Chapter Four
Sarvodayites and Sarvoclaya Movement - An Overview
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SARVODAYITES AND SARVODAYA MOVEMENT IN TAMIL NADU -
AN OVERVIEW

Every individual is a temple as Gandhi said. Thus, a Sarvodayite being the individual mobile temple is reaching the needy. According to Vinoba, those would be considered as Sarvodayites who stand in between the ruler and the ruled. He assigned to them the tasks of pointing out mistakes committed by others, to promote goodwill between them to act as intermediaries, conveying impartially what one has to say to the other and to consolidate the power of people. So a Sarvodayite should never look to any party or caste and never accept political power.¹

4.1 Sarvodayites

Sarvodayites refer to Gandhiites, ahimsaists, Sarvodians, Gandhian worker, Bhoodan worker, Constructive worker, Peace worker, sevak and Sarvodaya leader engaged in the Sarvodaya Movement. Sarvodayites are otherwise known as Sarvodayavadis² and they are those engaged in carrying out the constructive programme laid down by Gandhi. Sarvodayite in short, is known as Anna—Brother and Akka—Sister, a common form of address among Sarvodaya workers in Tamil Nadu.

The endeavour of Sarvodayite is to arouse people’s initiative and change the present social order through multi-dimensional activities of Sarvodaya Movement while at the same time remaining free from party-politics. The ultimate aim is to create such an atmosphere where every village and the whole world becomes like a family, feels
like a family. Thus the call of Sarvodaya is two-fold: Jai-Gramdan and Jai-Jagat. Sarvodayites intend to change the present social order through Gram Swaraj (See Chart-4.1). With a view to visit every village and its people educated, Sarvodayites are encouraged to undertake Padayatras—walking tour and vahana yatra—tour on wheels. However, Sarvodayites enlighten villagers through Padayatras.

Based on the ideas of Gandhi in Hind Swaraj, the researcher interprets that Sarvodayite is a true physician who probes the cause of disease, and, if he/she poses as a physician for the disease of the local community, he/she will have to find out its true cause. And Gandhi thinks that in Hind Swaraj he has made the correct diagnosis and it is Gandhi's seminal work "the seed from which the tree of Gandhian Thought has grown to its full stature.

4.1.1 Categories of Sarvodayites

According to Devendra Kumar, there are four different groups of Sarvodayites. The first were "confrontationists" who believed in the need to engage in struggle with the Government and the party in power and who were actually involved in that struggle. The second were those who fully sympathized with the first group but who were not in a position to be able practically to join in the struggle. The third group included those, like Devendra himself, who though dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs, believed that no real improvements could be effected through confrontation. Such people kept aloof from the struggle but did not oppose the activities of those whose conscience led them to engage in it. The fourth group consisted of those who firmly believed in cooperation with the Government and who were actively opposed to the struggle approach.

4.1.2 Sarvodayite as a Change Agent

According to Sarvodaya, every development effort implies, first of all, psychological changes in the individuals concerned. Therefore each individual Sarvodayite concentrates on bringing about psychological changes in the village
CHART 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Social Order</th>
<th>Nonviolent Revolution</th>
<th>Sarvodaya Social Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nature and Results</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nature and Results</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nature and Results</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Blind imitation of materialistic values.</td>
<td>(2) Motivation based on spiritual values rooted in national culture.</td>
<td><strong>(2) Motivation based on spiritual values rooted in national culture.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(3) Worship of wealth, power, position, untruth, violence, and selfishness dominate.</td>
<td>(3) Respect for virtue, wisdom, capability, truth, nonviolence, self-denial dominate.</td>
<td><strong>(3) Respect for virtue, wisdom, capability, truth, nonviolence, self-denial dominate.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(4) Organizations based on possessive and competitive instincts become powerful, capitalist economy, bureaucracy, and power and party politics become major social forces.</td>
<td>(4) Organizations based on sharing and cooperation become powerful; social trusteeship economy; people's participation in administration; and party-less people's politics become social realities.</td>
<td><strong>(4) Organizations based on sharing and cooperation become powerful; social trusteeship economy; people's participation in administration; and party-less people's politics become social realities.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Evil in man is harnessed, society is fragmented through considerations of race, caste, class, religion, party, etc.</td>
<td>(5) Good in man is harnessed, society integrated as one human family.</td>
<td><strong>(5) Good in man is harnessed, society integrated as one human family.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(6) Economic resources improperly combined, production suffers, unemployment.</td>
<td>(6) Economic resources properly combined, production increases; employment.</td>
<td><strong>(6) Economic resources properly combined, production increases; employment.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Import-export economy based on production of commodities inherited from colonial times, foreign debts, subjugation to neo-colonialism.</td>
<td>(7) Self-sufficient economy based on the primary needs of the people, national solvency, national self-respect and economic freedom.</td>
<td><strong>(7) Self-sufficient economy based on the primary needs of the people, national solvency, national self-respect and economic freedom.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Dependence on large-scale organizations, capital intensive, wastage of human labour, corruption increases, environmental pollution.</td>
<td>(8) Dependence on small-scale organizations, labour-intensive, utilization of human labour, corruption decreases, protection of environment both physical and psychological.</td>
<td><strong>(8) Dependence on small-scale organizations, labour-intensive, utilization of human labour, corruption decreases, protection of environment both physical and psychological.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) Village subserves the city, rural exodus, moral degeneration, social unrest and stagnation.</td>
<td>(9) Balanced rural and urban awakening, moral regeneration.</td>
<td><strong>(9) Balanced rural and urban awakening, moral regeneration.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) Laws of punishment, instruments of law enforcement and state power increase, laws of Dharma, strength of Dharma and power of people diminish. Rulers become all powerful and people powerless.</td>
<td>(10) Laws of righteousness, strength of Dharma and power of the people prevail. No ruling class, people all powerful, Sarvodaya realized.</td>
<td><strong>(10) Laws of righteousness, strength of Dharma and power of the people prevail. No ruling class, people all powerful, Sarvodaya realized.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Source: Sarvodaya Shramdana Movement Sri Lanka at a glance,
community, in order to build up enough motivational support among the villagers to carry out the development of their community under the umbrella of Sarvodaya Movement. Sarvodayite acts like the bridge between the people and the Government and Sarvodaya Movement is getting influenced in the process of changing the present social order by the Sarvodayites working in the field.

Sarvodaya is a great human enterprise which requires willing(ness) to die so that others may live. Clarifying the concept Gandhi says, “The utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist (i.e. the Sarvodaya Worker—Sarvodayite) will even sacrifice himself for the common good.” Any Sarvodayite is like a master artist in the orchard. A community is distinguished from the crowd in our society, identically by the same features as distinguish an orchard from a jungle. The orchard is a carefully ordered jungle in the hand of a master artist who provides room for full blossom, each in its own place, each complementing the other. "Live and let live," with opportunity for growth, each according to its capacity, is the moral mandate. A community of people will have to be guided by the same basic principles as apply to the orchard, and Sarvodayite like the master artist will have to apply his technology of human relations in the same pattern. Ultimately Sarvodayite is working for the change in all spheres of the community.

4.1.3 Sarvodayite as an Effective Communicator

The message of Sarvodaya is universal but, if the message is to be communicated successfully, it must be couched in a recognizably indigenous language and symbolism. It is the Sarvodayites who have to communicate the message of Sarvodaya in the tongue of the last man in the community to put him first. Such of those who carry the message of Sarvodaya is but a tiny part of the great human family. Those who first formulate and respond to the Sarvodaya concept are highly unusual men and women. Like the quarters of the 17th century England, they are 'peculiar people' and may be seen as the 20th century manifestation of 'Saints in Polities'. A social scientist therefore, is bound to ask the question: who, precisely, are
these Sarvodayites? The real impact of the Sarvodaya Movement on the society must be created by Sarvodayites who carry a pivotal role in the movement. Sarvodaya Movement in India has not yet fully recovered from the divisions revealed in those years.\textsuperscript{11} The researcher has come across divisions/groups which are both visible and invisible in nature among the Sarvodayites in Tamil Nadu. All these groups converse in a common platform and share their experiences. Under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Movement, Sarvodayites organize meetings, conferences and training camps. In public meetings the pictures and sayings, of Gandhi, Vinoba and Jayaprakash Narayan are given prominence and in the regular prayer meetings and training programmes, it was their thought that provided the much needed inspiration for the young Sarvodians.\textsuperscript{12} The researcher experienced with several Sarvodayites who would end up their conversation, whether formal or informal, uttering the name of Gandhi and Vinoba relating to the regular programmes/activities in which they are engaged day in and day out.

Sarvodayites in general do not make an attempt to introduce new techniques, which are alien to the rural culture of India, in particular Tamil Nadu, but rather try to revive or strengthen traditional methods and customs and to keep the basic structure of the village unchanged. Further, they make an attempt to organize more effectively the good in all men so as to put an end to the misery in society which springs from the evil which is in them.

4.1.4 Ultimate Goal of Sarvodayites

The Sarvodayavadis aim at the creation of a social order free from every form of authority, a stateless society where “the ruler and the ruled will be merged in the individual.” They reject the State and its government no matter what its form, because both are coercive institutions and force is the ultimate sanction behind them. Even the welfare State does not offer them any satisfaction. “The Welfare State”, says, Jayaprakash Narayan, “in the name of welfare threatens as much to enslave man to the State as the totalitarian State. The people must cry halt to this creeping paralysis.”
The human society must, therefore, be free from all coercive institutions. It does not, however, mean disappearance of the State all at once. "What we seek", Vinoba Bhave says, "is to grow out of the state of affairs where there is no government into one where there is good government and from that condition to one where people are free of government altogether." His progression is from 'no government', that is, the condition of anarchy where exploitation and oppression prevail, to 'good government', where no power is dominant and justice prevails, to a social order absolutely "free of government."\(^\text{13}\)

4.1.5 Sarvodayites as Apolitical

Sarvodayites stand for the partyless democracy and they do not exclude some form of government in the intervening stage of a Sarvodaya society. But they will eschew a representative democracy, political parties, periodic elections and the rule of the majority are the indispensable parts of a representative government. The Sarvodayites condemn political parties and regard them as conspiracies against the people to divide them into warring camps. Parties create differences where there were none originally and they take a narrow and partisan view of all matters. People become power crazy and there is a scramble for party tickets which are maneuvered through by all corrupt practices. The propertied class and the professional politicians control the party organizations and the party line and they employ all corrupt practices to get their nominees elected. Votes are even purchased, thus, debasing and demoralizing the body politic. The result is obvious: "Suffrage for the rich and sufferance for the poor."\(^\text{14}\)

The Sarvodayites bewail the tyranny of majority rule or the tyranny of the numbers, as it is described. "Political Science", Acharya Vinoba Bhave says, "lays down that everything should be decided by majority. It started counting votes. If there are fifty-one votes in favour and forty-nine votes in opposition, then the former must have an overriding voice." Similarly, Jayaprakash Narayan maintained, "because fifty-one people out of a hundred decide to do a certain thing in a certain manner, why
should the forty-nine people, who do not agree with that, be forced to accept that decision? What kind of democracy is this?” The laws passed in this way by the majority vote are not only oppressive to the minority, but also violate the principle of human unity and dignity as they consider “the individual as one of the many rather than as a unique individual possessing a personality. It thus tends to dehumanize humanity.”

4.1.6 Sarvodayites and their Social Commitment

Gandhi was the first to apply the concept of Ahimsa to practical life. His sole purpose was to spiritualize secular life. Sarvodayites, having faith in Ahimsa, are totally committed to work for the national, social and religious unification of India. They also work for the elimination of caste and class distinctions and integrate community. Basically they believe that the hereditary caste system, based on birth and not merit and the outrage of untouchability, had no sanction in the vedas. Sarvodayites are strongly committed to support widow remarriage and female education. This approach to the problem of untouchability was yet another step in the direction of secularization which has been carried to the fullest extent by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers. Harijan Sevak Sangh is one of the institutions which stand for the removal of untouchability and Sarvodayites try to identify untouchability prone areas and find solution to it. Besides, they are engaged in the process of creating awareness on important national issues, sense of social commitment, right values and accountability.

4.1.7 Social Commitment: Life and Message of Gandhi

Gandhi gave so much importance to voluntary selfless social service rendered by persons so inclined to those who are in need of it in human society.

One of the most important aspects of the Gandhian doctrine of selfless social service should not go unnoticed. Selfless social service is always voluntary and rendered without even any remote expectations of any kind of gain for oneself. Few
individuals are there in our society who have dedicated themselves to such service. Even during the struggle for freedom which indeed, was the noblest cause which called for services of various kinds, the number of persons (compared to the population of India) dedicated continuously to the service of the nation was not very large. And yet appreciation, help and high praise was forthcoming from the public at large. It was glorified as self sacrifice and most of those who rendered such services thought that they were obliging the people of India and the motherland by rendering selfless service.

Gandhi was so right when he said political independence was only the first step towards the building up of India of his dreams and during freedom struggle he laid the greatest emphasis on what he called the constructive programme which meant organized social service in every sphere.¹⁹

Three things seem to be stressed by Sarvodayites in the circumstances of today. The first is the principle of "nonviolence, truth and non-stealing"; the second is selfless service combined with patience towards the selfish; and the third is faith in the people's power to manage their own affairs. This last is a very important part of a Sarvodaya Worker's qualifications.²⁰

When a machine is working, there is always friction—no machine can do any work without it. Friction is essential for speed and efficiency. In the same way, selections may be conducted with the utmost sportsmanship and good humour, but there is sure to be a certain amount of friction. When that occurs, you must have the lubricant ready, and apply the same as and when it is needed. If you master this art of lubrication, no one will complain that you do not take part in selections. On the contrary, they will agree that unless a few people stand outside, there will be no one to oil the machinery.

The second matter of which we must remind ourselves is that the bullock knows very well whether the driver is good or bad, whether he is educated or not. We tend
to look down upon the common folk, but they are really shrewd and intelligent. The poor of India have been served by the saints, so when they hear that we call ourselves their servants, they put us to the test of saintliness. Their standard of living may be low, but their standard of thinking is high, and not the smallest thing in the conduct of "Sarvodaya Workers" or "Sevaks" escapes their observation. The success of the work depends on the purity and integrity of the individual conduct.

The principle of Sarvodaya is that we should not force our services upon anyone. Someone may ask: "If no one wants our services, shall we go on serving?" The answer is that we shall certainly go on serving, not in order to be elected but even without selection. There is no need for any election for service, provided that the Sarvodayite (Worker) does not expect to get any position of authority or responsibility by its means. He will serve directly and care nothing for authority. Instead of the government changing the people, it is the people who will change the government.

It is a very good thing to be as Sarvodayites are today—the light within will shine more brightly, they will be able to examine their own hearts, and, if God so wills, their own powers will be enlarged and the task will be accomplished in their own strength. But, should that happen, there is no room for pride, for boasting about their achievement. This work is a new kind of work, it is work not for the old man but for the new man.

The task of a Sarvodayite is to go out, with cent per cent commitment, in sun or rain, in summer or winter, to reach the smallest village, to talk with the people, to deliver the message again and again. Who else will go about for such a task in the rains? The work is waiting for them to take it up; let them set their hand to it, with confidence and vigour, in the name of God.\footnote{21}

4.1.8 Sarvodayites and Collective Padayatra

Generally speaking, Sarvodayites organize Padayatras on a large scale in every district of the country. The duration of Padayatras are at least one month so that
more and more number of villages could be covered. All the Sarvodaya activities
initiated under movement are based on spirituality. Keeping this in view, the Padayatras
are organized in the following manner:

(1) According to local conditions, Padayatras of ladies and gents are organized
collectively as well as well as separately.

(2) Before starting Padayatras, a two or three day camp is arranged in which
the guidelines about the aims of Padayatra, daily programme of the journey
and the organizational aspects etc., are explained.

(3) The distance between two halts range from six to eight miles (10-13
kilometers).

(4) At the place of halt the people are well-informed about the purpose of
journey and preliminaries of the programme of that day.

(5) The one hour daily group study at noon or at any other suitable time
during yatra is made fruitful.

(6) In the afternoon the problems of village are discussed with the people of
the village. Time for discussion is fixed according to the convenience of
the villagers.

(7) A public meeting is organized in the evening or at night as per the
convenience of the villagers. The meeting normally begins with a silent
prayer or devotional songs.

(8) Literature is obtained from the State or District Sarvodaya Mandals. It is
hoped that the agencies responsible for such publications would make it
available the required literature at appropriate places at reasonable
conditions.
(9) Informative posters and circular on Padayatra are arranged and printed by the Regional Sarvodaya Mandals.

(10) The Padayatras are organized according to the Indian tradition with local help.22

4.1.9 Qualities of Sarvodayites

The success of any programme of the movement depends upon the personality of the Sarvodayites. Hence, the Sarvodaya thinkers lay much stress on the qualities of character and other qualifications that they consider necessary for him. He is asked to base his life on truth, love, non-violence, non-possession, selflessness, and vision and mission. (See Diagram 4.1)

Sarvodayite or Constructive Worker is no doubt a Satyagrahi. As parade is necessary for military personnel, constructive work is a requirement for a Satyagrahi.

Sarvodayites need courage to decide, will power to persist, initiative to be a self starter, knowledge of self, ability to deal with people, knowledge of the constructive worker, self respect, patience, endurance and ability to sacrifice one's self for a cause. They will need persistence and tenacity inspite of apparent failure. They must develop a sense of unity with their fellows and co-workers. Respect for personality, love for truth, tolerance, poise, equanimity, loyalty, humility, hope and faith in the potential divinity of human nature should be cultivated.

Attitudes that ought to be got rid off are fear, anger, pride, desire for conventional respectability and desire for power over others.

For building these attitudes, the following activities are recommended by psychologists and educators:

Diagram 4.1
Qualities of Sarvodayites

and or prayer, 7. Hearing stories and tradition of heroic achievements, 8. Reading aloud or reciting great poetry or memorable speeches.

Body labour or manual work voluntarily done is a great help in building the right skills and attitudes in the Constructive Worker or Satyagrahi. If all members of a team can work together, that would be a service to the community. They can concentrate on sanitation work and take up repairs and construction. This would promote both individual and community morale and good feeling. The development of it has always been closely connected with and dependent on the increasing skill of the hand. Manual work and man's moral character are also linked—organized and, disciplined manual work gives self-confidence, self-respect, self-reliance, hope etc.

The Sarvodayite is a special type of worker. He would approximate the description of a Satyagrahi given by Gandhiji: "He would be bound with the poorest in the village by ties of service. He would constitute himself the scavenger, the nurse, the arbitrator of disputes, and teacher of the children of the village. Everyone, young and old, would know him; though a householder, he would be leading a life of restraint; he would make no distinction between him and his neighbour's children; they would own nothing but would hold what wealth he has in trust for others, and would therefore spend to meet his bare needs. His needs would, as far as possible, approximate those of the poor, he would harbour no untouchability, and would therefore inspire people of all castes and creeds to approach him with confidence."

Such a worker would further "always endeavour to come up to, whenever he falls short of the ideal, fill in the gaps in his education, will not waste a single moment. His house will be a busy hive of useful activities centering round spinning. His will be a well ordered household."

Though he might be all alone to begin with, such a worker, said Gandhiji, if he had the requisite degree of faith, intelligence, industry and perseverance will not find himself single-handed, for long. The village will unconsciously follow him. But whether
they do or not, at a time of emergency he will, singlehanded, effectively deal with it or die in the attempt.

Sarvodayites should not be wooden minded lacking in imagination and intellect. Their role is to devote themselves to pure, selfless service of the voters, by abjuring power. They should keep altogether aloof from power politics and its contagion. Their objective through constructive work organization would be to generate political power, not to capture it. The greater their inner purity, the greater shall be their hold on the people, without any effort on their part. Their work is among the masses.  

4.1.10 Life Management of Sarvodayites

Effective Life Management (ELM) is about managing the constructive forces and the destructive forces in our life, a formula to lead a richer, fuller and meaningful life. The key to victory is increasing or strengthening the former and reducing or weakening the latter. The constructive forces are categorized as the soldiers, army general and the army service core. The destructive habits within us are classified under the category of traitors.

The formula starts with knowing your army beginning with the 12 good soldiers (all within you)—faith, will power, health, knowledge, wisdom, skill, enthusiasm, judgement, courage, preparation, action and perseverence and keeping them in good condition. Then follows knowing your army general (that is oneself) because soldiers cannot fight on their own and his functions and traits, beginning with knowledge of the soul which is of two types. The next stage is to know and develop your army service core and taking care of it. They are the body, mind and the soul with the help of which one achieves success in life. The traits one should develop are—sharing, social contacts, honesty, truth,-communication, patience, acceptance, one’s surroundings, systematic working, manners, a sense of humour and culminate all these with prayer.
The 'traitors' list constitutes the following which is equal in number as the soldiers—laziness, carelessness, negligence, egotism, worry, anger, jealousy, hate, haste, fear, greed and glamour and all these are responsible for defeat.²⁵¹

All these traitors can be easily replaced by the eleven vows as spelt out by Gandhi. The vows that every Sarvodayite tries to practice as follows: Truth, nonviolence, celibacy, non-stealing, non-possession, bread labour, control of the tongue, fearlessness, respect for other religions, swadeshi and removal of untouchability.²⁵ The eleven vows are nothing but the progressive milestones for the Sarvodayite to become moral and spiritual. Sarvodayites will have to strive with Satyagraha as the way of life.

4.1.11 Sarvodayites and Modern Development

Sarvodayites are not ploughing a lonely furrow but have genuine followers and sympathizers who offer an alternative to the highly materialistic trends observable in the context of current developments. Most of the seasoned workers and leaders in the Sarvodaya camp naturally emphasize the failure of the modern type of development, especially in improving the living conditions in the rural areas of India. After the attainment of Swaraj about fifty years ago and despite eight Five-Year Plans, rural India containing eighty per cent of the population has more than fifty per cent of its people under the poverty line (on the basis of 2,402 calorie calculation) and seventy per cent of them are illiterates. How can today's 'development pattern' appeal to them? No doubt, cities have grown in numbers. But for the common man, this growth has been accompanied by the growth of crime and unemployment without any compensating benefits for them, except cinemas which merely cater to low taste and glorification of evils in society.²⁶

4.1.12 Sarvodayites as Peace-Brigades

Sarvodayites are the voluntary peace-brigades who are out and out ahimsaists and have a living faith in God and equal regard for all the principal religions of the
world. They must belong to the locality and develop contacts with all the people in the locality through personal, constructive service. Sarvodayites are those engaged in carrying out the constructive programme laid down by Gandhi. There are some four to five thousand Sarvodayites scattered throughout the country. In 1938 Gandhiji advocated the enlistment of volunteers for the formation of peace-brigades in cities and villages to deal with communal riots. They should wear a distinctive dress so as to be recognized without the slightest difficulty and should carry no weapons. Each brigade would elect its own head and members should know each other well. Gandhiji's idea was that the brigades should take the place of the police and the military to deal peacefully with communal disturbances. The peace-brigade programme, he said, was "a programme of courting death in preventing Hindu-Muslim clashes and the like. It is a programme of dying to prevent violence." At Gandhiji's suggestion efforts were made after 1938 to organize peace-brigades in some parts of the country. The incident in Tanjore District in Tamil Nadu is a case in point. Many Sarvodaya Workers are working ceaselessly to help resolve the conflicts through peaceful means.

4.1.13 Gandhi as a Point of Unity among Sarvodayites

Sarvodayites at present are not pulling their full weight in either shaping or implementing national policies and programmes. It is the Central and State Governments, little influenced by Sarvodayites which are shaping national policies. These policies and programmes are rarely in conformity with those laid down in the Gandhian constructive programme. Sarvodayites are not yet able to affect the situation for the reason that they have not fully realized their own unity of purpose and organization. So long as Gandhi lived he was the point of unity among all the Sarvodayites and he was the authoritative link between them and political leadership. After Gandhi, the Sarvodaya workers have had to discover some other effective point of unity. This they have not yet succeeded in doing. They made an attempt in the right direction by setting up the Sarva Seva Sangh with a measure of overall jurisdiction in relation to all constructive work in the country.
It is seen that Sarvodaya Movement as such serves as a point of unity among the Sarvodayites. A different type of programmes and activities bring them to a common gathering. A calendar of significant events observed under the auspices of the Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu is attached in the appendix.

4.1.14 Creation of New Sarvodayites - Workers

Emphasis must be laid on the recruitment of new co-workers. Sarvodayites joined the Sarvodaya Movement as compassion for the underdog, a dislike for injustice and exploitation and a hunger for freedom drew them to this movement. Sarvodayites would be able to attract new workers if they demonstrate these qualities in their own lives. New workers/Sarvodayites could be found when there is a movement or some intensive constructive work is taken up.

As messengers of a social revolution, Sarvodayites would have to discard their casteist and class elitism and make productive physical labour a regular habit. In the same way men workers, in order to promote gender equality, would have to habituate themselves to doing such chores as are reserved for women and considered undignified for menfolk to engage in.\textsuperscript{33}

Sarvodayites should try to imbibe their children with the values they themselves stood for rather than feeling satisfied by making them conform to outward forms. Children should be motivated to strive to become full-fledged human beings instead of running after conventional education and careers.

4.2 Growth of Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu

4.2.1 National Scenario

Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu is as old as it originated in India in the early 1920's\textsuperscript{3,1} and spread to Sri Lanka in 1958.\textsuperscript{35} After Gandhi's death, the first conference of Constructive Workers was held in March 1948. It was decided to form a rather loosely structured fellowship of Lok Sevaks (Servants of the People) called "Sarvodaya
Samaj", i.e., society for the welfare of all. This Samaj was expected to pursue the idea of uniting the various organizations of constructive Gandhian work formed either during his lifetime or immediately after his death. These efforts to channel the various societies with their sectarian potential into a kind of encompassing structure which would give the Lok Sevaks at least a minimum of infrastructural backing, succeeded to a certain extent. Four organizations with specific target groups and fields of work joined hands in the "All India Association for the Welfare of AH" (Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh) established in 1949.36

Others, like the "Harijan Sevak Sangh" and the "Kasturba Memorial Trust", a foundation established in 1944 in memory of Gandhi's wife and devoted to the general welfare of poor and needy women and children in the rural areas, remained separate, as did the well-funded Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi National Memorial Trust), of which the Gandhi Peace Foundation is a later offspring. Although there were, of course, a variety of informal connections cutting right across the whole scene, a unified approach was, for various reasons, still missing.

Meanwhile, India had to go through its first phase of disillusion. At the time of Independence everything had seemed possible; now the blossoms of high hopes mingled with the dust of day-to-day realities. The country had witnessed the massacre of Hindus and Muslims and had to reintegrate a flood of half-starved refugees; the poverty of the masses had not been overcome by the magic spell of independence of jubilant cries of "Jai Hind," the land hunger of the landless had not been stilled, and the threat of civil war was an acute reality, especially in the southern parts of the sub-continent. We do not know what would have happened under these circumstances in the early fifties, had Vinoba Bhave not opened up a new vision to the whole country, giving fresh impetus not only to the various Gandhian agencies but also to the slowly growing rural development machinery as a whole.

Gandhi had considered Vinoba as his spiritual heir, in so far as Gandhian philosophy allowed for such a, position at all. Vinoba had lived as a Brahmachari, i.e.,
in celibacy and sexual chastity from boyhood on, and joined Gandhi in his ashram at the age of twenty-one: "This was in 1916, and from that time till Bapu's death in 1948, Vinoba was engaged in social work, especially in serving the people in the villages round the ashram, teaching students, and practising meditation for a few hours of the day. This went on till his death."  

4.2.2 Bhoodan Movement and its Growth

The growth of Bhoodan movement is the growth of Sarvodaya Movement in India. The Sarvodaya Conference of Constructive Workers was held in Hyderabad in 1951. Vinoba had decided to walk the 315 miles from the ashram to the south since he felt "that saving time and space by using high-speed vehicles won't help me much towards a solution of the problem of poverty by non-violent means, which I was searching for; so I decided to walk on foot."

This departure from the reassuring niche of his ashram into the daily realities of Indian village life was certainly a stimulating experience for Vinoba. His "heart full of meditation," sought a new strategy which would accommodate the Gandhian philosophy of constructive work under the changed conditions of an independent India.

Thus, at the last day of the conference Vinoba announced that he was going to tour the district of Telangana, where communist guerrillas were fighting against government troops. In one of the first villages that Vinoba visited a population of three thousand was living on a cultivable area of three thousand acres; these belonged to ninety families, the remaining five hundred families were landless. It was in this village of Pochampalli in Telangana district on 18 April 1951, that the idea of Bhoodap was born: the landless untouchables had approached Vinoba and asked him for help so that they might be given some eighty acres of cultivable land which they needed for their bare subsistence. Vinoba then thought "that perhaps a few men may obtain land that way, but it would not solve the problem. So I suddenly turned to the people
of the village and asked whether there was somebody among them willing to give land to his brethren so that they may not die of starvation; and a man came forward and offered a hundred acres of land.  

Vinoba's saintly genius generalized this unique example and transformed it into a national scheme of "Bhoodan", or land gift, whereby he hoped to solve the subsistence problems of the landless in India. The following is a fascinating personal account of how this new constructive programme was developed.  

"That night when I went to bed I could not sleep. I was thinking over the event. What has happened to me today? A man came forward and donated a hundred acres of his land without any compulsion. Is there a sign from God in this? As I am a mathematician, I began to work out how much land would be needed for all the landless people in India. I came to the conclusion that five crore, fifty million acres, will be required for distribution, that is, one sixth of all the cultivable land in India. I could not believe that people would offer that amount of land. The idea had come to me and attacked me, and my mind tried to resist because I was not ready to accept it. And so I hesitated. But a voice from within myself told me that if I doubt, if I do not put my faith in the power of love and God, then I must abandon my belief in nonviolence and follow the violent way of the communists. You can't sit quiet any longer. You must go either this way or that way. God puts the hunger into the child's belly and he also puts the milk into the mother's breast; so if you go begging in the name of God, you will get a response."

"But I had only a hundred acres of land in my hand, and this was a question of asking for fifty million acres. I did not consult any of my friends or any institution because they would have said that I may expect to get thousands of acres, but I could not expect to get millions. So I decided to go ahead by myself, to start begging for land and to see how people respond."
"The next day in the morning I started for the next village. The village people had prepared breakfast for me. I told them that I won't breakfast, I won't break my fast while my countrymen are hungry; give me a few acres of land for my breakfast. And God's will was there and they gave me twenty-five acres."

"In this way the matter was decided, and I started to work in that communist-infected area-although I feel that the communists are also my brothers. Last year I marched to Kerala, and the Communist Prime Minister of Kerala State said: 'I doubt whether you will succeed, but your movement may be an alternative to our movement-if you succeed.' So now all depends upon the success."

And success there was! The Padayatras, or pilgrimages on foot, made by Vinoba and his fellow-workers aroused a whirlwind of enthusiasm and goodwill that for once seemed to blow away the cobwebs of vested interests and bureaucratic routine that had begun to wrap the country in a cocoon of frustration. Wherever they went, the Bhoodan workers asked to be adopted as the sixth child into the families of the land owners and to be given an equal share of the landed property. If this scheme worked on a nationwide scale, then there would be enough land for redistribution among the landless poor.

During the first years the initial target figures were far exceeded so that it was considered possible to gather all the fifty million acres Vinoba needed by 1957. This scale of expectations propelled the movement into an even more ambitious scheme.41

4.2.3 Bhoodan in Tamil Nadu

Madurai district Constructive Workers Association was established in collaboration with Gandhigram in Tamil Nadu. The association started functioning under the leadership of N.M.R. Subburaman who was known as Madurai Gandhi. Some of the volunteers joined workers home at Gandhigram and carried out village service. The summer camp was organized to train college students and farmers. Besides, Farmers Association was founded with an object to work for the rights to the
farmers through nonviolent method. Shri. S. Jaganathan evinced much interest in this field. He was encouraged, motivated and guided by Shri. J.C. Kumarappa, a noted Gandhian economist. The struggles and satyagrahas like 'Kallanthiri Farmers Struggle', 'Sholavandan Satyagraha' and 'Natchikulam Sugarcane Satyagraha' was organized by Shri. S. Jaganathan and ultimately he developed a deep interest in solving the land problem. While Vinoba Bhave was working for Bhoodan movement, Shri. S. Jaganathan from Tamil Nadu joined him in Uttarpradesh and gained direct grass roots experience under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave.

With the blessings of Vinoba Bhave, Shri. S. Jaganathan came back to Tamil Nadu and started Bhoodan activities. In the year 1952, he organized a conference at Madurai. Shri. O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar, Sardar Vedaratnam, Shri. N.M.R. Subburaman and Khadi workers joined together and decided to work for Bhoodan Movement in Tamil Nadu. As a result Bhoodan Committee was formed. The Secretariat for the Bhoodan in Tamil Nadu started functioning in the premises of "Students Seva Centre" located at Shenoy Nagar, Madurai. In the year 1952, on 2nd October, Padayatra under the leadership of Shri. Shankar Rao Dev was conducted from Rameswaram to Palakadu. During the second leg of his Padayatra, he covered from Kanyakumari to Vedaranyam. Shri. Shankar Rao Dev, Shri. Dada Darmadhi Kari and Vimala Thakkar conducted Padayatras from time to time in Tamil Nadu. Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan, who added a feather in the cap, i.e., "Jeevan Dan" in the Bhoodan Movement and Shri. K. Kamaraj, the then Tamil Nadu Congress Committee leader joined together and toured extensively different areas like Chengalpet, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Tanjore, Coimbatore and North Arcot. They took about fifteen days to cover all the said districts in Tamil Nadu. Totally 5200 acres of land for bhoodan, Rs.26,368 being sampattidan, ploughs and bullocks were received as a token of bhoodan.
4.2.4 Vinoba Bhave in Tamil Nadu

While Vinoba was going to Bihar, after completing Padayatra in Uttar Pradesh, he received several lakhs of acres of land for Bhoodan Movement. After Bihar, he came to Orissa and as a result, Gramdan picked up the momentum. Several Gramdans were declared and received in Koraput District in Orissa. In this District, Gramdan development activities were carried out under the leadership of Shri. Anna Sahab Sahasra Budha on a massive scale. Vinoba crossed Andhra Pradesh and reached Thiruvallur in Tamil Nadu on 13th May 1956. He covered the length and breath of Tamil Nadu successfully till 18th April 1957 except North Arcot and Nilgiris Districts. Vinoba walked 2686 miles in a span of eleven months and five days in Tamil Nadu. He stayed in 409 camps in different areas. 253 Gramdans were received. In the capacity of the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Shri. K. Kamaraj extended all his support to Bhoodan Movement. Besides, several other personalities like Rajaji, E.V. Ramaswamy, C.N. Annadurai, Jeevanantham, Ma.Po. Sivagnanam, P. Ramamoorthy and Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar were attracted by Bhoodan Movement and called on Vinoba Bhave during his Padayatra and extended all their support. Vinoba paid a visit to Kanchi Kamakodi. All India Sarvodaya Conference was held at Kanchipuram in the year 1956. Rajendra Prasad, Ka.Ka. Kalelkar, Asha Devi, Arianayagam, J.C. Kumarappa and Jayaprakash Narayan participated in the All India Conference at Kanchipuramu and guided the movement.

Bhoodan movement gradually took a shape towards Gramdan and much attention was paid to the declaration of Gramdan during Vinoba’s Padayatra in Tamil Nadu. Even before the holy foot of Vinoba touched the sacred land of Tamil Nadu, Vayalur in Chengalpet District was declared as the first Gramdan village on 2nd October 1955. Shri. Ramakrishna Reddiar of Kaliampoodi was responsible for the declaration of the first Gramdan. The concept of Gramdan naturally picked up in Tamil Nadu as the temple has been the centre of village structure and community life in Tamil Nadu as Vinoba thought about it.
On 25 December 1956, Vinoba came to Gandhi Niketan Ashram of J.C. Kumarappa during his Bhoodan Padayatra in Tamil Nadu. He had a lively discussion with his old colleague in his hut. In the course of dialogue, Kumarappa told Vinoba that he was "number one thief in India." Vinoba was taken aback by this unexpected charge from his bosom friend and asked for clarification. Kumarappa calmly told him that he merely referring to his hoarding the lands, obtained through the Bhoodan without proper arrangements for their distribution. Vinoba immediately understood the truth behind his statement and thereafter expedited the distribution of lands to the needy.\(^{13}\)

### 4.2.5 Birth of Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal

All India Sarva Seva Sangh meeting was held during the Padayatra of Vinoba Bhave in Palani from 16-22 November 1956. Vinoba asked to dissolve Bhoodan Committees and to carry on the movement with the active participation of the people based on sampattidan without any assistance from the Centre. As a result, Bhoodan Committee in Tamil Nadu was dissolved. Inspite of it, Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal was formed on the advice of Vinoba in order to look after Bhoodan lands and to carry out the activities of the movement. Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal started functioning with effect from 31st December 1956 with the support of the public and in particular Khadi Institutions, Gandhi Niketan Ashram at T Kallupatti and Gandhigram. The following Satyagrahis enrolled themselves as members of Sarvodaya Mandal. Shri. K. Arunachalam, Shri. N. Ramasamy, Shri. V. Ramachandran, Shri. R.R. Keithan, Shri. G. Subramaniam, Shri. S.R. Subramaniam, Shri. Nana Lalpat, Shri. S. Veerappan, Shri. S. Jaganathan and Shri. R. Gurusamy. Both Shri. S. Jaganathan and Shri. R. Gurusamy served as the secretary of the Mandal. The headquarters of the said Mandal started functioning in the premises of Gandhi Niketan Ashram at T. Kallupatti and later it was shifted to Batlagundu. Currently the Sarvodaya Mandal is housed in the Gandhi Museum Complex, Madurai. Shri. K.M. Natarajan and Shri. A. Kanagasabapathy served as Secretary of the Sarvodaya Mandal.
4.2.6 Birth of Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh

The Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh was formed in 1958 to take Charkha Sangh of which Mahatma Gandhi was President till his death. It consisted of nearly a 100 branches, about 300 workers, and an annual production of nearly Rs.33 lakhs and a sale of nearly Rs.40 lakhs. Even before this take over, experiments in decentralization were going on for 10 years. Beginning in 1936 with what called Ratti Kazhagangal (Charkha Clubs) which gave place to spinner's club (Kattai Mandals) and later on to Gramodaya Khadi Sanghs. There were hundreds of them at the grass roots level. They handled almost half of production. Later on the sangh's activities were handled by nearly 37 Vibhags-departments with a Sanchalak-secretary as its administrative head. Later on they were reduced to five and then to 19. These divisions and administrative additions were going on right from 1951 to 1958. The Saranjam-Tools like charkha Sammelan-conference in 1951 at Madurai yielded the Ambar Charkha designed by Shri. Ekambaranathan of Pappangulam, Tamil Nadu.

It was during the Padayatra of Vinobaji in Tamil Nadu that autonomy for khadi work in Tamil Nadu was mooted and decision to separate the Tamil Nadu Khadi work from the Sarva Seva sangh was taken in the presence of Vinobaji at karivalamvandanallur in 1956 in the presence of a representative gathering of Khadi workers.

The final decision to accede to the request was taken at the Sangh Adhivesan in Padharpur in 1957 and finally approved at a meeting of the Sangh at Sokhodevra in Bihar, finally setting it seal at the Sangh meeting at Benares. The Sangh was registered and began to function autonomously from April 1958. Its headquarters is located at Veerapandi, Tirupur.

4.2.7 Gramdan Development Activities

During Vinoba's Padayatra—walking tour, a huge gift of village Gramdan was received in Madurai district. The entire Thirumangalam taluk was in the process of
covering under gramdan. A similar situation also prevailed in Batlagundu area. In order to assess the extent of area covered under gramdan and its legal aspects, a survey committee was constituted on 16-1-1957 under the chairmanship of the Madurai District Collector. Deputy Development Commissioner, Shri. S. Jaganathan and Shri. R. Gurusamy as members of the said committee. On the recommendation of this committee, State level Bhoodan Board was formed on 25-1-1959. The State Bhoodan Board was initially headed by Shri. K. Arunachalam with members namely Shri. K. Kamaraj, Shri. P.S. Chinnadurai, Shri. S. Jaganathan, Shri. P. Jeevanantham, Shri. Ma.Po. Sivagnanam, Shri. S.R. Subramaniam, Shri. K. Venkatachalapathy and Shri. A. Avaiyan as the Secretary. Since 1970 Bhoodan Board functioned under the presidentship of Swamy Vidyananda Saraswathi in Madurai District. Subsequently, a ten Gramdan Sarvodaya Cooperative Society was registered. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi in Tamil Nadu took necessary efforts to carry out constructive programmes in all the ten gramdan villages. Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh Vannangulam, Koniyampatty, Palapatty and old Batlagundu provided necessary assistance to the gramdan development activities. A wellwisher of Sarvodaya from Quakers group based in England, Mr. Donald Groom provided financial assistance to dig wells in Batlagundu area. At that time, Shri. R.R. Keithan’s 60th birthday was celebrated at Batlagundu in a grand manner. During this period, Sarvodaya Ashram at Batlagundu (now at Kanavaipatty) was founded and Shri. A. Avaiyan was made the Secretary. Shri. Meyer from Germany during the year 1967 and Shri. Javani from Italy during the year 1969 started associating with gramdan development programmes by providing financial assistance. Ultimately, they became instrumental in organizing Meyer Trust with effect from 18-4-1974 and Sarva Seva Sangh with effect from 30-12-1978 and they were registered as an independent organization.15

4.2.8 Sarvodaya Conferences

In Tamil Nadu, leaders like Sri. Kuttiji, Sri. Jaganathan, Sri. S.R. Subramaniam and Sri. R.T.P. Subramaniam were instrumental to spread the ideology of Sarvodaya
and Gramdan in the beginning days of the movement. It was a historically significant
fact that about 20,000 farmers/peasants joined the Padayatra which began from
Batlagundu to Madurai. The following are the details of the Sarvodaya Conferences
held in Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{46}

4.2.8.1 The Chronicle of Sarvodaya Conferences in Tamil Nadu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Year &amp; Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Kadambur</td>
<td>1954 Sep. 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Third Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Thiruthurai poondi</td>
<td>1955 June 4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fourth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Padiyur</td>
<td>1960 June 11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fifth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Pappanadu</td>
<td>1961 June 3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sixth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Thirupathur (NA)</td>
<td>1963 May 24, 25, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Seventh Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Kalugumalai</td>
<td>1964 May 19, 20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Eighth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Trichy</td>
<td>1968 Aug. 20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ninth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1970 May 9, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tenth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Thiruvarur</td>
<td>1973 June 9, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Eleventh Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Arupukottai</td>
<td>1984 May 5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Twelfth Sarvodaya Conference</td>
<td>Trichy</td>
<td>1995 May 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides this, the following conferences were organized by the Gandhi Mandra
lyakkam—Gandhi Movement and it has organized 229 Gandhi Clubs in the villages
of Tamil Nadu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Venue</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Conference</td>
<td>Usilampatti</td>
<td>23-8-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Conference</td>
<td>Dindigul</td>
<td>9-10-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Conference</td>
<td>Kathappatti</td>
<td>9-12-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Conference</td>
<td>Mayiladumparai</td>
<td>12-10-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Conference</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>29-12-91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may further be noted that so far two national level Sarvodaya Conferences were held in Tamil Nadu, i.e., Kancheepuram (May 1956) and Mannargudi (June 1986).\(^\text{47}\)

In the said conferences, important dignitaries like Shri. C. Rajagopalachari, Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri. Sankar Rao Dev, Ms. Vimala Thakur, Shri. Dada Dharmadhikari, Shri. O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar, Shri. Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, Thavathiru Kundrakudi Adigalar and Ministers of Tamil Nadu graced the occasion. Sri. N. Mahalingam, industrialist was the president of the Sarvodaya Conference held at Madras in the year 1970 and he looked after all the arrangements of the conference. It was at the ninth Sarvodaya conference at Madras where 'State Dan' Tamil Nadu dan was declared.

Besides, Gramdan Conference was held at Alanganallur in December 2 and 3, 1961. The then Planning Committee member Sri. Shriman Narayan took part in it. The Gramdan movement was active by way of organizing Gram Swaraj Conferences, District Sarvodaya Conferences and Constructive Workers Conferences. Gramdan programmes were in full swing and a massive signature campaign was launched under the leadership of Sri. K. Venkatachalapathy when he was the President of Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh. A sum of Rs. 6 lakhs was earmarked for Gramdan programmes during 1968-69 on the advice of the said president. Several hundreds of youths participated in it. It has enabled to declare State Dan—Tamil Nadu Dan at the Madras Conference during the year 1970. In the central province of Tamil Nadu, 'People's awareness and Revolutionary Conference' (Makkal Eluchi Maanadu) took place at Trichy. Shri. R. Subramaniam made elaborate arrangements for the said conference. Shri. Jayaprakash Narayan also participated and addressed the conference.\(^\text{48}\)
4.2.9 Cow Protection Movement

Gram Swaraj Conference was held at Paunar from 25-27 December 1978 and it turned into the conference of cow protection movement. Vinobaji declared that he would go on fast unto death if the Government of Kerala and West Bengal fail to enact legislation on cow protection. The representatives of both State governments requested an extension of time for bringing legislation on cow protection. However, Vinoba was gracious and granted 113 days but, these two States did not take action and became silent. Subsequently Vinoba declared his fast and he would happy to die during fasting.

In Tamil Nadu cow protection committee was constituted with Shri. S. Jaganathan as the president and Shri. R. Varadhan as the Secretary. Satyagrahis in Tamil Nadu stopped taking cows to Kerala plunging in to action at the important places like Cumbum, T. Kallupatti, Batlagundu, Arokiapuram, Koothiar Gundu Medu, Alagapuri and Oddanchatram. In Nellai District, cow protection movement was gaining momentum under the leadership of Shri. R.T.P. Subramaniam. In Trichy District, three hundred people were arrested in this connection. A Farmer’s rally was organized on 22-4-1979 and all the farmers presented a petition to the then Chief Minister of Kerala requesting to pass legislation seeking cow protection. Madurai district cow protection conference was organized at Cumbum on 1-4-1979 and a similar conference was held at Trichy on 16-9-1979 in which Shri. R.K. Patel and Shri. Radhakrishna Bajaj participated and addressed the gathering. A State level conference of cow protection took place at Madurai on 29-9-1980. The then Governor of Tamil Nadu Shri. Prabhudas Patwari inaugurated it and Shri. S. Jaganathan presided over the conference. In the meanwhile a legislation was passed in Tamil Nadu ensuring cow protection. Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal sought the blessings of Kanchi Kamakodi Peedam for the growth of cow protection movement. However, Sarvodaya Movement prepared the people in support of the cow protection movement.\textsuperscript{19}
4.2.10 Enrollment of Sarvodaya Friends

As a token of encouragement to Sarvodaya Movement, people were asked to enroll themselves as a friend of Sarvodaya by way of donating Rs.100 per year and it was initiated by Shri. R.R. Keithan and Shri. S. Jaganathan during the year 1978. They continued this work till 1979. Totally 500 friends of Sarvodaya were enrolled in important places like Nellai, Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Trichy, Coimbatore, Nilgiris, Chengalput, Tanjore and Madras. Gradually, the enrollment declined and the members who donated in the first year failed to pay the same in the subsequent year. As part of fund raising Rs.2,18,306 was collected under the auspices of J.P. Amirdha Kosh Fund in Tamil Nadu.\(^50\)

4.2.11 Pioneering Areas for Gram Swaraj

Since the following areas in different districts contributed a huge Gramdan, it was resolved to launch Gram Swaraj activities by way of starting Gram Sabhas. Further, it was decided to implement ‘Gandhi Area Planning’ in the following areas.\(^51\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tirunelveli</td>
<td>Radhapuram, Nanguneri, Kaithar, Ottappidaram, Melaneditha Nallur, Sankaran Koil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ramanathapuram</td>
<td>Paramakudi, Muthukulathur, Bogalur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>Batlagundu, Nilakkottai, Kottampatti, Natharr, Sanarpatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Trichy</td>
<td>Manikandam, Marungapuri, Vaiyampatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pudukkottai</td>
<td>Viralimalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tanjore</td>
<td>Kivalur, Thiruvarur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>South Arcot</td>
<td>Gingi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Athoor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>Thondamuthur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Chengleput</td>
<td>Uttiramerur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal, Madurai, 1983.
4.2.12 LAFTI in Thanjavur

The Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu has restored land to the landless through the Bhoodan, Gramdan Movement of Acharya Vinoba, in which Krishnammal, Jagannathan and many other Sarvodaya workers have distributed land to the poor and it is their life’s mission. During the Bhoodan Movement, Tamil Nadu had distributed nearly 63,000 acres to 40,000 families, whereas all over India 4.2 million acres have been distributed to 3 million families—an unparalleled movement to get the land by change of heart as gift and distribute to the landless.

The tragic incident of 44 lives of depressed class men, women and children were burnt to death due to wage dispute in Thanjavur, the granary of Tamil Nadu, was the cause for Krishnammal, Jagannathan and few others to rush to Thanjavur District and conduct peace marches for almost two years conveying the message of transfer of land through love and conversion of heart and democratic means. Sarvodaya Movement organized LAFTI (Land for the Freedom of Tillers) to restore land through legal process. The landlords were ready to sell their lands and settle in cities. LAFTI took this opportunity to contact as many good landlords as possible and transferred land to the landless poor.\textsuperscript{52}

The Sarvodaya Movement during the whole year of 1994 strengthened Gram Sabhas and gave intensive training to people in nonviolent technique by organizing a series of conferences, camps, fasting programmes etc. During the fasting programmes the people exchanged views and planned for satyagraha. The fasting and prayers lifted the people to serious nonviolent planning. The people marched to the operation places of the prawn companies digging prawn tanks with huge machines, bulldozers, earth movers etc. On the way of their march, the people offered prayers at the temple and then with slogans 'Mahatma Gandhiji ki jai, Lead thou kindly light,' they lined in front of the machines and appealed to the operators to stop digging prawn tanks in the fertile agricultural land, and marched 2 kilometers to the nearest police station and the police chose only leaders both men and women to be arrested and sent to far
off prisons, the rest of the people were sent back home. The action of the people were absolutely peaceful and nonviolent but the police charge them with false criminal cases, that the people came armed with weapons; these criminal cases were foisted on the people by the police in collusion with prawn companies. The prawn companies have organized their own band of goondas to attack the villages during midnights and terrorize the villagers.

Then the State Government came forward to enact 'Aquaculture Regulation Act of 1995,' which was very defective, supporting the prawn companies. The Act was merely an eye wash as the State Government itself had planned a Government prawn farm of 2,000 acres in Tirunelveli District. The prawn culture was organized and strengthened by money and muscle power but the people continued their struggle in spite of repression and terrorism by the police and goondas of prawn companies.

4.2.13 Gram Swaraj Movement

LAFTI had organized Gram Swaraj Movement, as a special organization of the people. The Tamil Nadu Gram Swaraj Movement filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court against prawn culture.

The Supreme Court gave an interim judgement as follows:

1. Prohibiting the occupation of cultivable lands.
2. Prohibiting pumping, sucking of ground water, and restricting the growth and spread of prawn farms.

But many companies violating the Supreme Court interim order started their work in haste to complete the digging of prawn tanks. Gram Swaraj Movement and other environmental workers organized demonstrations and fasting programmes in front of the District Collector's office that the officials should implement the interim judgement. Jaganathan and other environmental workers were arrested during their fasting period and hospitalized by the police. As the Collector and Superintendent of
Police did not implement the Supreme Court Interim Judgement, the Gram Swaraj Movement filed contempt of court case against Bask, Bisma and Swama Matchaya Companies and also against the District Collector and District Superintendent of Police. The contempt of court case is still pending in the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court decided to go into the whole problem of prawn culture in all the eight coastal States of India and deputed the environmental experts from NEERI (National Environmental Engineering Institute of India) for study and report. The Supreme Court after taking into consideration all factors, gave a unique judgement on December 11, 1996 that all the prawn farms within the Coastal Regulation Zone in the country should be demolished. Why this strong judgement to demolish? There are valid reasons for such a severe judgement. The Indian millionaires involving in prawn industry got loans and subsidies from multinationals, World Bank, etc. With all the money power in their hands they set up illegally their prawn farms in cultivable lands occupied poramboke and temple lands and also destroyed coconut and palmyra trees, all these done in violation of the existing laws. They never cared for the environmental regulations. Even though from the period of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi the then Prime Ministers and later Menaka Gandhi as Environmental Minister, recommended by environmental scientists declared 500 metres from high tide line as the zonal limit prawn companies openly violated these environmental regulations; many companies set up their pumping stations in the sea itself. The prawn companies had the audacity to violate the environmental laws. Taking into consideration all these factors the Supreme Court ordered demolition.53

The people and environmentalists never imagined that the prawn companies would go to the extent of moving the Central Government and by exerting pressure by all dubious ways, and were able to influence the Ministry to move the Aquaculture Authority Bill in the Rajya Sabha to scuttle the Supreme Court Judgement.

This bill is sanctioning permit with retrospective effect from the year 1991 to continue their farms as opposed to the demolition of prawn farms by the judgements.
of Supreme Court and also this Bill provides freedom to the prawn companies to establish prawn farms wherever they want. They need not get license to start and may get it later after 6 months, thus giving all freedom to prawn companies. If the Bill is passed in the Lok Sabha, prawn farms will increase many fold in the country.

The Aquaculture Authority Bill was passed in the Rajya Sabha on the last day at the fag end of the session by voice vote without any discussion. Now the Gram Swaraj Movement and other environmental workers are confronting these prawn companies in the Parliament. They are determined that this black bill should not be passed in the Lok Sabha during the session of April and May 1997. They were afraid during the last days of the session from May 12th to 16th the Bill might be taken for discussion. Therefore, the Chairman of Tamil Nadu Gram Swaraj Movement Shri. S. Jaganathan declared indefinite fast pleading with the Lok Sabha members to repeal the Bill. The Minister for Food and Agriculture, Shri. Chaturanan Mishra on 14th, May 1997, the third day of fast visited the fasting site at Gandhi Samadhi, Rajghat, New Delhi and stated that the Bill would not come for discussion in this session and he would go round the coastal States for study and then decide about the Bill. At this request Jaganathan broke his fast. 

The Gram Swaraj Movement has the responsibility of carrying on this struggle in the Parliament and also at the same time organizing the people for nonviolent struggle in the coastal areas. Now the Gram Swaraj Movement has two fronts, one front organizing the people of coastal areas to be ready for any eventuality and start to implement the Supreme Court Judgement and also at the same time they have to be ready with all literature to explain the evils of destructive economy of prawn culture and meet all the party leaders and Lok Sabha members and explain to them the seriousness of the problem affecting millions of people, fishermen, landless labourers and small farmers in the coastal areas.

Tamil Nadu Gram Swaraj Movement planned Satyagraha for repeal of the Aquaculture Authority Bill and implementation of the Supreme Court Judgement by
organizing a National Action Committee against Industrial Aquaculture at Delhi on 30th July 1997.55

4.2.14 Memorable Events

During 1980, Dharmapuri District was affected by the communal riots and a team of nine Sarvodayites headed by Shri. S. Jaganathan rushed to violence-prone areas of Dharmapuri District in order to assess the situation and bring back normalcy. While visiting closer to the area, the vehicle in which the team travelled was stopped abruptly and they were attacked at Marandakalli. As a result, Shri. S. Jaganathan started fasting and it continued for a week at Marandakalli. Followed by fasting, Padayatra was undertaken in the areas of Dharmapuri and North Arcot District. The Padayatra team realized that there was so much to be done for the backward, downtrodden and the unemployed. It was felt that the services of the constructive institutions was the need of the hour in the said districts.

Besides, a massive Sarvodaya rally was organized in Madras urging the Government to impose prohibition. A signature campaign was also launched against liquor menace and a petition signed by lakhs of people was submitted to the then Chief Minister at the Secretariat, Madras. Posters and Wall Newspapers highlighting the importance of prohibition were made available to arrest the attention of the public. As part of the prohibition campaign, Madurai District Conference on Prohibition was held at Vadipatti. The delegates of the said conference extended all moral support to activise prohibition movement. Some of the areas in East Tanjore closed arrack shops as a result of the Padayatras—a pilgrimage on foot undertaken by women folk from two villages. Such an action by the women had given confidence that the evils in the society can be eradicated through Stree shakthi—Women's power.

4.2.15 Memorable Sarvodaya Personalities

Sarvodaya Movement no doubt, has been adorned with three great personalities Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. All the three leaders
had visited Tamil Nadu and blessed it. Gandhi visited Tamil Nadu thrice before 1946 whereas Vinoba visited Tamil Nadu during his Bhoodan Padayatra—a pilgrimage on foot during 1950’s. Jayaprakash Narayan visited Tamil Nadu on several occasions and encouraged the activities of the Sarvodaya Movement. Shri. Shankar Rao Dev undertook Padayatra very often in Tamil Nadu. How can Sarvodaya Movement ignore and forget all the personalities who had put their soul and poured love on the movement for its growth. The man behind the very first Bhoodan gift in Tamil Nadu was from Munachipatty M.G. Shankar Reddiar and the first person who gave Gramdan was by Kallianpoondi Ramakrishna Reddiar, Pattiveranpatti, W.P.A.R. Chandrasekaran, service conscious Koodalur K.P.V. Giri, Coimbatore G.V. Ramaswamy, Tanjore D.K. Srinivasan, Thirupur D.P. Ramaswamy, Chennimalai Murugesan, Kulasai Veerasivam, Palavoor Subramaniam, Vijaya Narayanam, Sivakasi Subramania Thevar, Sivaganga Sethu Ramachandran, Jokilpatty Thiruppatti Reddiar, Vadalur Thiru. Naranan, Shanthi Sainik R.T.P. Subramaniam and others who have contributed their might for the growth of the Bhoodan, Gramdan and Sarvodaya Movement. During Bhoodan Padayatra, Shri. N. Ramaswamy was the one who brought out several pamphlets and booklets regarding the activities of the movement. He recorded all the daily events that occurred in the movement. Shri. K. Venkatachalapathy was the father figure of Gram Swaraj in Tamil Nadu who inspired and motivated many of the Sarvodaya workers in the movement.56

4.2.16 Common Programmes of Sarvodaya Movement

There are hundred and forty six constructive institutions and Sarvodaya organizations in Tamil Nadu57 (A table showing the number of constructive institutions in Tamil Nadu District-wise break up is attached in the appendix). Each institution has its own programmes based on the local needs and priority indicated by the villagers in the respective areas. All the institutions and organizations in Tamil Nadu revolved around constructive programmes being the hub of the Gandhian institutions. Besides, there are Gandhian institutions undertaking Government programmes like Integrated Rural Development Programmes, Social Forestry and Health Programmes etc.
The following are the common activities of the Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{58}

1. State level Sarvodaya Conference
2. Gram Smriti Yatra - Involving youth
3. Gram Swaraj Padayatra
4. A short term course in Gandhian Thought
5. Conducting various competitions for school children
6. Gandhi youth movement cycle rally
7. Constructive workers camp
8. Shanti Sena training camp
9. Communal Goodwill Yatra—Visiting violence-prone areas
10. Undertaking fast and satyagraha in the riot—hit areas of Tamil Nadu
11. Prohibition campaign-anti-liquor march
12. A rural camp on Natural Living
13. Exhibition on Gandhi, Khadi and Sarvodaya
14. Khadi Workers Conference
15. Special inter-religious prayer for communal harmony
16. Sarvodaya thinkers forum
17. Fellowship of Friends of Truth (FFT) Meetings
18. Gandhi Jeyanthi Celebrations
19. Sarvodaya Mela (Festival)
20. Educational Training for Peace
21. Panchayat Yatra-Tour in Tamil Nadu
22. Sarvodaya Fortnight Programmes
23. Annual Peace March in some districts involving educational institutions
24. Cow Protection
25. Organizing Gandhi Mandram/Association
26. India-Sri Lanka Peace Pilgrim
27. World Peace March—Kanyakumari to Japan
28. Village Awakening Programme
29. Drought-prone Programmes
30. Women’s Development programmes
31. Adult Education Programmes
32. Sarvodaya Balavadis

In many new settlements in Tamil Nadu, Sarvodaya Balavadis (school for children) are run on high standards. The Lok Sevaks also provide the Sarvodaya literature to the farmers and help them to understand its ideals. In some settlements, universal religious services based on Sarvodaya spirituality are run for the benefit of the farmers. Recreation and cultural activities are organized to keep the community developing. Through many such activities it is hoped that a Sarvodaya society will be established in certain developing sectors of India. The Sarvodaya workers of Tamil Nadu are enthusiastic about sharing a particular success story they associate with the village of Uchapatty. It is their belief that here the ideal of a Sarvodaya society is being achieved. And, if it can happen here, it can happen elsewhere.

4.3 Sarvodaya Peace Movement in Tamil Nadu

Sarvodaya Peace Movement in Tamil Nadu was launched at Madurai as part of the Sarvodaya programmes culminating on 30th January 1985, the day of Martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi. The late Dr. Aram, peace worker and Sarvodaya leader played a key role in the formation of this movement and several constructive work institutions in Tamil Nadu came under this banner.

Based on the encouraging response from all sections of people including students, teachers, social workers, voluntary organizations rural youth and others it was decided to have a continuing organization known as Sarvodaya Peace Movement.
4.3.1 Nuclear Disarmament

The Sarvodaya Peace Movement demanded cessation of production of atomic weapons. It holds that production and possession of these weapons is a crime against humanity. It also demanded that all nuclear powers—USA, USSR, UK, France and China—declare they will never be the first to use the nuclear weapons. The movement commended China for having adopted this "no first use" policy. It also commended the then USSR which had adopted the same policy. Further, it appealed to the USA to declare that they would not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The movement welcomed the positive outcome of the Geneva Talks in which the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. George P. Shultz and the Foreign Minister of the follow-up talks to be held in the future and hoped that they would produce concrete measures to speed up arms control.

The Sarvodaya Peace Movement supported India's consistent policy that they would never use nuclear energy for war purposes. The movement is hopeful that India would remain steadfast in this policy of using nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.

4.3.2 Six Nation Summit

The movement warmly supported the Six Nation Summit held in 1994-95. It is encouraging that Sweden and Greece from Europe, Mexico and Argentina from the Americas, Tanzania from Africa and India from Asia have taken this initiative to demand nuclear disarmament. The movement was hopeful that the said Delhi Summit would lead to further concrete steps to persuade the two super-powers to reduce nuclear weapons and prevent the militarization of outer space.

4.3.3 Appeal to Central Government

The movement suggested to the Government of India that they may set up a separate Ministry of Peace and Disarmament. This Ministry of Peace should, in a
systematic manner, try to bring about declaration of the arms race not only between the super-powers but also between Asian nations including Pakistan and China.

### 4.3.4 ABC Triangle

The Sarvodaya Peace Movement supports the seminal idea put forth by the late Sarvodaya Leader Acharya Vinoba Bhave, that we should build ABC Triangle including Afghanistan, Burma and Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bhutan. The movement suggested that there should be a confederation of these seven nations in South Asia whereby there could be a common security system as well as mutual economic cooperation.

### 4.3.5 Sri Lanka Issue

The Sarvodaya Peace Movement is profoundly disturbed over the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. The present spiral of violence and counter-violence involving considerable loss of life and destruction of property should be halted. Attempts to find a political solution should be revived and intensified in order to help this process. Sarvodaya Peace Movement proposed to hold a seminar on the Sri Lanka issue in which outstanding leaders, distinguished experts and academicians and peace workers would participate. The object of the seminar will be to study the issue in a dispassionate manner and evolve a formula for the amicable solution of the political problem. The guiding principles will be that the solution should be acceptable to all concerned and it should be honourable to both parties. The two broad parameters would be that violence should be eschewed as a method and the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka must be respected.  

### 4.3.6 Shanti Sena

The Sarvodaya Peace Movement would continue to propagate the idea of Shanti Sena, a seminal concept given to mankind by Mahatma Gandhi. Shanti Sena aims at organizing the forces of nonviolence and peace in order to solve socio-economic and
political problems in human society. "Organization is the test of non-violence" said Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhigram Rural University is perhaps, the only University in the world which has a systematic programme of Shanti Sena i.e. training of youth in nonviolence. 25 villages around Gandhigram have also set up Village Peace Brigades. The researcher also experienced in organizing Shanti Sena programmes. The movement will take the idea of Shanti Sena to all the universities, colleges and schools. One important off-shoot of Shanti Sena will be ‘Bala Shanti Sena’ - Children's Peace Brigade.

Visitors, both Indian and Foreign, are impressed by the programme of Gandhigram Shanti Sena.63

4.3.7 Peace Education

Peace Education in universities and colleges and schools will be a major dimension of the Sarvodaya Peace Movement. Gandhigram University has been collaborating with other universities interested in promoting programmes of Peace Education. The movement would collaborate with WCRP (World Conference on Religion and Peace) in developing a "Inter-University Project in Peace Education" (IPPE).

4.3.8 Eradication of Poverty

Peace with justice is the motto of the Sarvodaya Peace Movement. It will support grass root struggles to eradicate poverty and eliminate injustice. It will fight for the liberation of the weaker sections particularly landless peasantry and the establishment of Grama Swaraj: Gandhi's dream.64

4.3.9 Magazines

There are three popular magazines of Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu.65 i.e., Sarvodayam (Tamil Monthly 500 copies) Sarvodaya (English Monthly 500 copies)
and Grama Rajyam (Tamil Weekly 3000 copies). These magazines are mouth pieces of the movement.

The diagram 4.2 shows the circulation figures of Grama Rajyam and there has been a slow decline in the circulation of the said weekly. Almost three-fourth of the total circulation has taken place and gradually declined to one-fourth, whereas the monthly Sarvodaya in English maintain the standard number of issues, ever since it was launched. Sarvodayam in Tamil maintains the same number. At the national level, Vigil, Sansthakul, Gandhi Marg, and Quarterly Bulletins of several constructive institutions of India highlight significant programmes of Sarvodaya Movement from time to time.

In the beginning, all the literature and publications relating to Sarvodaya both in English and Tamil were published under the auspices of Sarvodaya Prachuralaya-publishing House at Tanjore. It was looked after by Shri. N. Ramaswamy. Sarvodaya literature was made available to the public at large. Besides, conference, book exhibition and book reviews were arranged for the benefit of people. (See Figure 4.2)

4.4 Future Plans of Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu

The following programmes of Sarvodaya Movement in Tamil Nadu for the next five years are under way as observed by the Sarvodayites.

While celebrating the Golden Jubilee of India's Independence and 50th year of Gandhiji's Martyrdom during 1998, the movement will involve as many youths as possible.

It is proposed to undertake an assessment of the evolution of India's polity and socio-economic development in the context of the Indian ethos beginning from 19th century Renaissance to the special role played by Mahatma Gandhi during his life time.
Figure 4.2
Grama Rajyam at a Glance

* 28,000 copies were circulated per month between 1946 and 1956.

Source: Grama Rajyam, Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangh, Tirupur.
A comprehensive and critical assessment of Gandhian Sarvodaya Work done after Mahatma Gandhi.

It was also decided that no government fund should be accepted and whatever the movement (Smarak Nidhi) could spare for this purpose should be supplemented through public donations to meet the total expenditure to be incurred on this five year project in accordance with the recommendations of the Working Group.

Although Sarvodaya Patra-Home bank is familiar among the people, it is not implemented effectively. Necessary efforts will be made to encourage and organize schools to keep earthen pots or any utensils in which the school children would put a handful of grain or any amount put in the Sarvodaya ‘Hundial’—A money box everyday before eating the mid-day nutritious meal.

Home bank or Sarvodaya Patra is a pot symbolic of peace will continue to be encouraged in each household in which the youngest member of the family puts a handful of grain from the measured out quantity for the day’s meals as a vote for peace. The collections, when converted into cash, are used for promoting peace among the poor families by giving income generating programmes.

All the Constructive Institutions/Gandhian and Sarvodaya Centres in Tamil Nadu are determined to have closer links with Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka with a view to bring peace and harmony in the island.

Sarvodaya Movement will continue to organize periodical training programmes for the youths to take up a constructive role in the community.

Sarvodaya Movement is determined to discourage the multinationals occupying a pivotal role in the economic scene of India as multinationals are turning our youths into avid and unthinking consumerists through media and it is destroying the moral backbone of youths in the country.
Campaigns and Padayatras (Walking Tour), Vahana Yatra (Tour on wheels) and cycle tour (pedaling for Gram Swaraj) will continue to be the effective strategies of the movement.

Balasangams otherwise known as village youth organization could be trained effectively to impart the ideals of Sarvodaya to the public through various form of entertainment. The cultural programmes include periodical screening of educational films on agriculture, cow protection, health, hygiene, family planning and prohibition.

Sarvodaya Kala Kendras—cultural centre may be created as part of cultural dimensions of the Sarvodaya Movement as it has been functioning in Calcutta, West Bengal under the leadership of Dr. Pratap Chander, Calcutta.

The movement plans to honour every year, three outstanding young Gandhian workers whose contribution to Sarvodaya work is considered to be excellent as has been practised by Ashoka Gondia Trust, founded by veteran constructive worker Shri. Roti Bhai Gondia, in memory of his only son.

A Common Training Centre for Sarvodaya Movement is to be established so as to train people committed to Sarvodaya in Tamil Nadu. It may be named as State Institute for Sarvodaya Leadership (SISL).

There is an urgent need for Network of Sarvodaya Centres/Gandhian Institutions so as to bring all the Sarvodaya leaders and workers under one banner to decide and carry out common programmes in Tamil Nadu. In the case of the individual leaders, they are concentrating on a particular work of their own interest.

Villagers and the people in all walks of life will be urged to take a pledge for their commitment to the following goal:
* Organize a community dinner irrespective of caste and creed.

* Resolve to use the village products.

* Boycott symbol of consumerist culture like tooth pastes and brushes, cosmetics, iodized salt, cold drinks and readymade garment manufactured in collaboration with multinationals.

* Announce prohibition of all drinks and drugs.

* Resolve to settle all disputes in the village without resort to courts.
End Notes


17. The Hindu (17 Oct.'97), P.3.


29. Ibid, P.338.


37. Ibid, P.16.


39. Ibid., P.301.


46. All the relevant, available records and information collected from the Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal, Madurai, 1997.
47. V. Selvaraj, 1986. 27th All India Sarvodaya Sammelan, Souvenir, Mannargudi, Tamil Nadu, P.8.
50. Ibid, P.10.
51. Available information and charts from the Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Mandal, Madurai, 1996.
52. Land for the Freedom of Tillers (LAFTI), 1993 to 1997 and People’s Action to protect the Coastal Ecology, Satyagraha Against Shrimp Industry, LAFTI, Kuthur, P.1.
54. Ibid, P.3-4.
55. The Hindu (Sep.7, 1997), P.4.
58. Based on reports from different Sarvodaya Organizations in Tamil Nadu and Sansthakul published by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi.
59. Within Sarvodaya Movement, the followers of Jayaprakash Narayan are more apt to involve themselves in politics as history has shown. The followers of Vinoba continue to discourage any such involvement.
61. The researcher witnessed the proceedings of the discussions regarding the formation of the Sarvodaya Peace Movement during the year 1985.
63. Reports available in the Shanti Sena Unit, Gandhigram Rural Institute, Gandhigram.


65. Information collected from Grama Rajyam, Tamil Nadu Sarvodaya Sangam, Tirupur.