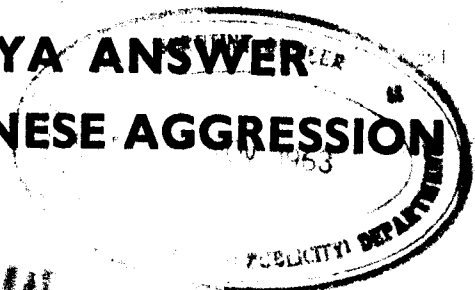


SARVODAYA ANSWER TO CHINESE AGGRESSION



By
Jayaprakash Narayan



450

SARVODAYA PRACHURALAYA
Thanjavur :: India

1st Edition : August, 1963

V 12 : 51 27 N02

N63
ACC. NO. III
Dt 6.12.77

Price : 50 nP.

U. S. 20 cents.

U. K. 1 sh.



Printed by
Rainbow Printers
Trichirapalli, India

PUBLISHER'S NOTE



We are presenting in this brochure an outstanding speech of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan while inaugurating the Sixth Tamilnad Sarvodaya Conference in the morning of 24th May 1963. He continued his morning speech in the evening session also while replying to the Municipal address. The speech is an emphatic declaration of his faith in disarmament and non-violent defence. His persuasive and impassioned appeal for non-violence was an answer to the Chinese aggression and presented a full picture of Sarvodaya with Gramdam etc as a challenge to communism on the ideological encounter.

This is a tape-recorded version of the speech. The tempo and fervour of the moving personal appeal are retained without editing and therefore some repetitions have become unavoidable.

Thanjavur, }
Aug. 1963. } Sarvodaya Prachuralaya.

SARVODAYA ANSWER

TO CHINESE AGGRESSION

WE are now meeting here at a most critical time of the country. I feel honestly that the Sarvodaya movement and philosophy alone are the complete answers to the present crisis that the country is facing today. While other nations were getting into conflict, leading to a war, India was advising them to settle the disputes by direct talk and negotiations, avoiding any war. When we were offering advice to other nations outside, what we said was more of an abstract nature with a philosophical import. Today, when India stands actually facing a crisis on account of the Chinese aggression, she has to face a real problem and has to find a concrete solution. As a matter of fact, it was an abstract question from the politicians down to a common man to philosophise to the world about peace. But in this actual crisis, we are face to face with a conflict, and it has put us to test whether the advice that we have been offering to others will hold good for us. But the tragedy of the situation is that India is just adopting the same method against which we have been advising others.

There is no sensible man who wants war or wants to create any condition leading to war. I think it was universally agreed that war should be avoided by all possible means. All the 115 member-nations of the United Nations Organization are committed to the principle of settling all disputes between themselves by peaceful talk and negotiations. This is the very foundation of the U. N. O. whose Charter has clearly laid down the procedure to be adopted in solving disputes between nations.

It may be said that China is not a member of the U. N. O. and therefore, is not bound by U. N. O. Charter. But China was already a party to the Bandung Agreement of 10 points of basic principles that were incorporated in the U. N. O. and accepted by its member nations. Therefore, today all nations are bound by the UNO Charter directly or indirectly.

On the other side, the nations are at a loss to find a way of lasting settlement of disputes. In our own country, the method adopted in Goa was against the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. Both India and Portugal were members of the United Nations. This dispute between India and Portugal over Goa took fourteen years to be solved peacefully. And there was no solution. Then India broke the

pact, the agreement, and military operation started. And at that time most of us became narrow-minded nationalists and forgot that no nationalism in this world to-day can really exist if the peace of the world was really in peril. I think some of you will remember that if there was any voice raised in India against the Goan action, it was that of the Sarvodaya Movement. I think it is the same in the case of the Sino-Indian conflict also. The Sarvodaya Movement only in this country seems to have rightly a real answer to give to this question facing the world to-day.

My Proposal in 1960

It was as early as December, 1960 at the Conference of the War-Resisters' International at Gandhigram in South India near Madurai, where it was left to me as the mouth-piece of the Sarvodaya Movement, to seriously put forward the proposal that the border dispute between India and China should be referred to arbitration, as a fit case to be settled by arbitration. I was wrongly denounced in the Press as well as by political leaders in the country for my foolhardy suggestion. The Prime Minister was put a question in the Parliament, about it. And he just brushed it aside. But again I came back with my proposal, I repeated it again, on behalf of

the Sarvodaya Movement,—because it was not my personal opinion, but was the view of the Sarvodaya Movement—as the President of the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Unguturu in Andhra Pradesh. This time I seem to have created some impression on the minds of our leaders. Some months later, when the Prime Minister was again asked in the Parliament, he said that he did agree in principle with the idea of arbitration, but he did not see it anywhere on the horizon. This should teach a lesson to all of us, Sarvodaya workers. I regretted that we did not pursue that idea of arbitration as persistently perhaps as we should have. We must satisfy ourselves that only by placing before the people a suggestion, I think, we could have pursued it in co-operation with the Peace Movements in other parts of the World; we could have pursued it also with our Government; perhaps discussed this with the Prime Minister; Vinobaji could have taken it up with him, examined it and placed before the Chinese leaders, perhaps in a form which they could have considered, if not accepted.

The idea of arbitration has been explicitly stated in the U. N. Charter and at the Bandung Declaration where it says, that when there is a dispute, the first step towards its settlement

should be: bilateral talk, failing which, there should be mediation, conciliation, good offices and adjudication, if it is a matter which is fit for a case to adjudicate on and finally arbitration. Everywhere the search for peaceful methods of settlement of disputes is going on and it was here that the Sarvodaya Movement in this country was the first to place it before the people and the Government of the country.

Delhi-Peking Friendship March

Are there other peaceful ways of settling disputes also? This is a question which everyone of us must ask himself. A suggestion was made by an American Pacifist-Member of the North American Committee for Non-violent action. The suggestion was that there might be an international group including Indians and others; an International group of Pacifist-votaries of non-violence who could undertake a friendship March from somewhere in India to somewhere in China, so that an effort may be made to stop this war, this Chinese War, this war that stands between the peoples of India and China, so that there could be some kind of a slender bridge established, something of a dialogue made possible between the peoples of India and China, in which the representatives of the Gandhian and the non-violent movements all over the world

could participate. That suggestion was accepted as you all know by the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Shanti Sena Mandal and the Friendship March actually started from Mahatma Gandhi's Samadhi in New Delhi on March 1, and I left it now somewhere near Patna when I started for Tiruppathur.

This, of course, is a small effort and the task that faces us is many times bigger than the Himalayas and people therefore make fun of trying to solve a question such as the Sino-Indian border dispute by such methods. But I think some of you who are old enough might recall that there were many wise people who made the same kind of jokes about Mahatma Gandhi's Dandi March for manufacturing contraband salt, and trying to overthrow the British Government in India, as incongruous things! And yet history shows what happened. People have raised the question whether the message of peace and the message of love has at all to be preached to the Indian people, and it has been said that if the marchers really wish to bring about friendship between India and China, they should go right away to Peking and start preaching to the Chinese people about love and friendship, as though the Indian people are over-flowing with the milk of friendship and love. Whatever you might have read about the black-flags, hostile demonstrations,

slogans, debates in the Assemblies; Chief Ministers' remarks etc. in the papers, let me assure you one thing that wherever the Marchers have really met the people, talked to them, answered their questions, opened out their hearts, shared with them their thoughts, as equals, as friends, they have made an impression, very difficult to describe. But let me tell you this much that if this question between India and China has at all to be settled peacefully, this March is making a real contribution to the settlement beyond all proportions.

The trouble with all these professions, declarations of this peaceful settlement of disputes, is that while everybody prepares for a peaceful settlement, at the same time, everybody prepares for a violent settlement also. Everywhere this is going on, armies are multiplying; weapons are being manufactured, more and more dangerous weapons every day and yet everyone talks of peaceful settlement. It passes one's understanding how a peaceful settlement could come out of a situation like this. If ever a peaceful settlement was possible, it would be only in an atmosphere which is being created by this Friendship March. I think one of the proofs about its being successful is that it is on the right tract. Another proof is that the Friendship March has been attacked

not only in India, but even more violently in China. Just as we are Indian nationalists here, there are also Chinese nationalists there. And this glass of nationalism distorts the reality. The world has become too big for these nationalisms. I have spoken to you about the methods which are advocated, put forward or even used by the movements of non-violence in this country by the Sarvodaya Movement.

The Dangerous Armament Race

What more can we do? We have to-day before us—before India—this gigantic task. We create military power in this country equivalent to the Chinese Power. Last year, we spent Rs. 400 crores on our army and this year we are going to spend nearly 900 crores. We are trying to beg, borrow and buy whatever weapons, arms that we can get from anywhere in this world. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachary, I believe, still is in Washington negotiating with the American Government. Why are we doing all this? Do we think after full consideration, do we really believe that by raising an army, a bigger army than the one we have at present, or like the Chinese army, we can settle this question with China? You will excuse me for saying this, but I deliberately say, that we are setting ourselves against the lesson which history has taught us, the history of thousands of

years that has taught us. It is necessary for us to see this as clearly as the Sun in the sky.

We should go to the people as friendly and tell them as openly and unhesitatingly as possible, explain to them, the foolishness, the absurdity of what is being done. First of all I think it is necessary for us to understand and make the people understand the price that will have to be paid by us for the adequate militarization of this country, the price, not only in terms of sacrifice, hard work, but also in the sense of sacrifice in the values of our life, and the basic values on which the Indian culture has stood all these years. It is easy to see that this is going to set in motion, perhaps one of the biggest armament races that the world has seen between India and China—the end of which it is difficult to see, an endless waste of human resources. This race is not to be confined only to the so-called conventional weapons, because, we know that the Chinese are very actively trying to manufacture their own Atom Bomb and this we know it will not take longer than two years, to test their own Bomb.

For the present the Prime Minister's policy is not to use atomic energy for destructive purposes. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission is working to develop that energy for peaceful

uses. But I doubt very much whether after China had publicly tested her bomb, it would be possible for Mr. Nehru to persist in this policy. The logic of an armament race, the very logic of not being left very much behind our enemy would force him or his successor whenever that event were to take place to reverse this policy of peaceful atom and India also would launch on this path of not only a race in conventional weapons but in nuclear weapons also. The cost of that in material, spiritual, and cultural terms, can easily be imagined. I doubt very much whether this country would be able to bear that cost. I doubt very much whether we could do all that and yet preserve our democratic ways of life, our democratic institutions; I doubt very much whether we could do that and preserve our essential humanity. I am quite sure that the gigantic effort which we might make will lead to complete disaster, which I shall try to picture to you.

Offensive and Defensive War

Imagine that gigantic effort, which would brutalize all of us. People talk of a good deal about an offensive and a defensive war. Every self-righteous Indian says that he cannot think, his country cannot think of starting an offensive war against anybody. All these preparations are only for defence. But perhaps even a child today

Ac. no. 111
Dt 6.12.72

knows that there is no difference left between an offensive war and a defensive war. In these days of total war where it is difficult to find how a war starts, the histories of war teach you it is very difficult to lay a finger exactly at the cause of war. It is very difficult therefore to distinguish between these two. I think it is quite a rational and scientific statement and an objective statement to make that this distinction between an offensive and a defensive war is merely an academic distinction. Every Indian youth today talks about taking back every inch of the Indian territory, which the Chinese have now occupied by force.

Now, suppose the Chinese sit tight on what they have occupied and the flag of China flies over the Aksai—chin, what is India going to do about that? How is it going to fight a defensive war? India is committed to take back every inch of Indian territory. If India builds a great military force for herself, there will be the logical pressure behind it and sooner or later there will have to be a conflict. Then the question as to who shot the first bullet, will mean nothing at all. The fact is there will be a situation in which a war becomes inevitable; of what size will it be and who armed it up first, will not matter. But the dispute is there. Each side sees that the other has injured it, harmed it. A war is bound

to take place in such a situation. We had one little war, lasting an interval of a few weeks and we were exhausted in that war. Now every Indian young man wants to wash off the blot, the shame involved in it. Suppose after India prepares for this second engagement with China, India wins and the flag of China is removed from the Aksai-Chin and the Indian flag flies there. Is there anyone so sensible as to think, that this will settle the dispute with China for ever, that there will be no further war with China; that war will again sow the seeds of a third war and it will go on like that, one war leading to another. Even if you isolate India and China from the entire world and think only of India and China as fighting between themselves, it will be a process which will be unending, which will mean the complete ruination of both India and China, if not of the whole world, because every war in this world now cannot remain a localised war. It is bound to become a global war and you can easily visualise what a world war in this situation will be. Where is your security then? Where is your defence? Where is the protection of the National Interest? Where is this question of settling this border dispute by military preparation, by military means? These are questions which face everyone of us to-day and these are questions which we, the people

of this country must answer, and not only the Government. What can the Government do? What can Mr. Nehru do? He represents us, the people. If we want him to have the biggest army in this world, he will be forced to do it and he can do it and therefore it is for us, the people, for us, Sarvodaya workers, to go to the people and explain to them. It is for them to decide whether they will commit suicide and fall into the ditch. But let us at least place before them all the possible facts and let the people judge for themselves and decide for themselves.

The Alternative to Armaments

What is the alternative? Are Jaiprakash Narayan and the Sarvodaya Movement preaching cowardly submission to aggression, meek acceptance of injustice? I do not think there is anyone here who would for a moment feel that those who believe in nonviolence would for a single moment be prepared to make any kind of compromise with cowardice. If that was the only alternative, two military preparations, two wars, even mutually destructive wars, suicidal wars, would have been better. If cowardly submission, moral degradation was the only alternative, I would not, with the full sense of responsibility, be sitting here and preaching the

renunciation of war, the renunciation of army. It is because, we could not have forgotten so soon, what Mahatma Gandhi taught us and taught the whole world that there is an alternative, not only *an* alternative, but the only alternative. He has shown us that war leads us into more wars, and then into complete destruction. This alternative of non-violence is the only answer to the situation the world is facing to-day. Our means of peaceful settlement like negotiations across the table, good offices, adjudication, arbitration, friendship march and similar methods may succeed, or may fail — but there is no failure for a people who have accepted non-violence and have prepared themselves to resist whatever evil that might come, with non-violence.

The alternative to armament is disarmament — the disarmament of violence and non-violent armament. If we completely unilaterally disarm ourselves, demobilise the Indian army and take in place of violent arms the weapons of non-violence, it would be a real alternative. What would be the implications of non-violent armaments, if the terms could be used together. It would mean that we have to shed our fear; that the Indian people must shed their fear, the fear of war. They should neither fear China,

nor Russia nor America nor all of them put together. We have determined not to bow our heads, before any aggressor, before anyone who wants to impose his will over us. We have to become fearless and we have resolved to resist all injustice, not to bend our knees before any conqueror. If we have done this understandingly, not only Atomic or Nuclear weapons in the world that Russia and America and all of them put together have, would equal the force of such a preparation.

Acceptance of non-violence would not only mean, as I have already explained, giving up military preparation, but it will also mean a radical transformation of our own lives ; a transformation of our social and economic institutions. A non-violent India which has disarmed herself, would be a very different India from what we see to-day — an India of exploitation, of inequality, of all kinds of social injustices, untouchability, caste system, high and low, rich and poor and all these. An India, which has deliberately accepted non-violence will go through this process of transformation. I shall speak about this aspect of non-violent armament later.

I wish to relate that with the more important aspect of this Chinese challenge than merely the military aspect, so that the picture might be

Sarvodaya Answer

to chinese

Aggression

by
Jagaprakash
Narayan

V2:5147 N02

N63

111

1963

complete. It is not as if the acceptance of non-violence is a mechanical thing, we can just throw away the gun from our hand and for the rest, we remain as we are. No, it would mean a complete transformation of our lives, of the society. I wish to ask a question and then answer it. What would happen when the Indian people have accepted non-violence this way, how would the people then be able to face an aggression in that situation?

First of all, friends, I do not think that a country which has adopted non-violence would have many disputes with other countries. And even if it has disputes, perhaps it will be much easier to have them settled than when that country has an army. The settlement of disputes becomes difficult then, because the parties concerned are both trying to negotiate on the basis of what they called 'stand', which ultimately means military stand. That comes in the way of settlement. That would be my first statement of answer to the question, what a Non-violent country like India, can do in the face of a dispute that other countries have with it?

Secondly, if a dispute does arise between a Non-violent India and China, or if this dispute itself continues and is not settled even after India has disarmed and the Chinese Army marches

into the Indian territory, what will the people do? We have all the experience under the British rule when we fought for our freedom. We have forgotten all that experience. Those experiences do not seem to help us very much in the present situation, when we are inclined to brush it aside by saying that these two conditions are entirely different, etc. etc. What would we do then? The same thing we could do in the future also; and what would be that? Suppose the army marches, the people have no arms and there is no army; there are only Shanthi-sainiks working amongst the people as their non-violent guards, helping them; then the people would say to the invader that if he came as a friend, he would be welcome; he would be given the place of honour in this country. But because of his coming as an invader and an aggressor, he may receive no co-operation, no Indian would help him in anyway whatsoever, not a grain, not a pie, not a word for the aggressor on the road, in the train, in the shop; nobody would give him information; complete non-violent non-cooperation will be offered with the aggressor, and along with it, complete preparedness to suffer the consequences that follow. People would say, we are prepared to die and we must make the people understand, whatever may be the quality of our military preparations and theirs. In modern wars, it is not

only the armies that fight and die, but the people also die and therefore the people should never be misguided to think that they will not be called upon to lay down their lives, while they are working in their fields, homes, factories, hospitals and schools. Because the bombs will be dropped all over the country the people will have to be prepared to die in any case. But this death leads to more and more death, and ultimately complete annihilation. There is no end to it. But here, the people would say, "Alright not a single shot would be fired on our side, you go on killing, we are prepared to die, but we will not submit, we will not accept your rule, we will not bow down before you, we will not co-operate with you." That will be the method of meeting the Chinese aggression, or any other aggression in a non-violent India. And then the question is asked, "Suppose the country has done that, the Chinese would be quite happy; they will be quite happy because it will be like nice cream and butter; they will march from the Himalayas to Kan-yakumari. Nobody would stop them. It would be the easiest thing for them to do. And the non-violent-workers would merely be preaching the complete destruction of the people of this country and the complete conquest of India by China?" What is the answer to that?

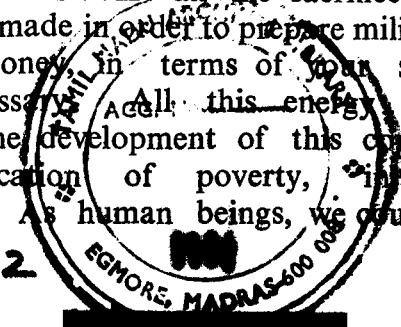
The answer to this question is that, I do not think that any army made-up of human beings would be able to do this. If an army were faced with another army and there was killing on both sides, then each army would be concerned with the only question of how to kill the largest number of the enemy. There will be no question of conscience arising at all. The Chinese would want to kill as many Indians as possible and the Indians will be concerned with killing as many Chinese as possible. And they will glory in that act. But if one army were killing and there is complete passive resistance, from the other side, not a stone even being thrown, not a word of abuse being uttered, then I do not think that this invading army, which is made up of human beings, will go on killing and killing people day after day continuously. If the army is made up of animals such as tigers and lions which kill human beings, this could be possible. But the Chinese are human beings; the Indians are also human. From the very moment the first Chinese soldier has shot the first bullet, the question will arise in his mind, 'what kind of a war am I fighting? He will ask his officer, and he will ask his superior officer and finally the question will go to Peking. It will go to New York, to Washington, to Paris, to London, Moscow and Berlin. The whole world will be

asking what kind of a war this is No fighting from one side, and killing from the other. I do not think that there is no answer to it. In all sincerity, with the full sense of responsibility, I do not think that such a war can last longer than a week. The bloody war can last—I do not know how many years; may be a number of years. There have been wars in history, which never formally ended. But such a war cannot go on, because we are human beings and there is God in Heaven, who created the human beings; there is an element of godliness inside every human being. If you do not have faith in humanity, in human nature and in this creation by God in this all-pervading Consciousness, you may be cynical and say that I am dreaming and that such a thing will never happen. You may say that the Chinese are not ordinary human beings; they are cruel. The whole of the Mangolian race, as I have often been told is a cruel race. Well, I do not know. We are not in any way less cruel with all the murders that go around, all the rioting that goes around, in our county. As a least politician, my answer to friends is this, that such a war cannot last. The Chinese sooner or later will have to shake, will have to retreat from this. Wisdom, good sense will dawn and the war will come to an end and no party would be the vanquished party; that would be the beauty of

this war. Neither India would be vanquished, nor China would be vanquished. That war will not lead to another war and yet another war, It will see the end of the Sino-Indian dispute. And then the two countries and their representatives would sit together and solve the problem. A new situation will arise. May be, this has never happened in history. But it has also never happened in history that when the Viceroy of a ruling power was leaving he was greeted with the slogan, '*Lord Mountbatten Ki Jai*'. That also has never happened in history. When Lord Cornwallis fled, the 13 united colonies which fought the British colonial power, did not shout the '*Jai*' of Lord Cornwallis in America. He was killing and Washington also was killing and both were killing each other, one-another. But here it will see the end of war.

Therefore, this is the way, this is the only way and if India is fortunate enough, and the people of India are brave enough, wise enough—because here is wisdom—all the sacrifices that will have to be made in order to prepare militarily in terms of money, in terms of your spirit, will be unnecessary. All this energy could be used for the development of this country, for the eradication of poverty, injustice and inequality. As human beings, we could all

2:51 27 N02



rise high under the umbrella, under the climate of nonviolence, and become better. Therefore, this is the only alternative. That is why I say, if we are brave enough, wise enough to follow this way perhaps India will show the way to Russia, America, to the East and West, which are today at each other's throats, in spite of the Geneva conference that goes on and on endlessly. May be, India would show the way of ending this global trouble and may be, peace would be established on this earth. Then science and spirituality together could create the heaven on earth.

Reply to Municipal Address

I wish to say a few words in response to the welcome address from the Municipality. I am indeed very thankful to the chairman and the members of the Municipality for the address of welcome and for the extremely kind words that they said about me. I hope, they will allow me to think that their words of welcome were not a matter of formality, but that they expressed real appreciation for the ideas of the movement of which I happen to be a very humble worker. We have in this country a large number of political parties and political organisations. While these have their own differences of policy and programme, I think, they all agree as to the aim

and the objective of peace. But I think, they have not all agreed as to how peace has to be achieved.

Ends and Means

What the Sarvodaya movement is trying to do is to persuade the political parties and the people in general to the view that if peace has to be achieved it can be achieved only by peaceful means. We are all acquainted with that philosophical controversy about means and ends. But I think, as far as the evidence of facts is concerned, there should be general agreement that good ends have never been achieved by bad means. And yet not only in the international field but even in the intranational field we have that spectacle today of the states, organised societies, trying to establish peace, internal peace by the use of violence.

Demobilisation of Police

Here the Shanti Sena and the Sarvodaya Movement aim as much at demobilisation of the internal police force as the demobilisation of the army. As a matter of fact only to the extent to which the Shanti Sena and the forces of non-violence, the entire movement of Sarvodaya, succeed in their internal field, i.e. in the maintenance and preservation of internal peace—this movement will succeed in the external

field. I hope all this was clear and was accepted by the members of the Municipality when they decided to welcome into their midst, to their town, a person like Jayaprakash Narayan and a person like Nabakrushna Choudhry. It is in that spirit, friends, that I very warmly and very cordially accept the address of welcome that was presented and I offer my very grateful thanks to the Municipality, its members and its Chairman.

How to Enlist Shanti-Sainiks

At present as I understand there are not more than about 410 Shanti Sainiks in the whole of Tamilnad. Obviously this is too small. I think that you want to have ten Shanti Sainiks in every village. That would mean roughly from thirty to thirty-five thousand villages. Perhaps there are in Tamilnad about twelve thousand and five hundred Panchayats and two to three villages per Panchayat. Therefore, if you have 10 Shanti Sainiks in every village the total number would come to about 2,50,000. You may have another fifty thousand in the cities on the same basis. You are thus committing yourself to enrolling about three lakhs of Shanti Sainiks. That is a little less than 1/10 of the population of the State—350 lakhs. Now you should consider how you would be able to raise this force, recruit so many Shanti Sainiks and then of course the question of training them etc., would follow.

I have only one suggestion to make. I can think of no other way of doing this except by intensive padayatras by all of you put together. In the next few months you should aim at covering every village and taking the message of Shanti Sena to every villager. Every one of you should go as a recruiting officer of the Shanti Sena. These intensive padayatras should not be merely for the sake of recruiting Shanti Sainiks. They should be comprehensive padayatras in the sense that you should also take with you the message of Bhoodan, Gramdan, Gramswarajya, Khadi, *Gram Ekai*. I think, we have been in the past committing the mistake of limiting our activities at one particular time to a single item of our programme to the neglect of all other programmes. I think we have in the past twelve years gathered enough experience now to be able to approach our task in a more comprehensive spirit.

May I also share with you a discovery that I made since this last Chinese attack took place. We have thought, all of us, whether we were engaged in Khadi work or in Basic Education or in Bhoodan, Gramdan work or in any other branch of the Sarvodaya Movement, we had taken in for granted that we were all trying to work for the establishment of a peaceful, non-violent society, and that the forces of peace and

non-violence would automatically emerge from all these multifarious activities in which we were engaged. But, to our surprise this impact of the Chinese aggression found us in a complete disarray. Spiritually speaking, we found that we were not at all ready to meet this challenge in the spirit of non-violence. And we had the spectacle and we still have it, of constructive workers of long standing, working in well-established Gandhian organisations throughout the country, contributing to the national defence fund and working in other ways to help the military preparations in our country. I myself was carried away when I advised Prabhavati, my wife, to go and hand over to Dr. Rajendra Babu whatever little piece of gold was left in our family, when he made an appeal, a most touching and emotional appeal, in Patna. I thought over it later and I came to this conclusion that merely because we were working in these various fields neither we ourselves nor the people among whom we had been working, had really understood the implications of non-violence in a situation under aggression from a foreign country.

We rightly consider a Gramdan village as the finest flowering to date of the Sarvodaya movement. But we would be making a mistake, a great mistake, if we take it for granted that

village which has accepted Gramdan after due consideration and after accepting all the implications of Gramdan - automatically has become ready to resist aggression non-violently. It is not so. And therefore I was very happy that you were discussing the relationship of the Shanti Sena to Gramdan. But the Shanti Sena is relevant not only to the Gramdan but also to every field of activity in which we are engaged, to every institution which takes the name of Mahatma Gandhi and of non-violence.

Answer to Ideological Aggression

I considered with you in the morning the question of one aspect of the challenge of China, namely, the military aspect of that challenge, the danger, the military danger from China. And I explained to you what to my mind was the right response to meet that challenge. But there is, as I said in the morning, another aspect of this challenge which I think is the more important aspect, to which the President in his address had made reference. That is the ideological aspect of the challenge, the ideological encounter or as the Prime Minister put it, the ideological aggression of China. I personally do not think that China wants militarily to conquer India and establish her direct rule over

this country. I do not think that there is going to be a repetition of the kind of thing which we witnessed in the last October and November. But the danger and the challenge do remain.

And what is this danger? As you all know China is wedded to this cult of revolutionary Communism. And you know that Communism is one of the newest proselytising religions. It cannot rest contented unless it converts the whole world to Communism. China particularly considers it to be her mission to spread the religion of Communism, if possible to the whole of Asia and Africa. If that be not possible, China will be prepared to share the task with Soviet Russia perhaps in West Asia, perhaps in Africa. As far as this field of South-east Asia is concerned I have no doubt that China considers this to be her special field; China will attempt by every means possible—violence, internal subversion, propaganda, bribery, by spending money — by every conceivable means; China will attempt to convert this whole region to Communism and it is this challenge which we have to answer.

The military challenge is merely a small part of this ideological challenge. There is no need to impute any evil motives to the Chinese. It is not necessary to believe that the Chinese are wicked if they want to subvert the whole of Asia

and Africa. The Chinese Communist leaders think and, honestly think that Communism is the best kind of a way of life, organisation of society, in their own country, for the Chinese people. And therefore it is natural for them that they should think that is the best thing for the rest of the world also. And it is because they are serious about their Communism that they are going to stake perhaps even the future of their country, to see that Communism is spread far and wide.

Why Communism is a Challenge ?

But why to me, to you and to the people of this country does Communism appear to be a danger, a challenge—why? If you and I believe and the people of this country believe that Communism was good then Chinese Communism, Chinese power would not be a challenge at all, would not be a danger at all. It would be something to be welcomed, something to be embraced with both hands. But friends, it is just because we consider Communism as it has evolved and developed in Soviet Russia, as it is evolving now in China to be a completely unacceptable way of life, to be completely unacceptable form of civilization. It is because we reject Communism as we see it before us unfolding itself. Because we do this, it appears to us to be a challenge. And why do we say that we reject it? What are the reasons for it?

We reject Communism because it is based on total violence, violence which knows no limits. We reject Communism because it is based on the denial of human freedom. We reject Communism because it denies those human values which we respect, for which we would be prepared to lay down our lives. We deny Communism because it raises the material values of life to be the highest value for which the human race should live, should work. We reject Communism because we have other alternative values of life. We reject Communism because we think that there are other human methods by which we could achieve those ends which Communism places before itself, such as equality, such as a classless society, in a better way. We reject Communism because we believe that by the methods which they are following, they will never be able to establish a society of the equal, of the free—a society which is based on co-operation, and on love. For these and many other reasons we do not wish to accept Communism. But friends, it is obvious, is it not, that if we reject this Communism, we must place before the people of this country and may be, of other countries also something that is positive, something that is more attractive, than Communism? The kind of society that we have in our country today, all its social and economic

inequalities, its injustices, its poverty, widespread, unprecedented poverty on one hand and on the other hand a handful of multi-millionaires. This is a country in which there are millions of people who have to live under conditions of unimaginable social degradation like untouchability and the caste system. If we try to face this Chinese challenge only by military means and we have at the same time to preserve this unjust preposterous social condition that we have in our country today, I have not the least doubt that no matter, however larger army that we may build, we will never be able to succeed against the Chinese, and that ultimate victory will go to them. And therefore, we have, here and now, as soon as possible, to solve this question, to change our own social and economic conditions of life. How shall we do this is the question.

Democratic Socialism

There are two levels at which this task of social transformation has to be tackled. One is at the level of the Government, of the State. The other is at the level of the people. At both these levels as soon as possible on what is usually described as war-footing, this task has to be taken in hand and fulfilled. At the level of the Government, the answer to Chinese Communism is

democratic socialism. The Congress Party, the Prime Minister, personally in his individual capacity, the different socialist parties — these are all committed to democratic socialism. But friends, I think you will agree that the progress towards democratic socialism even during this emergency is so slow that one feels that, if this is the pace at which this objective is going to be achieved, then it might be too late.

Sarvodaya Social Order

At the people's level the answer to Chinese Communism obviously is Sarvodaya. We have been trying to place the Sarvodaya ideal before the people, the programme of Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sampattidan etc., the idea of sharing, the idea of the cooperative society of which Sri Dhwanababu spoke. We have been trying to do this for the last 12 years in the context of this nonviolent society, this Sarvodaya society which we wish to establish.

But this whole programme now has to be looked at in an entirely different context. The context is this challenge from China. The Chinese people, the Chinese leaders say, "We have abolished the landlordism. We have distributed the land to the landless." They say, "We have abolished capitalism. There is no exploitation

there is very little of economic inequality, there is no untouchability in China; there is no caste system in China; they are all equal; there is no one high and low; no untouchable; no rich and poor." This is their challenge and what is our answer? As I said the answer is what we have been saying all these years, what we have been trying to do all these years. But we have to do all that in this context, in the context of this Chinese danger.

People often think and often say that problems such as poverty, inequality, exploitation, can be solved only by the Government, by the state, or may be, can be solved by violence, by force. But as we have been saying all these years with Mahatma Gandhi, a new dimension has been added to social revolution, to the theory and practice of social revolution. Until he came upon this earth there were only two ways of bringing about social changes, either violence or love, either the sword or the law. Gandhiji preached this philosophy of love, this initiative of the individual, this way of the people — which is the way that Vinoba has been treading and asking the people to walk upon all these last 12 years. And I am saying that this has received now a new sense of urgency as a result of this danger. We must tell the people that it is not

enough to defend your country, your home, your family, your future by contributing to the defence fund, by joining the armed forces, by donating your blood, by donating your gold, by working hard in your fields and factories. That is not enough. That will not avail at all if all these injustices, all these miseries that I have mentioned are allowed to continue and we will not be able to face this danger. And therefore it is the patriotic duty, not only the human duty, of every Indian citizen to do something for alleviating this suffering of his fellow human beings, by sharing in the sorrows and the joys of the lives of our neighbours, in sharing what we have with them. This is a way which is simple, which is easy, on which everyone can walk. If every Indian citizen made a decision, a simple decision that he would share whatever he had, whether it was land, whether it was some other kind of property, some kind of his skill, some kind of knowledge he had or if he had nothing else, his capacity to do some manual labour in the service of his fellow human beings, and his neighbours; if every Indian citizen took that vow as a matter of patriotic duty in the defence of his country, against this ideological aggression of something which we totally reject, if every Indian citizen did that, then we would create a power in this country

before which Chinese Communism would be completely helpless. It would have no answer against this kind of a situation in which the people actuated by motives of humanity have transformed themselves and transformed the society by voluntary action. That would be the answer before which Chinese Communism would not only cease to advance but will have to take a retreat; and then Sarvodaya perhaps would go beyond the borders of India with its message of love, with its message of humanity, brotherhood, equality and charity and transform the face of Asia and the face of the world.

A Test to Sarvodaya workers

Let me conclude by saying as it seems to me that a mood of depression has caught the Sarvodaya Movement, has caught all of us. This is a most extraordinary phenomenon and there is no need for this mood of depression. There is this great challenge before us; it is the situation in which everyone of us should feel that we have been put on our mettle, that we are on test. This is the time for us to act or never.

We are inclined to be searching all the time for something new to do, for some miracle to happen and I think it is this which is the

cause of the periodical moods of depression from which we suffer. I don't call myself an exception. But I feel as more and more I think about this question, that here is an opportunity for us, the like of which we are not likely to have, for many decades to come. Here is this great challenge and here is the answer also to this challenge.

V2:5147 N02

N63

