Sudden a thought came like a full-blown rose,
flushing his brow.

The Eve of St. Agnes: Keats.
In post-independence India the land gift movement is one of the most controversial movements that have been launched to bring about social change. At least one author has treated the leader of this movement as charismatic leader.\(^1\)

Vinoba Bhave is the leader of this movement. The movement had its origins in Hindu religion. As Yinger puts it: "Here is a religiously generated motivation and goal effecting an important social change."\(^2\) The present writer intends to treat the movement as a charismatic movement.

Parsons presents four sets of conditions for the development of a charismatic movement in a society. The first condition is that of alienative motivation in the population towards social order and if such alienative motivation is dissipated in several directions then as a

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\(^2\) Ibid.
second set of conditions there develops an organization of social subcultural movement; to fill in the gap the development of an ideology around this alienative component for legitimacy as a third set of conditions, and finally the impingement of such a movement on the social system's stability depends the fate of the movement's ascendancy.  

These four conditions are present in the Indian society for the development of this charismatic movement. Firstly there is a set of alienative motivational component in the form of dissatisfactions about Government, Politics, Power and Industrialization. This could be seen in rural apathy, intense dislike of Government and its manifestations, and lack of purposive action. Historically this may be located in the antagonism of British, as overlords of India. The present movement is a continuation of national movement which culminated in the attainment of independence. Some of the tenets of the movement are to be located in this historical setting for their possible origin and legitimacy. Secondly the antipathy for foreign rule is dissipated in several directions. Thirdly - servant days ideology has developed as a response to the above mentioned alienative motivation. Fourthly the impingement of the movement on power structure of the

3 Talcott Parsons, Social System, pp. 521-523.
Indian social system is almost negligible since
the movement abhors power and its ancillary institutions
as something that of evil. Nevertheless its moral
pressure is evident. Hence the movement's pressure for
the manipulation of 'power' is altogether ruled out. So
as the movement develops and brings forth its institutions
parallel to other types of institutions which are present
in the social system, either it lives in peace with the
other institutions or it cooperates and coordinates with
them so that the process of social change in India moves
on smoothly. The second contingency seems to stand, as
the contingency of taking over of 'power' is ruled out.

Gandhi developed a philosophy which is known
as 'Sarvodaya Philosophy.' The basis of this philosophy
is to be found in Hindu religious ethics. Taking
Hinduism as the basis he has developed a type of social
order which is at once a mixture of the capitalism and
socialism or communism. It is a sort of compromise. Quite
often the Sarvodaya philosophy is equated with socialism
or communism.

Gandhi borrowed the idea of 'unto this last'
from Ruskin and developed the main tenets of his philosophy.
Sarvodaya means the development of all:

1) That the good of the individual is contained in
the good of all.
ii) That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.

iii) That a life of labour i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.⁴

The religious basis of the satyagraha philosophy could be seen from the following excerpt: Gandhiji has said in his autobiography that

"To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to truth drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means ...." ⁵

'Into this last' has been covered by the comprehensive outlook of religion and social order.

After Gandhiji's demise the followers had met at Navagram in 1948, to propagate the ideals of Gandhiji as envisaged by him in the form of Sarvodaya principles. The initial hurdle of whether an organization should be formed or not to propagate the ideals was to be surmounted.


⁵ As quoted by Acharya Kripalani in 'Gandhi as a Social Thinker,' The Economic Weekly, II(3): January 1950, p.75.
at the instance of Vinoba, the participants had decided to adopt the name 'Arvodaya Samaj' for the organization which is to propagate the ideals of Arvodaya.  

The inhibition for active participation is significant item of the Samaj wherein the teachings of the leader have been kept in tact. The concept has an uniqueness in its ubiquitous nature and its limitations. A comparison could only give its full significance.

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6 The problems, therefore, with which the conference was faced were firstly to consider whether it was necessary and possible to set up an organization that would best serve and continue his line of action and thought and if such organization was to be set up, what its shape and function should be. Rajendra Prasad, "The Navagram Conference," in M.K. Gandhi, op. cit., p.13. "Gandhi did not have much faith in external sanctions and depended more on the inner -sanction or what is ordinarily called conscience for regulating men's conduct. If those who profess to understand and follow his teachings had to depend on external sanctions of an organization, they would at the very outset be denying in a way their professed principles; on the other hand, if there was not any kind of organization of all those who had tried to follow him in his lifetime and for whom he in his body had been consumed by fire, be left without any tie between them to be tossed by cross-currents." Ibid., p.22. The dilemma was resolved by adopting the suggestion of Vinoba, that Arvodaya Samaj should strive for truth and non-violence for the development of individual as well as groups. Ibid., p.73.

7 "The Arvodaya Samaj will not act as an organization, it will not undertake any work or programme by itself although all Sevaks /Workers/ are expected to be doing something or other in furtherance of some constructive work. While every Sevak will be free to do work that suits him best - of course consistent with the teachings of Gandhiji - he will not do any thing in the name, and on behalf of the Samaj." Ibid., p.75.
Vinoba defines:

"The western idea of the greatest good of the greatest number contains in it, the germs of minority and majority problems. But the idea of Sarvodaya, as preached by Gita /Bhagavad Gita/ is to merge oneself in the good of all. This of course demands on our part absolute faith in truth and non-violence. Never should we resort to untruth in our private and public life, nor in our business or other occupations. We should try our best not to allow violence a place in our life. The constructive programme which was meant for the uplift of society should be carried out in part or in full, individually or with the cooperation of friends and colleagues, as also by establishing local institutions wherever necessary. We should meditate over the great thought that is behind all this, and should give expression to it, and remember it all times."

To concentrate on these views of Gandhiji, a plan was drawn up engulfing the whole social fabric. Under the guise of modern times the individuals are exploited, the state has become a coercive apparatus, "self-interest and cash payment," have been eulogised and philosophised, science which is meant for the welfare of the people has become a hand-maid for war and its evil manifestations. Sarvodaya Samaj is meant to cure such ills of modern times.

"A centralised democracy has a tendency to become bureaucratic and totalitarian" ... Gandhiji believed that democracy which really meant freedom can work only in small units wherein one's own affairs are managed. The State

8 Vinoba, "The Concept of Sarvodaya", in N.K. Gandhi, op.Cit.p. 27.
should be a kind of federation of such small units. Only in such egalitarian society man can be free and pursue all the arts. Only in such a situation exploitation would cease. Otherwise the same stratification will continue with wealth and power being concentrated in a few hands. 'The ideal then is realisation of a non-violent society by progressive steps for the fulfilment of the individual and social personality of man, under a pattern of life, in which the regions would tend more and more to be self-sufficient in the objects of material well-being and cooperative in social, moral and cultural pursuits.'

To begin with every individual should put in some labour. Man should be trained to cope with inter-regional and national problems successfully. Opportunities should be made equal to all. Regional self-sufficiency is the hallmark of such a society and the industry should be decentralised. The resources should be utilized in such a way that an adequate standard of life is assured to everybody and the skills are utilized toward this end. Property should be under the control of the society. The centralised industry should be vested under the control of the community. The basic institution is family. All efforts should be made to strengthen it. The sex instinct should be regulated by healthy outdoor life and the development of moral outlook through education.
Agriculture should be organized on the basis of family pattern. A rural economic civil service should be created to manage the problems of agriculture. All agricultural planning should be conducted through this service. "The aim of such a plan should be increasing self-sufficiency of the regions in agricultural requirements. The productive capacity and the requirement of each region and those of the country as a whole should be so integrated that there is a proper balance of the focus of centralization as well as decentralization."

Industry should be organized on decentralized basis. The priorities should be given to decentralized industry. Only things which cannot be produced by decentralized small-scale industries are only to be produced in the centralized industries. An economic Civil Service should be created to look into the problems of industry. Power may be used to raise the efficiency of the industry.

As a stop-gap mechanism, in the period of transition, friendly relations should be established between capital and labour gradually associating labour with the management and profit sharing.

The principle in the industry should be that of more labour intensive than that of capital-intensive. Human beings should not be kept idle by employing machinery.
As an immediate programme the mass savings should be organized and through regionalization it must be distributed for the establishment of industry. Foreign trade should be under planning Commission and imported articles should be distributed through cooperatives.

Balance of animal and human resources should be an essential aim. Hence bullock-power should be used for transport. The education should be craft-oriented. Religious intolerance and bigotry should be eliminated from the educational system. The teaching that all religions are the same should be followed. It should inculcate contentment and cooperation amongst people. The spirit of new education should be non-acquisitiveness, non-violence and truth. In the transitional period the military and police may be continued. But at the end state will wither away. Through planned devolution of power the Government would cease to exist.9

The role-incumbents of Servodaya should strictly observe the following seven principles. Vinoba enunciates that a Servodaya worker should be a regular spinner, wear Khadi [home-made coarse cloth] use as far as possible village-made things, endeavour to use cow's milk while at

home, do some village sanitation work daily, send
children to basic education schools only, and learn
Devnāgari (Sanskritic script), Urdu and one of the South
Indian scripts.10

The Sarvodaya order has its basis of legitimacy in
the Indian tradition. Its fixed variables are those
that emerge from the Hindu religious system. The concept
of Ahimsa, the veneration of cow, the system of truth, and
the control of sexual instinct have had their origin in
Hindu tradition. The concept of Ahimsa (non-violence) had
been elaborated in the period of national struggle against
British.

Its values are futuristic. The full realization of
Sarvodaya will come only in the future. Then as a stop-
gap mechanism, some conditions have been accepted with
certain disquietude. The acceptance of Government and
limit violence, the acceptance of police and military in
the transitional period are some of its compromises or
facing the reality situations. But ultimately the State
should wither away.

Some of the elements present in the system are, no
doubt, utopian and this aspect is brought into focus when

10. Vinoba, "Initiation in Sarvodaya," in M.K. Gandhi,
it is compared with other futuristic societies such as withering away of state under communism. The presence of these elements are not accidental but a deliberate compromise. The abhorrence for organization and formal type of sanctions are absent from this social order.

These tenets are practiced in different ashrams (places of religious practice) all over India on a small scale. These ashrams with different types of motivational elements, are practicing their creed. The impingement on the larger social system is not eventful. Because the social ethics of harv dasa do not seek 'power' to bring in its propagation. It relies on the 'change of heart.' Before any revolution it relies on fundamental change in the hearts of the people. In a word social revolution should precede economic revolution. It works parallel to the larger social system with its own motivational ethics, as sub-group cultures.

Its interaction with day-to-day world brings about changes. Hence the carvaddya principles have undergone certain compromises without altogether abandoning its primary ideals.

The presence of such a system of thought in the social system which is based on Government, Politics and centralized power structure and organized action - presupposes the functional alternatives to any given social
system. These alternative social structures sometimes gain currency and get out of their dormancy and become militant movements. The present thesis is that a charismatic movement develops and attains ascendancy rapidly when the official structures fail to deliver the goods from the point of its central ethos. The process heightens when such a social system has to rely for its failure on more rational explanations. The advantage of the charismatic movement over the rational movements is clear from this point. What is decadent and what is ascending is problematic from the point of view of definition. The future goals are more diffuse, unattainable and necessarily some type of transitional institutional arrangements should be made to tide over the difficulties. In this process the movement transforms itself and quite often loses its charisma either by routinization or by loss.\textsuperscript{11}

The presence of functional alternatives in a society, sometimes, speaks of the degree of its integration.\textsuperscript{12} Especially in Indian society where

\textsuperscript{11} For routinization of charismatic movements, see Parsons, \textit{Social System}, p. 403.

In a strictly stratified society with caste as basis of worldly life, dan is a source of communication of sentiment and affect through different strata. In a word what could not be done through formalized ways of allocation of resources in different strata of social structure, through dan certain balancing of resources could be effected, informally. That is without undermining the ideology of caste society, dan will tie them together with reciprocal solicitation of different units. Thus partial integration is achieved through the functional equivalent item of dan which is an informal way of distributing or rather allocating resources in a social system. How then, how this system of dan is related to the land gifts movement?

It is significant to note that the land gifts movement had begun in the wake of independence of India and generally in the background conditions obtaining immediately after World War II. The maladjusted society in India with its intense disparities in its population and its enormous hunger for land was its initial impetus.

(Continued).


'dan' is related to the ultimate values of life, when 'dan' is made the effects will be felt even in the next birth. Thus dan is connected with the theory of transmigration of soul which is central to the transcendentval values of the Hindu social system.
for its origin. Despite the best efforts of the political parties and the Government the basic and fundamental need for land reforms has not succeeded.

On one side extremists were advocating complete abolition of ownership of land and others were advocating for less extreme measures. Torn as under between the ideological and political unrest, Indian society continued to suffer from this most fundamental illness without any sign of cure. At this juncture the charismatic personality of Vinoba ji appeared on the Indian firmament with a background history of Gandhian ideals and Servodaya principles.

The initial impetus for Bhoomi (gift of land) had come from the gargantuan hunger of land and the failure of the rational structures to provide an answer to this hunger. In fact it is one of the essential conditions for the development of a charismatic movement. Commenting on the contribution of Weber on charisma Parsons says:

"Any situation where an established institutional order has to a considerable extent become disorganized, where established routines, expectations, and symbols are broken up or are under attack is a favourable situation for such a movement."

The first land gift begun when a peasant donated a land of 100 acres at the request of Vinoba, a non-untouchable, of that village demanded. That night it came as a revelation to Vinoba, that he should


of. Vinoba said: his inner voice told him that "You begin to beg land and you will see how people respond. God's planning cannot be imperfect. If he has kept hunger in the child's belly, He has also kept milk in the breasts of the mother! So if you beg in my name you will get no response." Excerpts of the interview, ibid., p. 353.

Also, in this way the movement started. During one night the idea came to me, rather it attacked me. I tried to resist it because I was not ready to accept. But the voice within me said that if you believe in me, go ahead, and I started (sic) in the morning round the villages asking for land," ibid., p. 354. See the more sophisticated version of the same: "That night Vinoba did not sleep. All night long his mind was working the answer. You have been roaming about the villages for so many days, trying to find an answer to the commissar violence. Here is the answer: from tomorrow, you will walk from village to village asking for land, and giving the land that is given to you to the landless." Jaya Prakash Narmayan, "Gandhi, Vinoba, and the Mohamm Movement," _Gandhi Vigyan_, IV(1) January 1969, p. 32. (From an adopted text of a speech before the JSA, Caledford England, made available by David Haggart.)

"Revelation" is a thing unconnected with the existing social relationships and its consequences or it is something a priori beyond the comprehension of our human logic. For example: Anskin treats this problem for a different angle. Dealing with "intuition," "inspiration," "revelation," "extrasensory perception," and so on. Anskin observes: that for the question if such sources exist, "the answer has to be positive. We may not know exactly the nature of this source of truth, we must also admit that, like observation in all its forms (experimental,
go the whole breadth and width of the country to get land gifts distributed to every landless.

Thus Bhudan or the contemporary movement of land gifts had started in April 1951 and attracted the attention of the people. He went on foot from place to place statistical, clinical and reasoning, it does not always guarantee the truth. But any careful investigator of the history of human experience, science, philosophy, religion and truly creative cultural values, can hardly deny the existence of such a source of truth and its great and positive contributions to the history of human thought, science, art, philosophy, religion, ethics, technology, and even to economics and practical creative values." L.A. Vorob'ev, SOCIAL CULTURAL CRITICISM, Vol. IV, (New York: American Book Company, 1941) p. 747. The point is not one of its existence; its existence is undeniable. Whether it is traced to a pre-sensory state or to the earthly state is the crux of the problem. For a detailed analysis of the problem see pp. 747-761. Vorob'ev argues that because of the place for cognition in the true reality, he places the truth found by this method above all other categories of truth finding. The problem is to see whether it requires to be placed as something new and above all else.

Coming to our illustration of Vinoba's revelation, it could entirely be explained from the point of view of modern cybernetics i.e., when facts are far from one side the decisions come automatically from the other side within given parameters. Vinoba experienced the life of the common man and he knows the hardships felt by the poor. He also knew the failure of rational systems of legal thinking which failed to bring the problem of land in its correct perspective. Communist violence failed to deliver the goods. He was actually seeking answer for this burning problem. When a landlord gave 100 acres of land when the Harijans of the village demanded for land—gave the answer for this eternal search. Jaya Prakash Narayan's explanation is more sophisticated and nearer to what we have said, (see supra). The revelation of Buddha and Mahavira could also be explained in this fashion.
place persuading people to give one sixth of their land as Bhoomi. Vinoba aimed at collecting 50 million acres of land before the end of 1957.

If the land gifts movement is to succeed, it must break the hold of the tradition, and its ramifications. Unless the structural constraints are changed or modified the ascendancy of the movement will be at stake. And it would be meaningless unless it subsumes all the aspects of the social structure, so that it can change the social structure wherein new relationships come into existence.

In a word as a functional consequence—the initiators endeavoured to make it a comprehensive social movement. Vinobaji conceived it as an all-sided movement without the help of legislation and when the movement succeeds the State shall also wither away.


Vinoba asked for only one-sixth of the land a
donor possessed. The land thus given will be pooled and
later it will be distributed by Servodaya workers. The
humility and simplicity of Vinoba’s approach to the
villagers won him sympathy and enthusiasm amongst the
villagers. His appeal was to the God.

In a village where some land was donated and
other land still remained as private property. Those who
donated a part of land as dan still retained the rest of
the land in their own hands. The cleavage and difference
between the donated land and the privately owned land was
found within no time. The land hunger could not be
satisfied. Unless the whole village donated its land for
Bhoodan, the question of its development, organization
raised problems.

As a logical culmination Bhoodan or limited donation
of land has turned into Gramdan or donation of entire land
in a village for redistribution in a given village.

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19: “The mission,” Vinobaji humbly puts it, “I have undertaken
is an act of devotion and service. I do feel at every
movement that God’s will is working behind the present
mission. My prayer to Him is: Let me not mind whether or
not people give me land in my mission. Let it be as Thou
willest. But let me be Thy humble servant. Destroy my ego,
annihilate my separateness and the memory of my name. Let
Thy child from the dress of attachment and hatred lurking
in its mind. I solemnly declare I have no other desire
left in me. As Tulsidas said “I do not desire salvation or
nor intelligence, wealth, property, success, name of fame.
I have no other ambition but that of strengthening my
devotion to Thy holy feet.” “A Glimpse into Vinobaji’s
Mind,” Bhooman, 11(1) April 1956, p.3. Tulsidas was poet
of 15-16th Century who rendered Ramayana, Hindu Epic, into
Hindi.
had shown the way for gramdans. The hilly tracts of Koraput district inhabited by adivasis (tribals) had set the pace for the rest of the country. Soon the movement had changed from limited bhoodan to that of Gramdan. A simple "declaration by the village inhabitants in the name of Bhoodan Samiti [Bhoodan Organization] is enough guarantee in favour of Gramdan." 20

The villagers should keep five per cent of the land as community land and further should show agreement to cultivate certain percentage of land on community basis. They should be encouraged by giving bullock pairs and other agricultural implements. When once the developmental activities are stabilised, then a nucleus of ten to fifteen villages should be covered. Land, in a Gramdan village, should be distributed equitably. 21

When the problem of ownership of land is no more a stumbling block in the way of development of the villages, it is ideally suitable for cooperative cultivation.

20. "The Seminar (Koraput 5th to 7th March 1957)," Gramdan, 1(7), March 1957, p.5. The Orissa Government had enacted a law regarding Gramdan and the above definition is from the amended bhoodan Act of 1956. Hereafter referred to as Koraput Seminar.

21. Ibid., pp.7-8.
Pandit Nehru has suggested in the Vith Committee:

"Cooperative Farming is ideally suited for Gramdan villages. These present a clean state in view of the fact that the usual difficulties arising out of individual ownership of land do not obtain there. If it is not possible to try cooperative farming idea in these areas where else can it be practised?. The cooperative farming idea is inherent in the community development programmes and forms the basis of new urges in the rural areas. The application of modern and improved techniques entails pooling of resources which lead to some centralization and hamper individual initiative. The only escape out of it is cooperation."

The idea of cooperative farming in Gramdan villages raised a series of questions about the fundamental rights of man. It is more entangled since the Government and the Sarvodaya leaders agreed to understand about the need of cooperative farming. Questions were asked whether there was any change in Bhoozan approach. But the reaction to the

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22. "Pandit Nehru on 'Gramdan and Cooperative Farming'." Gramdan 1(9) May 1957, p.10. Making a forceful plea for cooperative farming Pandit Nehru said: "Unless India adopts cooperative farming she will lag behind other nations. The approach is not to be rigid and its acceptance is subject to democratic processes based on the willingness of the people." Ibid.

23. See the salient features of the following letter written in "Freedom First" and published in Bhoozan. The original intention of land collection was to keep only certain amount of land for common cultivation. "Some have utilized the collected land to organise cooperatives or collective farms. Bhoozan leaders did not approve this idea. Is the Bhoozan movement turning in the direction of collectivisation of agriculture?" The ideological angle was complete when the question was asked on the individual nature of the peasant. "Self-reliant and sturdy village
doubts show that the Sarvodaya leaders have generalised reference about the rights and obligations of individuals and the private property. The reply is:

"A new dynamics of social living cannot come into existence until the idea of private ownership in land is ended. Bhoodan does not begin with any a priori theory about individual or collective agriculture. It pools the land, then it gives some land to the dispossessed land labourer and brings about a redistribution of land. But the whole idea of ownership undergoes a change. Land is apportioned to individuals but the right of ownership ceases to be unconditional."  

Sarvodaya leaders started talking about new dynamics and change of heart. Did the Gramdan movement deliver the expected goods? How far they were successful in bringing about initiative in the villages to share not only and how far they have succeeded in getting the needed cooperation in Gramdan villages? It is said that "Gramdan must

republics require for their existence and development of sturdy and independent villagers, each one of them able to stand on his own legs and confident of his own position. Ownership of land or any other means of production will give them a sense of independence and confidence." B.K. Narlikar, "Anther Bhoodan," Bhoozan, II (18) August 1957, p.7.

24. "Is there any shift in Bhoozan Thought?" Bhoozan, II (19) August 1957, p.5. Emphasis added. The principle is that once land is donated to the family or an individual he has got rights only to work it. He cannot sell or transfer or mortgage. There is a controversy whether it should be once for all to be given, i.e., working rights or village administration should periodically review and redistribute if the land is not properly worked.
induce the villagers to share not only a lot [\textit{sic}] they have, but also to increase this production and thus lead a better and fuller life ... to raise the initiative of the villagers."

Even where some of the advanced techniques accepted as feasible in Gramdan villages, all of them were not successful. Especially the cropping technique changed very little. If there is any success, it is partial and only qualified. No doubt it has created a "psychological climate for land reform" when the realisation was felt it appeared that the best way is to postpone the adoption of cooperative farming in Gramdan villages. The sub-committee set up by Gramdan

\begin{quote}
25. R.K. Patil, "The essentials of Development in Gramdan Villages," \textit{Hoodan}, IV(51) April 1960, p.400. But the disappointment soon came than realised. "But by and large we have failed in creating an appropriate atmosphere for development, wherein local effort and initiative play a prominent part. Almost everywhere there is a pathetic tendency to believe that unless Government help is given, nothing can be done. Gramdan villages must be saved from such a situation".
Ibid., p.401.
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Talimi Seminar felt that the gramdan villages are not ready to accept the idea of cooperative farming. They felt that the initiative should be left to the villagers themselves. They found stubborn resistance of the landless labourers to join the cooperatives and hence the sub-committee felt that the idea is not feasible. 27

The Bhooman movement began with a certain antagonism against Government and its coercive apparatus. To blossom the full personality of man, it suggested that the coercion should be eliminated. Hence in its approach to the question of land, it has utilized the method of persuasion bereft of coercion. They felt that the organizational bureaucracy is against the spirit of man. So all organization is evil. In all dealings of Bhooman and Gramdan strict principle of voluntariness and unanimity of decision-making are emphasized. Ultimately in the Sarvodaya ideology, State would wither away. This does not mean that anarchy should be the law. The ideas about the polity or the decision-making are thoroughly restructured to suit the ideological needs of Sarvodaya.

The State and its organs are fraud and hence Sarvodaya did not encourage people to take part in elections. As an alternative to the candidates by the political parties that voters should themselves set up candidates through voters councils and a code of conduct should be strictly adhered to by the political parties. As far as is feasible the election should be tried in a few places to gain experience. Thus the polity aspect of social structure is well taken care of. This type of polity is called 'lokniti' or people's power.

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28. "The Sarva Seva Sangh believes that it is not possible to establish a non-violent social order through political or state power, but only through people's own initiatives and their organized, self reliant action. The Sangh has, therefore, decided not to take part directly or indirectly in politics intended for the attainment of power." Sarva Seva Sangh on Elections, "Hoodan, VI (1 & 2) April 1961, p.3 of the first article.

29. The concept of Lokniti or people's power is not new invention but it had its origins in Christ and Buddha. The love and compassion of Buddha and Christ are incomparable. It is an alternative to politics based on Army and Bureaucracy. Lokniti is based on Shanti Sainik and Lok Sevak.

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<td>Having violence as its sanction rests on</td>
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If polity (Politics) or Rajnití are based on bureaucratised civil administration — war and army as its institutions — then, Lokniti is based on love, Satyagraha, and constructive programme, Shanti Sainik and Lok-Sevak. The new structures are similar in conception but some of the dysfunctional consequences of the old guard are eliminated by the new ones.

Satyagraha is a method of bringing about change in the heart of the alter who is confronted to the ego. 33

33. The word Satyagraha as it is used today presupposed an opponent. It is always against someone. This is a verbal inexactitude. In Satyagraha there is no enemy. Satyagraha can be within or in front of another. Provoking others to think is the essential motive in Satyagraha. A Satyagrahi (Practitioner of) first aims at thinking out clearly for himself; then he discusses and argues with another, hoping to persuade him to find out his mistakes. While doing this, he also watches alertly for any flaw in his own reasoning. So Satyagraha is a continuous movement of thought for the comprehension of truth." Vinobaji, 'The basic Tenets of Satyagraha, "Bhoodan, 1(6) May 1956, p.4. Also see "Satyagraha in Swaraj," Bhoodan, III(34), December,1958, pp.268-270 by the same author.

In India, the concept of "Satyagraha" had a long and chequered history. Gandhi employed this sort of weapon against British who were well entrenched in power by the force of arms. The term connotes truthful anger (satya-truthful, agraha-anger). The issue of difference between the British and the Indians is focused in public offering Satyagraha by openly inviting the anger of the authority. This is accomplished by openly going against law, viz., during salt Satyagraha days, salt was manufactured against law thus courting arrest and imprisonment, or during the "quit-India" days slogans were shouted, and finally courting arrest. All through these activities, the principle of non-violence and non-resistance to force used to rule the behaviour of the Satyagrahis. The potentialities of this weapon are exaggerated and misunderstood as well. The sociological analysis of this method is yet to be undertaken.
Shanti-Sainiks are peace-corps who will maintain the peace and harmony, a sort of function carried on by police. Lok-Sevaks are the actual field workers who will help in the daily chores of the villagers.

These role-players such as Shanti-Sainiks and Lok Sevaks are to be sustained by the contributions raised through the Sarvodaya-patra. A box or vessel will be kept in a prominent place of the house and everyday the youngest member of the family should put in that vessel a handful of grain. This should be done daily. The Sarvodaya workers of that area come and collect the contents periodically. The proceeds will go to the maintenance of the Lok Sevaks. The principle is an excellent one as a savings method. But it failed in the cities since they were not touched by Sarvodaya movement. 31

If the final aim of Sarvodaya is that of complete

31."It behoves the rest of the society, therefore, to share the sacred burden of supporting them and their families so that the service of Baridranarayan (God in the need of poor and the needy) may be continued without any impediment." Hemu Anantnarayan, "Sarvodaya Patra: Its Aims and Significance," Bhoodan, IV(34), December 1959, p.766. Thus the children will be socialized in the principles of Sarvodaya. "Everyday the mother will ask the child whether he has has remembered to make his offering to the poor and the idea of sharing with the have-nots will thus be implanted firmly in his mind." Ibid. Gradually the householders take to the idea of Sarvodaya principles even if they were not convinced in the beginning.
dissolution of State it has its consequences too. When the Hajniti is replaced by Lokniti, then it is possible the boundaries of nations too logically would disappear. Thus Vinoba says, that the withering away of state should start now and here:

"Lokniti means that power must actually pass into the hands of the people at all levels. Government continuously must recede into the background or wither away and its place must be taken by the people themselves. Initiative must pass to the people …… My difference with the Communist friends comes out of my insistence that the process of withering of the State must start here and now. I am not bothered about the time it may take before it withers away completely. But I am not going to wait a day longer. I must see that the process of withering away of the State has started." 32

The national boundaries are transcended this way by the dissolution of State. Then Bhoodan is an unchained bird and its universal application is emphasized. With the absence of national boundaries the perspectives shifted to that of international peace. And ideas have been advanced as how to save world peace and how Governments should start Bhoodan in other

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countries were suggested. 33

As Sarvodaya and Bhooman movements reached to the wildest dreams of man, they have its degenerative consequences too. The Bhooman leaders often indulged in loose talk about the external difficulties of India such as the problems with China. 34 Such a degeneration could be seen in the 'Poster Campaign.' The poster campaigners were against female nudity expressed through posters. The principles behind this facade are, no doubt, noble. They want to guard the purity of the motherhood and decency of women. Satyagraha was offered before the Cinema houses and posters were removed forcibly from the public places.

33 For this aspect of the problem see Vinoba, "Bhooman: A Universal Outlook, Bhooman, III(48) March 1959, p.380. In this Vinoba has stressed that since England has renounced colonial possessions in Africa and Asia, she should show the way to the world by renouncing arms, so that world peace could be assured; in the same vein Vinoba criticises Australia for not allowing settlers from abroad to occupy the open expanses of the continent. Vinoba, "Address to Constructive Workers, Bhooman, I(14) July 1956, pp.4-6. On several occasions Vinoba suggested that Peace corps should be established in all parts of the world and thereby several Bhooman associations were also established abroad.

34 As Arthur Koestler puts it, "another curious characteristic of all authentic gurus [teachers] is their unpredictability." Arthur Koestler, op.Cit., p.35.
Batches of volunteers roamed from city to city to offer Satyagraha before the Cinema houses. The names of Sarvodaya and Vinobaji were in the forefront.

Vinobaji personally led the volunteers in the city of Indore, since it has sentimental connections with Jhansi Bai of historical fame. The symbol of Gandhiji was also borrowed. At some places the force of the campaign led to the formation of Citizens Committees to propagate against indecent posters and cinemas. A certain State Government was almost forced to enact public law, due to the pressure of the public opinion, against posters and indecency, and obscene advertisements. 'Brush and Paint' brigades were organised to tar the indecent posters. Thus from the noble principles of Sarvodaya to the harrowing experiences of female nudity, the momentous leadership of Sarvodaya led the rank and file.35

The initial unbridled enthusiasm and idealism gave way and a powerful and painful reorientation appeared too late to the Sarvodaya workers. All men are not equally good and some men are bad. If God's planning is perfect, the perception of that planning is an important element. If God has kept milk in the breasts of mother to satisfy the hunger of the child, the mode of distribution of that milk between children of the same mother is problematic. If all Government and centralised power are fraud on the genius of man at least for some transitional period the Governmental agencies are to be utilized in bringing about change. Giving of land itself is not a change in the hearts of the people, but it is only a beginning. Those who have given away their properties have not eschewed their interest in private property. The world is not ripe for the acceptance of Sarvodaya. It has to go a long way to be benefitted from it. Hence Sarvodaya is an "expanding concept".

The creation of conceptual congeries before the incumbents are ready to motivate them, turned into a big headache and the resultant confusion was not less harmful than the opponents of Sarvodaya ideals. The painful recapitulation of outlook began with the initial causes of enthusiasm. The romanticism of village self-sufficiency, the capacity for redistribution of gramdan land, to take up practical guidance to the peasants and
to sustain the Sarvodaya workers on the funds raised by Sarvodaya patra all raised problems. If Bhooman has started from a small donation of land in Telengana, Koraput had shown the way for Gremdan or the donation of entire village for redistribution. With this the pinnacle of the movement is reached and problems too have cropped up. Hence the painful recapitulation had begun.

The recapitulation started with distributional problem of land. Table No. 1 shows the number of acres of land collected and the number of acres of land distributed amongst the families. Out of a total collection of 42 lakhs of acres only 3 and odd lakh acres were distributed in its five and odd years of campaign. And after six years of ceaseless campaign the target of 5 million acres is nowhere near the sight. The quality of the land obtained was not at all uniform. For example where there were feudal landlords the donation was in thousands of acres, viz., in Bihar one person alone gave one lakh acres. In Hyderabad too the same thing happened. Where the fertility of the soil is high the donation of land was very meagre. For example Bengal (Indo-Gangetic plain) gave only nearabouts of 17,000 acres. Of all the aspects the distribution of land was not at all uniform. In Himachal Pradesh eight families received 21 acres, which is less than three acres. In Delhi too, 94 families received 157 acres which is less than two acres. While in Hyderabad 7,160 families
Table No. 1

Progress of Bhoomi Yajna Movement
(Compiled upto 31st March 1956)

One lakh equals to 0.1 million.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Province</th>
<th>Land Collection Acres.</th>
<th>No. of Donors</th>
<th>Land Distribution Acres.</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Andhra</td>
<td>50,754</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>5,76,728</td>
<td>24,709</td>
<td>1,14,174</td>
<td>34,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Utkal (orissa)</td>
<td>2,85,029</td>
<td>72,775</td>
<td>41,378</td>
<td>12,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>3,7729</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>28,465</td>
<td>4,364</td>
<td>1,426</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>44,257</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10,886</td>
<td>3,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Tamilnad</td>
<td>47,992</td>
<td>17,998</td>
<td>4,582</td>
<td>1,748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>9,338</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Punjab, PESU</td>
<td>15,497</td>
<td>3,563</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>24,41,151</td>
<td>2,99,390</td>
<td>85,690</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>11,580</td>
<td>6,550</td>
<td>1,963</td>
<td>1,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>1,35,265</td>
<td>31,045</td>
<td>41,907</td>
<td>7,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Madhya Bharat</td>
<td>47,505</td>
<td>5,939</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>30,846</td>
<td>7,335</td>
<td>3,983</td>
<td>1,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>9,065</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>3,74,607</td>
<td>5,760</td>
<td>18,349</td>
<td>2,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Vindhy Pradesh</td>
<td>8,370</td>
<td>1,668</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Aurashtra</td>
<td>30,819</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5,818</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Himachal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>1,564</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 43,05,544 5,05,485 3,70,355 74,844

Source: Bhoomi Yajna, 1st April 1956, P-6.

received 37,044 which is slightly more than five acres. In Bengal 1,612 families received 1,963 acres which is little more than one acre. This may be due to the fertility of Bengal soil. But there is no definition of the size of the family, whether it is five, four, three or two, nothing is known. If more land is given in unfertile places to a
family the effect will not offset by the number of more acres. The conditions before and after would be the same.

### Table - 2

Grandan in 1957 and 1958.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the state</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1958</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bombay (Maharashtra and Gujarat together)</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>1,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tamilnad</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,512</td>
<td>4,280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: 1957 figures from Gramdan, 1(9), May 1957 p.10. 1958 figures from Bhogdan, 111(18) August, 1958, p.143

There was a phenomenal rise in the gramdans. Again the hilly tracts of Koraput district stood in outstanding lustre in the number of gramdans offered, that is 1,920 by 1958. Even in the case of gramdans the same picture emerges,
in terms of fertile lands. Again Bengal was low. Table no.3 shows the comparative statement of the affairs to Bhoojan and Gramdans. Out of a total land of 4.3 lakhs received for redistribution, only eight and odd lakhs of acres were distributed amongst two and odd lakhs of recipients. About 13 lakhs of acres were declared to be unfit for cultivation. This amounts to more than one third of the total land distributed. This time a new dimension is added. That is Shanti-Sainik who is supposed to look after the peace of the Gramdan villages. He is expected to deal amicably all the disputes arising in the village. The provision of Shanti-Sainiks too was not fixed from a definitional point of view. Fepsa-Punjab region has eight Shanti-Sainiks for six Gramdan villages. In Serail there were only eight for 543 Gramdan villages. And in Arissa (et-al) for 1,929 Gramdan villages there were only 136 Shanti-Sainiks. Almost one-fourth of the land received for distribution was pronounced to be useless.

Initially the Sarvodaya movement has begun without an organization. And an ideology has backed it in its formulation. This drawback has become a bottleneck. As the movement gained its momentum, there appeared a division of labour between the propagandist and organizational workers. The first batch has to look for gaining Gramdans. The second batch has to look to the constructive phase of it. The division of labour created a cleavage between the
instrumental leadership and social emotional area leadership. The two phases cannot be coordinated. The propagandists were dizzy with success. The constructive workers were interested in developing some centres where they could serve as models. They wanted to show some places where the hold of money-lenders and traders have weakened. 6.

When the stimulated enthusiasm towards gramin dan was not sustained by results, the offer of gramin dan has gone down. By setting the process of loosening the bonds of tradition and apathy the gramin dan workers could not create viable alternative structures. And the development of villages on 'self-sufficiency' basis seemed very hard. Villages are enmeshed with other villages and with the rest of the country. Development of village self-sufficiency became a myth. For the purposes of development one cannot keep a village in water-tight compartment. The Gandhian ideal too changed or reevaluated. 37

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37 Ibid., pp.16-17.

Cf. Even sociologists have long repudiated the idea of village self-sufficiency. See ...riniwas & A. ...lah, "The Myth of self-sufficiency of Indian village," The Economic Weekly, VII(37), September 10, 1960, pp.1375-1378. The idea of village self-sufficiency was created in peculiar circumstances. The animosity towards British Government, the mythical supremacy of Indian tradition and lastly the impact of Gandhian ideals against the introduction of machinery into villages have all had their share in creating this mythical concept in Sarvodaya ideals.
When the ideological edifice of village self-sufficiency was shattered, questions began to be asked and the painful recapitulation deepened. The realisation that the distributional aspect should have been left to the Government or to donors themselves, instead of the Sarva Seva Sangh (organisational wing of the Sarvodaya Samaj) has dawned on the organisers.

We should have entrusted that to the local donors from the very beginning. We should have created such a climate in every village that the movement would continue till there was not a single landless in the village. The handful of workers we had could not handle the question of redistribution expeditiously. It is true that in most places the new donees brought the land under plough. But it cannot be denied that the donees did not become propagandists of the new idea.

When the redistribution had been perceived as a problem of unmanageable proportions, the back-wash effect was felt at the root idea of gramdan itself.

"I confess, we started talking of Gramdan too hastily. Propaganda for Bhoo dan should have continued side by side with Gramdan. There would have been no feeling of setback if we had continued to work for Bhoo dan also."

In these circumstances the enthusiasm in the workers could not be sustained. The reasons are that


39 Ibid.
i) the number of workers in the field are too few to manage redistribution, ii) the cleavage of misunderstanding between organizational and propagandist wings, iii) lack of sustained response from the new donees and iv) lack of funds to sustain the worker in the field. The first two were already focused in the above discussion.

'Sampattidan' (gifting away of wealth) which was the natural corollary for greadan failed in enthusing the people. Its miserable failure in the cities contributed to the fact of lack of appreciation. Since greadan was only a movement meant for villages the towns were left as they were without being touched. The lack of enthusiasm for sampattidan in towns is due to this.

Consequently, the first flush of romanticism has passed and the workers gained some new insights of realism that they have been surrounded by a wall of opposition of vested interests.

The problems faced by the 'coercion-based state power' and the Khadi-clad and god-minded sarvodaya workers are the same in the Indian villages. The Government servant has to face the same lack of enthusiasm and

40: Ibid.
41: Ibid., p. 15
a chunk of suspicion of Government and apathy. The same are felt by the Sarvodaya workers, too. When the same suspicion of villagers, when found, although embarrassing led to the brain-racking questioning. For the first time the Sarvodaya felt the basic difference between the workers and the people they intend to change. Hence the necessity of equalising factor came to the fore.

"There is such a vast difference in the social, educational and cultural standards of the local population and our workers that we shall have to 'declass' ourselves and create a sense of equality, a feeling of genuine friendliness between ourselves and the Adivasis." 47

Once the failure of evoking enthusiasm is understood and alternative methods are sought to make the programme effective. The question of cooperation with the Government, and other political parties is to be solved. Unfortunately the feeling that a parallel organisation had been created along with the Government has come too late. Not only that. All the years of earlier gramdan, the outside educated workers played a prominent role and the local workers played a little part. "The initiative should always be with the village community. They must for the time being sever their connections with

47Ibid.
the world outside and stay in one place. They cannot afford to be constantly on the move. They must bury themselves in one area for some years."

The massive and tricky problem of cooperation with the Government is posed by Vinobaji himself whether

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43 Ibid.

44 "The Bhooadan movement," says Vinobaji, "has reached a stage where it is necessary for workers to make up their minds, if they wish to avail themselves of the help that the Government is offering. Would it help the movement to grow further? Or, is Governmental help an evil, or an impediment? Government plan is not a Sarvodaya plan. We have serious differences with them on some points. But can we doubt the motive behind it, they are sincerely anxious to bring about a rise in the standard of living of our people and develop the country in every possible way. So with our honest differences with them we have to admit their motive is commendable. If we don’t accept them, then, our duty is to reject the help that they are giving." Vinobaji, "Cooperation with Government," Bhooadan, III(11), July 1958, p.84. Emphasis added.

45 Not only that. The inconsistencies in the organisation are also baffling to the workers. A time has reached for clarification of doubts and misgivings. As the new converts come into the organisation the expectation-systems too have changed and there was a clamour for a clear-cut leadership in organisational and ideological matters. "Before Sarvodaya entered the arena of Ghandian movement its leaders could easily carry on with some fade within a limited circle of idealistic disciples and debate at leisure over the complex items on the menu. They could frown at the gadgets after using them and talk of utopias to the people ... Ghandian by its very dynamism disallows all utopian thinking and entails a huge burden of responsibility which can absorb any amount of constructive zeal in the nation....Utopian anarchism developing through vague terms, disallowing any organisational pattern, administrative setup, a good accounting system and foolproof development plans executed by men of integrity experience and application is the worst danger to the future development of the Ghandian economy. The stage of ideological complacency is past and the sphere demands action and application... The youth deserves an assurance that their patriotism is not censored by the taboos of the old guard who generally
to cooperate or not in view of the earlier ideological commitment. The confusion would not have been there had there been a clear recognition between the struggle phase and construction phase. Both are intermingled and the idealism did not allow the leaders to see the distinction between the two. Thus the 'Gandhian quintessence' which had given such a great momentum for the movement became a burden. The same ills were even recognised by Gandhiji during his leadership of independence movement.\(^{45}\)

The deliberation led to the acceptance of the Governmental cooperation. The painful reminder that there is disaster awaiting Sarvodaya movement and the historical precedent of Gandhiji's cooperation with the

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took to the welfare approach or at the most built up resistance to the textile mills and machine made goods. The challenge here is greater, the problems are varied and approaches equally manifold.\(^{*}\)


\(^{45}\) That is how Gandhiji suggested that once independence has been attained, the Congress party should be disbanded since it has no capacity for constructive phase. But nevertheless the Congress party remarkably sustained and adapted to the new phase. The fault of Sarvodaya workers lies in ignoring this.
British Government during the war, led to this decision. The decision was tortuous.

Thus a 'hand-shake' was planned between Government and Sarvodaya in Koraput. The experiment was conducted with the money received from the Central Government. And the agreement reached at Yelwal with the Government also helped to bring about an understanding. The 'parallelism' was also felt by both the leaders, governmental as well as Sarvodaya leaders. There were possibilities for cooperation between Community development and Gramdan villages.

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46 If we object to the acceptance of governmental help on the ground of our belief in stateless society then we would be committing double mistake: first, it would mean that we have lost faith in human goodwill and secondly it would postpone the day when a stateless society could come into existence. The idea of stateless society may become feasible when men who are working for deliverance i.e. a radical revolution, and men who are working for reform joining hands in putting down things that are evil. What is your estimation of the role of the Government? I think it would be highly improper to think of non-cooperation. It will not lead to a stateless society, on the contrary, it may lead to anarchy. V. Vinoba, 'On Cooperation with Government,' op.cit., p. 84.


Notwithstanding the earlier idealism, Sarvodaya leaders have come into agreement with the Governmental leaders for close cooperation in Gramdan villages. All the political parties have met Yeligal (Mysore State) to closely cooperate with the movement, in 1958. The reasons of political parties for joining and supporting the movement which sometimes go against their own professed creeds are several. Despite the ideological stumbling blocks they joined hands not to be lost in the background particularly when other parties are doing it.
The agreement was reached to develop the gramdan village as integrated whole. The programme should foster the spirit of community cohesion, which initially generated by gramdan, and should help in the development of self-reliance in the individual and initiative in the community so that people manage their own affairs themselves.* The gramdan movement as usual has to secure gramdans and the Government will have to develop the villages when once they are secured. Thus close cooperation between the two sides was initiated. And joint committees were to be organised to find out the solutions for the problems existing in the villages.47

The practical difficulties encountered by the field workers led to an organisational overhaul. The panchayats are to be established for the planning and distribution of the village resources. Sarva Seva Sangh proposed an organisation of Gram-Sabha (Village Council) to look after the affairs of the village. The important

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48. Out of budget of Rs.34.15 lakhs for Koraput gramdan villages for the period 1956-61, Central Government agreed to pay Rs.68 lakhs of rupees and actually paid Rs.13,92,000. Even out of this amount Rs.4,50,000 were given back to the Central Government as unspent money. Of course by this S.S.R. offered to take over the developmental programmes in these villages.

aspects of workers training touched the consideration of the organisers. As mentioned above the workers, who were brought from outside, were not adequate and could not invoke enthusiasm from the local populace. The problem of local leaders training came to the fore. The workers' perceptions and the villagers' expectations should be merged. Otherwise here is a possibility of anomie. To have comprehensive training of the workers, they should know how their methods of incucement are helpful—is to be estimated. These problems created a necessity for an organisation and the evaluation of the work done by the people and its effectiveness. The initial Bhoodan and Gramdan movements with the backing of Sarvodaya ideology spurned the organisational aspect and this aspect of spurning was elevated to a moral plane. But the field conditions have brought the painful recapitulation with the painful recapitulation, began the routinization of the movement. The routinization has begun with the cooperation of Government, recruitment of workers for the organisation and the necessity of their training. And finally it led to the evaluation of the work done which was absent in the earlier periods.

It is said that "Gramdan villages are socialistic islands in individualistic economy. Individualistic values are not so easy to shake off." Or that Gramdan

attempts to create a moral man in an immoral society: In a system of private-property and profit, the creation of grandiose oasis is intolerable to the tradition, money-lender and to the Government even. They systematically sabotaged. Yet there were people who stood right earnest behind the movement. Working in this environment of hostility and disagreement the Sarvodaya succumbed to the strains and strains of the social system.

As soon as Charisma descends from its holy pedestal then its apparent paradox of superiority is put to test. At once the predilection for charisma as long as it is concerned with ethereal phenomena,—is equated with day-to-day ordinary phenomena. Its exclusive preference for sermon-on-the-pulpit is questioned and its utility is tested with the rational outlook. Once this is done, it can never regain its superiority over the mundane problems. Then once this happens either it is on the way of its descent and disintegration or it is being absorbed into routinized behavior without its identity of origin being recalled. This does not mean the

49 KORAPUT GRANDAN, op. Cit., p. 21

5 See the following letter written by a worker in the field who was working on behalf of the Sarva Dharma Sangh, in Koraput Grandan area, to his superior for guidance: In his letter dated 29th August 1957 Shri Vasant T. Ganare of Lo-Karli Centre writes: "...Then again while a Chenchu-Karli man is prepared to do what best he can for us freely the Lo-Karliites expect high prices for fuel and exhorbitant coolie charges for any and every little thing. To folks at Chenchu-Karli we are benefactors but to those at Lo-Karli we are sahokars..."
functional nature of its importance is underrated.
Certainly it has its importance at the time of its inception. The very fact that villagers have become conscious of their standard of living is itself a significant gain. But it does not stop there. The comparison that the 'workers' are having a higher standard of living than themselves plays a destructive role between the two.

The structural unit (lok-mayak) is created. Its role is put to practice. But the failure of such structural aspect of the new relationship irrevocably leads to the emergence of the past category with a vengeance. Thus the money-lender has again gained former supremacy.

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lenders? what is the answer to this all?" See the reply couched in terms of experience: 'Most of the workers engaged in the field must be experiencing similar reactions. The time is past when villagers took the worker for an angel. Due to awakening the villagers have become conscious of him and the worker's standard of living. Casteism too shows its head in certain states...' K.V. Sahasrabuddhe, Ghoodan, 1(17) August 1957, p.10. Emphasis added.

51 The same worker writes again, 'Now I see that the villagers of Khajhola and Jaipanje do not part with land according to distribution and don't come to reason. These two villages have been given 19 bullock pairs and Rs.300/- as loan in terms of provisions, cloth and cash etc. The til seed (Gesame) has been harvested now, they do not bring it to us to repay their debts but stealthily pass it on to mudhakars who invariably use counterfeit weights and measures. The villagers had these crops with the help of the bullocks and credit
Table - 4

Statement showing the nature and size of rural Credit as operated by Sarve Saheb Sangh in Gramdan areas.

| Number of centres | Number of villages | Number of families | Total loan amount | Total amount recovered | Balance due on 30th April 1959 from cultivators.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>7,185</td>
<td>₹1,43,621</td>
<td>₹48,896</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The balance transferred to Grain-Sola Societies."

Source: KURAPUT GRAMDANS, p.60.

Even in the case of credit offered for productive purposes, has not been returned to the credit societies. Table No. 4

...provided by us, two years back. The request to repay our loans, even free of interest, out of the harvest, weighed and measured by their own hands, falls on deaf ears. We have to quarrel quite often with the people and the Mahukars to make recoveries. What is the way out? ..."See the typical reply: "The worker through his letter has drawn the picture of a situation quite similar in many other villages. After all his efforts and intentions of fostering public well-being the worker naturally feels why the villagers should so behave. Gramdan was done, land was distributed, the villagers had given their consent. Their lend was to go to the landless of their own villages but the same has now been refused. Going further they are not repaying what the Sarve Saheb Sangh had advanced them in terms of paddy, cloth, and cash to help them during the last year. That has disturbed the worker. That has disturbed the worker who suggests to withdraw the bullock pairs and pass them on to some other Gramdan village that has done fair distribution...The worker should know that the villagers are perfectly free to go back on their decision about Gramdan. They gave Gramdan out of good-will and inner motivation. If now they change their mind we should continue persuading them in the right direction..." Ibid., p.17.
shows that 50% of the credit has not been returned by
the cultivators.

The movement has to expand at the expense of its
consolidation. Before adequate motivation is generated
toward the new order, it is spreading in its bulk. But
before it is consolidated the quasi-equilibrium which it
had established by its charisma is disequilibrated by
reinstituting the older structure.

How, then, this paradox should be explained? The
trial of the movement in a single place or in a certain
group of villages is obviously meaningless, since the
concept of Gramdan is comprehensive backed up by the philo-
sophy of Sarvodaya. The new change of wind could only be
successful in a system where fully the different constitu-
ting sub-systems practise it. Otherwise the problems
are innumerable and its consequences are unaccountable.
The nature of its 'totality' is itself a structural
constraint against its consolidation. Obviously in a
social system where in some parts the values are not
accepted, the movement cannot succeed. Hence by its own
internal structural imbalance it must embrace the whole
system.

Before the socialization is completed in the
course of a given unit of a social system it begins to
expand. Under the lack of cohesion of the role-units and inadequate development of motivation towards the new roles, strain appears on the periphery and rapidly gains control over the units. This strain towards non-conformity cannot be coped with because the principle of 'Voluntariness' intervenes and the sanctions for lapse are negligible. When once this situation crystallizes the duality of the both old and the new structures is apparent.

The expansion of the movement is a central problem of the movement which is of primary importance. While it embraces the whole system its consolidation at the lower levels is lost or obliterated wherein the boundary-exchanges between the system and sub-system units are halted. This is to say the individual motivations and the system are not co-ordinated in a functional manner. As a consequence the movement either loses its original charisma or the old relationships re-establish, as nothing had happened.

Coming to the point of motivations of the individuals who have donated their land and the consequent Grandens, the realisation that they have done this out of a plethora of motives had become evident? Even when a

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52 Ibid.
village is donated as Gramdan the motivations of different individuals for doing so were evident. Thus from the evaluation point of awareness of the Gramdan,

"The general concensus of opinion was that it was very difficult to lay any hard and fast rules and set fixed standards to measure community awareness in different communities who have donated the total village lands under Gramdan. It would be wrong to say that the establishment of community ownership and abolition of the concept of property is the preliminary objective. In fact it is with that objective that the movement is making fast strides and that way it constitutes a long range objective instead."

To make it more visible the task of phased approach should be attempted. A two-pronged attack on rural poverty and vacant created by money-lender is suggested. The question of increasing the yields is also taken to improve the community consciousness about the new development.

The indifference about the role of technicians and Bureaucracy and cooperation with Government and lack of enthusiasm amongst intellectuals left gaps in the movement. There is need for the trained cadre who can work in the field.

53 Oraput Seminar, "op. Cit., p.4
54 Ibid., p.6
55 Ibid., pp.9-12
Table - 5

Statement showing the average number of workers classified by branch of work; and with the average monthly Bill of remuneration of those respective branches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Branch of Activity</th>
<th>Average of workers</th>
<th>Average monthly Bill of remuneration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Central Office</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Field Work</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Engineering Section</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Agricultural Section</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Marketing Section</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Saranjam Karyalaya</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Other Nirman Activities</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Bhooman Vichar Prachar</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total: 186</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,713</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KURAPUT GRAMDANS, p.37

Even in the remuneration of cadres for the purpose of development the Servodaya leaders could not but pay higher wages to the technical people. Thus the engineering cadre and the agricultural cadre drew highest remuneration and formed the top hierarchy in terms of monetary remuneration. As long as Servodaya does not have its own cadres it has to bear the brunt of bureaucracy. Unless intellectuals are dragged into the vortex of the movement it cannot have accomplished its task of 'moral revolution'. And intellectuals cannot be carried by sentimental stuff. To invite them into the movement the evaluation of the work of the Servodaya movement should be put on a more scientific footing. Thus the plethora of events which are beyond its
capacity to control tended to routinise the movement robbing of its charisma.

In spite of its ideologically superior arguments at ideational level the sarvodaya movement or for that matter the social movements built around this ideology could not cut much ice in changing the rural social structure and the much needed 'moral revolution' in its own right. The reasons are evident: the charismatic principle which is very good at the ideational level has not been accepted at action level. Thus we find the paradox of land given, land undistributed, the domination of land-lords in the doner-mandals ruling the roost without appreciably changing the relations which were expected. This as we see is related to the lack of organizational skills which are the prime necessity of the day. Finally it has to succumb to the pressures and lean over to the governmental assistance in setting its own house in order. Government too could easily extend the hand in their own right with the charismatic principle to influence the change.

Thus Government too had to rely for their support on charismatic movement to propagate change. The charismatic movement on the other hand, had to rely on Government for organizational support which it woefully lacked. A sort of mutual interdependence had come to stay. In
this process the charismatic movement of Vinobaji lost
its character of replacing or displacing the present
rational or governmental structures in consonance with
its ideological orientations. The effect of vested
interests too is important in evaluating the impact on
the movement. Though land has been given, it was not
readily usable and, as pointed out in the earlier sections,
the land was in litigation and in even some cases it would
have been taken over by the pending land legislation.
Curiously enough, the moral support has come from the
landed gentry who are dead against the land reform
measures. With these preliminary remarks on the impact
of charismatic movement the next section evaluates its
impact on the broader social change.

**Latent Functions of the Movement:**

There are different sets of opinions about the
effects of the movement whether it has delivered the goods
or not according to its avowed objectives. The contenders
of both sects lie on the extremes. A cursory glance at
the view points expressed by the respective contenders
show that the process of analysis of such charismatic move-
ments,--is not an easy task--will be made clear. The
contentious series begin with branding Vinobaji as "the
agent of capitalists" to that of calling him "saint" and
walking Messiah." These two views aptly represent the
manifest and latent functions of the movement.
Surely the beneficial effects of the movement are not those which were categorically stated by the Bhoomidan workers or by Sarvodaya workers. As is already stated in the preceding sections the greatest quality of the movement is its complete convergence over the whole gamut of social life. Its concepts and its tenets pervade and permeate all aspects of the social structure. Nowhere one finds an aspect of contemporary social life untouched by its omnipresence. From urban to rural life, from family to marriage, from rules of commensality to rules of personal behaviour, from rules of village panchayats to the rules of political parties, from rules of national life to that international relations, from kitchen gardening to cooperative farming, from scriptures to latest scientific developments—its precepts and tenets try to guide human society benevolently. This diffuseness of omnipresence is one of its weak spots and confounds its admirers and its adversaries as well.

This need not blur our sociological understanding of the movement. The apparent diffuseness of the movement cannot detain us in the analysis of its nature. Surely its real effects could be seen in its latent functions. The latent functions are "unintended and generally unrecognized social and psychological consequences."

56 K. Merton, pp. 68. Read the chapter on Manifest and Latent Functions, pp. 19-84.
Giving the rationale of the distinction between the manifest and latent functions, Merton defines "... the first referring to those objective consequences for a specified unit (person, sub-group, social or cultural system) which contributed to its adjustment or adaptation and were so intended and the second referring to unintended and unrecognized consequences of the same order.\(^57\)." As the definition goes, the effects of the movement are in its latent functions.

The first and foremost of its characteristics are that of its simple and lucid and easy to understanding nature of its idiom, the simple and humble apparel of its bearers and the simple traditional wit of the ages reaches its clientele than any other contemporary social movements rational or irrational. Its capacity to reach its ardent worshippers is yet to be surpassed even in the age of modern communication with radio and television and through press and pulpit. It surely knows its clientele, their wants and their prejudices, that the Government could not do with all the monopoly of communication systems and their all-pervasive nature as the movement of Vinobaji did reach the under-dog in contemporary life.

\(^{57}\)Ibid., p.63
As had already been stated, Vinoba’s charismatic movement is contemporary of other social movements in post-independence India. To cite: The social changes that are attempted through Community Development and Cooperation are examples of its contemporaneity. What then is its specific contribution to the large and vast social change that is going on in India? What are its consequences? To these questions an analysis of its latent functions will give an answer.

The original Sarvodaya principles are an outcome of compromise of religion as represented in Indian Tradition and the present social conditions as are obtained in India. As one of the forerunners of Indian national movement it has to borrow heavily from the western tradition due to the historical circumstances. In fact it is one of the continuities of Indian national movement. So its latent functions, too, are to be traced in the backdrop of the general setting of the national movement and Western traditions.

The Western values are assimilated as far as they supply the lacunæ in the Indian tradition and to make this Indian tradition more viable in relation to the general ethical principles of Indian life. It abhors the calamities of the period of industrialization as unsuitable to the spirit of Indian genius. Spiritual values are to be retained with a fine blend of the Western industrial system minus its deleterious effects.
Shorn of this veil of shyness, at once it will be clear the religious inspiration of the movement is to be found in its own native soil and in its own native intelligence. Its attack on the outmoded structures of the Indian social life are matters of great importance. They are impediments to bring about social change. As long as the obscurant ideas of yore are not dispensed with there is no go to the movement and never will there be an iota of chance to think of Sarvodaya or its nearabouts. Hence its ire is directed about the outmoded but culturally significant units of caste-ridden Hindu society.

Religions which are not flexible to the conditions which obtain in a given period are doomed to failure. Hinduism is not a stable religion in the sense that its precepts never change. "Catholicity is the hallmark of Hinduism." Only that religion will survive which gives scope for development to the basic aspirations of man. A system of thought that attempts to suppress man and treats him as an inferior will not survive.  

Bhoodan is essentially a religious movement. 

Bhoodan attacks the root of the present social malaise."

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53 Vinoba J, "Catholicity is the Hall-mark of Hinduism," Bhoodan, 11(4), May 1958, p.44.
Legislation and coercion will not create a free and happy man... The religious basis is everywhere to be found. But it does not lead to found a new religion. The penetration of social action and religion is unavoidable. The time that our ancestors have given for rituals should be given now to social action. People should not be misled by the individual nature of religious appeal. Action or partaking with others in social rituals brings life and joy to others. "Social service must be given the place what we gave to contemplation in ancient days." Change of wind should be grasped in new situations which Hinduism does not aver. With changing times religions should also change their outmoded rituals. 59

Unless the old religious tenets change there is not way to bring about the intended changes. In fact social change is an impossibility as long as old religious principles stand in the way. The general nature of the social change will be impinged as long as the outmoded caste system continues in one form or the other. The castes were originally created as dividers of the society into different groups but for the convenience of the society to work in harmony and smoothness.

"All the castes are sacred. We are mistaken when we place some castes lower and others higher." The original castes were only four. But now their number is increasing. God has given the same blessings to all castes.  

As the present system of castes have been outmoded the principle that lies behind it also outmoded. The principle of super-ordination and sub-ordination is no more tenable. Vinoba argues that "Sarvodaya does not classify people, either according to birth and money or according to skills, education and responsibilities. In a Sarvodaya society a scavenger will have the same status as a Prime Minister." It does not preach "greatest good of greatest number" and it is not prepared to accept the argument that individual should be sacrificed for the good of majority. The majority rule over minority is unnatural. Individual is at the central place of social organization in the scheme of life of Sarvodaya.  

The activation of the Hindu social values is an urgent task. No more inaction is functional and activism should replace inactivity. As noted earlier, the

Bhoodan and Sarvodaya movements are the continuation of national movement. But there is a difference. It had its reformistic phase during the struggle against the British. But now this is the phase of reconstruction. Hence the change in emphasis!

So the Bhoodan movement is essentially a Hindu Renaissance movement. It is trying to adapt itself to the present phase of national reconstruction. The problems which it tries to face are essentially the same problems which the larger Indian social structure is facing. Especially the phase of planning, industrialization are also the problems of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya movements. The transformation had come only after Indian independence. The place of India as an independent nation in the world Polity, the ramification of Indian economy in the larger international context and its specific social structure—had had all their repercussions on the movement.

The onslaught of para-systemic influences on the Indian social structure are systematic and poignant. Hence there is an awareness on the part of the leaders of this movement to make the traditions more viable and a going concern. Can it withstand the forces of industrialization, planning and centralized power structure? To this Vinoba says yes:

"Only that religion will survive which gives scope for development to the basic aspirations of
an. A system of thought that attempts to suppress men and treats him as an inferior will not survive. Vedant, Indian philosophy as revealed through Vedas, is the one religion, which, I am sure, will survive in the age of science. Vedant is the quintessence of all the religions. It will answer the challenge of the times. It is universal... our tradition is of assimilation and absorption. If we put a stop to the process of continuous broadening and absorbing we are hitting at the root of the Indian culture.

The period of extreme conservatism which had marked during the rule of Muslim and British periods is giving way to new and more open-minded approach to the problems of society. The movement is a negation of the vicious dreaming of those who believe Indian tradition is dead.

Once the idea that Sarvodaya is a Hindu Renaissance movement— is accepted, then its possible benefits for the social change that is going on in India is evident. While making the Hindu or Indian tradition more visible for change, it is quite possible that it carries with it some of the old values. That is...

62 Vinobaji, "Catholicity is the Hallmark of Hinduism," op. cit., p. 44.

need not deter us from evaluating its repercussion on the larger and planned social change in India.

It has already been shown Sarvodaya is tackling almost the same problems as that of Government. As Government find it difficult to improve the conditions of villagers without encountering the opposition of the caste system and outdated religious beliefs so is with Sarvodaya movement. As the field conditions are the same for both the Sarvodaya movement and the Government, certain parallels exist between them. The ideals of socialism are not questioned by the Sarvodaya movement. Even they were accepted in a more or less modified form.

This particular thought of socialism and Sarvodaya had its origins from Gandhiji downwards. Gandhiji equated Sarvodaya with communism minus violence. Sarvodaya believes in the good of all and therefore it relies upon the conversion of all as an instrument of social change and means of making it enduring; but socialism appeals and through the organized action creates the motive power of social transformation and the means of its consolidation and creative development.64

The means-ends schema too change which were dysfunctional in the present context of Indian society.

64 Cyanchand, "Sarvodaya and Socialism," Bhooman I(27-28) October 1956, p.c of the first article.
During the period of industrialization, the emphasis is laid on more decentralized and cottage industries.

"What is needed is that all concentration of private power should be put an end to, decentralized economic and political initiative should be fostered and developed to the greatest degree and every effort should be made to deal with and devise measures by which power can be tamed and its abuse rigorously guarded against. In India, at present concentration of private economic power, the increasing importance of bureaucracy most of those members are without any convictions of social purpose, and the political machine gaining importance at the expense of political movements and ideals, are three immediate serious problems to which earnest attention has to be given...."65

The ill-effects of power concentration are brought into focus and some remedial measures of the problems are suggested. Government are aware of bureaucracy and its repercussions on social change and little could be done immediately. But at the village level widest devolution of powers are attempted through panchayats. Even the industrialization cannot go on on western lines since a majority of the population in the villages are more oriented towards cottage industries and consequently to decentralized economy. The problem is not one of industrializing and offering employment, but it is one of giving immediate employment and to guard them against protected mill competition. Hence...

65 Ibid., p.6 of the second article.
the idea that you cannot keep the human hands idle by giving prominence to machine. "He [Gandhiji] objected to the immoral character of keeping of the machine working and keeping the human machine idle." Such a concept is functional to the changing society. By mere ritualising the industrialization concept one cannot get away from the realities of the problem. Thus it focuses our attention on the human aspect of the problem. Such is the emphasis on decentralization of power and industry. The ecological problems of Indian social change have become a direct concern of Servodaya movement.

This does not mean that Indian economy is going to be organised in infinitesimally small units with a multitude ruling over it. The concern is for not dividing the producers and consumers into opposing classes.67

The Servodaya movement is against the institution of private property. Its acceptance of socialism has a direct bearing on this aspect of the problem. The problems of the acquisitive society i.e., individual private property are also the problems of Servodaya order. Hence its fire is directly against the private ownership

of property. It calls the owners of the property as
the trustees. The trustees should utilize this association
for the social good and not for private gain.

The background of Trusteeship philosophy attacks
the roots of private property. If socially gained property
is not put to social purposes the idea of property is lost
and hence from this emanates the negative attitudes on
private property.

Although the Government and the charismatic move-
ments are against the curtailment of social ill-effects of
private property in their own right, there is a difference
in their approaches. Government by their very nature of
secular ideology (in India) cannot invoke God to negativate
private property. But where as a charismatic movement
which is based on religious tenets can do that with ease and
not a single eye-brow needs be raised.

68. The trusteeship concept of property has had its origins
in Gandhian Philosophy. Although shelved for a time, it
has been revived from time to time. "This philosophy [of
Trusteeship] asserts that whatever we have is a trust,
and should be held and used as such, whether it be land or
other kinds of property, or whether it be skill, knowledge
or experience. It is a trust that we hold for our fellow-
human beings and for the community. It is not meant for
our personal enjoyment alone: we have a share in it, but
a share." Jaye Prakash Narayan, "Gandhi, Vinoba and the
looks odd it has taken the sociological analysis to the
logical extent saying that since property is earned in
'social situations' logically the accumulated property
bears a certain obligations towards the society. It was
applied, in the beginning, to industry but miserably failed
due to lack of enthusiasm from the industrialists and
consequently the idea was shelved after Gandhiji's demise.
"My real interest is to abolish the immoral concept of ownership. It is for the grandfathers, the village to decide whether to cultivate the land collectively or one by one, on the basis of a family holding. I am one, they will find out the best way for the solution of their problems... by abolishing ownership will degrade individual. Man has become stranger to his own humanity. If, instead, men were to give up ownership over things out of love and take to the cross, he will regain his place at the centre of life."

The limitation of private property and its acquisition are not shallow statements but backed up by the Hindu and Buddhistic philosophies. Unless there is a limitation of the necessities of life there will be no end for the acquisition of material goods. Unless there is a limit to these

69 Vinobaji, "Property is not sacred," Ep. Cit., p.1. Further, "Men like Hanumya Saran and Namalwar in Tamilnad had demonstrated that it is possible for a person to give up all sense of ownership, even of his own body. Society honoured and adored such men." Vinobaji, "Need of a Vision," Bhooman, I(45) February 1957, p.2. Further, "My whole idea is to awaken the God who is slumbering in the hearts of all. Once He is awake, He will start functioning in his own immutable way. The idea of private ownership of land is against religion and against God." Vinobaji, "Addresses to Constructive Workers," Ep. Cit., p.5

... Logically, the movements of Bhooman and Gramdan are the culmination of these ideas. "Private ownership in land had historically been the first instrument of the domination and exploitation of man by man. "Gramdan is in essence an acceptance and implementation supported by brute force. "Gramdan is abdication of the usurper's throne... All the land within the village will belong to the community meaning thereby not only those who have been just now actually living in the village but also those who may immigrate to this village." Appa Pantwardhan, "Private ownership in Land and Gramdan," Bhooman, IV(1) April, 1957, p.6. (From the author's booklet, "Towards a New Society").
acquisitive goods no amount of talk on private property will stand ground. Sarvodaya does not advocate limitation of wants for austerity’s sake. It advocates limitation of wants because, unless otherwise there is a limit to human wants there cannot be human happiness. 70

The limitation of wants is directly related to the means and ends scheme. Particularly it is often evident in transitional societies, the expectations of people outdo the capacity for that society to create goods and to satisfy those wants. The limitation of wants principle helps to bridge the gap between what is possible and what is practicable. But there is an element of stability and pattern-maintenance as against dynamism and change.

Properly understood and diligently applied, this need not be a static concept. The outrunning wants of the society during the transitional period created problems; greed, graft, corruption and widespread anomic

are but some of the problems of industrialization under whose grandiose scheme the disabilities of the system are guarded with. Since the concept is against only private property and its evil effects, this should also help in creating fresh capital to plough back into the investment sector, so that personal consumption and consequently of personal wants could be easily restricted.

"The austerity of the Sarvodaya philosophy has peace in life as its basis, in individual life, in social life, in international life, and we believe that peace is not possible of achievement unless there is this kind of an evolution of human being, unless the ends of civilization are changed and new values are accepted in place of the existing values."71

Even in the planning area the Sarvodaya movement is complementary to the larger social change. From the above discussion it follows easily that Sarvodaya planning takes the same variables as that of Planning Commission but with a little difference in emphasis, on the question of heavy and centralised industries. The change of

71 Ibid. Cf. "Full employment in the Sarvodaya order will mean equitable work and leisure for all...Gram-raj (village government) does not stand for an economy of bare maintenance. It is an attempt at establishing an order of society in which the method of production will lead to the harmonious development of the faculties of the producer....... a system of production which will eliminate conflict of interests and conduct to the establishment of just and peaceful relations among the members of the community." Dada Dwarkadasji, "The economy of Gram-Raj," Op.Cit., p.1
emphasis cannot be taken as that of entire opposition but that one of relative emphasis. The creation of conceptual congeries, although unfortunate, they should be taken in the light that they had some useful purpose to serve the larger social change.

The Sarvodaya philosophy is closed in the sense that it has an internal logical structure, based on charisma. The different aims are closely integrated and inter-related. The ideas of centralised economy, decentralised power, distinction between small-scale industries and centralised industries, and finally the principle of limitation of wants complete the logical theoretical system of Sarvodaya ideas. Its charismatic principle emanates from the religion and innate goodness of man. It does not question the authority of the leader (charismatic person) since he is the man who could interpret the commands of the God. Thus with the charismatic leader at its head, the movement skips over the imponderables and enmeshes it with the divine spirit. From a superficial glance an observer is apt to scorn at the approach of Sarvodaya movement but a close examination into the latent functions of the movement towards the larger Social Change of India, it will be evident it has its role to play in bringing about change. The change which the movement tries to bring in need not stop but it actually aids the changes which are attempted by National Planning. As
we have said above the movement is essentially a Hindu renaissance movement; it helps to change the cultural outlook of the people and thus creating a healthy change of tradition to help change social structure. Thus the Sarvodaya movement and planned changes are complementary to each other.

Lastly the concept of Dan has some methodological significance for the theory of Social change. Dan which was originally intended for the communion between the Donor and Donee now had been made into a formalized behaviour. The group loyalty, the solidarity and finally the consequent effects of dan when it was given, are no more present. A donor should know the donee and dan-worthiness and things which are good and usable only should be given as dan. Such a dan returns to the donor in hundred-fold in different forms.

Now the question is what happens when latent consequences become manifest consequences? When Vinoba

72 An interesting parable from Ramayana epic elucidates this point. When Rama went to Forests, Sâbâri, a tribal maid, offers fruit to Rama. She first tests them and see to it that only sweet fruit were given to Rama. Rama was pleased and gave her Moksha or salvation. Although the fruits were pre-tested thus polluted—consequently became unofferable to God—the spirit behind it was appreciated viz., that of good fruits should only be given and thus Moksha was granted to her.
took land gifts he never questioned the utility of the land offered for the Bhoomian. In fact there was no such criterion of acceptance. Whatever is offered, is being taken from the donor. Consequently much of the land that had been offered was only of low value, i.e. waste land, disputed land and mortgaged land. In very fertile districts the donated land did not exceed three figures.

Dan which had its connotation in informality between donor and donee has lost its moorings. Land was taken from whoever had offered. The same land was distributed to the needy and to the land-hungry. The informality and communion which existed previously is no more between the donee and the donor. Thus collection of land through Bhoomian and distribution to the landless became a formal affair.

Without going deep into methodological analysis, a preliminary set of conditions may be attempted. When dan is given, it has its latent functions. Since it is a way of reallocation of resources in a social system through informal means, the following set of conditions must be fulfilled. In the ego-alter situation (ego as donor and alter as donee) ego cannot give dan to an alter who has already possessed the thing or object. He cannot give useless object which has no social value to the alter. If such objects as of no value are offered, simply, it has no meaning for the reallocation of resources through informal dan. So the
conditions of dan-worthiness of the person or the object is the basic criterion in ego-alter situation of dan. Thus between the donor and the donee a solidarity and a communion are intended.

What are the consequences of this type of dan? Moksha could be attained by offering dan. Not only that. The objects which have been given in dan will come back to the donor in several fold. As a consequence some sort of reallocation of resources which could not have been done by existing institutional framework of the society would be effected. As a secondary reinforcement the institutional structures will have more acceptance.

Now when dan becomes more formal as noted in the earlier sections the consequences are several. Where given there was no emphasis on the quality of goods, almost invariably most of the land received was that of not immediately usable or useless land.73

73 A simple and interesting fable makes the situation more clear. Once a King intended to give his Queen a bath in milk. He ordered his subjects to supply milk for this purpose. Everybody thought that much harm would not happen if he alone of all the people supplied only water instead of milk. When everybody thought in the same way and supplied accordingly, there was only water instead of milk. This leads to the problem of anonymity.
And secondly the rapport between the donor and donee was absent. The anonymity of donor and donee had its repercussions. Land was given by people who were able to spare. The donated land was distributed to the landless. Thus two sets of role-players were brought by universalistic criteria. Originally the particularistic criteria of donor and donee were absent. The satisfaction of giving dan and the idea that a human being who is less fortunately placed being benefitted is absent. The universalization and formalization brought only uncultivable land (this is not to say that good land was not at all given) was given. It is the question of giving land. There is no value bounded in it, except a few citations and consequent promotion into donors associations. This is significant because the idea of Moksha is displaced and one can think of promotion into donors hierarchy which could, in turn, help controlling the social system. And again it is the question of redistribution of land and there was no problem of what type of land was given to the landless. Thus as a latent dysfunctional consequence the surplus and waste land was received by the Bhooman organisers.⁷⁴

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⁷⁴"In Bihar," writes Thorner, "it turns out that much of the land donated as Bhooman was rocky, barren, or otherwise agriculturally poor, or was under dispute in current litigation. In other states land donated was found to be just the excess, which under reform legislation already on the statute books or then before the legislatures, the donor shortly might have been required, in any event, to hand over by law. Even greater difficulties have been encountered, in practice, in distributing such lands as have been donated."
The problem of rapport between the donor and donee did not miss the attention of the organisers. The donors associations were formed. Servodaya mandals were organised to help the distribution of land thus received from landowners. The landowners or donors would be advised how best the gifted land could be given away to the landless. They themselves i.e. the donors will have a say in the distribution. Thus the rapport which was broken when donor became a formal affair (absence of knowledge who donates and who receives), was partially restored.

Again when donors associations were formed there was another dimension added to the complexity of the situation. Since landlords rule the village politics, through donors associations also the hold could be easily continued by giving lands to the landless who are in their grips or organising the good land to their followers. As Thorner observes that "some have attempted to gain control over Bhoodan redistribution so as to enlarge or strengthen their following." 75


75 Daniel Thorner, op. Cit., p. 575

...since the appeal of Bhoodan is to the landless and to the landholders the reactions of the consequences are differential. The poor naturally welcomed the appeal. Even if the rich were to forego some land the control part of it is still retained through the new structural
The concept of dan has undergone change in its connotations between the donor and donee and in the consequences to the larger society. When once this happens the interest and enthusiasm shown towards Bhoomdan falls into jeopardy and serious wray and unpleasantable questions begin to crop up. Bhoomdan is not a useful movement: Do the landlords control the organization? Do nepotism and corruption rule this movement? Only disputed and uncultivable land is given as dan? When these doubts are galore the Bhoomdan has no formal way of answering and correcting these doubts.

unit viz., that of donors mandals. Thorner further observes: "These are very people who, as we have shown in Lecture III, have succeeded to date in getting around or defeating all types of land reform. When the Bhoomdan compigners march into their village these well-off folk make a good show by giving away a few patches of land. But they are careful to retain securely in their grasp the holdings and associated economic operations upon which their control of the village rests." Ibid., p.576. Emphasis added.

Talking of differential consequences see the following: "Thus at one village, the landlord who had given the land, once it had been distributed, began to harass the new cultivators as if they were still his labourers. They still worked on his land for wages, in addition to the working they did on their own plots. He still treated them in his old high-handed manner, and finally things came to a head when he withheld wages from women workers who had been absent from the work for a few hours in order to feed their babies. This he had never done in the old days. Moreover, he ignored the legal minimum wage. Finally, the workers in eleven villages all united to withhold their labour, and the land owner only surrendered after they had continued their strike for a month." Horace Alexander, op.cit. p.87.
except to rely on the good intentions of the people who offer land.

As we see above, the motivational orientation of the actors involved in a changing situation focuses our attention on the significance of the differential involvement of the actors concerned. By a changing value of dan concept the cognitive aspect of motivational orientation has changed and it almost became 'anonymous.' The cathartic problem of choosing the donee is completely submerged. Hence the evaluation in the light of change, is utilized to regain the original status by getting into the donors' mandals. Formerly the instrumental and expressive aspects were fused together in a situation of donor and donee. Such a fusion is differentiated in the new situation.

Resume: When alienative motivation is sufficiently diffused in the population, that is when official social structures fail to deliver goods,—this condition gives rise to a Charismatic movement. The value orientations of such a movement generally take root and grows from the functional alternatives of that society. Such a movement in India is Bhooman. The Bhooman movement grew in the general backdrop of Sarvodaya principles which were the consequences of fusion of western and Indian ideals, which had their origin in national movement for freedom.
The movement is a contemporary of social change that is attempted through planning in India. Sometime or other the charismatic movement has to come to grips with the contemporaries. This coming to grips with the current situation led the movement to join hands with Government. In the process of formalising dan concept, Bhooan leaders accepted land from wherever it came. Thus they could receive much land which was useless for immediate cultivation. When the enthusiasm overflowed from Bhooan into Gramdan, they were confronted with the problem of distribution of land. For the first time they could feel the pangs of lack of organisation. When they created an organisation to distribute land (also with the help of the Government), the charismatic principle began to run down the slope into routinisation. As an important aspect of latent functions the movement essentially behaved like a Hindu renaissance movement. In the process it helped to bring larger social change that is going on in the social system. With this, there was a change in the concept of dan too. And landlords also gained control through donors mandals to enhance their power and prestige in the villages. This had an adverse consequence on the movement. Before the movement gained roots in the actors motivational orientation, the spread was too rapid. This has spoiled the movement's consolidation.