which the poorest of the poor can make. Such an organisation alone will solve the crisis in investment and production. The real incentive to mass savings should come through regionalisation of the formation and investment of capital. The surplus resources of urban areas should be invested in Government loans some of which will be invested through public-owned Industrial Finance Corporation in centralised industries.

Our objective is to minimise, as far as possible, the use of money in every sector of economy, because 'money veil' is largely responsible today for economic disequilibrium. In a self-sufficient decentralised economic life with minimum internal and international exchange on the basis of barter, payment of wages and taxes, as far as possible, in kind; and advance of functional credit, agricultural and industrial, the use of money would be reduced to the minimum. With the development of such decentralised institutions as granaries, local warehouses of salt, yarn and iron and steel, planned saving and investment by the Rural Credit Board and Industrial Corporation, respectively, in agriculture, decentralised and public owned centralised industries and proper regulation of currency and credit by the Central Bank, there would be neither boom nor depression and the volume of currency would be regulated by the volume of goods.

Distribution.

Domestic Exchange.--The need for inter-regional trade will diminish with the growth of regional self-sufficiency. Regional units of self-sufficiency will, however, vary with different commodities. With regard to some commodities, the unit may be the village or taluka; in others a group of villages and so on. A regional economic unit will export

through its multipurpose cooperative only those commodities of which it has a definite surplus or which it can produce at a comparative advantage. Similarly articles which it cannot produce at a comparative advantage but requires as an essential of life should be imported through the multi-purpose cooperative society. All imports from urban areas to the rural areas should be regulated through the multipurpose society. Immediately, under official and non-official auspices researches should be organised to explore the possibilities of making regions self-sufficient in the essentials of life.

International Trade.—Nothing that the nation can do without, should be imported. The foreign trade of the country should be placed under the control of a Public Corporation attached to the Planning Commission. The distribution of the imported articles should be as far as possible, through cooperatives. The raw materials and strategic resources which can be utilised within the country should not be exported. If recommended by the Planning Commission, foreign capital may be imported as loan capital on governmental level and as a loan from the World Bank. We should cultivate trade relations with countries whose economies are complementary to ours. Prosperity is indivisible and, therefore, we believe that international cooperation should contribute to the even development of the different countries of the world.

Transport and Communications.

Due to commercial and military considerations, there has been a considerable duplication of roads and railways. In a non-violent and decentralised society, there should be planning of communications on a different basis.

Public utilities like Railways, Roads, Inland Waterways, Coastal Shipping, Posts and Telegraph and Air Transport should be so organised that the village is kept on the forefront. In a decentralised economy, the pressure on the Transport, specially on the railways and metalled roads would be much less. To provide full employment to man and the bullock power, the main vehicle of transport in rural areas should be the bullock cart. It is not essential at present to have pukka trunk roads but emphasis should be laid on building village feeder roads and inland water-ways. Inland water-ways provide a treble blessing. They provide occupations to boatmen, serve as cheap means of transport and irrigate the fields.

As regional self-sufficiency does not mean isolationism, postal, telegraphic and telephonic facilities should be extended as far as possible to rural areas.

The policy of railway rates which has so long been the bane of decentralised village industries and self-sufficiency should be immediately revised. Such public utilities as Railways, Posts, Telegraphs, shipping and aviation should be publicly owned and centrally administered as far as possible through regional bodies.

Health and Hygiene.

It must be recognised that the problem of health can never be solved by resorting to ever increasing paraphernalia of dispensaries and hospitals which in themselves are a heavy burden on the national income and under which professional doctors have converted institutions of service into centres of a lucrative trade. As at present organised, the mission of health is being ridden with parasitic elements in society.

People must be taught in the first instance to take care of their health and how not to fall ill. They must be taught the essential principles of health in matters of :—

Sanitation.—Sanitation includes both personal hygiene and taking care of the conditions of the surroundings with special reference to the disposal of waste water and waste materials and preparing compost out of such waste as well as from night soil and other village refuse. This propaganda will be facilitated if village cattle sheds are properly organised.

Dietetics.—At the present time the bulk of our population lives on a cereal based diet. A properly balanced diet is necessary for maintaining good health and vitality. This can be done by introducing a balanced diet amongst the people. Men and women should be educated in the ways of cooking food and preparing dishes without diminishing the nutritive values of the materials used. Medicines being ordinarily a corrective to deficiencies in the body, a dietetically correct diet will enable persons to prevent or cure diseases. At present large numbers of the village people are prone to diseases because of wrong and unvaried dieting. Diseases like Malaria which are devitalising the people can be resisted if the people use a balanced diet which can be produced within their means.

Regulation of Sex Instinct. The rural population in India generally suffers from malnutrition and suppression of the creative faculties. One of the effects of this is to increase the tendency for satisfying the sex appetite which results in unplanned growth of population and a generation of weaklings and also lowers the vitality of the parents. These conditions have led to a high rate of infant mortality.

This problem can be met by building up a rural life in which outdoor occupations and work are combined with a balanced diet and proper outlet for the creative faculties through healthy cultural recreations. This will lead to a wholesome sublimation of the creative instinct. Men and women should be taught self-control and discipline and should have the full knowledge of the consequences of promiscuity.

Hours of work and leisure and mental poise.—Under ideal conditions, work and leisure should rather be combined into one than the former be separated from the latter and number of hours fixed for each. This composite type of work with leisure adds to the mental health and happiness of society.

This type of education for children can be given through schools, but to adults who need it much more, it can be imparted through an all round programme of adult education.

Throwing every burden of social backwardness on schools and hospitals is the surest way of defeating their purpose. There are hundreds of small ailments for which no one need go to the hospital or dispensary. The home and family are the only eternal institutions that can successfully tackle all the problems of life.

There should be adequate hospital, maternity and dispensary services made available to the people within their means.

The greatest aid afforded by nature should be explored and utilised and may be supplemented by the use of medicinal herbs and simple modern appliances.

Purity of water supply is a crying need, the urgency of which has been rarely fully recognised. Villages should be provided with protected water supply in the form of wells or reserve tanks which will be safe from contamination by man and animals.

Education

The system of Education for a non-violent co-operative society must naturally differ from the one that is evolved by a competitive society which imposes on individuals and groups a struggle for self-aggrandisement and domination over others whereas the former aims at developing the instinct for creation construction and service by emphasising the development of the, critical as well as the creative aptitudes.

Education for a career must give place to education for service. This education will aim not only to impart education for the fulness of life but it will also aim at imparting education *through* constructive activities that make up nine-tenths of our life.

The first concern of a settled civilised life is the assurance of food, clothing, shelter (housing) and implements (of production). Most of the knowledge that mankind possesses is arrived at through its struggle to secure these primary needs of life. Education, in its development, must needs follow the process of this human development.

This consideration has led us to the evolution of a craft-centred education where various subjects are taught, as occasion arises, in corelation to the teaching of a socially useful handicraft which most of the villagers will have to pursue in a self-reliant, self-sufficient rural community.

This new Education reduces the burden of Education on the mind to its minimum because here nothing is taught to the student which does not arise out of natural, objective corelation with the basic life.

The study of nature on the one hand and of human society on the other, are thus vitally interwoven and they help the understanding of life which alone can lead man to a correct understanding of the purpose of life.

Basic education combines both cultural and vocational training.

We can never hope to assimilate the teaching of moral values in a society that teaches its youth to be always competing, fighting and overcoming, others. Education for power, domination

and self-aggrandisement is inconsistent with the proper education of the heart and the emotions.

The system of education that aims at self-sufficiency, contentment and moral co-operation can alone assimilate the teachings of the great established religions of the world. The conflict of religions and cultures no less than the conflict of self-interest and greed have led humanity to accept violence as the law of life. A non-violent society has to reverse this process and accept all religions as equally true and equally capable of improvement and perfection. The new education will aim at a new humanism based on absolute devotion to non-acquisitiveness, non-violence and truth.

Education will be imparted in the initial stages, in the language which the people use, irrespective of whether these are highly developed or no. At higher stages the common national language of the country will be used.

Discipline and training for the regulation of mass activities shall be an integral part of Basic education, but no military training will be allowed to invade the field of education.

Individual, State and Community.

In a non-violent society there should be maximum decentralization in the system of production, administrative control and of political power.

There is to-day an almost universal feeling for devolution of governmental power. In order to avoid congestion at the top and to make democracy effective, an attempt is being made to transfer more and more power from the top to the lower units of administration and to non-governmental agencies.

Our attitude towards the vesting of governmental power is fundamentally different from what is stated above. While, under the present arrangement, power develops from the top to the bottom, we hold that power should primarily vest in the basic units of administration and evolve from the bottom to the top.

We are aware of the emergence of fissiparous tendencies in the country after the attainment of freedom. We do feel the need of maintaining the independence and integrity of the nation under the auspices of a strong central government. But,

at the same time, we feel that a government which does not provide for the full play of the consciousness of the individual and does not harness the initiative of the common man, will never attain the strength of an administration which is vitalised by the conscious participation in social efforts of the teeming millions, diverse in its resources, varied in its culture and development. We, therefore, feel that as basic units of administration Gram Panchayats should be created and clothed with substantial powers of government. For different levels of social cooperation other regional bodies should be created through the method of indirect election and delegation of powers. Through this process an administrative machinery would be created with the shape of a pyramid where the bulk of governmental power would be at the bottom, and such power diminishing with the movement from the bottom upwards results at the top in an administration with minimum powers.

At the bottom there should be Village Panchayats administering the problems of education, sanitation, health, land and decentralised industries. There would be Regional Council of Panchayats indirectly elected from the Village Panchayats and a Provincial Council of Panchayats indirectly elected by the Regional Council of Panchayats. There will be an All-India Council of Panchayats indirectly elected by the Provincial Council of Panchayats. The Village Panchayats only would be elected by universal adult franchise.

On similar lines a political set-up may be created for urban areas. On provincial and all-India levels there should be Parliaments co-ordinating Provincial Panchayats and Provincial Panchayats and Provincial Urban Assemblies.

While legislation on problems of land and decentralised industries should be done by the Provincial Council of Panchayats, imposition of income-tax should be by the Provincial Parliament. The administration of these laws will be done, as far as possible, through the Regional bodies.

While the All-India Council of Panchayats will be entrusted with the co-ordination of legislation on land and decentralised industries, the administration of defence, public utilities like Railways, Electricity, Coastal shipping, Air Transport and operation of Public Corporations controlling the key and basic industries foreign, trade and foreign relations may be the charge of the All India Parliament representative of the Provincial Parliaments.

Planning of agriculture, decentralised industries and public-owned centralised industries should be placed under three separate councils as mentioned earlier. The constitution of the first two bodies should be thoroughly decentralised, the village community being the basic unit of the Land Council and Multipurpose Co-operative of the Council of Decentralised Industries.

At the top of these three Councils, there should be a small Commission of four members—three representatives—one each of the three Councils (Land, Decentralised Industries and Public-owned Centralised Industries) one non-official chairman assisted by a Board of Experts.

The composition of the Planning Commission makes it perfectly clear that the interests of the different zones and elements of the country's economy would be fully represented and planning would be democratically organised in the interest of agriculture and decentralised industries.

The Public Corporation in charge of foreign trade should be attached to the Planning Commission so that the country's foreign trade may be planned according to the needs of the different sectors of the national economy.

Through gradual and planned revolution indicated above in the economic, political and moral life, we can ultimately reach a stage when the Government govern the least. We feel sure that such a revolution could only be realised by the development of the spirit of man and the progress in natural science. In fact, only by the realisation of Sarvodaya principles there can be One World. It is also obvious that there cannot be full realisation of Sarvodaya so long as the State functioning through its anti-social sanctions of fear, greed, and envy, is not replaced by a Co-operative Commonwealth in which social will and social co-operation are established through the moral sanctions applied by the conscious community. Truth is weakened and humiliated when endorsed by brute power.

The more man relies on the State for the enforcement of the social will and as an instrument of social co-operation, the further he recedes from the community. In a decentralised social order, more and more problems would be tackled by local units which will be the community and the individual participates consciously and directly in the administration and

the will of the State is enforced by denying the recalcitrant the benefit of organised social life. In such a society, institutions will be created which will be effective, not by the support of the coercive power of the state but by the force of love which includes non-violent non-co-operation and Satyagraha. Such a society is not a reversion to the primitive village community or the city-state. It is the glorious end of man's struggle through ages for harmony between the individual and the community.

Progressive realisation of Non-violence by the Government in Police and Military :—We do not believe in military defence. We make it absolutely clear that our ultimate ideal is to replace the military by non-violent defence. Destruction of life and property should be regarded as a matter for sorrow and regret, and not of glorification. Glorification of the soldier, therefore, should immediately cease. But the noble qualities of courage, hardihood and self-sacrifice should be recognised and harnessed in the cause of non-violent defence.

But, as circumstanced, we have to recognise the fact that immediate disbandment of the military may not be found practicable by the Government. Nevertheless, in the period of transition, effective and urgent steps should be taken to develop the spirit of non-violent resistance. For this, basic qualities of honesty, public spirit, self-sacrifice and discipline are essential. We believe that the evolution of a decentralised economy and political power would in itself create conditions for non-violent defence. This can be accelerated by a general education of the masses for discipline in non-violence, by the organisation of Shanti Senas and by non-violent action in such situations as arise from time to time and are usually tackled by violent methods. In the meanwhile, steps will also have to be taken to gradually diminish the military expenditure and replace the standing army by the territorial force, which force in its turn will be replaced by or converted into a Shanti Sena in due time.

Public Finance

Decentralisation of production and political power must be based on a decentralised financial system. So that the autonomy of the basic units of administration may be real and effective, an arrangement has to be evolved under which a substantial portion of public revenues is collected and spent in the regional units. Our aim should be to evolve a financial system under which 50%

of public revenue collected may be spent by the Village Panchayat. From the remaining 50%, the administration of the higher bodies should be financed. The Central Government should not have any power of taxation though it will have some independent sources of income through public-owned centralised industries and public utilities like Railways, Electricity, Post & Telegraphs, Civil Aviation and Currency. If necessary, the provinces might grant a subvention to the centre.

Taxes may be paid in cash, kind and labour, land revenue being paid in kind. The difficulty of collection of land revenue in kind would be overcome by the organisation of multi-purpose cooperatives and a grain bank in each village. Bulk of the payment of salaries to local officials will be made in kind. Even the higher officers of the Provinces and the Central Government might be paid partly in kind. Payment of revenue in manual labour under the auspices of the Village Panchayat will make it possible for even the poorest man to contribute without any difficulty to the State Exchequer. In the economy envisaged, the high incomes would be lopped off and International Trade will be brought down to the minimum, there will be a fall in revenue from income-tax and customs. But on account of the contribution of the lowest of the low to the State Exchequer through manual labour, the coffers of the State, though depleted in cash, will be replete with wealth. By and large, labour is wealth. Hospitals, roads and schools which are the prime needs in our country today will be constructed by the people's own efforts and so will cost less to the State. Besides, there will be a substantial economy in expenditure due to the simplification of administration, reduction in the scale of salaries and expenditure on police and military through the progressive realisation of non-violence. The Police and the Military, when they are not on active service, can be made immediately less expensive to the State exchequer by making them produce their requirements of food and consumer's goods. With the introduction of basic education and meeting the needs of health by natural living and simple systems of treatment of diseases, education and health would cease to be a burden on the public revenues.

The transition from the present centralised economy to a decentralised one will be greatly facilitated by taking a functional view of public finance.

III

This statement of principles of Sarvodaya Planning is being published on behalf of the Sarvodaya Planning Committee. It is, therefore, necessary to add a few words here about the Sarvodaya Planning Committee.

When the Congress accepted office in 1937, the question of preparing a plan for the building of the nation in accordance with Congress ideals and declarations naturally came before it. The Congress appointed a National Planning Committee for this purpose. We all know the circumstances which stood in the way of the Congress. The Congress came out of office in 1939. It again accepted office in 1946. The country became free in 1947. But freedom coming as it did in the wake of partition, brought new problems and therefore the question of social and economic planning receded to the back ground.

The All India Congress Committee appointed a Committee to draft an Economic Programme. The report of the Committee was adopted in the Congress Session at Jaipur. Other political parties and organisations placed before the country their suggestions and plans. The economic situation, however, deteriorated fast.

The constructive workers inspired by Gandhiji's ideal of Sarvodaya and working directly under him were anxiously watching all these happenings and were also trying to evolve a plan based on their long experience of constructive work in the villages. They felt that the time had come to restate the role of the constructive programme and the constructive workers in the changed conditions of the country. With this end in view and acting under the advice of Gandhiji, it was proposed to hold a small conference of constructive workers at Wardha in the month of February 1948. Gandhiji was to participate and guide the deliberations of this Conference. But God willed otherwise!

But the situation in the country showed no signs of improvement, On the country it was becoming more serious. There was a feeling of frustration all round. The feeling among the constructive workers, believing in the Sarvodaya ideal, was also

growing that they must meet together and try to formulate their own plan to meet the present crisis in the country, as well as to build a permanent socio-economic order. A small conference of constructive workers under the presidentship of Shri Kaka Kalelkar was, therefore, held at Wardha in the first week of November 1949. It was decided that a statement of policy should be drawn up in the light of the decisions of this conference and placed before another session of the conference on the 22nd and 23rd December 1949, to which a larger number of constructive workers should be invited. After the approval of the Conference, the statement should be published and placed before the people and the country on the 30th January, the second death anniversary of Gandhiji.

In pursuance of this decision, Sarvodaya Economic Conference was held at Wardha on the 22nd and 23rd December 1949, presided over by Shri Kaka Kalelkar and attended by nearly two hundred constructive workers from all over India. After a full discussion, clause by clause, general approval was accorded by the Conference to the Statement of Principles of Sarvodaya Planning placed before it, and the President was requested to publish it on the 30th January 1950 after consulting other experts and workers so that it may reflect as far as possible the Sarvodaya Ideal.

This Conference further requested the President to appoint a Committee with a view to get the statement implemented by constructive organisations and accepted by the Congress and to create public opinion in its favour. Accordingly a Sarvodaya Planning Committee has been created consisting of the following members :—

Shri	Kaka Kalelkar	
„	J. C. Kumarappa,	
„	Shankarrao Deo	
„	Prafulla Chandra Ghosh	
„	Shrikrishnadas Jaju,	
„	Gulzarilal Nanda,	
„	R. K. Patil,	
„	G. Ramchandran,	
„	G. M. Satyanarayana,	
„	Jugatram Dave,	
„	K. Mitra,	
„	R. S. Dhotre	} Secretaries.
„	Jhaverbhai Patel	

This Committee met in Delhi in the second week of January and finalised the statement for publication.

All communications should be addressed to :—

The Secretary,
Sarvodaya Planning Committee,
3, Electric Lane, New Delhi.

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