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# SARVA SEVA SANGH.

Half Yearly Session

Kelappan Nagar, Ernakulam, Cochin (Kerala)

29, 30 and 31st December, 1972

## REPORT

S-2-36

1474

Sarva Seva Sangh,  
Gopuri, Wardha

**TITLE :** [www.vinoba.in](http://www.vinoba.in)

**Sarva Seva Sangh**

**Half Yearly Session**

**Ernakulam, Cochin ( Kerala )**

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**Subject : Report**

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**Publisher :**

**Sarva Seva Sangh, Gopuri,**

**W A R D H A . (Maharashtra)**

**Price : Re. 1-00**

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

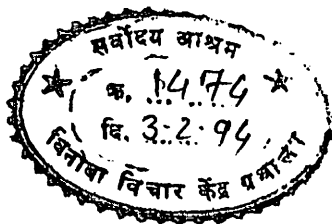
The Sarva Seva Sangh's half yearly session was held at Kelappan Nagar, Ernakulam, Cochin (Kerala) from 29th to 31st December 1972. We are publishing an elaborate report of the session as and in the order of its conduct.

We hope the readers will be able to get a full picture of the session from this report.

Gopuri, Wardha  
4th April, 1973

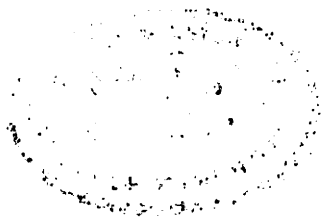
Thakurdas Bang  
Secretary

संदर्भ विभाग



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# **SARVA SEVA SANGH**

**Half Yearly Session**

**Kelappan Nagar, Ernakulam, Cochin (KERAL)**

**29, 30 and 31st December, 1972**

The half yearly session of the Sarva Seva Sangh began its three-day meeting at 2-30 p. m. on 29th December in Kelappan nagar ( Maharaja College ) Ernakulam, Cochin with Sri. Siddharaj Daddha, President of the Sangh presiding.

**First day : Friday, 29th December, 1972**

**First sitting : 2-30 P. M.**

Though ceremonial inauguration of the session took place at 5-30 in the evening for the sake of local convenience, the actual bussiness session commenced at 2-30 in the afternoon.

Sri Narendra Dube placed the proceedings of the last session for approval. The proceedings was earlier circulated in the form of a book.

**Sri Poornachandra Jain :**

I suggest that a subject-wise index be given in the proceedings.

**Sri. Dada Dharmadhikari :**

The report is usually distributed right at the moment. Members do not get time to look into it. Please see that this does not reccur.

**Sri Siddharaj Daddha :**

We have been cautioned several times before. You too have drawn our attention to it. It will there receive our special attention. Sri. Manmohanbhai will now present the Sarvodaya Manifesto to you.

**Sri. Thakurdas Bang :**

Hindi translation of the manifesto could not be published. We ask your excuses for this omission.

**Sri. Manmohan Choudhary :**

Is there a necessity for Sarvodaya Manifesto ? The movement has grown. We should place before the people a comprehensive picture of the Sarvodaya Samaj and therefore we feel the need of a manifesto. An attempt has been made to bring together in it ideas of the movement so far evolved. Our movement has developed a world out-look of its own. It was therefore thought essential to place before the world the picture of the society of our conception. The matter was decided in the year 1969 and a committee was also appointed for drafting. The Prabandh Samiti went through the draft for one and a half days in its Calcutta sitting and it is before you in the revised form.

When the draft was under preparation some points were before us.

1. Only practical suggestions regarding what to be done in which area should be given instead of repeating high theories.

2. Such suggestions may be given from time to time. But we should place before the world the facts of the move-

ment and provide them some inspiration. The manifesto was prepared with these points in view.

( He then mentioned some salient features of the manifesto. )

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :**

We are grateful to Manmohanbhai for he has accomplished a big work and has thus filled a wide gap. People have asked us to put before the world a comprehensive picture of the society of our conception. We could not publish the hindi translation of the manifesto. We hope we will be excused.

The manifesto cannot be discussed word by word, para by para. But general comment and reactions may be expressed now and tomorrow, it may be discussed in detail. If it is found necessary a committee, which will finalise the draft incorporating various suggestions, may also be appointed.

**Sri. Poornachandra Jain :**

Comments and criticisms should also be invited from persons outside the Sarvodaya circle.

**Sri. Badri Prasad Swami :**

Let us split ourselves into groups and discuss the report so that Lok-Sevaks get an opportunity to participate in it.

**Sri. Baidyanath Prasad Choudhary :**

Let the members study the draft tonight and offer suggestions in writing tomorrow.

## Sarvodaya manifesto : General discussion

**Sri. Gokulbhai Bhatt :**

To call it a 'Manifesto' or by any other name is a matter now under discussion. It is no doubt attractive to call it a "Manifesto." We have now not thought of taking part in the elections. Two or four years hence an occasion may arise to think in terms of it. This will then be of immense help to us.

Manmohanji has done an excellent work. But there are many repetitions. Let it be made brief. If any of our points are to be emphasised, they should be supported by suitable quotations. This is important. Our ideas become weighty and effective if they are connected with the latest developments in the world. Now a few suggestions on the draft : (1) When you say you have distributed 13 lakh acres, you should give a comparative analysis of the land distributed by our method and that done by the government through their land ceiling laws. The difference between the two should be made clear and high-lighted. (2) In page 23 in connection with Satyagraha let Mahatma Gandhi be mentioned as only a preacher of the technique and not its inventor. Because Satyagraha in our country, is not a new thing. It has been handed down to us from puranic days, having a history of its own. It was Mahatma Gandhi who broadened and brought it to the masses. (3) 'The cult of Swadeshi' should be mentioned while discussing Khadi and Gramodyog. (4) How is Sarvodaya Samaj established? There is a talk of establishing a socialist society. What was Gandhiji's conception of a social order? What were the idea of Marx and



Angels ? What is the form and content of the things that are now happening ? Mention may be made of all these points of view and then clearly stated how Sarvodaya social order is going to be brought about ? ( 5 ) The importance of agriculture and Go-Seva should be fully stressed. Cow is the hub of agriculture. Cooperativism should also be linked to this. ( 6 ) The reason for the failure of the land improvement laws is party bickerings. Let this be clearly stated, you say that cooperation of all political parties should be sought in implementing these laws. No, this should not be done. The villagers should be made the main factor in implementing them. ( 7 ) **Family Planning** :- Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has said that on the one hand the Government is spending crores of rupees over the propagation of the modern methods of controlling families and on the other, encouragement to quite a different kind of atmosphere is being provided by which all these efforts are broken up. We should make our stand clear in the matter. (8) Proper action should be taken to enforce prohibition. But now this is being done. Even Prime Minister says that prohibition should be implemented. There is a big gap between profession and practice. This should find a place in the manifesto. Lastly, ( a ) In the matter of science and spirituality does ' self knowledge ' fully express the spirituality or will it be correct if we mention ' Ethical knowledge of the human values ? ' Which is right ?

**Sri. Vithaldas Bodani :**

Social responsibility of public sector should find a place in the manifesto. Every class thinks of its responsibilities. Our

emphasis should be on the social and economic responsibilities.

**Sri. Ramachandra Rahi :**

I feel there should be no manifesto of the Sarvodaya movement. Why do I feel so? Our movement has its own uniqueness, values. It is not as though every thing was done to usher in a revolution according to a predetermined philosophy, a pre-planned and fixed outlines, as is done in other movements. Rather, it was as a result of a combination of very unusual circumstances then prevailing in the country and the thoughts of a genius in Vinoba that gave birth to a movement. The processes of this movement themselves enabled Bhoodan to evolve into Gram-Swarajya movement. Vinoba's genius, workers' untiring efforts and the changed circumstances that existed at the moment have all been factors in it. A few ideas about what should be the future society and the outline of the movement have come to the fore as result of a constant review and examination of our experiences. Therefore there is a special value and a dynamism in this movement. I feel that in order to keep these values intact there should be no 'manifesto' of our movement. The experience with the manifesto so far is that they become bible-like things. The word manifesto is no doubt very attractive and is very much associated with communist revolutions. But the experience with them is generally not good. Let us therefore be constantly evaluating the progress of our movement, and publish booklets that give a full and comprehensive account of whatever ideas we put forth from time to time, according as the situations demand. But in

any event let us not call it a manifesto, if only to save Sarvodaya from linking itself with any 'ism', losing its spontaneity. If it is not to shed dynamism and become static, it should be saved from assuming a formal out-line. Attempt to cast in a mould, or fit it forcibly into a frame should not be made. The processes of thinking and of the movement will be so impaired as a result that in any moment of necessity one is tempted to search for the directions on any given subject in the manifesto. This will eventually push Sarvodaya to become an 'ism' which will get stuck up in a quagmire from which we wanted to save it.

A declaration that was called a 'Sarvodaya manifesto' was made in the Sarvodaya conference held at Chandil. Though it does not seem to give a purport of the future Sarvodaya social order, it points the way to which we have to proceed. I need not remind you of the declaration but still, let me repeat taking it for granted that it has become part of ourselves. Vinobaji had declared in Chandil that we should creat a third force that is opposed to violence, now amended by Dada as force of the weapons and as distinct from the power of the state. This so far is the pointer guiding our affairs. I do not say that it should be retained intact, and should not be amended in any way. I do not see any compelling reason that demands a directional change in our thinking. If this needs to be changed, let it be examined with a scientific detachment. Let the conclusions drawn be the basis of our guiding force in future.

Before concluding I may say that the movement is now passing through a state of laxity. Vinobaji is under a vow

of Kshetra-Sanyas and Jayaprakashji has withdrawn from active work due to reasons of health. In such a trying moment and at such a delicate situation, we should in my opinion, devote more of our time and energy on how to make our movement more dynamic, think of the work done, results achieved experiences gained in areas like Saharsa, which has been made a national front and Thana where another front has been opened at Vinobaji's behest, analyse them and then decide the future course of action instead of wasting our time over such formal affairs as a discussion on the manifesto.

**Sri. Poornachandra Jain :**

This book should not be called a 'manifesto' as the word has its prefixed notions. The content is also similar to that of the political parties. The parties always come out with bold declarations, tall talks but their performance show quite opposite of all that has been told and written. This apparent contradiction is due to the existing parliamentary system. Let us therefore not have any made-to-order frame-work. Social change comes about as a result of various inter acting processes. None can give expression to all such processes all at a time. Our method is one of continuous effective action. There can be one kind of state of change in an area of the country and yet another in other areas. Therefore, the process of continuous action which we are now pursuing and do so in future also, should be the content of the manifesto. We should spare ourselves from declaring a very high goal.

Because, we have sometimes tended towards inaction instead of progressive action by making such declarations. Let there be no promises in the manifesto.

### Formal opening of the session.

These discussions over, the president and members of the Sangh who had assembled here were formally greeted and welcomed in the 'Kerala way.' Thereafter the formal proceedings of opening session began. The president proposed a condolence resolution in memory of the departed souls. Sri Donald Groom, London, Wilfred Wellock, U. K., Kumari Kranti Bala (U. P.), Sri Hridaya Narayan choudhary (Bihar), Sri. Haribhau Upadhaya, Sri Banwarilal Bedi (Rajasthan), Sri. Nirmal Kumar Bose (Bengal) and Chakravarti Rajagopalachari were condoled and members stood in silence for a minute as a mark of respect. Sri Dada Dharmadhikari paid eloquent tributes to the late Rajaji on behalf of the assembled.

### Sri. Dada Dharmadhikari :

I pay humble tribute to the revered memory of Chakravarti Raigopalachari. As you all know, our prime minister has characterised him as a sage and a sage he was, because he always gave very sagacious and sane counsel on all problems in our national life. He was not only one of the most illustrious stalwarts of our public life but a pillar of strength of extraordinary dimensions who upheld the eternal values of public life not only in this country but the world over.

He was known as a man of robust commonsense and practical acumen. Though he was prudent he never

stooped to the level of worldly wiseman. Though he set greatest store by moral values he was not either strait-laced or prudish. For intellectual heights, he was never surpassed and rarely equalled. I am reminded of an occasion before the Congress of 1922 when there was a debate about the entry of congressmen in legislatures and Rajaji replied to argument of another illustrious son of mother India Chittaranjan Das. And it was a memorable performance in which one had glimpse of Rajaji's mastery of apt phrases and choice diction, irresistible logic and his devastating power of argument and yet one also felt that here was a champion of a cause who spoke trenchantly but with a gentility that captured the heart and imagination of his audience.

As the first Governor-General of independent India, whenever constitution was being framed, architect of the constitution Dr. Ambedkar went to consult Rajaji about the redistribution of our provinces on linguistic basis and Rajaji in his characteristic manner said, "it seems we are reverting to tribalism."

He had a knack of uttering warning with great foresight and deep insight into the future which rarely proved erroneous. There were several aspects to his great personality. He wasn't a man of many parts but I have always looked upon Rajaji as a man who has given status and respectability to the right of dissent, a dissent that was always polite. Polite dissent in public life, I consider, was a distinctive characteristic of Rajaji. He had laid certain sublime norms and struck high standards of public life, to

which by God's grace we are all inheritors. And on this occasion when we have gathered together to pay our respectful tribute and profound reverence to his memory let us also hope and pray that we, as the inheritors of this great standard that he has struck, shall be worthy to his great tradition and worthy successors of his great name.

With these few words sir, I on behalf of this gathering and myself pay my respectful tribute to the revered memory of Chakravarti Rajgopalachari.

### Welcome address

**Sri. M. P. Manmathan (Chairman, Reception Committee) :**

Brothers and Sisters,

Let me at the very outset salute Poojya Vinobaji and Jayaprakashji who, though physically absent, are spiritually present here to inspire and guide us. On behalf of the Sarvodaya Workers of Kerala and on behalf of the entire people of the the State, I extend to you a very hearty welcome. We regard it as a proud privilege that such a conference of the Sarvodaya Workers of India is being held in our State. It is indeed a rare honour to be able to receive into our midst the men of Gandhi, Vinoba, Jayaprakash Narayan, the devoted soldiers of peace, the dedicated harbingers of a new era based on love and compassion, on understanding and co-operation, on freedom that is total and peace that is indivisible. We have had this privilege of offering a venue for the Sarvodaya Conference only once before, that is, in the year 1957 at

Kalady, not far away from this city. But then our revered leader Kelappanji was alive. He is no longer among us, and we feel orphaned. But we derive inspiration from the sacred heritage of his pristine purity of purpose, indomitable courage and matchless spirit of self-sacrifice. We are meeting at a time when the relevance of our movement has become most pronounced and the need for the application of the technique of non-violence has been rendered imperative. I am sure this conference will give a new direction to the movement for positive non-violence and to the forces of creative peace in this country.

In welcoming you to Kerala, I should mention a few of the salient features of the land and its people. To an outsider, Kerala is the land of Sri Sankara, Kathakali and Communism. Some might also have heard of Swathi Thirunal the Compose. Ravi Varma the painter, the Saint Sri Narayana Guru and poets Vallathol. Kumaran Assan and G. Sankara Kurup. Mythologically the land is associated with Mahabali and Parasurama and the Kerala-putras are mentioned in the Mahabharatha. Not far away from this city is the historic Kodungalloor, which the modern Europeans call Cranganore, and the ancients called Muziris, which for centuries was political and cultural capital of Kerala and one of the great commercial centres of the World where the Chinese, the Arabs, the Phoenicians and the Greeks met before the beginning of the Christian Era. St. Thomas, one of the original disciples of Jesus Christ came to Kerala and spread the gospel here,



and we are now observing his 1900th death anniversary. It was at Calicut in Kerala that Vasco De Gama landed in 1498, thus inaugurating a new era in World History. It was again here in Kerala that a Communist party was elected to power for the first time in history. But I do not wish to go into the details of history.

But I should like to give you a few facts about the distinguishing features that contribute to the identify of Kerala. With an area of 15000 sq. miles and population of over 20 millions it is one of the most densely populated regions not only in India but in the whole world. It is an evergreen land where the impact of the changing seasons is felt to the minimum. There is no village system and the whole state is like a single sprawling town set in a vast garden. We have no big cities either, the population of even the largest of our city corporations has not reached the figure of 400,000. Kerala has the highest literacy rate in India, but we have also the heaviest incidence of unemployment because the land available for cultivation is limited and industries are not well-developed. Kerala is the only state in India with there large communities. Christian, Muslim and Hindu living together. At a deeper level we have here one of the striking examples of the blending Aryan and Dravidian culture and this probably is the source of the power and flexibility of our language, Malayalam, which has a highly developed literature which is, in certain respects, the vanguard of literary movements in India.

I made a reference to those facts as a background to the burning problems that the people of Kerala have to face. Since independence and especially since the formation of the State of Kerala in 1956, we have been going through a long period of political instability, economic stagnation and social unrest. Though the incidence of overt violence has not been as high as in other states, the social tensions, the hate campaigns, the negative attitudes and destructive activities that embitter human relations and disrupt the fabric of social life have been as poisonous here as elsewhere. Overpoliticalisation of public life resulting from unhealthy rivalries between a large number of political parties has made meaningless struggles and purposeless agitations, the order of the day. Political parties exploit the communal differences which in Kerala have an intricacy of pattern unknown in the other parts of India. Large sections of the people live below the subsistence level and 18 lakhs of young men and women languish in the misery of unemployment. The entire revenues of the state are spent in meeting the paybill of the public servants of the State and there is no money left for developmental activities. Yet in spite of this, public servant and organised sections of the labour force who receive regular and comparatively high incomes stop work for the slightest provocation, and spend most of their time in agitating for better facilities and higher salaries or wages. Public servants show no responsibility to the masses whose problems are neglected with a callousness that beggars description. Tens of thousands of man-hours are wasted in the fields of production and

public utility services and efficiency and discipline are conspicuous by their absence. The state of Kerala spends more money on education than perhaps any other state in India and yet many of our institutions of higher education do not work properly for even thirty or forty days a year. Democracy has degenerated into anarchy and the civilised technique of meaningful dialogue, public debate and rational persuasion have given place to abuse, intimidation and brutal pressure tactics. Successive Governments have by their weak-kneed policies encouraged and strengthened pressure tactics as the only potent political weapon in the state. Organised minorities gain more and the vast unorganised body of have-nots go further down in life. The haves want more and their demands are supported by all political parties and they do it in the name of socialism, communism and even revolutionary communism. Few political leaders have the courage to condemn this pernicious trend and if now and then one of them raises his voice against it, he is careful not to carry his condemnation beyond brave words. No leader has shown the vision or imagination to rise above the rowdy level of the dog-fight pattern of party politics and view the problems of the state in the proper perspective. In fact there has not been even a faint realisation all these 25 years of the need for the study of our problems in depth. The cantankerous politics of bullying, slogan mongering and vote-grabbing, of immoral expediency, brazen double-talk and insensitive hypocrisy have brought the people to the brink

of utter ruin and they are disgusted with the rotten state of things.

What have we, the Sarvodaya workers of Kerala, done to stem the rot? I should confess that though we have done our best, the results we have achieved are nothing to be proud of. We have been able to create among the people a consciousness about the dangerous situation and the efficacy of Sarvodaya as the sovereign remedy. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, The Sarvodaya Sangh, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the three Centres of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, the Kasturba Trust and the Kerala Sarvodaya Mandal have spared no pains in propagating Gandhian ideology. But we have been able to do very little by way of practical demonstrations. Vinobaji's Padayatra in 1957 was able to send an electric thrill through our people and our Bhoodan work was not unsuccessful because we were able to distribute nearly 12000 acres of land. We have hundreds of devoted workers and thousands of sympathisers and much work is being done at various levels; but we have not been able to create a dynamic state-wide movement. Hence the revolutionary potentialities of the Sarvodaya movement have not yet been fully realised by the people. We look forward to your guidance and co-operation in doing this because we feel that Kerala is the fittest testing ground for the demonstration of the social dynamics of Sarvodaya. My fervent prayer is that the attention of the entire Sarvodaya movement in India may be focussed on the problem state of Kerala.

The draft manifesto prepared recently by the Sarva Seva Sangh is a fine document, perceptive in the analysis of the social situation and sagacious in the enunciation of policy and programme. I should like Kerala to become the starting point of a great movement based on this manifesto which has been drafted with such luminous intelligence. The main draw-back in the Sarvodaya movement over the past 25 years has been our tendency to work as a social reform movement though we have all along been talking in terms of revolution. We have hesitated to make the fullest use of the resources of the movement, I mean, the full potentialities of the human material and of the social dynamics of the Sarvodaya ideal. It is high time that we shed our timidity and face the challenge. Unfortunately we have not yet discovered the way to set about it; and if we allow the drift to continue, the movement may become totally irrelevant to the mainstream of national affairs. We have to do our work on three fronts. The propagation of the ideology, opposition to violence and non-violent reconstruction are the three fronts. Unless all the three go together we will not be able to set in motion a movement of adequate dimensions.

I tried to set forth in detail the depressing situation in Kerala. I know that conditions are not different in other parts of the country. But though there is no difference in kind there is a great difference in degree. Kerala with its multiplicity of parties and communities, its dense population and, limited resources, its high literacy and low employment level shows our social malaise in its most acute form. Our people are more disillusioned and more receptive to new ideas. Hence we could take Kerala as a test case and

make a concentrated effort here to create a base from which we could launch a movement on an all India scale. There is no denying the fact that the country as a whole needs a broad movement to purify the springs of democracy and free our polity from corruption and exploitation. In fact the basic aim of the Sarvodaya movement is to create a society free from exploitation of every shape and form ; and the people can have confidence in us only if we demonstrate through action that we mean what we say.

The world situation is conducive to the rapid growth of our movement. War is the worst form of overt violence and in recent years there has been a growing realisation of the futility of war. Economic exploitation at the international level is proving to be a losing bargain while excessive industrialisation has come to be viewed as a threat to humanity. Affluence has created its own sociological problems and industrialism has brought in its trail the evils of pollution. I am not trying to talk big. But I am sure you will realise the need to relate Sarvodaya to the realities of the fast changing modern world so that it may appeal to our intelligentsia.

In conclusion I wish to emphasise my fear that this conference will be an exercise in futility unless we are able to turn it into a meaningful forum for chalking out the strategy and tactics of a non-violent movement on that basis we have to organise a revolution here and now. Operation Kerala on a massive scale. We have to show the people that we mean business. The dynamics of social action cannot be

created without concerted opposition to specific evils which touch the masses at deeper levels. We have to revive Gandhiji's fighting spirit and his practical idealism. I used the term "Operation Kerala" not in any parochial spirit. As I have already explained, Kerala is probably more suitable to be the laboratory of a new set of bold experiments with truth. Anyhow I have no shadow of a doubt that we will be failing ourselves and the people unless we decided upon some programme of a meaningful struggle against the hydra-headed monster of corruption and exploitation which we call violence.

We claim no perfection for the arrangements we have made and I request you in all humility to pardon us for any deficiency in any respect. We have tried to do our best and are prepared to make any improvement which is in our power to make. With these words I welcome you once again to this Sarvodaya Conference being held in the heart of Kerala. I also extend a most hearty welcome to all those who have kindly responded to our invitation and are present on this occasion.

### S. S. Sangh's Secretary's Report

**Sri Thakurdas Bang :**

We are meeting after seven months and a brief resume of the progress registered in several directions by the Sarvodaya movement would be opportune at this juncture.

**Gramdan :**

Gramdan-Gramswaraj rightly remained the focal point as well as the main thrust of the Sarvodaya movement. In

Bihar, in Saharsa district 6 blocks are selected for concentrated effort of Pushti and just after Nakodar session a campaign was launched in these blocks in may and June. For want of adequate number of Karyakartas, not much progress could be registered. Now the work is proceeding in these blocks mainly on the strength of local workers.

In Rupauli block in Purnea district in Bihar the village people have prepared socio-economic development plan based on their needs and priorities. In some villages the contractors paying illegally Rs. 1.50 to labourers in hard manual labour schemes have been compelled to pay at the legal rate of Rs. 2.10 by action taken by the Gramsabhas. In Jhajha block in Mongher district the blocksabha meets regularly and discusses issues. As many as seventeen Gramsabhas have been declared under the Gramdan act and a village fund has been collected at the village and the block level.

In Tamilnadu friends are grappling with the difficult problem of Temple and Muthlands to be distributed among the landless. Villages in Tanjore district had to resort to Satyagraha. Over 500 villagers were imprisoned. A welcome feature of that Harijans especially women did not lag behind in courting arrests. As a result of these efforts about 212 ares of land was released and distributed among the landless. In some other villages the economic and political vested interests entered into an unholy alliance and beat mercilessly Sri Manikam and Kadambai Kalar. Such events threatened to become the order of the day. So the issue of lands has to be temporarily stayed and efforts are being made to



generate an atmosphere of peace and goodwill all around.

In Maharashtra at Baba's exhortation workers of the state are concentrating on Pūshṭi in Thana district. 13 Gramsabhas are formed and 40 acres of land are distributed among the landless. In far off Assam in 40 villages Gramsabhas are organised.

Gramdan Prapti-Pushti Abhiyans are making steady strides in many states. Special mention deserves to be made of Guna in Madhya Pradesh where state Sarvodaya workers on their own successfully organised such Padayatras. In Andhra in Shadnagar and Makthal blocks in Mahbubnagar district such Padayatras have initiated a welcome feature. In an effort to implement the resolution enjoining people's involvement in such campaigns passed at Nakodar, people of one village after declaring their village as Gramdan and finishing as much Pushti as is possible within a couple of days, march to another village in large numbers, sometimes in hundreds singing Bhajans and exorting the villagers of the next village to do likewise in Mahbubnagar district. This has broken new ground and has potentialites of transforming the Gramdan movement into a people's movement. This has sent a wave of enthusiasm all around and has been carried on in Bengal in Khatra block and in the Jambusar bloc in Gujarat. In Gujarat and Bengal on the western and eastern front the Gramdan movement had almost come to a standstill. Initial successes have been registered in these two states and stalemate broken. The details of Padayatras are as under.

State	District	Block	Sankalp Gram- dans	No. of Sankal- pit Gr- amdans*	No. of Grams- abhas formed	No. of don- ors	Acres	No. of don- ees	Acres	Lok- Pada- yatriks	Vill- ages
Andhra	Mahbub- nagar	Shad- nagar	61	9	59	173	1200	216	833	4325	40
"	"	Makthal	58	13	57	208	913	117	427	2500	27
W. Bengal	Bankura	Khatra	14	5	9	134	18	47	12	200	4
Gujarat	Bharuch	Jambusar	22	4	12	67	94	11	44	200	8
Madhya Pradesh	Guna	Bamauri	39	N. A.	13	N.A.	100	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.	N. A.

\* Sankalp Gramdans where more than half landowners donated 5% lands for distribution.

N. A. = Not Available

It is noteworthy that Padayatris participated in Shramdan in villages in a big way in Jambusar. In Andhra in the follow up of the above Padayatras an additional 816 acres of land was donated for distribution. At long last a gnawing lacuna in our movement was filled in as good follow up arrangements are made in Gujarat for which co-workers there deserve a special mention.

In several districts of Hariyana, Himachal and U. P. in over 50 schools and colleges, teachers and students were organised for three day's Abhiyan to spread the Gramdan-Gramswaraj programme under the able guidance of Dr. Patnaik.

In Gujarat distribution of credit from a nationalised Bank started on a large scale in Rangpur area, encouraged by the unheard of cent percent recovery of the previous year. After making some headway it stopped mysteriously. The organised pressure of Gramsabhas backed by the week-long fast of Shri Harivallabh Parikh ultimately resulted in the resumption of the flow of credit. In Andhra, in Cudappah Gramdan area is suffering actually as in many other Gramdan pockets, for want of normal credit facilities available to other villagers. These are denied to Gramdan villagers. This is the reward that the Gramdans receive in socialist India. Time is overdue for removing this. The Society for Developing gramdans should leave no stone unturned in removing this impediment.

In Madhya Pradesh the veteran Sarvodaya Sevak Shri Dadabhai Naik has commenced his Padayatras on

16th August and has covered so far 1000 miles in ten districts. What shocking exploitation and shameful helplessness have been unravelled by his Padayatra in this silver jubilee year of our independence ?

### Bangalore Meet :

A score of Sarvodaya workers with a few consultants met for a week in Bangalore under the guidance of Sri Jayaprakashji and critically examined the Sarvodaya movement in the context of the national situation. The meet reached important conclusions which should result in guidelines for the future course of the movement. These were further examined in Veerpandy. Valuable suggestions came up and these will form an important topic for discussion during this session. Likewise the draft Sarvodaya manifesto, prepared by a committee headed by Sri Manmohan Choudhary, is coming up in this session for discussion. When finalised this will verily be a manifesto for decades to come.

### Trusteeship :

Nagaraswaraj work in cities is gradually attracting the attention of our urban friends and Nagar Sarvodaya Mandals are slowly being organised. The possibilities of trusteeship industries are being explored. Sri Arvind Mafatlal has started a big venture of decentralisation of some processes in industry and taking them to the villages as also transforming the lives of the employees through an all round improvement in his original manner. Fruitful contacts are being established with him and his experiments presently are under study.

Sarvodaya Prakashan and sales have received a philip of late. Two sets—one of Vinoba's writings on different religions and another on Gramswaraj—are prepared by Prakashan. Thanks to Khadi institutions notably Sri Gandhi Ashrams in U. P., sales have more than doubled during the last six months.

### Shanti Sena

After the miracle in Chambal that the world witnessed last March, dacoits in Bundelkhand followed suit; now the total number of surrenders exceeds 450. This miracle has been made doubly so by the spontaneous confessions of these erstwhile dacoits, resulting in transportation for life and sometime even in capital punishment. The rehabilitation work of these families has yet to make a significant headway in the state. Rehabilitation Board set up by the government needs to be activated. In Churu in Rajasthan Jayaprakashji's visit paid rich dividends resulting in the termination of tension prevailing over Acharya Tulsi's book 'Agni Pariksha.' Acharya Tulsi in a true non-violent spirit withdrew the book. In Andhra during the agitation sparked off by Mulki Rules, in Assam during Assamese-Bengali language-riots, and during tensions resulting in the closure of several universities, local Shanti Sainiks did some work.

### Peace Activity In Nagaland

In far off Nagaland although ceasefire is withdrawn the situation is generally peaceful. But there is no room for complacency and the peace centre under the able stewardship of Dr. Aram is vigilant. Tarun Shanti Sena at

its All India Camp at Kadoli has decided to stand on its own feet. The proposal of the Sarvodaya movement that UNO should keep an unarmed peace keeping force has been appreciated by several representatives of different nations in the United Nations.

### Khadi :

The Golden Jubilee of Khadi is being celebrated this year all over India and one lakh families of habitual Khadi wearers and living Khadi way of life are being enrolled. Improved technology in Khadi is making steady strides. But this has created the problems of reconciling between conflicting claims of improved wages to some few resulting in unemployment to many on the one hand and on the other hand self sufficiency without any overt monetary incentive in the form of wages on the other hand. This means reconciliation between Ekamber and 12 spindle Amber recommended by Lokanathan Committee is also to be brought about. All is not well on the Khadi front. An employer-employee relationship has spring up in many institutions resulting in the organisation of trade unions in the Khadi world specially in U. P. and Bihar. How to revive the old spirit in the Khadi world is a subject deserving the most serious consideration of all. A meeting at Meerut of chief Khadi workers convened by Sarva Seva Sangh considered changes necessary in the organisational pattern of Khadi as also the creation of intensive Gramdan areas for village-oriented Khadi.

## Prohibition :

Prohibition occupied a pride of place in some states where it is not being enforced as in Rajasthan where the plighted word was given for its implimentation setting forth a time limit by government and then broken or in Maharashtra where prohibition was given up although it was on the whole successful for over two decades. Sri. Gokulbhai Bhatt fasted for an indefinite period over this issue in Rajasthan only to be terminated at the promised mediation of the Prime Minister to give her some time for consideration. But no contacts could be established with the P. M. inspite of repeated efforts. So Rajasthan workers are seriously considering the next step out of this impasse. All India prohibion ( workers ) conference at Jaipur gave a clarion call to fight this issue out. For having continued peaceful picketing and Dharna throught this period workers in Phalodi deserve a special mention. In Maharashtra the president of the Sangh as well us the state Sarvodaya Mandal have sent letters to the government protesting against their policy of abandoning prohibition. Vinobaji has suggested local leaders in Wardha district to make Wardha district dry. Nothing noteworthy has so far been attempted in this matter.

## Other Activities :

In Maharashtra in Adivasi blocks of Shahada and Taloda in Dhulia district sustained efforts are being made to dislodge the lands of Adivasis from the moneylenders. Lands to the tune of 3000 acres have so far been returned.

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Similarly efforts were made to raise the pitifully low wages of local agricultural labour from 75 paise to 1-25 rupees. In Bhandara district illegal distribution of lands declared surplus due to the former ceiling Act have had to be cancelled in some villages and fresh distribution ordered mainly on the lines of Bhoodan distribution, thanks to the persistent efforts of the District Sarvodaya Mandal.

The stalemate on the educational front was broken by the Sevagram Educational conference under the able stewardship of Shri Shriman Narayan, President of the Nai Talim Samiti and its follow up is now in progress. Successful Acharyakul conferences in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh were held resulting in fruitful contacts with the teaching community in these states. A seminar of economists on the fifth five year plan was sponsored by our Sangh in New Delhi. A symposium on the population policy was organised on the auspices of Gandhian Institute of studies and the Sarvodaya view point was well expressed for the first time before the socialists, policy makers and administrators. This thus had broken new ground. A meeting of representatives of All India constructive organisations convened by Sarva Seva Sangh in September in New Delhi has brought all together, get better informed about each-others achievements, problems and to evolve a common programme and strategy for the coming decade. It was decided in this meeting to create a permanent cell in the Sangh for this and also to meet quarterly so as to continue this useful work. Telugu,



Kannada and Bangla Sarvodaya periodicals have publication in Nagari script. "Bhoodan Yagna" is going to be published from New Delhi from the next week. The Lokyatra of four walking sisters has completed its trek of 12000 miles arousing women from their deep slumber and men from their complacency about treatment to women. In Uttar Pradesh a vigil was kept over the regular attendance of office in courts etc. and has thus created some stir. In Karnatak Sri Nilkanth Ganachari resorted to a week's fast in an attempt to fight out the eviction of the peasants and was successful in restoring the lands back to their rightful claimants.

Bhoodan has completed 21 years of infancy, childhood and adolescence and has now come of age. Last year in its onward march, it has registered triumphant victories in Chambal as also infiltrated fortresses hitherto considered impregnable in Gujrat and West Bengal in the west and east of India. Lok Padayatras are opening a vista of peoples' participation. Constructive workers are coming nearer to face the common problem of the gradual erosion of Gandhian outlook in the day to day life of the nation and the increasing need felt for it because fundamental national and international problems remain unsolved. Now we have to march ahead in a mood of chastened optimism as befits maturity, develop Ganasevakatva, explore fresh avenues of thought and action and go forward from strength to strength until we reach that millenium of Gramswaraj where the mind is without fear and the head is held high.

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :**

Very few people appear like Rajaji in any century. It is very difficult to fill the void. The absence of his sage counsel will surely be very displeasing to us. I pay my humble obeisance to him.

It is gratifying to note that friends have gathered here from all over India. How big our country is ! Uttar Pradesh and northern parts are in the grip of a cold wave at the moment, but here, we are carrying on our business under a fan. So, we have come here from remote corners of the country to take stock of the work we have done and to decide our future course of action. The reception committee has showered love on us. We are grateful to them. I remember Sri Kelappanji at the moment. He was an unconquerable warrior of the freedom struggle. You will recall that the Shanti Sena, one of the most important wings of our movement, was born in Kerala and Kelappanji led the first batch of Shanti Sainiks. He is not amidst us now, but his indelible memory remains.

What is our movement ? What opinion do people outside the movement hold of this ? There is a common misunderstanding that the sarvodaya workers are mainly engaged in some sort of ameliorative or relief work. It is also said some times that Sarvodaya is the refuge of frustrated politicians. We have to show that our movement is not of that kind. Today I want to say something on our role by discussing a few aspects of life.

There are two types of politics in the present deteriorating atmosphere. One is the politics of the party in power and the other that of the opposition. Can there be a third alternative in addition to these? The alternative is of Lokniti, of people's polity. The situation in Andhra Pradesh is becoming explosive due to Mulki rules agitation. What is this? Only one P. C. of the total population is going to be affected by the rules. The rest remain out of the perview of this. Still let me place before you my thought. It is for you to think it over. Please think whether it is better to take some decision quite early, now itself or to bifurcate Andhra and Telangana after some untoward happens or a terrible agitation rocks? Please think over this question. I am not speaking of linguistic states. But has not a time come when we have to think of smaller states in the interest of providing a good and clean administration and also ensure direct participation of the people in it?

Which is better? To bifurcate a state after causing so much bitterness and contempt or to take a decision with an open mind even before the problem raises its head? I think that smaller states will prove beneficial to the country. There are water disputes between states, and there are disputes about sharing river-water between them. A commission is constituted to resolve them. But no solution emerges because politics intervenes. I feel that such disputes should be settled on the basis of some accepted principles, values. Politics today is destroying our lives in this manner. What is the alternative? Lokniti.

We are striving from so many years for this Lokniti. A final and the only solution in the present situation is to organise the people. There should be what is called 'a will to power' but that should not be political power. There should be 'a will to people's power.'

The economic activities of the country are divided into private and public sectors. The economic policies of both sectors have been wrong. A recent news says that the Government has taken over 46 sick mills. This step was necessitated because as otherwise the employees of the mills would have been thrown out of jobs if these mills were closed down. 15 crores of rupees were spent to take over these 46 mills. Well, this is about persons who were getting their wages from the mills. Even those persons who were self-employed are being thrown out of their jobs due to wrong economic policies. Khadi work in Mukthal of Andhra Pradesh is gradually sinking. There are 30 lakh weavers in the area. They are in such a large number. But they are not organised. Because they live in huts, they are unable to get out of it. One has to live as one of them in the huts to organise them. When these weavers go to the streets then some thing will be done for them. Why talk of outsiders. Even our Khadi schemes are getting bad to worse. We will have to turn our attention towards this problem.

Science has created a demon out of technology. But one need not be afraid of it. We should utilize science in a right way. The same science has emphasised on possibilities of an order based on people as trustees.

Science in the earlier days was not as developed as it is today. The form of representative democracy might have perhaps run well in those days. But now what we need is participatory democracy. We therefore do not want to seek political power. We will organise the people's power to bring about people's polity. Gramswaraj is our main activity. With this goal before us two steps have so far been completed. These steps namely Bhoodan and Gramdan have thrown up possibilities of establishing gramsabhas. The movement is now passing through a difficult stage of Pushti activity. We should complete this work.

Sri K. P. Madhavan Nair proposed a vote of thanks and with this the proceedings of the day ended.

Second day : Saturday, 30th Dec., 1972

Second Sitting : 9-00 A. M.

Rev. R. R. Kaithan :

Our manifesto should be more unique than that of the Marxists. Ideas tend to change. Therefore their changing nature should be kept up. We should be more regular in work. We do not yet have a thorough knowledge of the problems of the state and those of the economy and education. We have Satyagraha as the most powerful force of the world in our possession. But we are not requisitioning it to solve our problems. We have to make totally new efforts to usher in a complete revolution. There is no use in improving the status-quo.

**Sri. Baburao Chandawar :**

It seems to me that we think only in terms of reactions to situations. Democracy and the present state of politics have come to occupy our thoughts. So, we must accept that we do thrive on reactions. The evils in democracy and the present day politics are the creations of their own internal contradictions. Therefore the system begins to crumble as soon these internal contradictions become manifest. We need not be anxious. We have to lay foundations for such a social order that will be free of contradictions. Therefore nothing more remains to be done than work for a revolution. We try to sustain the present system. It cannot be, because it has no foundations. If it has any, which is seen here and there, it is class-based. These are not classes of Marx's description. But they are such important elements that cause obstructions on the way of human liberty. We should think of man's freedom, Struggles for freedom from bondage are fought, but new walls rise up again. We brought down foreign imperialist walls, but in its place yet newer walls, that of Lok-Sabha (which really is the Sabha of representatives, and not of the people) have come up. These walls have driven our society into a state of inaction. The reason is faith in statism. It was this statism that sustained a foreign imperialism for two hundred and fifty years in the country. We still think in terms of the statism which is the biggest hurdle in way of human liberty.

Manifesto is a written document based on planning. But changing society or declaration of the creation of a

new social order is to us a declaration of human values. It is never possible to bring them in the form of a written declaration. If any, there can only be of a declaration of the creation of Sarvodaya Samaj which is based not on the political power but on a third force, the power of the people as distinct from that of the state and opposed to the power of the weapons. Such a declaration has already been made in the Chandil conference. There can be no new declaration without a correct analysis of all that has been done in the light of the previous one. If we do so, we will only support the present social order.

Our declaration should be for a revolution and before such a declaration is made we should first draw up a strategy. In my humble opinion, the manifesto that is before us does not show us the correct way.

**Sri. Santosh Bharatiya :**

When such elder-leaders as Sri. Gokulbhai has entertained doubts of fighting an election two or three years hence, we clearly see that manifesto has been placed with such an intention. our manifesto is being written in our intensive areas. It is being written in Tanjore, on Manickam's back in form of marks by the beatings, he received; in Thana, Saharsa. Our attention should be concentrated on these areas, There is no manifesto of a revolution. I raise a point of order and request that this discussion be closed and that of the movement and its strategy be resumed, because this is a burning question before us. Manifesto will distract the movement. The

revolution of the new age will have neither a manifesto nor a special technique. Revolution will happen, self-inspiration will be there and history will record this later. I suggest that this book which has very well written should be published in Sri. Manmohan bhai's name.

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :**

Let us first decide whether we should discuss the subject further or not.

**Sri. Laxmindra Prakash :**

Let the general reactions of the members be expressed. then opinion may be sought on the issue.

**Ku. Nirmala Deshapande**

Accept the suggestions of Santoshbhai and publish it in the form of a book. We shall at this time discuss only the movement.

**Sri. Narayan Desai :**

I am glad that the word "Manifesto" evoked a lot of discussion. Words do not have their own separate contexts. But contexts are attributed to them. We have described 'Gramdan : Defence Measure', 'Sutanjali : Vote for Sarvodaya' in the vocabulary of the current words. 'Manifesto' should also be use in same manner. Presenting our ideas in an arranged manner is what is meant by writing a manifesto. Let us not forget that a declaration is also equally important for a revolution. Marx and Angles wrote 'Communist Manifesto' A revolution happened 69 years after this event. People derive inspiration from it even today. I do



not feel that our ideas become static by just writing a manifesto. This is our first manifesto, not the last. As the movement develops the manifesto will also evolve. I therefore say that there should be a manifesto of our movement.

**Sri. Ramamurty :**

Who makes a declaration ? One who sees the truth or one who has grasped it as seen by others. The truth that Gandhi saw, Vinobaji formulated and that we have accepted as our own is presented to the world in the form of a declaration. When do we declare this after all ? Gandhi's truth has become ours. We have dedicated ourselves to this. This is the manifesto. We talk in terms of inviting crores of people to join this revolution. The common people want to know what the Sarvodaya social order will be like. People want to look at the picture in the light of their problems. They want to know the relation we have with their problems.

I do not like the word 'Manifesto.' 'Swaraj for the millions,' 'A Sarvodaya way,' or 'What Sarvodaya stands for' 'People's Swaraj' are the many titles from which one may be chosen. What is important is that we are dedicated to it.

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :**

Communist Manifesto was the declaration made by an individual, where as this is a declaration of ideas made by a growing movement. We should think it from this point of view.

**Dr. Dayanidhi Patnaik :**

Whenever truth and under it Gandhi and Vinoba are discussed, Khadi, Nai Talim, Prayer and Safai etc. are mentioned, but I am pained to see that little attention is paid to the demand of the times. We speak of property right in villages. Gandhi had prepared a six point formula. Do we, who claim to see the truth in Gandhi, not have this in view. Do we think of this at all? I suggest that this should be included in the manifesto. In addition to this, we should present our ideas in the context of the present ideological currents. We may call this book "Sarvodaya in the present age" or "Sarvodaya in the scientific age."

**Sri. Ramchandra Rahi :**

The elders who spoke earlier to Dr. Patnaik did not confine themselves to expressing their own reactions to the manifesto but commented on others reactions. This is not fair. I therefore disagree with these opinions.

(The session then split itself into different groups and discussion on the manifesto continued till the end of the morning session.)

**Second day :**

**Saturday, 30th Dec., 1972**

**Third Sitting : 3-00 P. M.**

**Sri. Thakurdas Bang :**

We shall now discuss prohibition.

**Sri. Krishnachandra Sahay :**

Was it not earlier decided that the reports of the groups would come up for consideration ?

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :**

The reports have not yet been submitted by some groups. Let us make use of the time at our disposal.

**Sri. Gokulbhai Bhatt :**

(Explaining what had happened in the previous agitation) The people of Rajasthan want prohibition. The drunkard and the liquor-seller alike accept the idea of prohibiting drink. People in high places also recognize it. There may be a few who think that this as an infringement on their individual freedom. But this does not represent the views of the many. We are convinced that prohibition will be beneficial to the masses. I stopped fasting on the assurances of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. But nothing happened even to this day. It has now been declared that the Satyagraha in Rajasthan will be revived from 26th Jan., 73. We still hope that the Prime Minister's Government will give proper directions to the government of Rajasthan. We, on our part, expect a favourable and good decision from them at every stage. But the declaration to launch Satyagraha has been made and this is not my movement but of the people. We want Sarva Seva Sangh to guide us. Things have reached a stage wherein there can be 'no prayers, no petitions, and no planning.' We have to fallback upon Satyagraha.

**Sri. R. K. Patil :**

Is 'local option' allowed in Rajasthan ?

**Sri. Siddharaj Daddha :** No

**Sri Narayan Desai**

After Sri Gokulbhai's speech nothing remains to be clarified. I want to say only two things. The first thing is I am reminded of my boyhood days when Bapu organised picketing before the toddy shops, he said that the strongest force that would be engaged for the purpose would be that of women. People expressed some hesitation but I do not know whether they advanced any reason for this or not. Even so, we got the clarification face to face later. There was a new batch of women for picketing in Ahmedabad. People were conversing with one-another while they returned from the toddy shops, "What to do? If it were any body else we would have entered shops. But these women stand in front of us. How can we go?" After the advent of freedom the same scene was witnessed in Uttarakhand where the power of the women worked. I saw again a similar thing at Mandora in Rajasthan.

Secondly, after Swaraj prohibition has been included in the constitution. But the Governments are relaxing. This is not correct.

A favourable climate for prohibition is building up in Rajasthan. Prabandh Samiti has thought it proper to support the Satyagraha. This is a national problem. If the work progresses there it will surely benefit the whole country. Rajasthan will be assisted by Sarva Seva Sangh which will in its turn be helped by the movement in Rajasthan. I suggest that we empower the president of the Sangh to appoint a committee for the purpose.

## **Gramswaraj Movement : The Way and The Strategy**

### **Sri. Thakurdas Bang :**

Our Gramswaraj movement is now 21 years old, and has come of age. When we take a panoramic view of the movement several things, big and small, come to our notice. The first thing is, that we have a great leader and we get very correct guidance from him. But what we lack is number. Though our leader is pre-eminent those of us who are working in the movement have no required stature. Unless we increase our number and lift our stature high the work does not grow. Whatever we do, we do keeping Gramswaraj as the centre of our activities. But we have to over-come these two defects only then can the movement gain momentum.

We had adopted a resolution in Nakodar. Many tried to implement it seriously. As a first step, efforts were made to see that as many villagers as possible voluntarily come forward to sign the Gramdan pledge. Some villagers took part in this effort. We value and respect both the intellectual and manual labour as equal but we are unable to put it into practice. Efforts were made in Gujarat Yatras to join the labourers and do manual labour with them. This should be continued. Very good attempts were made in Mahboobnagar district to follow-up the work done in the campaigns. Villagers have come forward to work in the movement. This is no doubt a good beginning. But this is not enough. A structure has to be built. Recruitment and training of Gram Shanti Sainiks has to be

undertaken. It is being thought of setting up 25-30 intensive areas wherein we may have a picture of Gramswaraj out-lined. One or two senior workers from amongst us, should bury themselves there for five years. The workers should become catalytic agents to activate Gramsabhas. The entire Gramsabha, not only its office-bearers should have to be activated, and this point should be before us always. I am of the opinion that we should try to activate the entire Gramasabha instead of wasting our energies over formation of executive bodies. We may ofcourse form ad-hoc committees for any special work. We should participate in the work of Gramsabhas; get experience from and experiment on them. Whatever extensive activities have to be undertaken in the intensive areas to free people from bad habits injustices etc. should be undertaken.

The natural consequence that flow out of all such programmes will be the people of the area very willingly come forward to set up their candidate. This is not to say that we should work having this in view. Instead, let this come as a natural corrolory.

Where there is insufficient strength the workers should conduct the type of educative propoganda done by Dr. Patnaik. In cities our programmes should be aimed at establishing Nagar Swaraj. Efforts should be made to persue the programme of trusteeship wherever there are big and small industries.

Should we confine ourselves to Gramswaraj and Nagar Swaraj ? It seems to me that in order to attract

those friends who may not take interest in the above programmes we should have other activities without disturbing the main stream of Gramswaraj. This will help increase our numbers. This is certainly a delicate work.

We should maintain a register of sympathisers of our movement. We should try to enroll as many Sarvodaya Mitras and Sahayogis as possible during January 15th and 30th. This is a campaign aimed at mobilising men and their sympathies in addition to raising money for the movement.

Let there be harmony in our movement. Efforts should be made to develop three-fold facets in every place. Gram Shanti Sena, Tarun Shanti Sena, Acharyakul are different wings of the same movement. The ideology behind Khadi and Gramodyog should be explained to the Gramsabhas. This programme should be placed before the villagers and they should be persuaded to prepare a plan of work in order that Gramswaraj gets strengthened.

Sarva Seva Sangh is trying to bring unity, and closeness among constructive institutions. A training programme has to be worked out for raising the quality of the workers. We have not been able to create a climate we should have. Imparting ideological training to our workers should be made a permanent feature. And information of our work should be published from time to time.

**Sri. Gangaprasad Agrawal :**

In the course of the campaigns for Gramdan, when Shanti Sena units are formed it should be followed with

arrangements for imparting training to them immediately. In a group of 5 or 10 villages or if a village is a big one, treating it as a unit camps should be held to give training to the Gram Shanti Sainiks. Similarly, area-wise camps could also be held. If there is a well organised Gram Shanti Sena unit in a Gramdan village it will serve as a resistance force at times.

### **Sri. Laxmindra Prakash :**

The secretary drew our attention towards two points. One is the question of increasing our numbers and the other raising their quality. The movement is unable to progress to the extent it should, in the absence of these two. This is very important. The strategy and the method of the movement may be such that the number of workers may increase very much or decrease. The quality may or may not improve. The training system is one that enables a worker to progress a step forward from wherever he is and register a continuous improvement thereafter. We should have programmes that fulfill these expectations. The results will be of two kinds, the gross and the subtle. But results are possible only when the work is in tune with and favourable to the demands of the times, the circumstances. Supposing the children are taught arithmetic. An example is solved. Now, this is an apparent result. There is also a subtle impression left on their consciousness that helps the development of their minds. This is the educative process. When examples are given according to the ability of the children it will set in motion the internal improvement of the child.



Individual efforts in any programme are always done and will be going on. But our programmes should lead to a sense of collectivism. Only then our number and the quality would increase. The realities of the situation should be kept before us at the time programmes are decided. With this in view therefore, I appeal to the workers assembled here to declare what they intend to do according to their inclinations.

**Sri. Laxmidas :**

We should open such a front that brings in maximum involvement of the people. The programme should be such that it enables to arouse people's initiative. To facilitate this, we should form cells in every village. As for the qualitative improvement of the workers, I would say that it is possible only when workers are in the midst of activities. There is both involvement and movement in Dr. Patnaik's method of work.

**Sri. Surabhi Sharma :**

People's strength no doubt shows up during the Lokyatras but it does not sustain afterwards. Unless the poor are organised people's strength will not be firm. 800 acres of new lands were obtained in our area. Our Chief Minister himself says that as land is not going to remain with any body lands should be donated to Bhoodan. What makes him say so ? This is an indication of the people's strength. Because people gave away 800 acres of land, they offered Gramdans. If the people's strength cannot be built even after the distribution of 5 p. c. of

land, formation of the Gramsabha, we should proceed further by resorting to Satyagraha.

Sri. Swamiji issued orders to cut down plam trees on the question of prohibition. Thousands of trees were cut down. It was possible because the power of the people was with us. The government had an estimate of our strength. The Gramdan work should become strong and dynamic. Sri. Bang had come to our area when 129 Gramdans were obtained, 1500 Gram Shanti Sainiks enrolled, 1200 acres of lands were secured of which 833 acres were distributed. Now these Gram Shanti Sainiks have to be trained.

'Gramdan spirit' is absent in Gramdan Acts. We should take up such activities that may be adopted by people of their of own accord and develop them.

**Sri. Baburao Chandavar :**

I shall now give you my views on what should be the strategy of the movement in the entire country. (1) The right type of training may be available to the workers only when intensive workers are chosen in every state. (2) The worker who is working in intensive area should feel that he is doing so as a part of a overall national strategy. The intensive areas should be closely linked together. (3) Satyagraha that may be conducted in terms of the Nakodar resolution should not be retaliatory. It should be offered by the Gramsabhas and it should be in the form of non-cooperation against the agencies of exploitation in industries and the government. Otherwise, our Satyagraha will not be in line with the Gramswaraj

movement. (4) It is the law which is coming in the way of Pushti work. Gramdan spirit can never be brought into the villages through Gramdan acts. (5) People's representation in the present setup is without a base. It is meaningless to ask the village representative to run the present system. We want unanimity in the villages but want election at the block level. The two are contradictory. The same order that works in the village level should also work at higher levels. (6) The campaigns conducted by Bang Sahab are good from the point of view of extensive propaganda. But in the absence of any follow-up action these efforts become a waste. We should not apply our energies in areas where there is no local initiative. (7) The problem is that the work done so far has not created any self-confidence in our workers. That being the case we cannot expect ordinary workers to work in intensive areas. Those who have worked for 15-20 years in the movement and who have grasped the ideology well, may be able to show some concrete results if they work with determination. So if our talented and resourceful workers should decide to work in any intensive area for atleast five years leaving aside all other activities, then the work will develop. A scientific review of the movement that could have been conducted by us, could not be. We usually prepare our reports that do not tally with the realities. (8) The training of the workers, of Gramsabha, of Gram Shanti Sena and its organisation should be conducted in a more concretised form. Gram Shanti Sena should be associated with the Pushti work. Those who are competent to conduct training

courses should themselves work in intensive areas only then training in the right direction would be available to the workers. Only those persons who work in the light of the local problems of the intensive areas and who actually guide its affairs are able to give right kind of revolutionary training. (9) The villagers alone are responsible for being exploited. They get attracted by cities and they easily become the targets of exploitation. Therefore only articles that are produced locally should be used and villages should be prepared for this so that out-lets of exploitation are closed.

**Sri. Harivallabh Parikh :**

Let each one of us think of the strategy he adopts in the light of the situation in the country. What are the basic problems of the country ? One is economic exploitation from whose clutches villages are to be freed. Secondly the power that is accumulating in the hands of the well-to-do as a result of which social injustices grow and thirdly the growing population which makes beggars of us all. We have to work out our strategy and plan of action on all these fronts. So long as we do not inspire the Gramsabhas to carry on their work on their own strength, fight social injustices according to their understanding and wisdom and solve their problems on their own power, the work will not develop any further. We have had experiences of these things face to face in Rangpur area.

Let us not present our high sounding words, ideas and thoughts in a manner that frightens the villagers. We

hesitate to speak for people upon whom violence is always inflicted, whereas we take all care to see that no troubles are faced by those who are exploiters. This is not right. The need is to open a direct dialogue with the villagers. Intensive experiments must be made on some ideas as is done in intensive areas.

Third day : Sunday, 31th Dec., 1972

Fourth Sitting : 9-00 A. M.

Sri. Poornachandra Jain placed the resolution on prohibition :

“Prohibition had a unique place in the non-violent movement for attainment of Swarajya under the leadership of Gandhiji. The constitution of India has included it as an essential programme in the directive principles of State Policy. After independence, prohibition was adopted vigorously in many states but in the last few years circumstances changed a lot and many States, except Gujarat, took retrograde steps.

During the Gandhi Centenary year, in Rajasthan a movement for prohibition was launched. This step was endorsed by Sarva Seva Sangh. As result of this agitation, Rajasthan Government announced the policy of introducing total prohibition from April 1972 and decided to implement it in a phased programme during the intervening period. As the state Government failed to stick to their promise, the veteran Lok-Sevak of the state Sri. Gokulbhai Bhatt,

was forced to undertake an indefinite fast putting his life at stake.

Sri. Gokulbhai give up his fast on 27th may, 1973 on the intervention of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. It is a matter of regret that inspite of prolonged efforts and lapse of so many months nothing tangible has emerged. Under the circumstances, the workers of Rajasthan have again been forced to think of reviving the movement from 26th January 1973.

Sarva Seva Sangh extends its fullest support to the agitation if it is forced upon the people of Rajasthan. Such agitation will help awaken Lok-Shakti and the Sangh expects that the movement would be initiated and sustained by it. Sangh hopes that people at large in villages and towns will take up this challenge with enthusiasm.

The Sangh hopes even now that the Prime Minister will take some concrete steps by 26th January 1973 in the light of her assurances for implementation of the policy of total prohibition in Rajasthan.

The Sangh is also of the opinion that in the light of the recent clarification of policy prohibition made by the centre, they should encourage, inspire and lend active co-operation, morally as well as materially, to the States in implementing it.

Sangh is confident that this agitation of Rajasthan will inspire people and workers of other state too to work for the cause of prohibition.

Sangh authorises its president to appoint a committee which will take necessary steps to help prohibition movement in Rajasthan, at the Centre and as well as in other States."

All the members approved the resolution.

**Sri. Harmohan Patnaik :**

There is some confusion in us as to where we stand and what is the basis of work. Our role does not seem to be clear at times of national crisis. Our views on various aspects of Gramswaraj are also not clear. Are we opposed to the Government, or neutral or are we their adjuncts? It is a thing to be thought over seriously.

**Sri. Krishnachandra Sahay :**

Work against eradication of corruption and injustice is going on Uttar Pradesh. Satyagraha for prohibition, against corruption in the government offices, demanding that magistrates come to the offices in time are some of the issues that are dealt through which people are awakened. We have had good experiences. People associate with us if we fight for their causes. This provides us a base arouse people's power.

**Sri. Manickam :**

Our Satyagraha is in progress in Tanjore. We have started Satyagraha so that the landless people get rights to plough the mutt lands. While on the one side people have been organised on a large scale, on the other, big landowners and the chiefs of the mutts have mounting attacks, have beat us and dragged us to the courts involving us in

a number of cases. The area is passing through an extraordinary situation and this should be seriously thought over.

**Dr. Dayanidhi Patnaik :**

The people join hands with us at two levels. One is at the level of their material interests and the other at the mental level. It is natural to have some sort of confusion or differences between us. Independent thinking and free ideas are the streams that flow through Lok-Shakti. Today 40 crores of the population of India are uneducated. How and to what extent can we enlighten them is a question that has to be thought over. We should never forget that people need our help.

**Sri. Sundarlal Bahuguna :**

We want to place before you new horizons of the Gramswarajya. In Uttarakhand, we have been devoting all our energies and working on and treating as the focal point the relation of Gramswarajya with defence and democracy. The situation in Uttarakhand is unusual. Workers are not found in the villages. Only women and children are seen in homes. The youth go out of villages in search of wages and join the police, army, and hotels. It is because avenues of work are not open to them in the hilly region though there are many sources available to them. We have formed Gramswaraj Sanghs in Gramdan areas and through them tried to provide employment opportunities so that the youth remain in villages. We have linked the movement to the local problems.



Protecting forests in the mountainous regions is very vital to our own protection. But these forests are fast disappearing due to the policies of the government. We have launched a movement for the safety of these forests and we demand there should be no third agency between forests and ourselves. Contract system of work should be given up and co-operative system through which forest wealth may be exploited should be introduced in its place. Converting forest raw materials into finished goods should also be undertaken through small units established in the villages of the region so that people get work at their places. This forms the basis of our experiments of decentralized economic order. We are trying to set up institutions in villages. The capacity of villagers for action is found to be less and their power of resistance more. It is for us to think over the out-lines of this. The problem of forests is not peculiar to mountainous regions alone. It is a national problem. Because there is only 15 percent forests whereas it should be one-third. We are cutting off even these 15 p. c. in an unplanned way. We want Sarva Seva Sangh to think of these problems seriously and support our move.

**Sri. Govindrao Deshapande :**

Employment problem is surely a very stubborn one in the work of Nagar Swaraj. We have to transform all the four-points of Gramdan into Nagardan. Direct management of factories, participation in decision making and a share for the labourers in the profits should constitute the three conditions. While we hold that labour and the capital are the two things in a factory, the owner says that so long as

the labourer is not loyal to the factory it is difficult to talk of partnership. How to create a sense of responsibility in labourers is a question.

Godrej Almirahs, refrigerators, typewriters and treasure chests are manufactured and these goods earn profits. So, should a portion of it go to consumers? It is good that labourers get some relief and the proprietors say that they are prepared to part with a portion of it for the purpose. Tata called a special meeting to discuss the social responsibilities. I am working in this field in Bombay for the last three months under Sri. Jayaprakashji's guidance. Discussions have been started on all these questions. Arvind Mafatlal has been thinking very much on these lines. He is convinced of the idea of decentralization of industries and is in search of steps that should be taken to bring about this. How to meet the labourers directly without the necessity of the labour unions is an important problem. Sampattidan should be revived again and work in cities should be done to form municipalities free from the interference of political parties.

### **Sampattidan-Yajna**

The pledge of Sampattidan, some necessary instructions and the preamble explaining the significance and need of the programme were read out by the Jt. Secretary, Sri. Yashopal Mittal for information of the members of the Sangh.

#### **A few necessary Instructions :**

The programme of Sampattidan was started by Vinobaji as a supplement to Bhoodan so that those who did

not own land could also take part in the non-violent economic reconstruction of society.

The basic idea underlying Sampattidan is that all wealth is a social product and hence belongs to society. There should be no injustice done to anybody in the process of producing or earning wealth, nor any wrong means employed to do so; even out of the justly earned wealth a proper share should be given to society and the remainder should only be held in trust. All this is implied in the idea of Sampattidan.

We are constantly under the debt of society. A part of our earnings must therefore be given away in repayment. This applies to the rich as well as to the poor, to who-so-ever live and eats.

The donor should set aside and give a percentage of his income or his monthly expenses as the case may be as Sampattidan according to the following scheme:—

on Expenditure upto Rs. 500	Per month 1%
„ „ Rs. 501 and Rs. 1000	„ 2%
„ above Rs. 1000	„ 2½%

**Utilisation :** The amount set aside as Sampattidan should be used to further the movement for the establishment of a Sarvodaya society through programme of Gramdan, Gramswarajya, Shanti Sena etc. The donors are therefore requested to send their amount of Sampattidan either to the Sarva Sava Sangh, Gopuri, wardha (Maharashtra) or to their respective state Sarvodaya organisations.

## Sampattidan Pledge

Sant Vinoba has sponsored an extensive programme of Gramswarajya, which includes Nagar Swarajya, for the establishment of Sarvodaya social order based on truth, love and compassion.

Property or wealth is a social product and in order to enable its proper utilization in the interests of society it is essential to develop the spirit of trusteeship.

I agree with the scheme of Sampattidan which aims at the propagation of the concept of trusteeship in society and pledge to contribute.....percentage of my income/expenditure according to the scheme.

My monthly / annual contribution to Sampattidan scheme comes to Rs. ....

Date :

Signature of donor

Name.....

Full address.....

**Sri. Manava Muni :**

Gramswaraj Fund should have been spent in three years. But this has not happened. This should not miss our attention.

**Sri. Kameshwar Bahuguna :**

The movement has not progressed to the extent we expected because we have been irregular in our work. The frustration is now less than what it was soon after Gandhiji's death. We have found a new way of Gram-

swaraj. During these 20 years of scientific progress our vision has become clearer. A dedicated and devoted group of workers has come up. The difference between the power of the state and that of the people has also become marked in these 20 years. These are the accomplishments of the movement. But we lack some other things. As I said earlier regularity is what we lack and we have no sense of organisation. Senior workers have very little contact with the field activity.

In the matter of activising Gramsabhas three things should be done. Firstly the land revenue should not be collected from individuals directly. Gramsabhas should do this. Secondly, let lands be distributed through Gramsabhas and not through individuals recognizing the fact that ownership vests in it. Thirdly, let there be no industry in the village without the sanction of the Gramsabha. No industry or work should under any circumstances be opened in or near the village which may pollute the village atmosphere or produce products which increase intoxication. The Gramsabha should strictly enforce these rules.

**Sri. C. Jagannathan :**

We are agitating for prohibition of drink in Andhra Pradesh. Toddy drinking has become a cottage industry ! We are persuading the people not to drink toddy.

**Sri. Ramachandra Rahi :**

If we work only with a view to bring about results and pay heed to the circumstantial forces of the time, we have to receive good as well as bad results. I am saying so

because we have of late bent more upon getting results and as a consequence, charisma has been pronounced in us. We are swayed by sentiments and moving away from the realities of the situation. Such things usually happen in this process. The technique of our revolution is educative and if in this process, the cult of achieving results creeps in the consequence will be similar to that as seen in the examinations in schools. Therefore, our strategy should be of two kinds. Firstly, extensive educational propaganda of our thought having no targets. The concept of Gram Swaraj should be explained to the people as it is applicable to them in relation to and in the situation in which they are placed today. Secondly, wherever it is felt that local circumstances have become favourable and conducive in terms of getting co-operation to start intensive work let us do so. In such projects, shift in emphasis according to local conditions may be found here and there but not in the way. Such areas should be mutually related with one another.

Our position in regard to quality of the workers has surely given room for anxiety. The very process of the revolution should kindle in a worker sharp revolutionary spirit. We are yet to find such a process. Two elements come to our notice. The entire society and we too are in the grip of power and wealth. We try to get out of its clutches but we cannot fully do so. We should therefore introduce two things prominently and urgently in the processes of the revolution and in the structure of the organisation. The first think is that we take assistance of power and wealth

for the solution of the problems only to a minimum extent and depend mainly upon the enlightened power of the people. Secondly, our mutual relations should be one of colleagues and not of either a soldier or a disciple. A relationship of informal brotherhood should find place to the maximum extent in our organisation.

Concerning the extensive activity I want to say we will be able to spread our movement to the extent that we march forward in the direction of the revolution we visualize with a scientific outlook and belief.

**Kum. Nirmala Deshapande :**

Unity in diversity has been the unique feature of Indian cultural life. The differences between the philosophers have been keeping the Indian thought broad and flexible. Sarvodaya Samaj came into being in the year 1948. Vinobaji had then indicated that our organisation should be a brotherhood. I want to draw your attention to his statement.

There are different experiments going on in our movement. Self rule is the companion of freedom. Today (1) Intensive areas, (2) Combined campaign of Prāpti and Pushti, (3) Extensive propagation of the thought are the three experiments our friends are conducting. Saharsa, Jhajha, Rupauli, Tanjore, Bikaner are some of the intensive areas where work is going on. Saharsa work is an experiment in non-violence. Workers are staking their everything in these places for the last two years. This has provoked the local people to think of Gramswarāj. Sri.

Dhirendra Mazumdar is trekking in ardent passion in the area and with a revolutionary belief. There will be a campaign in the month of February. An all India cadre of workers is slowly developing in Saharsa. This is its special achievement.

Is it an ordinary thing to see that the work of the society is done by the power of the people? Today people are after the Government even forgetting God. We have to work amongst a people who are too much dependent upon government. Lallu Dada of Chambal Valley kept the torch burning for the last 12 years, with the result that at the end circumstances so developed that 450 bandits surrendered. In the revolution what is necessary is to keep the torch burning.

In the recent campaign in West Bengal we saw that the times are favourable to us. The success in the yatra was beyond our expectations. There is an economic crisis in the country. There is no other alternative to Gramswaraj and decentralization. The problem of pollution is aggravating. Peoples of the world are serious. We have been repeatedly saying for the past 20 years that decentralization is the real solution to our ills. We have been conducting various kinds of experiments in the lines of our thoughts. Jesus had said that wherever two or three persons lived together in my name take it that I am present there. Likewise let 2-5 workers join together and work and be of mutual help to one another. If we are conscious of unity in diversity there will be no cause for depression. The movement has a



glorious future. On climbing a hill one has to go up and down, here and there.

**Sri. Manmohan Choudhary** placed the following resolution for approval of the Sangh. The session unanimously approved the same.

### Resolution on Vietnam Bombing

“ With the peace talks going on in Paris, the end of the 20 years old Vietnam war appeared to be in sight. But it seems that after the Presidential election in the U. S. A; the will to peace slowed down, which culminated in the break down of the Peace talks. North Vietnam has been subjected to the heaviest ever bombardments, unparalleled in world history. The devastation in Hanoi and Haiphong has surpassed that wrought in Hiroshima as a result of the atom bomb. Besides, the weapons of war used in North Vietnam through the last 20 years of war have been extremely inhuman and cruel. The U. S. A. started the Vietnam war in the name of preservation of democratic values, but the means adopted clearly evince a total lack of a sense of human values and negation of the basic principles of democracy. Sarva Seva Sangh hopes the Govt. of U. S. A. would respond to the tide of world public opinion and bring the war to an early end, making it possible for the people of Vietnam to enjoy peace and freedom from external aggression.

The Sangh wishes to point out that Vietnam has become a tool in the game of big power politics. The big

powers have divided amongst themselves zones of the backward areas in the world, and there seems to be an understanding amongst them not to interfere in their respective spheres of influence. Apriori, the U. S. A. has been carrying on its ruthless designs in Vietnam without effective hindrance from other nations.

The machinations of this big power game has put in jeopardy the peaceful existence of the weaker nations. In this connection it is pertinent to note the safety and security of the weaker nations can be achieved only by invoking faith in the strength of Lok-Shakti; or the people's power."

Third day :

Sunday, 31th Dec., 1972

Fifth Sitting : 3-00 P. M.

Sri. Shivshankar Pente :

How can the slow paces of the movement be quickened. What should be the form of Satyagraha of today and what should be our strategy ? The reason for general regression is that friends have ceased to tour villages. The continuous and collective Padayatras have now stopped. The tasks of the movement has for them become a side business. Vinobaji has talked of conducting Padayatras for 25 days in a month. To brake this lull we ourselves have to begin some move in the direction. The form of Satyagraha has not as yet become clear in the movement. But one thing is clear and that is Satyagraha should result in co-operation. As regards the strategy I

want to say that 90 p. c. of able workers should work in the intensive areas.

**Sri. Banarasidas Goel :**

We must pursue programmes of countering injustices. In Punjab, Khadi-work had very much expanded but now it is decreasing. This is causing anxiety. While propagating the idea of Gramswaraj we should also preach Khadi. But the policies of the Khadi commission come in the way and we should think over this.

**Sri P. G. Shendurnikar :**

Gramdan Prapti and Pushti can be combined, this has been made possible and such combined campaigns have successfully been conducted. This is not enough. We have to draw a detailed and full plan for the follow up work. It is necessary to think as to how we can utilize the Government machinery.

**Sri. Santosh Bharatiya :**

The East Tanjore situation have assumed serious proportions and causing concern. The Zamindars and the Marxists have joined hands against Sarvodaya workers. Sri. Jagannathan feels that he is encircled by problems. His colleagues have been entangled in a variety of cases. I feel that in view of the seriousness of the situation we should treat it as a national front and senior workers should go to Tanjore straight away, open dialogue with the landlords and if it becomes necessary let Satyagraha on a national scale be launched.

Mention was made of Nagar Swaraj. What should be our role in Nagar Swaraj ? Can we do something to end the exploitation now going on in cities through various kinds of trades that thrive on human weaknesses. The renunciation of ownership as is now being done in the matter of lands should be the main thrust of our programmes in cities also.

**Sri. Vimalchandra Pal :**

In Bankura, where we had recently organised a campaign we saw that though there was marxist influence in the area the people had no faith in the distribution of land by the force of law, nor did they believe that their problems would be solved by such methods. Therefore their interest in Sarvodaya movement has increased. People put up with the Marxist rule had tasted statism and now have been disappointed by them. This is a favourable trend from the point of view of our movement.

**Sri. Badriprasad Swamy :**

We should try to strike balance among whatever projects and programmes we are now working. Not much will come out of a mere resolution to open 10-15 intensive areas adopted by Sarva Seva Sangh. Let Lok-Sevak create his own pocket of activity wherever he is. The movement should have a decentralized approach. Whatever ability and inclination a Lok-Sevak has, should be put to use in carving out his own area of work and he should render service to the people of the area and educate them. The problems that may arise in the course

of the work should also be faced with the help of the local strength. The strength to follow up these activities should be generated locally and Pushti work should be done relying on only this strength and should not lean upon other kinds of support.

**Sri. Indralal Mishra :**

Our state is passing through a state of lull in respect of the movement. That the people of villages themselves should come forward to do Pushti work and obtain new Gramdans was the subject that was discussed in Nasik and was resolved in Nakodar. But nothing in particular happened in our state. If it were conducted the result would have been certainly encouraging. I feel that campaigns in connection with Gramswaraj should always be going on in some form.

**Sri. Manmohan Choudhary :**

How is people's power generated ? Prapti-Pushti campaign is one method. Sources of this strength should be found in the Gramsabha. There are opposing forces at work in the village. This is the reality. The Gramsabhas cannot become active owing to this opposition. The vested interests have fear. What will happen, if the power slips out of their hands ? We should study the opposing interests and then find ways to counter them. We have been carrying on educative propaganda and we continue to do it. But a new kind of knowledge, and efficiency is called for in the future work. We can develop this ability by exchange of experiences. It is a matter of education.

The training of workers is very necessary. We are conducting a well planned training course for the last eight years in Orissa. 15 days training course at the state level, 7 days at the district level and 3 days at local level are in progress. 113 local camps were conducted in the last year. In the beginning outside workers were taking part in these camps. But now villagers are joining these camps in sufficient numbers. I think this is a sign of progress.

Land ceiling bills are now under enactment. I do not doubt Indiraji's intention. But I have doubt about the machinery set up for the enforcement of these laws. We should extend our co-operation to and participate in the implementation of all the progressive laws.

The thoughts that were expressed here showed that there was unanimity in approaches to the same goal from different points. This is a very good sign.

**Sri. Chunibhai Vaidya :**

We lack in studious habits. We are not exerting so much in the matter of literature as we used to do earlier. Literature is the embodiment of great men in the form of letters. We should never hesitate to propagate it. Our colleagues should think of how literature on the movement could be produced. We should encourage Khadi Bhandars to sell literature. The preparation and sale of literature should be treated as our responsibility.

### Discussions concluded

**Acharya Ramamurthy :**

We reached a village at 12.00 noon sharp. We saw a crowd assembled under a tree. Women in purdah were also there. On enquiry we were told that there was a witch in the village. She was tied to the tree and beaten to death. It was an act of unanimous consent of Lok-Shakti ! There were no two opinions about this in the village. Several doubts cropped up in my mind. We talk of Lok-Shakti. There are people representing other thoughts who want to sell their ideas in the market of revolution. We want Lok-Shakti. But that is Lok-shakti aroused by Gramdan and that is the basis of the future society. Tulsidas had earlier thought there was no difference between Ram and Krishna. Even so he had said that : "तुलसी मस्तक तब नवे, जब तीर-घनुष लो हाथ ।" We view with suspicion that Lok-shakti which has no value in and no relation with Gramdan.

We are small in number and that is a crisis of the movement. It is a vicious circle. No workers, therefore no work. No work, so no workers. Work, worker, and money are the three that never go together. Jayaprakashji wanted 8 efficient workers. Vinobaji had exhorted the workers to wear themselves out in Saharsa. But how many went there ? Intensive Gramdan areas are the subject matter of our frequent talks. The names of about 12 areas could be listed. Why is it so ? Review on big scale is on and the reasons are being assigned for this. Want of number, lack

of stature necessary for a revolution, defects in our organisation, wrong strategy, our being away from politics, not resorting to Satyagraha so on and so forth have been frequently mentioned. I hold that almost all the revolutions so far ushered in have turned out to be reformatory and reactionary. All revolutionaries assert that the future is in their hands. But the future is in the hands of none, it is in its own hands. Our revolution is ruled by time and vision. How does it look if we are not prepared for a stroll on such a long horizon? The revolution has acquired new dimensions owing to science. We want to remove the supremacy of the Government and end ownership of the proprietors. Sarvodaya movement of this country is out to achieve very early all that the revolutions wanted to achieve in these 10 thousand years.

There are many diverse activities in our movement. The area we choose will be our area of love. Gandhiji was very sad when he heard of mutual bickerings in an institution. Sri. Kripalani commenting on this told him, "you are responsible for such a state of affairs. Because you have said 'love enemy'. In doing so this turned out to be 'hate each other' and have love for enemies! A version that was meant for enemies is anyway lying within. You have banished this." Even so, there may be areas of hatred and areas of love also. We should mobilise our strength in some areas. We should work there with initiative and determination. It is to arouse this initiative that the idea of intensive areas has been mooted.



We will have two programmes in these areas and they are people's pledge and the creation of public opinion. The next sammelan is going to be held in the month of April. I hope that by that time two dozens of such areas will come up. Here is the work of a counter society, a parallel social order. The flowering of the revolutionary forces on the one side and to weaken the counter-revolutionary forces on the other are the two programmes we have to pursue in these areas. In the country there are areas which are faith oriented (say prohibition, Satyagraha in Rajasthan) and there are areas which are problem-oriented (say in Rangapur and Mirzapur). But now we have to work for strengthening the forces of revolution and weakening those of counter revolution.

We have so far not been able to co-ordinate our manifold activities in any area. Khadi, Shanti Sena and Gramdan are the trio which do not appear together. If only one of them appears we get not more than 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % marks. Therefore these three should merge themselves into one confluent stream. We should try to develop such areas. Counter-revolution could be arrested by the help of the Gram Sabha and Shanti Sena. The two should be co-ordinated. The leadership that has now emerged does not favour change, they want reforms. They like change very much, but are not prepared to give up pleasures and privileges. Gram Shanti Sena can deal with this question. A second line of leadership of the age group, 18 to 30 years should be set up in every village.

What medium should be made use of in Gramswaraj. Not more than one percent of the land could be distributed by the distribution of 1/20th portion of the total lands of the village should be obtained. Secondly, we should work on all the three fields namely, the master, labourer and the money lender. There should be a sub-committee that looks after the special interests of the labour class.

The experience gained in Saharsa points to the necessity of a scientific study of this issue. The forces brought from outside are at best a supplementary to the local force. The local leadership may evolve from this. If 75 p. c. of the villages march forward on Gramdan lines or declare their intention to do so, an agrarian leadership will be thrown up. Gramswaraj means a declaration of the freedom of every one from bondage. If efforts are made with this declaration then 75 p. c. of the villages will come forward and the rest of the 25 p. c. will join them by force of legislation.

We have to create a base in the mindes of the people having faith in them. How can we talk of intensive areas when even five hundred Sarvodaya Mitras cannot be enrolled? During the enrollment campaign in January atleast 500 Sarvodaya Mitras should be enrolled in each of these areas.

How can the public opinion become dynamic? I have three things to say. One is trusteeship a form of renouncing ownership of property in the cities. Secondly, organisation tackling problems with a non violent non-party

approach. Thirdly, protecting civil rights. The public opinion can be made dynamic through this.

Friends, there is crisis, but no frustration. The future may or may not be in our hands. But we are surely within our own hands. The Britishers were losing the war with Nelson as their leader. The officers went to him and said, "our strategy seems to be wrong. How should we face Nepean?" Nelson unfolded the map and said, "Thank God, it is not worst ! Be united and hold on to your places."

### Confirming past resolution

Sri. Thakurdas Bang :

We have to drop two matters from the agenda for want of time. We shall include them in next session.

We have to complete a formal affair. As you know, it was resolved in Rajgir session to shift the central office from Varanasi to Wardha. The resolution should be confirmed it in this session.

Sri. Bang then placed the following resolution which was confirmed :

"This session of the Sangh confirms the shifting of the central office of the Sangh from Varanasi to Wardha. The central office will be in Gopuri, Wardha."

## Report of the group discussions on Draft Manifesto

**Sri. Naredra Dube :**

I am now presenting the report of the discussions held in different groups on the draft manifesto.

The conclusions and recommendations of the group discussions on the draft manifesto have been culled from their reports and given below.

All most all the groups were unanimous that our thought and programme should be presented in clear terms to the public. So the manifesto was in their opinion a good attempt in that direction. It was also expressed in the course of the discussions that as the draft was not available in regional languages and as it was in English it could not be discussed in depth. A few persons could get the old draft but as they could not get the revised copy in time they could not study it.

There was very interesting discussion on whether the draft should be called a manifesto or by any other name. A few groups wanted to retain the name manifesto where as others suggested names mentioned below.

1. A peep into the Sarvodaya Samaj
2. A paper on Sarvodaya thought
3. An outline of the Sarvodaya Samaj
4. Sarvodaya Philosophy
5. Manifesto of the non-violent revolution

6. People's Government through non-violent revolution
7. Sarvodaya way
8. Road to Sarvodaya
9. Sarvodaya Manifesto-1973
10. Sarvodaya approach
11. A new approach to revolution
12. What Sarvodaya stands for
13. Sarvodaya in scientific age

There was discussion on the language, style and the presentation of the draft and the following recommendations were made.

1. The language of the draft should be so simple and clear that even ordinary people understand it.

2. The style of the draft should be attractive, draw the attention of people towards it and should be challenging to the people.

3. The presentation of the draft should be such that one should get an impression of our uniqueness. The draft should clearly guide the people in the matter of organisation, the method of work in relation to their problems.

There were some suggestions offered in the group discussions regarding the arrangement of chapters also.

- (1) Let it be clearly stated in the introductory remarks or in the preamble that though the title of the draft is something different, it is just like a manifesto.

- (2) The entire draft should be divided into three chapters. First chapter should have Sarvodaya philosophy, the second the policy and the third the programme. In

first chapter, how we look at the history, modern dynamics of social change, partyless democracy and socialism without state control should be explained, in the second basic principles of Gramswaraj and in the third, the achievements of the movement, the limitations and our expectations of the people, should be dealt with lucidly.

The following recommendations were made after detailed discussions on the usage of different words and thoughts in the draft.

(1) It should be made clear in the beginning that we are seekers after truth and inspired to place the truth before the society as we understand it.

(2) In surveying the development of history our ideas on 'the individual and collective' should be clearly stated.

(3) The freedom of the individual and the ownership of the collective should be mentioned more clearly.

(4) Change of heart and the change brought about by force of circumstances must be explained.

(5) An analysis of the rise and development of this thought in the background of cultural traditions of India should be given.

(6) Blind religionism, traditionalism and fanaticism should be explained in clear terms. Spiritual force may be explained in this context.

(7) Gandhi's concept of trusteeship should be clearly explained.

(8) Private and Public sectors have equal status in the society and their roles should be supplementary and com-

plementary to each other. This point should be mentioned more clearly.

(9) Our views on the place of private property as dealt with in the constitution should be more clearly given.

(10) Mention may be made of the place of 'cow in our economy.'

(11) 'Tax' and 'Dan' should be analysed and importance of 'Dan' should be high-lighted.

(12) Freedom from controls of the market.

(13) Problems arising out of an ever expanding unproductive class should be thought over and our views on it may be given.

(14) Planning should be directed towards removal of poverty and not towards distributing unemployment doles.

(15) A separate note on foreign trade be given.

(16) A note on increasing Government expenditure and that of its bureaucracy may be given.

(17) We should say something on currency and finance.

(18) While dealing with economic inequality the inequality in standard of life between the cities and the villages should be mentioned. Likewise attention should be drawn on the regional imbalances.

(19) Under the subheading of 'science of health,' health education should find place.

(20) Under the subheading 'crime' our view of freedom from the police and the courts may be explained. A new system of judiciary based on reconciliation and the principle of clearancy should be explained.

(21) Special emphasis should be laid on intermediate technology.

(22) With regard to the system of elections it may be explained that the number of representatives should gradually decrease at higher levels.

(23) Lok-Niti by the consent of all should be extensively dealt with in the draft.

(24) Together with racialism and casteism black-racialism should also be condemned.

(25) It will be better if we don't use words like 'vested interest', 'underdog' and 'topdog.'

In addition to the above, suggestions with regard to the arrangement of chapters, parts and subtitles have been given in detail. All of them cannot be given here for want of space. They have been separately noted down.

### Concluding programme

**Sri. Vaidyanath Prasad Chowdhary :**

We were trying to finish the agenda in the last three days. Now, I have been ordered to complete a auspicious duty. Kerala is the place of Shankaracharya. We had assembled in his place in 1957. Those of us who attended the conference may recall how God's grace in form of heavy down pour of rains descended on us and how Vinoba danced in ecstasy ! 15 years afterwards the Sarvodaya Mandal gave us an opportunity to go over here. We thank them for this. How beautiful is the sight here ! For us the sight of the sea is an exalting experience.

Our group is infamous for its dietetic habits. If a few want chillies, others do not want it. Some want salt, while



some others want food free of salt. It is clear that the organisers have to face peculiar difficulties for the sake of such a class of people. In spite of this the way we have been welcomed, treated can not be forgotten. Love and regard showered on us by the friends of Kerala will be valuable treasure for us on the strength of which, we will be able to march forward. I also thank the president and the secretary of the Sangh for conducting the session in an efficient manner. In spite of different attitudes and views, our discussions went on very well, and a consensus could emerge out of them. This surely is our collective strength. I once again express on behalf of all of you my heartfelt thanks to our local friends and is grateful for their hospitality.

**Sri. K. P. Madhavan Nair** ( Reception committee ) :

Pardon us for the imperfect arrangements made for the session. We know our weaknesses and inspite of this we undertook this responsibility. We did our best to discharge this responsibility. Even so we ask your excuses. We could renew our old acquaintences and gain new ones on this occasion. We are grateful to you for having accorded this privilege to us.

**Sri. Siddharj Daddha** :

Now, only one thing remains to be done. In discharging the duties entrusted to me, I may have hurt somebody's feelings. I want to be excused.

For me, it was an oppertunity for training. When we speak we should have several things in view. There may have been differences with one-another. But no motives should be attached to any body and I think there are none in us.

Discussions went on without any reservations and views were expressed without any hesitation. I am happy over this.

I want to place two things before you. In the first place, let us not forget that we want to bring in new values, new approach in the place of old ones. We want to revolutionise the revolutionary processes. From this point of view it becomes necessary to have "inclusive" and not "exclusive" view of things. To change others' opinion through nonviolent means, to take with us all others who may feel differently is very essential from this point of view. Secondly, the peculiarity of our stand so far was 'one thing at a time'. We have been taking up programmes accordingly under Vinobaji's brilliant leadership. But this required a personality and a leadership like Vinoba's. Now time has come when collective service has to emerge. We could afford to march on with our mutual differences and yet follow glorious personalities like Vinobaji and Jayaprakashji. But in the new roles we find ourselves in, we have to march together on a single chosen path and this should be done on a large scale. Our movement has passed over the stages of extensive propagation of thought and of deep thinking, but have now reached the stage putting them into practice. All our roads lead to Gramswaraj.

We are well aware of our good and bad nature. A thorough analysis of movement was done at Veerapandy. Those who are in it and out of it are both eager to have results. Such enthusiasm and eagerness should be welcomed. But if the fundamental objective is clear before us then there should be no room in minds for failure. Failure may perhaps arise out of shakiness. Many people today are under the belief that Sarvodaya worker has no relation with the current problems and they run away from them. We have to disprove it by our deeds.

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