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Shanthi Sena: Unarmed Peacekeeping

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SHANTHI SENA: UNARMED PEACEKEEPING

BY

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Where questions of violence and nonviolence cannot be raised inside a polity, it becomes obligatory that social scientists undertake them from the outside (Paige 2002:92). And if we are to "transform our society from a psychology of killing and threats to kill to one that is life-enhancing and spiritually fulfilling," (Ariyaratne 1999:73) then social science research on nonviolence and unarmed peacekeeping is an imperative. With this in mind I investigated the Shanthi Sena (Peace Brigade), an independent unit of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement in Sri Lanka, through a six week in-depth case study; a full description, understanding and appreciation of a long established –yet little known- creative, nonviolent movement for social change and reconstruction. Although this study was strictly exploratory in nature it endeavored not only to inductively generate relevant descriptive inferences and indicators, but also to highlight implications beyond the academic sphere.

My most important fund of historical, practical and experiential knowledge was the people of Sri Lanka, especially those of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement and, more so, the Shanthi Sena. In an attempt to understand the Shanthi Sena in action I petitioned them for advice on constructing and exercising an inductive research strategy, employing participant observation and open-ended conversations: a study program and learning experience that provided authentic understanding of the Shanthi

Sena's mission; a study that would be shared and hopefully utilized by the Shanhti Sainiks and villagers.

My methodological approach was extremely "soft:" I observed the Shanthi Sena in training, and, when it was appropriate, I participated with them. I also spent lots of time just observing the Shanthi Sainiks interacting among themselves and with the villagers. I constantly tried to be as unobtrusive as possible. The majority of my personal conversations were prompted by a question or an inquiry asked of me, such as: "You came all the way from the United States to study the Shanthi Sena?" The need for creativity at times mandated methodological improvisation.

The true foundation of any participant observation case study is the establishment of trust and respect, and, in humanistic measurement, its capstone.

This thesis summarizes and delineates the origin, philosophy, methods, and the present state of the Shanthi Sena and the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement. Through close observation of particular events and summary of historical detail, this thesis makes a contribution to an important topic that has been overlooked in the literature of peace studies, nonviolence, nonviolent training, and unarmed peacekeeping.

Although the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement has been the focus of numerous studies –mostly within the economic development sphere- I was the first scholar from abroad to travel to Sri Lanka and study the Shanthi Sena. It soon became apparent that the Shanthi Sena cannot be understood nor explained without understanding and describing Sarvodaya. And although I knew beforehand that the Shanthi Sena operates as an autonomous unit with an organization and activities corresponding to those of Sarvodaya, I did not realize that they are indissolubly joined.

With this in mind, this thesis will first described this unique nonviolent movement for social change and reconstruction by giving the reader a descriptive story of Sarvodaya's origin, its founder, its rise as a movement, and its transformational leadership in seeking to develop a poverty-free, violence-free society. This history will enhance an understanding and appreciation of the Shanthi Sena, an unarmed, disciplined peace force, organized and trained in peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peacekeeping.

In the *Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement*, after describing the first sharamadana (work camp), as it came to be called, I delineate the nonviolent revolution it engendered through the Movement's reconciliation of the tenets of Engaged Buddhism. Two salient themes of the chapter are highlighted: the satisfaction of *Ten Basic Human Needs* as the vehicle for developing a "no-poverty" society, and the transforming leadership of A. T. Ariyaratne.

The chapter concludes with an examination of the present state of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement.

In *Shanthi Sena*, the Indian and Gandhian roots of Sarvodaya's Shanthi Sena are examined before I describe its Sri Lankan genesis. Included therein is a description of a university-based Shanthi Sena that I investigated, in India, in 1986. The chapter concludes in ascertaining the present state of the Shanthi Sena by detailing its plans, activities, and achievements as reported in Sarvodaya'a *Annual Report: 2004-2005*.

The thrust of *Observation and Participation* is an explanation of the experiential data I gained through observing and participating with the Shanthi Sena in trainings and other activities. The *Training of Trainers (TOT) Workshop and Field Activities*, a week-long training program on hazard information dissemination and preparedness, was my first, longest, and most advantageous opportunity to experience the Sena's mission. Its descriptive account forms the body of the chapter.

Salient Inferences, Lessons, and the RDPB is where I recapitulate and flesh-out the salient inferences and lessons of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement and its Shanthi Sena. They form a dynamic research matrix, an educative paradigm of nonviolent human potential.

The establishment of a Rapid Deployment Peace Brigade is a goal of the *Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* (2000). The funding and implementation of a RDPB in the east coast city of Batticaloa, amid terrorist attacks, bombings, and communal riots is evaluated. The salient lessons from this advancement in the Shanthi Sena's charge as a disciplined, unarmed peacekeeping force, would be valuable in conflicts between

ethnically and religiously divided populations, which have increasingly come to characterize the landscape of collective violence in the twenty-first century.

In the *Concluding Remarks*, I provide a short discourse which I analyze, argue, critique, and reflect upon the basic thesis and insights of this study. Appendices with data on Sarvodaya and its founder A. T. Ariyaratne are then provided.

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Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

Though I do not believe that a plant will spring up where no seed has been, I have great faith in a seed. Convince me that you have a seed there, and I am prepared to expect wonders.

-Henry David Thoreau

Origins

The inconspicuous start of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka can be traced back to what its founder A. T. Ariyaratne, called "an educational experiment."[1] The most powerful catalyst for social change, a knowledgeable sociologist will tell you, is when people "learn" what they already know, and become able to consciously apply that knowledge. The Shramadana Movement is an ongoing experiment which "has proved to be the most effective means of destroying the inertia of any moribund village community and of evoking appreciation of its own inherent strength and directing it toward the objective of improving its own conditions."[2]

There is a certainty of purpose in the biography of Ariyaratne, a very potent leader in the determined forward movement of Sarvodaya. In an essay entitled *Gandhian Thoughts in the Education Perspective*, Ariyaratne wrote: "The concern for others must serve as the basis of higher education."[3] Ariyaratne's view of education and social change is holistic, believing that you should widen the horizons of knowledge by simultaneously widening the noble qualities of your heart.[4]

"Dr. Ari," as Sri Lankans respectfully refer to him, is democratic in the profound sense –inviting all to contribute, all to share. As a teacher/leader, Dr. Ari is the embodiment of James MacGregor Burns' "transforming leader;" a concept first broached in *Leadership* (1978) and later delineated in *Transforming Leadership* (2003). "The transforming leader recognizes and exploits," Burns stated in his 1978 prologue,

> an existing need or demand of a potential follower. But, beyond
> that, the transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers,
> seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the
> follower. The result of the transforming leadership is a relationship
> of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into
> leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.[5]

"Leadership is not an end to itself." Ariyaratne affirms, "[i]t is a response to a real need demanded by a particular environment at a particular point in time."[6] Ariyarante's writings, in particular his *Collected Works*, allows the reader, among other things, to observe a leader taking creative action to force events. The intended changes sought by the Shramadana Movement are motored by the agency of Ariyaratne; and this "voluntary community leader"[7] –as he humbly refers to himself- engages "the full person" of his followers, aspiring them to embrace those changes and to construct a community in concert that responds to humans wants, needs, and values.

A.T. (Ahangamae Tudor) Ariyaratne and Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement are ideological twins. "You can not talk of one without talking of the other."[8] And Ariyaratne's articulation of the Sarvodaya Shramadana philosophy has created a moral atmosphere where the interdependence of spiritual and social goals can be perceived;

and where the social duty of working for the common good, that is, the maintenance of "a violence-free, poverty-free, egalitarian society with happiness for all" supports one's spiritual duty. The philosophy of the entire Movement is characterized by an ongoing process of developing self-reliant, efficacious people, fueled by developmental learning. This process is indicative of a movement planted by a college teacher with a "passion for knowledge" and his volunteer students.[9]

There was already, in 1958, a Social Service League at Nalanda college, in Columbo, when 27-year-old Ariyaratne arrived there to begin teaching Biology and Mathematics. Although a very good Biology teacher, this devout and learned Buddhist "had qualified himself as a clever 'life-logist,' paying more attention to 'life-logy' while teaching Biology as a job."[10] Due to his "considerable fame as a social worker," members of the League unanimously elected him Vice-President.[11] At that very same meeting Ariyaratne proposed to the League a series of work camps to implement a program to develop the "poorest of outcaste villages."[12]

The work camps came to be called Shramadana: the sharing (dana) of human energy (sharma) with the rest of the members of òne's society –or the donation of one's labor. "The literal meaning of Sarvodaya Shramadana is 'the awakening of all in society by the mutual sharing of one's time, thought and energy.'"[13] Ariyaratne, inspired by Gandian philosophy, recast Gandhi's Sarvodayan concept of a social ethic for the welfare of all, or the uplift of all, translating it as the "awakening of all"[14] This rendering of Gandhi's notion placed the Buddhist spiritual goal of awakening as the foundation of the Movement: declaring that welfare of people and the awakening and liberation of individuals and society is what this Movement sought. As American-born

religious and social philosopher Joanna Macy, remarked, "The transformation of personality –the 'building of a new person' –is bestowed as the chief aim of the Movement. Ariyaratne consistently stresses this, declaring that 'the chief objective of Sarvodaya is personality awakening' –that is, 'with the effort of the individual as well as with help from others, to improve oneself to the highest level of well-being.'"[15]

Together with D. A. Abeysekera, "who had become his advisor on developing backward villages," Ariyaratne visited a number of remote villages for the purpose of selecting one for development.[16] The village of Kanatoluwa, 67 miles north of the capital Columbo, was chosen.[17] Kanatoluwa was where the low-caste *Rodiyas* people lived "a very unpleasant and unhappy life."[18] And, as Ariyaratne noted, when the "Nalanda Shramadana Volunteers arrived," they witnessed the historic results of social ostracism complete with all its ugliness, at Kanatoluwa.

> These people did not receive social recognition as equals
> from the people in the adjoining villages due to a traditional
> social stigma attached to their caste. Denied even the fundamental
> human right to earn a living by physical labour, men, women and
> children of this village had for generations eked out an existence through
> begging, their only means of livelihood….Their huts were on the verge
> of collapse or had already collapsed. They had not a single well or latrine….
> Malnutrition and disease abounded…. Worst of all, even the clergy did not
> accept their alms or cater to their religious needs. In short, at the time
> Nalanda Shramadana Volunteers arrived for the Shramadana camp at
> Kanatoluwa, social ostracism was complete with all its ugliness.[19]

In contrast to the low-caste villages the majority of the students at Nalanda "came from well-to-do families;" and, as Ariyaratne stated, "[i]t is fair to say that the pioneers of the Movement belong to a higher class –both economically and socially– than most other youths in the country."[20] The first question that the members of the

Social Service League asked themselves was: "'Could these young people build a psychological bridge to close the gap between these two classes as the first step towards total integration of these two groups?'"[21] Could they bridge the impossible distances between the lives of the villagers and of those whose lives were un-touch by poverty?

In preparation to address this question and to steel them to all the obstacles and hardships of a village camp, "including the caste barrier which they were determined to break", the students and volunteers received three months of comprehensive training.[22] Special emphasis was given to the screening of films on similar community work camps in India, and to the writings of Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave.[23] And while the Nalanda Shramadana students trained and prepared themselves for the work camp, their leaders had visited Kanatoluwa "and carried out a socio-economic family survey." With village participation the tasks to be accomplished were planned and concomitantly the material and equipment needed were collected by the students beforehand.[24] "The active participation of the village community was sought and fostered from the very inception, and at all later stages such as project planning, camp organization, evaluation of work and follow-up planning."[25] The preparatory work of a shramadana camp consists of: living accommodations for the volunteers, food rations, water for washing and drinking, sanitary facilities, tools and other supplies for the project, mapping the area where the physical project is to be done, and soliciting co-operation from nearby villagers and informing local government officials.[26] Richard Gregg, in his book published in 1934 –yet still quite relevant- *The Power of*

Nonviolence, concurs: "The best help is to help others help themselves, in reference to their inner attitude as well as in exterior matters."[27]

In Sarvodaya's Engaged Buddhist vision –or more precisely, I believe, Ariyaratne's vision- of a new social order, Buddhism serves not only as the inspiration but also as a resource for nonviolent social change, with both individual and social or structural dimensions. There is theoretically no conflict between the interest of the individual and the interest of society. Self-sacrifice is the very foundation of Sarvodaya.[28] Ariyaratne, in an interview with George D. Bond (professor of religion at Northwestern University) said, "To change society we must purify ourselves and the purification process we need is brought about by working in society."[29] For members of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, social and spiritual goals are interdependent.

Sarvodayans have little or no primary interest in the supramundane ultimate goal of Buddhism: *Nirvana* (release from the realm of suffering). The Movement's main emphasis is upon, in Bond's phrase, a "mundane awakening." "[B]efore people can awaken to the supreme, supramundane dimension of the truth," Sarvodaya teaches that, "they must awaken to the mundane dimensions of truth that surround them in society."[30] And the well-defined method of fostering these ideals and generating them in the village is shramadana, the work camp. Thus, Sarvodaya's Engaged Buddhist vision starts with an extensive restatement and practical application of the Buddha's Four Noble Truths –giving them social interpretations- featuring them with Sarvodayan rhetoric and action to explain suffering on the individual and social level.[31]

The principle of the First Noble Truth, that "there is suffering," is translated as "there is a decadent village." This concrete form of suffering helps the villagers awaken to, recognize, and confront the mundane social and structural conditions prevailing in their village: poverty, conflict, and dissociation with the environment.[32] This tangible form of suffering becomes the focus of mundane awakening;[33] giving form to an implicit coherence. The Second Noble Truth (the origin of suffering) which declares that craving is the cause of suffering is proffered by Sarvodaya in terms of egoism, competition, greed, and ignorance as the cause or causes of the decadent condition of the village.[34] These human failings all share a common denominator in the "individual's sense of separateness and selfishness," and "as having been exacerbated by the practice and attitudes of former colonial powers, and especially by the acquisitiveness bred by capitalism."[35] The Third Noble Truth, cessation, asserts that craving, and therefore the villager's along with the village's suffering, can cease. "It is the hope at the heart of Buddhism."[36] This hope is tangibly effectuated through Shramadana work camps, where the village can reawaken and reclaim its potential as a caring community. Shramadana is the laboratory where the Noble Truths are taken from the psycho-spiritual plane and applied to the socio-economic plane in terms of literacy, repaired roads, and marketing co-operatives.[37]

There's a contingent nature to suffering, and because it has a cause it can cease; and the means to ending suffering lies in the Eight Fold Path, which composes the Fourth Noble Truth. For Sarvodayans Right Understanding, Right Action, Right Effort, and the other paths are no longer abstract tenets, but become, through Shramadana work camps, immediate examples, concretized in the digging of a village well; and the other

precepts and paths, as well, are "given a similar social thrust."[38] Joanne Macy furnishes a commonplace interpretation of the Eight Fold Path by citing a Sarvodaya trainer's account of Right Mindfulness. "Right Mindfulness –that means stay open and alert to the needs of the village….Look to see what is needed –latrines, water, road…."[39] "Sarvodya's first step in developing a village," Ariyaratne states, in Sarvodaya parlance,

> thus rest in making the villagers realize the reality of the
> village situation. They should be made to understand,
> each one individually and then as a group, the central
> problems of the village…Without such a realization,
> that is without understanding the first basic truth of
> Sarvodaya that explains the cause of the present economic,
> social and cultural poverty or stagnation of the village,
> no development effort is ever possible.[40]

Sarvodaya's vision of a new social order and its teachings are "…grounded in the Buddhist belief that without right understanding there cannot be right action."[41]

In Sarvodaya's Engaged Buddhism the reformulated Four Noble Truths and other factors of the Buddhist path are taught not as a catechism but as a resource for self-reliance; a self-reliance that is set within the larger goal of awakening, and is seen and tendered as being integral to human fulfillment. Indeed, for Ariyaratne they are paramount.

> The ideas of self-development, self-fulfillment, self-reliance, and
> non-dependence are all understood in a single word Udaya [awakening]
> ….[This] is consistent with the Buddhist principle that salvation lies
> primarily in one's own hands, be it individual or a group. There is no
> alternative for the economically poor communities of the world, other
> than to strive for self-development as quickly as possible by their own
> collective efforts. The psycho-social infrastructure that is laid in a village,
> therefore, satisfies the prerequisites for an economic development
> founded on self-reliance.[42]

The art of peace is to fulfill that which is lacking.
-Moriheis Ueshiba (founder of Aikido)

Ten Basic Human Needs

Going against the grain of top-down and zero-sum theories of economic development

impinging upon Sir Lanka from without through agencies of globalization, Sarvodaya

offers and promotes grassroots community development as a way toward its goal of a

nonviolent, no-poverty society. In the course of its first two decades of practical

experience working with and improving the well-being of the weakest population, the

Movement has been able to identify ten basic human needs in the villages throughout

the island. These are:

1. A clean and beautiful environment.
2. A clean and adequate supply of water.
3. Minimum clothing requirements.
4. A balanced diet.
5. A simple house to live in.
6. Basic health care.
7. Simple communication facilities.
8. Minimum energy requirements.
9. Total education.
10. Cultural and spiritual needs.[43]

The ten basic needs concept is not doctrinal, but proffered to the villagers "only as

a guideline for educative self-analysis, social and physical resource mobilization and

joint action."[44] Steadfast in its emancipating strategy of developing self-reliant people

exercising power in concert, Ariyaratne, in a lecture delivered in Honolulu (June,

1995), emphasized: "Development should be decided by the people and should

include social, economic, political, spiritual, psychological and cultural areas of

human life. It should not be a one sided process looking only at economic development."[45]

The matrix of the ten basic human needs, generated by the Shramadana Movement allows the individual, village and regional areas to identify their deficiencies;[46] and provides village youth with an action-oriented recursive program that teaches how much is enough and provides, concomitantly, to each individual participant a vehicle for developing insight into the true nature of things.

Detlef Kantowsky cites Ariyaratne explaining that "Sarvodaya signifies a thought and Shramadana the implementation of that thought."[47] Kantowsky goes on to expound on Ariyaratne's declaration. "This [shramadana] concept is not the operational derivative of a certain development theory, but grew out of practical experience."[48] A foundational argument in Kantowsky's book (*Sarvodaya: The Other Development*) is that Sarvodaya's "development theory in Sri Lanka starts from the individual as its main element."[49] The exact nature of the interrelationship of the spiritual, economic, and social goals, in Sarvodaya's vision of nonviolent social change through grassroots development schemes, is provided by Shramadana. Ariyaratne argues: "In other words, Shramadana was not just a labour camp, where a useful physical objective was to be achieved. It was a revolutionary technique, to awaken people to their own potential based on their own culture and innovative abilities."[50] An ongoing thematic element of that "revolutionary technique" is a commitment to leadership.

Recognizing that each village situation is unique Sarvodaya seeks and nourishes "the analytical capabilities of a leadership from among the community;" believing that

the village "should be awakened by a leadership coming up from…the community itself."[51] A motif of the Movement is to train thousands of young, intelligent leaders, not split by caste, race, religion or political commitments, working harmoniously within a family of self-governing villages for a new development; an affiliation "based on non-exploitation" and with the 'appropriate political and economic co-ordination." "[T]he emergence of such leadership," Ariyaratne asserts, "is a sine-qua-non."[52]

The Buddhist group-ethnic, averred by Sarvodaya as a path to family awakening (Kutumbodaya), is comprised of four principles appropriated during shramadana. (1) Sharing (Dana): Shramadana volunteers share their labor and skills –depending on their capacity- with others.(2) Pleasant Language (Priyavachana): The participants address one another with kind, pleasant, and intelligible speech not only during their shared work but at all times (3) Constructive Activity (Arthacharya): By sharing and working together to rough-out an access road, by building a village school, or repairing a damaged water bund, the volunteers realize right livelihood and participate in projects facilitating the attainment of basic human needs. (4) Equality (Samanathmatha): Besides sharing labor, members of a shramadana camp share the same food, camp facilities, and hardships, regardless of caste, class, or race – respecting all members of the "family" on the basis of equality.[53] Shramadana embodies family; and those tenets of Buddhist social behavior, as embraced and practiced during shramadana, are affirmed as a path to "group awakening."[54]

Shramadana's spirit is illustrated in its slogan: We build the road and the road builds us. For Joanne Macy, Shramadana is "an island in time," whose genius lies in its "capacity to provide a model for the society that Sarvodaya would build."[55] Bond

(1996) in his conclusion, believed Ariyaratne and his followers regarded Sarvodaya as a crusade, more than an NGO or a development organization; one which "…enabled Buddhists to address the difficult questions of social change and liberation from a Buddhist perspective. This was the secret of Sarvodaya's popularity as well as its success."[56] The spiritual and philosophical issues that have animated Sarvodaya from its inception were never considered to be purely contemplative or speculative; they were tied to action, selfless action generating a revolution of the heart –turning from self-concern toward concern for the welfare of others. B. S. Sharma explains that "Sarvodaya philosophy, in short, demands a transformation of ego-centric outlook to altruistic outlook. It is an inward change which alone can bring about a moral regeneration of society. The State cannot do that."[57]

A shramadana activity properly organized shifts the emphasis of development from a mere economic exercise to an "awakening process"[58] –whereby losing one's self paradoxically becomes a consummate act of self-discovery. Shramadana offers the participant the opportunity to develop human qualities that foster individual awakening evoked by cultivating and nurturing individual acts of "loving kindness" and respect for all life (metta); "compassion action" -service to remove the causes of suffering (karuna); dispassionate yet "sympathetic joy" (mudita); and maintaining "equanimity" (upekkha) in success or failure, comfort or suffering.[59] Implicit in those "four sublime abodes" is the state of mindfulness, the quality of attention you bring to the task at hand –act mindfully and that state of consciousness leaves a foot print in what we do.

Paige (2002) and Kantowsky (1980) both broach altruism by citing the 1950s work of sociologist Sorkin. Paige envisages Sorkin's "extraordinary studies" on "love" and "creative altruism" as a seed of "new non-killing political theory."[60] Kantowsky cites Sorkin's "explorations in altruistic love and behavior" in a footnote, emphasizing that if one is a Buddhist, "he should express his Non-Self by Sharing with All," and contrasting it with the "Christian understanding of the conflict between man's self-love and God's call for unselfish love."[61]

Todd L. Pittinsky assistant professor for public policy at the Kennedy School of Government (Center for Public Leadership) has devised the term "allophilia" from Greek roots "love or like of the other" after exhausting all possibilities of finding an antonym for prejudice. Believing that peace demands something stronger than tolerance, he wonders what the world would be like if leaders understood the potential of promoting the linking of other groups, and whether allophilia could offer an alternative strategy for attenuating inter-group conflict.[62]

Shramadana is a veritable laboratory of altruism in action, where ego-centric outlooks are transmuted to altruistic outlooks; where the salient components of Pittinsky's allophilia are assumed within loving kindness and the other sublime qualities; where Kantowsky's non-self and unselfish love are consummated in the awakening process; and where Paige's seed of new non-killing political theory has germinated. Therein Sorkin's extraordinary studies on love and creative altruism can be hypothesized and extended. Noting the "highest qualities of self-discipline and self-sacrifice displayed by the 300,000 volunteers who participated in shramadana work

camps between 1958 and 1966, Ariyaratne remark: "This released a flood of altruistic energy that lay hidden in the sinews of the nation."[63]

Shramadana cannot fail; "the road may fail by being washed out," as Ariyaratne comments, "but the awakening that occurred in the building of it will endure."[64] This is an example of Sarvodaya's implicit politics –the personal value system and social dynamics.

Such action-bound education –realizing what you have learned in action and learning while engaged in action- such development, and such re-awakening leads to a society built on an amalgam of spiritual and traditional values. It is indeed a re-awakening that often times leads to subsequent activities, such as preschools, irrigational canals, nutritional and literacy classes, and other collective ventures. All of which leads back to that "ongoing educational experiment" that began in the village of Kanatoluwa during those two weeks in December, 1958.

"Kanatoluwa was a hive of activity," Ariyaratne noted; and "the first experiment in selfless labour to realize the lofty ideals of a Sarvodaya Society was successful."[65] Shramadana -"the word"- had a magical effect; and the Movement, fueled by the release of "altruistic energy," quickly spread and became "a nation-wide Movement of social regeneration."[66] The Movement's dynamism was generated "from its capacity to merge people's spiritual aspirations with engagement in community action."[67]

Between 1958 and 1966, this self-generating grass roots movement produced hundreds of Shramadana camps; and in these camps, during this coming of age period, more than three hundred thousand volunteers engendered the "highest qualities of self-discipline and self-sacrifice and won the hearts of thousands of their fellow-

countrymen particularly in the rural areas."[68] Ariyaratne described the essence of

Sarvodaya's approach to the solution of economic problems by saying. "In effect,

Sarvodaya Shramadana releases a series of developmental processes, the cumulative

results of which is a mass movement of mutual help among village communities to

improve their quality of life."[69]

I had no assumptions in tow when I went to India, in 1986, to investigate the Shanti

Sena of Gandhigram Rural University (GRU), for my undergraduate Honors' Thesis.

My hypothesis and my incipient attempt at theory-building were based on five weeks

of participant observation generated data. I went on to argue that Gandhi was correct

in his belief that the best preparation, training and "even the expression of nonviolence

lies in the determined pursuit of the Constructive Programme;"[70] the un-dramatic day-

by-day efforts voluntarily performed in the spirit of service. "Such work would leave

no room for hypocrisy, violence, or compulsion, because it is entirely voluntary and

often difficult, requiring undramatic day-by-day efforts."[71] The day-by-day type of

contact that transpires during a Sarvodaya shramadana work camp, where the unarmed

peace-builder comes to know the villagers and the villagers come to know him would

prove invaluable in times of riot situations or when intervening in intercommunal

violence.[72]

"The general view, however, seems to be that if [Shanthi] sainiks work long enough

and fairly enough in a given area, then their impartiality will be accepted and

constructive work [digging wells and building schools] will not get in the way of

third-party conflict resolution [and mediation] work."[73]

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is an Engaged Buddhism realization of Gandhi's Constructive Programme, and the people engaged and activated through their Sarvodaya and Shanhti Sena work reap similar favors, the greatest of which is moral authority; and like their brethren at GRU, the best preparation, training and even the expression of nonviolence, lies in the determined pursuit of the shramadana work camp.

Sarvodaya's unorthodox approach to peacebuilding and development –nine long years of sacrifice and patience- lead to national and world recognition. In 1967, in preparation to mark Mahatma Gandhi's (1969) birth centenary celebration the Movement launched its biggest venture to date: Hundred Villages Development Scheme –a plan to carry out *Gramadaya* (village awakening/village development) in one hundred selected villages.[74] Describing the significance of this scheme –which began Sarvodaya's expansion toward a large NGO engaged in fostering alternative village development- Bond said, "This campaign served as a laboratory for redefining village-development techniques that Sarvodaya would employ in thousands of villages in the next few years."[75] This one hundred village initiative to build a culture of peace and prosperity, through the merging of people's spiritual aspirations with engagement in social action and community building, was so successful that by 1971 two hundred villages were experiencing "village awakening." The success of this "ongoing experiment' led to the proposal to expand the Scheme to 1,000 villages by 1975.[76]

In 1969, as a result of the Movement's success in uplifting the conditions of rural villagers, Ariyaratne was selected for the Ramon Magsaysay International Award for Community Leadership. (Appendix A) This acknowledgement from the Philippines

procured more global prominence and prestige for Ariyaratne.[77] Moreover, I believe that the timing of the Magsaysay Award, coming as it did amid Hundred Village Development Scheme, contributed to the Movement's success in Sri Lanka, which in turn, propelled the expansion of the Scheme toward one thousands villages by 1975.

Although the Movement had received modest financial support from private individuals and donor organizations as early as 1967, it wasn't until the beginning of its second decade that substantial outside funding began affecting the Movement. The year 1972 was a watershed year for Sarvodaya: It was the year that Ariyaratne resigned from the faculty of Nalanda College and began devoting his full attention and time to leading the growing movement. It was the year that Sarvodaya legally incorporated as a NGO; and it was also the year that the Movement received its first substantial funding, in the form of development grants, from European foundations.[78] (Appendix B)

The Movement still lived simply, with its true wealth measured in the gift of labour that its hundreds of volunteers gave, working without salary and living among the villages and practicing the moral pragmatism of Engaged Buddhism, honed in the laboratory of Shramadana work camps on weekends and holidays. Commenting on this period, Ariyaratne said, "the transformation of the activities of a set of volunteers into a legally recognized organization gave considerable impetus to the Movement and contributed very significantly to its quantitative expansion."[79]

The success of the expanded Hundred Villages Development Scheme blanketed the country with development ventures and led to growing international recognition. "From that point on," Bond noted, "Sarvodaya's outside funding grew exponentially

and certainly fueled the growth of the organization, if not the Movement itself."[80] By the end of the 1970s, the end of the Movement's second decade, there were over twenty foundations providing funds and support; with the major amounts coming from European foundations such as FNS (West Germany) and NORAD (Norway).[81]

> The results achieved to date demonstrates the tremendous potential and willingness of the people to participate in their own destiny.
> -Sarath Hewagama
> Sarvodaya General Secretary

Sarvodaya: 2006

Forty-nine years after Kanatoluwa the Movement encompasses 15,000 of Sri Lanka's 23,000 villages. Through a network of 4,607 legally independent Sarvodaya Shramadana Societies, group under 325 Division Units and 34 District Centres, including eight in the northern and eastern Tamil dominated areas, the Movement reaches one-fifth of Sri Lanka's twenty million people. It employs a full time staff of 644 of which 64% are permanent. Sarvodaya's commitment to evolve grassroots activism is reflected by 67% of the total staff being field-based.[82]

One can sense the growth, scope of influence and the integrating web-like comprehensiveness of Sarvodaya by reading its Annual Report: 2004 – 2005. I found it a combination of economic description, moral prescription and political prediction; there the reader will find intimations of the kind of society sowed from the DNA of that Kanatoluwa kernel. The following examples of Sarvodaya's inclusiveness were culled, mostly, from the Annual Service Report summaries of three core units of the

Social Empowerment Program: Social, Technological and Economic Empowerment Divisions; and its recounting of the activities of the Sarvodaya Peace Initiative. The summaries of those purposive examples report Sarvodaya's holistic quest for peace through its peacebuilding and peacemaking activities. The state of Sarvodaya: 2006, is depicted in the Movement's integral philosophy together with the Annual Report's data: concrete examples of activities, programs, trainings, economic income-generating-ventures, peace marches and meditations; along with some of their figures reporting the number of participants and the people they benefited.

Sarvodaya Peace Initiative

Since 1958 Sarvodaya has propagated a "people's peace process" grounded in nonviolence and justice. An integrated, alternative peace process that seeks to build a critical mass for peaceful transformation within three inter-related sectors: consciousness, economics and power. The transformation of consciousness is a spiritual process that begins with the psychological infrastructure-building phase encouraged by shramadana: our inner being and how we interact with others. Economic transformation is fostered through developmental programs: Buddhist economics concerned with how we obtain our basic needs. Transformation of the power structure: how we govern human behavior for the good of all, is a political/legal/constitutional matter.[83]

Sarvodaya's building of a critical mass for peace is an un-interrupted process that has persevered amid communal riots, terrorism, assassinations, massacres and a 23 year civil war whose brutality has psychologically and spiritually scarred Sri Lanka's

population, rendering Sri Lanka an island of victims.[84] The *Sarvodaya Peace Initiative* and the allied programs of the *Peace Secretariat* office "cuts across all other programs and projects being implemented through out the island" and seeks to transcend the culture of violence by addressing long-term conflict related issues. Whereas an undivided Sarvodaya is in constant pursuit of peace through its comprehensive peacebuilding and peacemaking programs, the activities conducted under the Sarvodaya Peace Initiative are specifically focused on people-based peacemaking.

Since 1983 Sarvodaya has organized 50 national peace meditations and peace walks in which nearly 2 million people have participated. In the sacred city of Anuradhapura, in 2002, over 600,000 participated in an inter-faith meditation; and in 2004, a similar meditation, held in Colombo, attracted over 3,000,000 participants.[85]

Based on its pronouncement that "a sine qua non of Sri Lanka's peace process is the presence of a well-informed constituency at the grassroots" the Peace Secretariat office implemented a series of *People's Peace Tables* and *People's Forums* in districts throughout the island. Both were uniquely designed to bring democracy to the people at large; and to provide discursive space to all who want to present an issue to the public, and for the discussion of major issues.[86]

In a section of his acceptance speech of the Gandhi Peace Prize (New Delhi, 1 January 1997) entitled "Peacemaking from Below," Ariyaratne notes that Sarvodaya is always seeking "to increase the space available for the people to participate in a lasting peace process." And in an attempt to circumvent the people's lack of available resources Sarvodaya, through a program of mobilization, engages the religious, business and education sectors. "It is our belief that middle range leaders, with their

networks both upwards and downwards, can play a crucial people-based role in promoting and re-invigorating the peace process."[87] This is an empirical realization of William Ury's "The Third Side:" "Every conflict occurs within a community that constitutes the 'third side' of any dispute." The "surrounding community," if they get involved by taking the third side, "serves as a *container* for any escalating conflict."[88]

The Rapid Language Training Program was launched to create amity between ethic groups by teaching the Sinhala language to Tamil children, and the Tamil language to Sinhala children; thereby strengthening communities and fostering peace and reconciliation. The program involved 870 children from 5 northern and eastern districts, during the year in review.[89]

Commenced in 2002 to mobilize and exercise grassroots synergies the *Village to Villages: Heart to Heart Program* couples villages in the South with villages in the North and East. By creating "an atmosphere devoid of fear and suspicion" the three day youth camps, of the *Heart to Heart Program*, encourages peace and brotherhood and advances understanding and appreciation of different cultural traditions and ways of life. During the year over 1,600 youths -of whom 49% were women- participated in the program.[90]

The ongoing aftermath of 23 years of brutal civil war has left psychologically wounded soldiers; mentally conditioned to participate in war and killing, heir lives will be forever changed. Sarvodaya, in association with NORAD (Norway), launched the *Rehabilitation of Disabled Servicemen* program, in mid-2004, to aid those men and women traumatized by war. The program reports that 60 participants from six Northern and Eastern districts attended the 5 one-day programs. However, the wording

and connotation of: "Sarvodaya has not forgotten these valiant people who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the nation." –infers that trauma counseling was extended only to Sri Lanka government troops, and not to the soldiers of the LTTE (Tamil Tigers). If this is correct, then it begs the question why? More than likely the Sri Lanka government would not allow members of the LTTE to be rehabilitated outside their control.

Furthermore, the program -if reported correctly- consisted of trauma counseling and the development of vocational skills of "disabled servicemen." As a disabled combat veteran myself who has worked with combat-traumatized Vietnam Veterans and as a trained counselor, I can definitely vouch –not withstanding noble intentions- that no one-day program can approach he effects of PTSD engendered by the trauma of war.[91]

Although it operates as one of Sarvodaya's Independent Units, the *Vishva Niketan International Peace and Meditation Center* is the spiritual hub of Sarvodaya, around which all the other interconnected peace structures revolve. The construction of Vishva Niketan was seeded with the funds awarded to Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne from the Niwano Peace Prize (Japan) and the Gandhi Peace Prize. The Peace Center, designed by A. T. Ariyaratne, is situated close to Sarvodaya's headquarters in Moratuwa, and encompasses meditation rooms, a meditation hall, an amphitheater, and facilities to accommodate 50 guests. The serene and tranquil environment of sand, stone, water and gardens, provoke an holistic approach –inward and outward, mind, society and environment- to healing the mind, reflecting the aspirations of the Shramadana Movement.

Besides offering various 3-day meditation programs, the Peace Center conducts *Mental Health Programs* aimed at addressing the mental health of village leaders, family health workers and others engaged in relief and rehabilitation work following the tsunami disaster. The Peace Center also extends its offerings of mental and spiritual solace to incarcerated inmates throughout the island; and "promotes inter-religious, inter-cultural, inter-racial understanding" within groups, institutions, and individuals.

I visited Vishva Niketan many times during my stay at Sarvodaya, not only because the Shanthi Sena's office is located within its grounds, but numerous times too, to meditate and walk its paths —"Inner spiritual renewal is necessary for inner peace, which in turns ensures peace in the community, the society, the nation and the world."[92]

Social Empowering Division (SED)

The Deputy Executive Director of SED, besides maintaining linkages with donor agencies and resources partners, "coordinates, monitors and evaluates the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the programs implemented by [its affiliated] Units."[93] One SED's affiliated unit is the Early Childhood Development Unit, charged with implementing training of preschool teachers, advanced training for teachers, advocacy programs for parents, the construction of new preschools, the repair of existing preschools, and various other programs aimed at enhancing human capacities such as the mental health development program for child victims of the war.

Recognizing that some facilitation of Sarvodaya philosophy from an early age is a prerequisite for the Movement's aim "to develop the personality of the individual," there are 4,721 established preschools and 8,190 preschool teachers.[94]

Another affiliated unit that underscores Sarvodaya's forward movement is the Information Technology Unit. Operating under the objective of "taking technology to the villages," the IT Unit implements programs and projects in 15 districts, six of which have evolved to the status of District Telecentres. Functioning via the Telecentres, Learning Resource Centres (LRC) are charged with ensuring that new technologies flow to the villages. Staffed by trained community youths a LRC serves schoolchildren, undergraduates, job seekers, farmers and elders by providing information-linked services such as telephones, photo-copiers, printers, fax machines, scanners, Internet connectivity and e-mail. And for communities that "do not, nor will they have IT-based information and knowledge in the foreseeable future," Sarvodaya maintains a mobile IT Unit to take technology to those villages.[95]

The "Microsoft Project" is a long-term joint initiative under "Microsoft's 'Unlimited Potential' Community Affairs Program and Sarvodaya's 'Networking Grassroots' Program." Utilizing the District Telecentres' available infrastructure the "Microsoft Project" will help generate 2,400 jobs for youths and adults within the targeted villages and, hopefully, serve as a catalyst for community development. Sarvodaya believes that by bringing Information Technology literacy to the villages it can "help bridge the urban-rural divide," and "also help foster peace and friendship among the people in the area.[96]

During a three month period a volunteer pool of 30 young men and women, representing 8 districts, scanned 23,000 survey questionnaires containing data pertaining to affected families living within 226 tsunami-affected Sarvodaya villages. Believing that "accurate and comprehensive information is vital for the post-tsunami recovery effort" –exemplary of the Buddhist tenet: right understanding- the volunteers, via the District Telecentres, established a data base containing a separate file for each affected family.[97]

Technological Empowerment Division

Since its inception in 1978 Sarvodaya *Rural Technical Services* along with its resource partners (Its partnership with Helvetas of Switzerland began in 1978.) has provided basic human needs to the rural communities by way of alternative energy schemes: clean drinking water wells, low cost housing and sanitation projects. A few of the projects implemented during the year in review were: concretized roads, small bridges, rainwater harvesting tanks, and a proposal to initiate micro-hydropower projects. And, in a great service to the nation, the Division played a primary role in post-tsunami relief efforts by providing basic human needs to those affected and the expertise of the Division's "trained technical officers" was provided for post-tsunami reconstruction.[98]

Economic Empowerment Division (SEEDS)

SEEDS (Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services) was established in 1968, *"to eradicate poverty by promoting economic empowerment for a sustainable livelihood."[99]* Economic empowerment is offered by way of financial and business development, fulfilled through three autonomous, yet integrated, Divisions of SEEDS: Banking, Enterprise Services, and Training. The first and third Divisions, namely,

Banking and Training will be outlined to further the reader's understanding of Sarvodaya's integrated nature.

The economics of SEEDS' Banking Division are introduced to Sarvodaya Shramadana Societies (SSS) –villages that have reached stage four of Sarvodaya village 5- Stage Development Model. By stage four the linked villages within the SSS network are "expected to be self-financing," thereby generating income and employment.

Empowered by the Banking Division the SSS improve their financial management skills, mobilize saving schemes, disburse loans and micro credit, and draw continuously from SEEDS' expertise for guidance in managing higher loan portfolios and enhancing savings deposits.

While observing and participating in a Shanthi Sena disaster warning training project, held at Sarvodaya's Bandaragama Development Education Institute, I toured the EM Technology manufacturing facility on the grounds of the Institute's. EM Technology (Effective Miro-organism) was developed and patented by a professor at Japan's Okinawa University. Dr. Higa cultured in molasses five types of bacteria which he discovered in peat, with application possibilities for organic farming, crop cultivation, solid waste management, animal husbandry, and composting.[100] In obtaining the franchise for producing and distributing EM in Sri Lanka Sarvodaya evinces a comprehensive, yet practical, model that would address particular needs. A model not opposed to the creation of wealth but an amalgam of socialist and capitalist components aimed –in keeping with the calculations of Buddhist Economics- toward developing new sources of right-livelihood and self-sufficiency.

Although not under the umbrella of SEEDS Banking Division but part of Sarvodaya's overall economic empowerment strategy are various income generating projects consisting of an Export Unit, Woodworking Unit, a Wheel Chair Manufacturing Project and a Book Publishing Unit that is incorporated within a successful 20 year printing operation –Vishva Lekha Printing Press.[101]

The institutional development program of SEEDS" Training Division "is intended to develop the managerial and administrative capacities of Sarvodaya Shramadana Society officials and mangers." During the year in review the Training Division supported and assisted the Banking and Enterprise Service Divisions, by conducting 1,481 training programs benefiting 33,767 participants. "Target achievement rates were 82% of the training programs and 79% of the participants."[102] The trainings were administrated through 12 developmental learning modules that ranged from the mundane: Skills Development Training, in which 650 persons underwent training through 27 programs; to the enduring Commercial Forestry Project that satisfied "the twin objectives of promoting investment among society members, and enhancing SEEDS' financial sustainability" by the planting of a teak and a mahogany plantation.[103]

The span of "programs," "workshops," "trainings," "courses," "orientations," and other learning and educative activities of SEEDS' Training Division, with its continuous commitment to learning, is mirrored by the span and continuous commitment to learning offered by the Early Childhood Development (EDC) Program; and the range of trainings and learning activities initiated by the 5-R Unit during the year were commensurable.

Each of Sarvodaya's Divisions and their sub-units too has its own training programs. Paige (2007) cites that in the Sarvodaya Annual Report for 2003-2004, "[t]he word 'training' appears more than 90 times in 142 pages."[104] Within the 157 pages of the 2005-2006 Annual Report the word "training" appears 8 times within the 3 page summary of the 5-R Unit; and in the Report's 7 page summary of ECD Program "training" appears 16 times –proportional to Paige's count.[105]

The entirety of Sarvodaya's training regimen is in keeping with its transition, its transformation, from a donor-dependent NGO toward self-sufficiency. Sarvodaya Shramadana philosophy articulated by A. T. Ariyaratne is a philosophy of transformation, whose formulation enables us to understand "the awakening of all" as the product of a broad social and political movement, not of a single individual.

Sarvodaya is an Engaged Buddhist philosophy that is applied through the full panoply of promising developmental programs for peace. These programs have been creatively developed, supported, and sustained with the continuous dedication of its staff and the altruistic motives of its invaluable volunteers. Sarvodaya realized is demonstrated by the capabilities of a self-reliant people, acting in concert, to meet their own needs and to bring about the conditions for a permanent peace –a non-violent, no-poverty, egalitarian society.[106]

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Shanthi Sena operating as an independent unit initiates peacebuilding projects, peacemaking activities, and trainings that parallel and assist those of the Shramadana Movement. The Shanthi Sena is a general purpose corps devoted to the cause of evolving a social order based on non-violence; and when

called upon the Sena will become a peacekeeping force. Yet, peacekeeping work alone will not produce a peaceful society.

The shramadana work camp continues to function as the Movement's pre-eminent organizing strategy. Shramadana methods and Sarvodaya peacebuilding and peacemaking work opposes systemic exploitation and structural violence, and combats ethnic, racial and religious intolerance, all of which are prefatory to the Sena's peacekeeping work. The Shanthi Sena operates at the nexus of peacebuilding, peacemaking and peacekeeping. It is my hope that this delineation of Sarvodaya: its origin, philosophy, methods, and a depiction of its present state, will allowed the reader to appreciate that nexus.

Shanthi Sena

> The work of peace- making can only be done by those who
> have already found their way into people's hearts and
> captured their affections by services they have preformed.
> — Vinoba Bhave

Gandhian Roots

The Sarvodaya Shanthi Sena, like most organizations that call for a disciplined peace
force, has Gandhian roots. Gandhi, at first, envisioned the Shanthi Sena replacing the
police in quelling communal and inter-communal riots that had intensified between the
majority Hindu and minority Muslim communities as the struggle for India
independence waged on. The would-be peace soldiers would derive their moral
authority from knowing and being known by all through their constant engagement in
the Constructive Program. Thus, the emphasis of the Shanthi Sena would be the
performance of selfless service to the community.

Beyond his heart-felt moral concerns for the inter-communal outbreaks of violence,
the political, pragmatic Gandhi believed that inter-communal peace was a requirement
for independence; not only for maintaining an undivided focus aimed at the British
imperialist rather than at opposing religious groups, but also to prove India fit to
substitute for British authority.

In 1938, ten years before his death and soon after the communal riots in Allahabad, where the police and army were needed to quell the disturbances, Gandhi once again, suggested the formation of a peace brigade "…whose members would risk their lives in maintaining peace, communal harmony and in educating people in their everyday lives."[107] In his daily newspaper, the *Harijan* (18-June-1938) he wrote:

> Some time ago I suggested the formation of a peace
> brigade whose members would risk their lives in
> dealing with riots especially communal. The idea
> that this brigade should substitute the police even the
> military. This reads ambitious. The achievements may
> prove impossible. Yet, if Congress is to succeed in its
> non-violent struggle, it must develop the power to
> deal peacefully with such situations.[108]

Gandhi was constantly experimenting with the principles of non –violent organization and expounding on them in his daily newspaper columns, refining and explaining his ideas and concepts on the workings of a Shanthi Sena and advancing - constantly promoting- their formation. He even prescribed seven attributes for every member of the peace brigade to embody.[109]

Although Gandhi had given serious thought to the necessity of setting up Peace Brigades, including a few abortive attempts at implementation,[110] he alerted his followers, in the aforementioned *Harijan* column, that because he did not have "…the health, energy or time… to cope with the tasks I dare not shirk,"[111] he could take no active role in their formation. Without Gandhi playing an active part, sadly no lasting organized Shanti Sena was established in his lifetime. However, an extensive legacy of experience persisted "into the second half of the century."[112]

The establishment of organized disciplined peace forces were left to Gandhi's followers who were charged with applying Gandhian philosophy to the immediacies

of peacekeeping amid communal and religious riots, while staying true to his legacy of uplifting the poor, and addressing the root causes of violence through selfless service in the Constructive Program. For those interested in the detailed history of the Shanthi Sena and its viability as a model for a nonviolent, discipline peace force, Thomas Weber's *Gandhi's Peace Army* is essential reading. Two primary resources are the writing of Gandhi's two most ardent followers, Vinoba Bhave[113] and Jayaprakash (JP) Narayan.[114] Their contrasting interpretation of Gandhi's philosophy –between Vinoba's nonviolence as an intrinsic good and JP's nonviolence as a political instrument- represent an inherent problem in Gandhian philosophy, yet both are invaluable for their insight into the organized workings of a discipline peace force.

University Based Shanthi Sena

Veteran Gandhian G. Ramachandran established the first university student based Shanthi Sena. As founder and first Vice-Chancellor of Gandhigram Rural University (GRU) near Madurai, in Tamil Nadu, he integrated the Shanthi Sena into the curriculum and made it the hub of its education and constructive activities. 'Gandhigram," in the words of past Vice-Chancellor Dr. Aram, "is the only university in the country and perhaps the world which by charter and constitution has established a Shanti Sena."[115] Every student enrolled at GRU is a Shanthi Sainik and is inculcated with concepts and ideals of the Shanthi Sena. And all others involved with GRU, administrators, teachers, and workers equally, take the pledge of the Shanti Sainik.[116]

I noted, in 1986, during my research on the Shanti Sena, that GRU's chief excellence may be its constant endeavor to remove the gap between theory and practice. (Almeida, 1986) Most of the research conducted at GRU is oriented to address the practical needs and problems of the nearby villages; and most of the courses had an extension component whereby ideas and concepts studied in the classroom could be applied in the villages. The communion of theory and practice was not a nascent educative exercise that Gandhigram gave birth to. The training of youth in non-violence and peace, and their practical involvement- as a learning process, was and is a revolutionary development.

Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, a Gandhian and devoted disciple of Dr. G.Ramachandran, was the Chief Organizer of the Shanti Sena at GRU in 1986. His view of education ("The University [GRU] is convinced now more than ever before that any social institution or organization should be a servant to society."),[117] coincides with A. T. Ariyaratne's ("The concern for others must serve as the basis of higher education.").[118] In a Paper entitled: "The Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade) of Gandhigarm Rural University: Educating for Non-violent Leadership and Participation," Radhakrishnan encapsulated GRU's mission: "The Gandhigram Rural University has been alive to its social responsibilities and it has proved to be an appropriate model for the essence of a University which has realized that a seat of higher learning should be the real agent of social revolution and transformation."[119]

In 1959 A. T. Ariyaratne's thirst for knowledge led him to take part in an educational conference in India. His main purpose, however, for attending the conference, was the possibility of afterwards traveling on later with the hope of

meeting Vinoba Bhave, the founder and leader of the Bhoodan (land gift) Movement. He had been longing to meet Vinoba and to learn from him practical ways for improving the fledging Sharamadana Movement and to make use of his influence.[120] At the conference Ariyaratne heard an Indian rural educationalist Dr. G. Ramachandran give a speech in which he analyzed the concept of Sarvodaya. "He compared the awakening of Sarvodaya to the blossoming of a lotus flower. He compared the ideas embedded in Sarvodaya to the petals which, when fully opened, were tantamount to the blooming of the complete flower....With-out much effort I was drawing a parallel between his idea and my own Buddhist philosophy."[121] The lotus blooming mirrored the Buddhist concept of emancipation,[122] an association A. T. Ariyaratne would later incorporate into the Sarvodaya Sharamadana emblem –a typology of personal and collective awakening.

After the conference Ariyaratne met with and accompanied Vinoba on a five mile walk to the village of Niravan to petition the rich landowners for donations to the poor. After careful explanation of the Bhoodan Movement Vinoba asked Ariyaratne to begin a similar movement in Sri Lanka. Ariyaratne respectfully rejected the request, and told Vinoba that his effort was aimed not at distributing lands but reforming society.[123]

It seems to me, with the advantage of historical hindsight, that A. T. Ariyaratne's time and thirst for knowledge would have been served better if after the conference he had accompanied Dr. G. Ramachandran back to Gandhigram. There he would have seen a vibrant Shanthi Sena, learned its inner workings and how it coalesced with GRU's mission to serve society through its educative-constructive projects in the near

by villages. The Sharamadana Movement established its Shanthi Sena in Sri Lanka in 1962 without Dr. G. Ramachandran's impetus, so I would venture that these two consequential nonviolent leader/teachers never met again. If I had known of their historic meeting prior to my audience with A. T. Ariyaratne I surely would have engaged him on this matter, buoyed by own remarkable conversation with Dr. G. Ramachandran in 1986.

Sri Lankan Genesis

In May 1962, A. T. Ariyaratne invited E. W. Ariyanayagam, a noted educationalist and disciple of Gandhi, to Sri Lanka to lecture at Sarvodaya villages. It was at the home of A. T. Ariyatane that Srimathi Asha Devi, Ariyanayagam's wife and a Shanti Sena convener, delivered a speech on Shanthi Sena concept, at the end of which a "decision" was made to establish a Sarvodaya Shanthi Sena in Sri Lanka. The following August, during Nalanda College's summer vacation, the first Shanthi Sena camp was held, followed by four successive camps in districts throughout the island. Included were camps in the eastern and northern provinces. "In each of these camps, a group consisting of Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslins participated together."[124]

The eruption of violence during the 1978 communal disturbances pushed A. T. Ariyaratne to appeal to all Sarvodayans throughout the island to organize into Shanthi Sena units to defend life and property in all of Sri Lanka's villages and towns. Sarvodaya members from communities representing all districts of the country responded to his call. When conditions return to normal the Peace Brigades remained intact, serving "as pioneer corps working in a spirit of altruism and self-discipline,"

developing programs of "amity and friendship" to aid and foster the development process in the country. The formation of these local organized units marked the birth of the Shanthi Sena in Sri Lanka.[125]

I compiled a small amount of data on the Shanthi Sena for the years between its Sarvodaya conception in 1962 and Ariyaratne's aforementioned 1978 appeal for the organization of Sena units. Likewise, I found a few written accounts of activities from 1978 until October 1993, the year the Shanthi Sena was registered as an independent legal entity.

Even though my focus was not the history of the Shanthi Sena in Sri Lanka per se, I would venture that more than likely some record of early Sena activities does exist. For example, in A. T. Ariyaratne's *Bhava Thanha: An Autobiography*, there's a brief report, written by "an earnest Sarvodaya worker," Dr. Dhammika Bibile. It is an account of a Shanthi Sena camp that was held in Jaffna (a Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] stronghold) on March 3, 1982. The camp was held primarily "to avert the ethnic crisis [that] erupted in 1981-1982 from developing into a bloody debacle." Dr. Bibile, in the report he submitted to Ariyaratne, noted that camp "infused us with much experience, especially practical experience."

A critical part of Dr. Bibile's report was twenty-six suggestions he submitted for Ariyaratne's consideration. For example: (1) Shanthi Sena should be a permanent unit. (2) A formal education should be given to its members. (3) Only responsible minded and talented youth should be taken in. (8) They should have a good knowledge of Sarvodaya. (9) Awareness of Shanthi Sena should be conducted among school children. (11) Courses about the Shanthi Sena should be conducted among school

children. (12) After training Shanthi Sena personnel, income generating avenues should be found for them. (13) A policy should be promulgated for national unity. (15) A process should be begun to dilute party and other disputes. (16) Advice should be given to state and indicate a peace maintaining unit or department or ministry. (17) Under this all dissensions should be attended to. (23) Further general knowledge, practical knowledge and training in Police and security measures should be infused in them. (24) Shanthi Sena should zoom to a global level. (26) A few Shanthi Sena members should be given training abroad to expand this programme universally.[126]

In the same report, Dr. Bibile noted that the "Jaffna Sarvodaya Centre" and the "Sarvodaya Bank" are of high standards and that the work there is done with "discipline" and "dedication." Yet, he states: "But few were aware of the Shanthi Sena."[127] A vestige of that lack of awareness presented itself to me during a conversation I had with Sarvodaya's Shanthi Sena Director, Mr. Ravindra Kandage. In the hope of producing more data on past Shanthi Sena ventures and history, I mentioned to Mr. Ravi (as Sarvodayans respectfully refer to him) Dr. Bibile's report that appears in Dr. Ari's autobiography. Unfortunately, he was unaware of it and also of any similar recorded events of the Shanthi Sena that would aid my research.[128]

A definitive history of Shanthi Sena in Sri Lanka, especially chronicles of its short and medium term peacekeeping and peacemaking activities respectively, needs to be complied for reasons beyond its historical importance. The recording of the Sena's successes and failures -errors carry valuable information that can be put to good tactical use- the degree that the activities were embraced or not by the community at large, and, moreover, the political, social and economical circumstances that led to

long term lasting effects of such ventures, may prove to be invaluable in the planning and success of the proposed Rapid Deployment Peace Brigade of the Shanthi Sena. "It is time," Gene Sharp (1992) noted, "to take the historical cases of unrefined nonviolent struggle and study what makes them successful or unsuccessful. Then we need to learn how to apply them to situations that we now believe can be handled only by violence and war, situations in which morally sensitive people have felt they had to compromise their belief in nonviolence."[129]

While we were breaking bread together at Sarvodaya's canteen at its Moratuwa headquarters, Sharif Abdullah stated that the Shanthi Sena "is vastly more organized now [May, 2006] than it was only three short years ago."[130] His view is underscored by the *Annual Report: 2004-2005*, which designated nine pages to chronicling the expansion of services and activities of the Shanthi Sena, whereas only four pages were dedicated to the Sena in the *Annual Report*: 2002-2003.

The first westerner I met at Sarvodaya's International Hostel was a graduate student from Brandeis University who was studying international development. Finished with his research, he was writing a thesis on communication and coordination among local, national and international NGOs. Contrasting with Sharif Abdullah's "vastly more organized" Shanthi Sena, he remarked, upon hearing the subject of my research, that he knew nothing about the Shanthi Sena, in fact he had "never even heard it mentioned."[131] He had been at Sarvodaya's Moratuwa headquarters and had visited other locations throughout the island, as well as being out and about on his own in most Districts of Sri Lanka since October, 2005!

It was never my intention in the preceding section to give a detailed history of the Shanthi Sena, how it evolved from a concept to address Gandhi's call for a discipline peace force, for it would not only be beyond the scope of this thesis, but also unnecessary for the task at hand. Still, I wanted to give the reader some knowledge of its earliest history and its Gandhian roots before its Sarvodaya formulation in Sri Lanka; and also to exhibit, however briefly, its adaptability to different settings, such as Gandhigram Rural University where the establishment of a Shanthi Sena, within an educational institution, serves as a nonviolent alternative to military training –the ubiquitous ROTC.

It would-be valuable to return to the *Annual Report*: 2004-2005, to gain insight into the Shanthi Sena's "theater of operations". The following examples of the repertoire of the Shanthi Sena are extracted from the report and presented as summaries emphasizing the Sena's main objectives, "to integrate communities in the peace effort, to protect the environment and to provide relief and care during emergencies."[132]

Annual Report: 2004-2005

Section 6.3: The Sarvodaya Shanti Sena Movement (Peace Brigade)

After a brief introduction, stating the above mentioned main objectives of the Sarvodaya Shanthi Sena Movement, *Table 6.2: Growth of Shanti Sena Units and Membership* charts the annual increase of Shanhti Sena Units (114) and membership in each District, reporting also that their respective cumulative totals added up to 9,231 Sena Units with 103,035 members. (Appendix C)

Although he believed that Shanhti Sena had obtained a significant degree of organization, Sharif Abdullah felt that the 100,000 plus membership total was incorrect. It was not so much that the numerical count was a "bit inflated," but that it did not accurately represent those members that were actively involved, who believed in the Shanhti Sena's mission. He sensed that a lot of young people joined the Shanhti Sena for something to do with their friends, sort of a club.[133]

I traveled, a few days later, with a staff member of the Shanthi Sena, to the Sarvodaya District Center in Kandy, in the central hill region, to give the first of three scheduled lectures on nonviolence. Since there were no Shanthi Sena activities or trainings scheduled during the week of April 21 -30, I was requested (in true Sarvodayan philosophy where everything is to be shared, including knowledge) to be a resource person –teacher in Sarvodayan parlance- on a series of lectures on nonviolence. In a determined attempt to not give the lectures I expressed my un-preparedness, arguing also, that without handouts to accompany the lecture it would be unfair to the non-auditory learner; and beside, my research strategy was to observe and maybe participate, to blend in unobtrusively, not to call attention to myself in front a classroom. In the end I acquiesced, mostly because I tend to let things that come up suddenly and not part of my over all plan run their course, believing – experientially- that creativity springs from there. The three lectures suddenly grew to four; however, I only gave the first one in the Kandy District Center. The other three, that were scheduled to take place in the Eastern region, were canceled because of the sudden increase of violence there.

I had the good fortune of possessing in my wallet a small laminated card issued by URI's *Center for Nonviolence and Peace*. On one side the six Principles of Nonviolence *("The Will")* are listed, the other has the six Steps of Nonviolence *("The Skill")*.[134] That card was the content of my lecture. The task of provoking discussion and questions was somewhat complex because my words had to be translated into Sinhala and Tamil for those who weren't fluent in English. Morning and afternoon tea was served, as well as lunch, and included in the lecture was bus-fare for the Shanhti Sena members.

In spite of Sharif Abdullah's subjective opinion that the Shanthi Sena's reported membership was a "bit inflated," I sensed that only a few of the fifty-plus in attendance were there because it was a break from their normal week day. Yet, I've come to believe that all in attendance that day were members of the Shanti Sena, and even though most of them are not prepared or willing to be part of the dedicated core of peacekeepers, they are truly part of something larger than themselves, showing the enterprise and initiative needed to bring about a nonviolent society. Moreover, as Sarvodayans and members of local Shanthi Sena units they are frequently participating in the peacebuilding and peacemaking activities of shramadana.

All those in attendance that day are linked together in a network of Shanthi Sena Units, an organizational framework with a large membership base without which the Shanti Sena could not function efficiently. As Vinoba Bhave had pointed out, as he began sketching the organizational structure of the Sena, in India, "non-violence would be a poor weapon if on such an occasion ["a breach of the peace"] we were not able to send help from the outside."[135] Vinoba therefore called for the recruitment of a

large number of Shanti Sevaks ("servants of the people") and Shanti Sahayaks (assistants). "First we shall need hundreds of Lok-sevaks, and out of their number Sanhti Sianiks will be recruited."[136] Regarding the formation of the Shanti Sahayaks and Sevaks into a seva sena, or an army of service, Vinoba remarked:

> I regard the farmer, the weaver and others who live by productive crafts to be engaged in very honest an valuable work. If they are ready to be peace-workers when the need arises, they may be recognized as Shanti Sahayaks. We need such helpers in the hundreds of thousands.[137]

The Shanthi Sainiks, those involved full-time in the work of the Sena in Sri Lanka, are a small cadre at the center whose work is sustained by "concentric circles" of support. For example: those Shanthi Sena Units who send their members to a lecture on nonviolence and when called upon respond to emergencies, or contribute their labor to the peacebuilding schemes of Shramadana –service and sacrifice- would form the first circle of support. The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement with its organizational framework, its vast infrastructure, its core of dedicated workers, and its compelling moral authority would constitute one of the outer circles. Its 50 "resources partners" (Appendix B) including organizations from seven countries whose contributions help sustain Sarvodaya's diverse projects, as well as the benefactors who donate directly to the Sena, would form the last circle.

J. P. Narayan commented on Vinoba's blueprint of the support structure for the Shanti Sena. "This programme of the Shanti Sena," JP interpreted, "can be described as made up of concentric circles, with the Shanti sainik in the centre, the Shanti sevaks forming the next outer circle, the Sarvodaya patras [a voluntary contribution system of support set up in each village that has a Sena unit] the next, and the Sarvodaya mitras

[friends, sympathetic with the goals of sarvodaya] the last. While the Shanti Sena by itself cannot be a very large body, the whole Shanti Sena programme can indeed become a mass movement."[138] The 114 Shanti Sena Units that were set up with 2,753 new members during the year can be construed as Sarvodaya generating a mass movement.

Shanhti Sena, the vanguard of the "Peoples' Peace Organization," operates as an independent unit with programs and activities that parallel those of Sarvodaya. The Shanthi Sena Movement is one of seven "Independent Units" that adhere to the "philosophy," "vision," and "guiding principles" of Sarvodaya, while operating under its sanction. Although conforming to the main constitution of its Sarvodaya parent, the Shanthi Sena has drafted its own constitution and elects its Executive Committee at its Annual General Meeting; moreover, as a legal entity the Shanthi Sena Movement has the advantage of accepting donations directly into its treasury.[139]

One of its main goals, in keeping with its parent body, is to develop effective community leaders. Almost the entire activity of the Sena consist of a continuous process of education with objectives and methods that are synonymous with shramadana: Awaken personalities, inculcate discipline, self-confidence and self-reliance within a pedagogy that promotes physical, mental and spiritual development, all the while advancing skills that benefit the community, including skills in first aid, disaster relief and environmental protection. A few examples from the Annual Report:

Section 6.3.1 Suwadana Seva Program

The Suwadana Sewa program operates "to ensure the health of low-income rural people." Under this program the Shanhti Sena established 89 First Aid Centres in

Sarvodaya villages. "First Aid and Health Sectors" resource persons conducted six one-week residential training programs in locations that combined two or more districts. Twelve "Shanti Sena Village Units" participated in one-day Health Conferences the purpose of which was "to identify health problems, to find solutions to such problems, and to coordinate with health authorities in these areas," whereby laying the foundation for the "successful implementation of the Suwadana program." A total of 1,573 Shanthi Sena members participated, of which 60% were woman. Also, Shanthi Sena members, drawn from villages "which have a relatively higher incidence of snakebite-related deaths," participated in a one-day first aid training program to address and minimize death from snake bites. Members of the Sri Lanka Medical Association conducted the training and distributed twenty snakebite medical kits to the relevant villages.[140]

6.3.3 Amity Camps

With the aim of achieving "the harmonious integration of all communities and religious faiths, irrespective of caste, creed or nationality," Shanthi Sena promotes programs that specifically focus on people-based peacemaking. Programs and activities that parallel and are at times allied with those of the *Sarvodaya Peace Initiative:* non-violent conflict resolution, training and education in peace efforts such as developing positive attitudes and values toward others, and advancing the use of non-violent action. Promoting balanced individuals prepared and "willing" to play their part in community, is "the ultimate aim of Shanthi Sena."[141]

Beyond the ongoing core work of the Shanhti Sena, specific programs such as Peace and Amity Camps are implemented periodically to assuage the pernicious

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psychological effects of the culture of violence engendered by the civil war, and also to encourage fellowship and tolerance of others. Amity Camps bring together and provide opportunities for Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, and Christian youth to appreciate different religions, food, customs, and languages through the experience of living together as equals in a harmonious community. The camps promote dialogue on the *Sarvodaya Peace Plan* for a just and permanent peace, allowing for detailed discussions on the main obstacles to peace. The agenda, besides education and leadership training programs, emphasizes games, sports, cultural events, and drill. Finally, the camps always feature shramadana activities, engaging the participants in constructive tasks to address the common needs of the near by villages. From May 13 to 18, 2004, a Shanthi Sena Amity Camp was held in Matara, where 1,166 participants came together as equals and "learn[ed] to adopt an alternative way of life by rejecting the culture of violence propagated by the current socio-political and economic environment."[142]

6.3.6 Post-tsunami Relief & Reconstruction Program

Long after Sarvodaya's immediate Relief effort, members of the Shanti Sena went to live among the displaced people in the 226 tsunami-affected villages, along the coast of Sri Lanka, amid..."the stuff of a nightmare scenario –whole communities uprooted, families scattered, people crammed into welfare centres, bodies buried under debris, mass burials, orphaned children, bereaved parents, anxious relatives looking for their loved ones or grieving for the dead."[143] Cadres consisting of five to ten Shanti Sena youths, allied with Sarvodaya *Village to Villages: Heart to Heart (Tsunami) Program*, set up tents in each affected village and lived there on a ten day rotational

basis, from January 30 to the end of February 2005. Under the *Heart to Heart* program, villages that were unaffected by the tsunami "adopted" affected villages. Exploiting Sarvodaya's "profound understanding of community dynamics, particularly those of coastal communities," the program transcended relief and reconstruction efforts to establish a psychosocial support system, whose efforts helped to palliate wounded minds, and generate a sense of brotherhood. Shanthi Sena cadres, in an attempt to bring psychological relief, facilitated discussion groups which enabled the villagers to speak of their fears and tsunami experiences.[144]

During the month Shanhti Sena members provided services to "29,564 affected families (i.e. 124,850 people)" and organized 113 welfare centers. The centers served as focal points for relief service such as: immediate provisions of food and clothing, first aid and medical services, burial needs, providing temporary shelters (tents), and distribution of dry rations and kitchen utensils.[145]

The purification of contaminated wells was one of the major tasks under taken by the Sena. With the aid of 5,170 volunteers and water pumps funded by the Asian Youth Centre, the Shanhti Sena coordinated the pumping out of 1,034 wells. More than a few of them had to be pumped out several times before potable water flowed. Greater than 100,000 people benefited from this project.

The following chart records the activities conducted by the Shanthi Sena cadres during the post-tsunami relief effort.

Activity	No. of Programs
Gathering data on the effects of the tsunami	22,951
Restructuring the Sarvodaya institutions in the villages	162
Shramadana projects to clean the environment	150
Religious, cultural and recreation activities	259

First Aid programs	9,479
Health Clinics	17,879
Nutrition programs	9,275
Purification of contaminated drinking water wells	1,572
Emergency relief service programs	19,119[146]

As noted in the activity chart, the Shanthi Sena cadres, besides implementing the intent and goals of the Five "R" Program during their tsunami relief effort, also gathered important data so that the long-term "Plan of Action" to reconstruct affected villages, destroyed infrastructure, and Sarvodayan village institutions, could be prepared by the Field Operations Division.

The speed with which Sarvodaya was able to mobilizes thousands of volunteers in a "human chain of endeavor," reaching the maximum amount of people within the quickest possible time, with whatever life sustaining supplies were available, is a testament to not only to its "profound sense of community dynamics," but also to its power -the wielding of nonviolent power forged in the crucible of floods, drought, civil disturbances, and other crisis situations.[147]

"This Annual Report stands as a tribute to the community of nations," begins the last paragraph of its introduction, "including our own, who responded so magnificently and immediately to Sarvodaya's call for help." Sarvodaya drew upon "its reserves of determination and sheer endurance" in responding to the unprecedented devastation caused by the tsunami of 26 December 2004. As an under-funded NGO operating within a developing nation, a nation that is yet impeded by the echoes of colonialism, the response of Sarvodaya and its Shanthi Sena stands in stark contrast to the immediate response in the aftermath of hurricane Katrina in the USA.[148]

Observation and Participation

During the six plus hours drive from the District Centre in Nuwara Eliya –in the central hill region- back to Sarvodaya's headquarters in Moratuwa we conversed on a variety of topics. Lakshman Perera, Nuwara Eliya District Coordinator drove, with myself in the front seat and two younger Sarvodayans in the back. All three of my fellow travelers are Shanthi Sainiks, as are the majority of Sarvodayans. At times the conversation was four-way; and most of the discussions and topics were stimulated by a question asked of me. The majority of the time found Lakshman and I conversing on a variety of subjects, with him prompting me with a question and both of us prodding each other to keep the conversation going. Lakshman stated that the main thrust of our dialogue was meant to keep him alert while driving the long, arduous ride –he was noticeably exhausted. Yet, I understood too, that our talk was no mere palavering, but his way of bestowing Sarvodayan philosophy. Retrospectively, I believe our time together during that ride –with no exit- had Socratic undertones, the fruit of which was the passing of firsthand experiential knowledge of Sarvodaya and the Shanhti Sena.

This wasn't truly serendipitous because –although it was not stated- our time together was arranged by Dr. Vinya S. Ariyaratne, executive director of Sarvodaya, and physician son of the founder. After our initial meeting, during my second week at Moratuwa –a short yet stimulating meeting- Dr. Vinya and I tentatively set up another time to meet; however, the increase in violence in the north and east of the island monopolized his time and we never did meet again.

The landscape is lush, the road tortuous and at times steep, especially in the beginning of our trip, as we descended from the hill region toward the coast. I found Sri Lankans to be bright and curious and I would propose, that Sarvodayans are especially attentive and inquisitive; with many of them finding it quite interesting that I came "all the way from the United States !" to study the Shanthi Sena. The vast majority of people who come to Sarvodaya either as volunteers or as researchers are mostly focused on the development/economic ventures of the Movement.

Besides Lakshman's seemingly never-ending duties -15 to 18 hour days are the norm- as a District Coordinator, he is also involved in the ventures of the Peace Secretariat office and is one of the architects of the Rapid Deployment Peace Brigade (RDPB). The establishment of a RDPB is a goal of the Sarvodaya PEACE ACTION PLAN; with its aspiring and novel 500 YEAR PEACE PLAN, whose ambitiousness is stated clearly in its "OVERVIEW:…the Sarvodaya goal is to eliminate war and violence from our consciousness: TO MAKE WAR UNTHINKABLE." (emphasized in original)[149]

Most of the chronological objectives, steps, and goals of the PEACE ACTION PLAN are presently being addressed and have been implemented with incremental advancement and success. However the establishment of the RDPB has been in limbo. Timing is always crucial. The increase in hostilities and violence in Sri Lanka's intractable civil/ethic war has created a sense of urgency –palpable while I was there- among some Sarvodayans and Shanthi Sainiks who feel that the time is ripe for implementing the RDPB. Sharif Abdullah, author, researcher, advisor to Sarvodaya, and director of the Commonway Organization in Portland, Oregon, and also one of the

architects of the RDPB, told me that he has spoken to Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, more than once, "that the Shanthi Sena is an asset, but an asset is only an asset if you use it."[150]

Timing was also crucial for me, as the ride back from Nuwara Eliya occurred during my last full week in Sri Lanka. And so the launching of the RDPB, with its consequent possibilities, has laid heavy on my mind. However, in an attempt to bridge any projections, I will address this proposed advancement in the Shanthi Sena's task and the proposal to fund and implement the RDPB in the conclusion.

My other two traveling companions that day were heading to Moratuwa to join with eight or more sainiks from other districts, coming together for a week long brain-storming session convened by Dr. Vinya Ariyaratne. Their charge was to throw out for discussion any – and all – ideas, concepts, propaganda, strategies, programs, and tactics that could or would be used to address and hopefully abate the renewal of violence in their country. Later in the week they began to break up into working groups, one of which monitored the written media's coverage of the hostilities, with the intent of each group presenting their output to Dr. Vinya. I found the media group's task puzzling, since I was told repeatedly that there were no independent newspapers and that most media were controlled by the government, discounting those organs controlled by the Tamil Tigers. This brain-storming session lasted more than a week and was still meeting when I left Sri Lanka. Two scheduled meetings with Dr. Vinya had been cancelled during the week. Dr. Vinya's time was consumed steadily by the increasing violence, its effects on Sarvodaya ventures, and the safety of its members, especially those in the North and East regions of the islands.

Toward the end of our drive to Moratuwa, Lakshman asked my opinion of Sarvodaya and of the Shanthi Sena. His tone and wording of the question, together with the tenor of our conversation, conveyed that he wanted my assessment. Without too much thought I attempted to phrase an idea that had been gestating for a week or so. I had long given up trying to extricate the Shanhti Sena from the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement; for they are so wedded together that I came to believe that the state of one is perhaps the best guide we have to the health of the other. I answered rather clumsily, expressing my belief that Sarvodaya is the peace oriented equivalent -irenic counterpart- of America's Military Industrial Complex, with its Shanthi Sena, when called upon, serving as its unarmed nonviolent peacekeepers. My first and only pronouncement was the rather unwieldy: Peace Industrial Complex. "Yes," Lakshman countered, "but our 'Pentagon' is eight-sided,"[151] in reference to the physical shape of Sarvodaya's compound at Moratuwa.

My first intimation of this "irenic complex" came on one of those Sri Lankan days when the heat and humidity overwhelmed me – no escaping from it, no air conditioned refuge. It was a Sunday and so there was little activity and only a few people out and about at Sarvodaya's compound when I took a walk to investigate areas I had yet to visit, and also in an attempt to tire myself out to take full advantage of a siesta at the height of the day.

I observed and noted all the various vehicles in the compound; most of them were parked together, close by the main entrance and displaying, on their front doors, Sarvodaya's symbol of the lotus flower with the rising sun in the background. My eye first caught the large RV/camper-like vehicle serving as Sarvodaya's Mobile Medical

Unit with an ambulance parked beside it. A short distance away was a water tanker, not dissimilar to a water tanker truck used to fill swimming pools; although this one, I later learnt from experience, when the water supply to the international hostel went dry, is used to transport water in such emergencies or to supply large gathering when or where water is scarce. There were also a few four-wheel drive trucks, large and mini-vans, and a large dump truck.

Back at the hostel I transcribed my field notes of the Transport Section and noted the buildings and units that I wanted to investigate further, such as the Auditorium, Information Technology Unit, the Central Library, and the Sawasetha Infant Nutritional Center. However, I must back up for a moment, because a few days before my reconnaissance of the compound I reread the aforementioned *Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan*, having already read it on my second day in Sri Lanka.

Under the sub-section *The Fields of Conflict*, it is stated: "In order for Sarvodaya to be effective in waging peace, we must have a clear analysis of the conflict." And that there are five different ways in which the parties in Sri Lanka "contend with each other, different 'fields' in which they act: The Military field, The Political field, The Psychological field, the Ethnic/Cultural field, the Spiritual field."

> The Military Field:
> Although Sarvodaya is not a military force in the traditional sense, there are more people engaged and activated through their Sarvodaya work than the government and LTTE combined.[152]

Even though the vehicles parked in the Transport Section are not an irenic equivalent per se of a military motor pool "in the traditional sense," one could

recognize and understand their collective technological disposition, their peaceable utility – power, mobility, responsiveness – their animating force. I perceived those vehicles as part of Sarvodaya peaceable armamentarium, whose charge is to transport and mobilize not only Sarvodaya's developmental schemes, but its ability to wage, make and keep peace in the villages throughout the island.

Similarly, I recognized the fact that a vast amount of people are "engaged and activated through their Sarvodaya work," as an exemplar of Hannah Arendt's perception of power. Not power used "metaphorically" as a "powerful man" or a powerful nation, but power as it "corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert;"[153] or, as in political scientist Glenn D. Paige's concise insight into "Arendt's emphasis upon conversing, deciding, and acting together."[154]

I had no theory or established research in tow when I went to Gandhigram Rural University, in 1985, to study its university based Shanhti Sena. My sole research aim was to realize a full description, understanding, and appreciation of an individual case. Seven weeks can rapidly evaporate while doing field work, increasingly so when the research is set in a foreign culture; hence, before going to Sri Lanka I felt strongly about having a theory or some pertinent research in hand that I would utilize to govern not only my thought process amid an avalanche of data, but more so as a check on my assumptions and foreknowledge of the Shanthi Sena.

As mentioned, winnowing the Shanthi Sena from Sarvodaya is not possible, for the Sena is dependent upon the established solidarity that Sarvodaya has built up within Sri Lanka and its infrastructure, and will continue to rely on Sarvodaya's peacemaking and peace-building ventures to support and sustain its peacekeeping possibilities. And

so I sought the relief of a premise –an internal hypothesis- to guide me in assessing this remarkable force in action.

Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung's peace axiom argued in "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuliding," (1976)[155] is one of his many attempts to think about and analyze international approaches to peacekeeping, based mostly on his extended research of United Nation peacekeeping operations, particularly his work with Norwegian U. N. peacekeeping soldiers.

Granting that Galtung's research in "Three Approaches to Peace" is concerned with armed peacekeepers who are imported into foreign conflicts to quell violence, there is yet much profit in his insights of the three dimensions of establishing and maintaining peace: how they interrelate, the difficulty of building into the role of peacekeeper the components of peacemaking (negotiations and mediation) and peacebuilding (socioeconomic development and reconstruction for social change) and, how necessary the dimension of peacebuilding is to the effective long-term resolution of conflict.

Galtung's survey of Norwegian U. N. peacekeepers discovered that they rarely made friends with the local civilian population, nor engendered mutual trust; and that their aversion to the locals increased during their tour.[156] "The closer one comes to the conflict scene," Galtung concluded, "the more difficult it is to maintain any kind of 'balance attitude' to the sides the forces were keeping at peace." Furthermore, it is extremely difficult for peacekeepers to gain enough trust to be able to mediate among violent or warring parties when the peacekeeping force itself has been shooting at them;[157] as so often happens in international peacekeeping activities involving the blue

berets of the United Nation peacekeeping soldiers.   In "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" Galtung (1969) examines the deeper lying factors of structural violence,[158] indirect violence, that perpetuates inequalities that are built into the political and social structures and which generate unequal access to basic human needs and opportunities for advancement -structural forces that if not addressed can cause seemingly successful peacemaking efforts to collapse.

John Burton (1990) argues that although peacekeeping forces can help end disputes, conflicts cannot be contained or suppressed while basic human needs remain unsatisfied.[159] These factors, in the relationship between parties, must therefore be addressed, treated and possibly solved before approaching ideas of how to achieve a self-supporting resolution to conflict. The necessary ingredient for addressing structural violence is peacebuilding,[160] the slow organic approach to peace assumed by dedicated local workers. For Galtung, the solution would entail "to build into the role [of peacekeepers] peacemaking and peacebuilding components."[161]

Yet, regarding the structure of peace, there is insight to be inferred from a dilemma Galtung emphasizes between the "clear minimum role definition" of the duties of guarding, observing, and keeping the parties of the conflict apart –"showing behavior rather than attitude"- and the other role: being involved with "the entire conflict system." That is, conducting mediations and trying to reconstruct a socio-economic structure that encompasses the needs of the antagonists –"showing attitude as well as behavior." "The former role," Galtung notes in concluding, "is possible but not very effective, [while] the second is very effective, but not very possible."[162]

It may also be possible but not very effective to graft peace corps-like duties onto a trained fighting force,[163] causing them to show attitude as well as behavior while attempting to stifle their combative instincts. Conversely it would be quite difficult for a trained, equipped, and prepared firefighter to be able to put down the sudden outbreak of "fire" in a violent conflict. An interesting outcome of Galtung's coherent discussion and examination of the difficulty of combining the possible approaches to conflict and peace is his assertion that "it might be possible to combine the peacekeeping function of the UN soldier [I would add, as long as they are unarmed.], the peacemaking function of the mediator, e.g. of the Quaker type, and the peacebuilding function of the peace corps volunteer." The example he cites is the "very rich role combination" of Gandhi's unarmed satyagraha brigades.[164]

The similarities between the Shanthi Sena's charge and Galtung's three possible approaches to conflict and peace, despite important differences, are significant. And we shall see, as I analyze the Shanthi Sena of Sri Lanka, whether there is a necessary contradiction in combining Galtung's triad of approaches in the goals of a nonviolent peace brigade. As already stated, I sought a signpost to guide me as I observed the Shanthi Sena as part of my exploratory analysis; a manageable framework within which I should be able to ascertain the inter-knit processes of peacemaking and peacebuilding –the development of a no-poverty, nonviolent society- and how they interrelate and affect the specific short-term task of peacekeeping. Peacekeeping, besides being a corollary to the processes of peacemaking and peacebuilding, is a task that at certain times must "be carried out so that the all-important processes can be undertaken."[165]

While my military training and experience during the Vietnam War would be an asset to observations of discipline, organization, routine, and preparedness, there is no research that followed the train of Galtung's thought that would give me a purchase on ascertaining "a less easily definable intrinsic good, the building of a spiritual society."[166] A peace army must move beyond the midpoint of tolerance, toward the encouragement of positive inter-group feelings and other altruistic tendencies. And a group or movement, in particular an army, must promote, generate, and exercise élan, that elusive but vital aspect.

Last-Mile Hazard Information Dissemination Project

A few days after my arrival at Moratuwa I met with the executive assistant of Sarvodaya's International Division, Mr. Bandula Senadeera, and Mr. Ravindra Kandage, Director of the Shanthi Sena; together we mapped out a plan which would allow me to observe and participate in various Shanthi Sena programs and training during the next six weeks. A study plan that would give me an understanding of the Shanthi Sena's mission. A trainers training program on hazard information and preparedness was my first opportunity to experience the Sena's mission.

In the aftermath of the Indian Ocean tsunami of December 26, 2004, in which 30,000 Sri Lankans died, it was evident that "had an effective disaster warning system" been in place many lives could have been saved. Recognizing this need, Sarvodaya and three sponsors and supports came together to implement the *Last-Mile*

Hazard Information Dissemination Project. "It is an attempt to study, experiment and understand which communications technologies and community mobilization methods will work most effectively in disseminating information on multiple hazards and challenges faced by Sri Lankan communities." The rationale grounding the Last-Mile Project is that even if "an ocean-based tsunami detection system is deployed," it would not be "sufficient by itself to reduce a tsunami disaster, leave alone higher probability disasters like hurricanes, floods and landslides."[167]

Within hours after the tsunami struck Sarvodaya's coordinating network of district and villages Centers went into action. By exploiting their pool of volunteer reserves, together with a responsive infrastructure and technologies, they were the first responders to the destruction left in the wake of the tsunami. They were also, in testament to the impartiality and inclusiveness of their vocation, the only NGO or government agency allowed into the Tamil Tiger controlled areas in the east during those first critical days after the disaster.

Sarvodaya responded to Sri Lanka's largest national disaster with what Ariyaratne called "waves of compassion" to offset "waves of destruction."[168] Drawing on nearly fifty years of experience in responding to and addressing the aftermath of environmental and man-made disasters, Sarvodaya immediately exercised its "5-R" disaster management action plan. Originally created to reach and assist the most vulnerable people affect by the civil strife in the north and east, the 5-R Unit is coordinated by the Disaster Management Division. "The 5-R approach is a graded approach, beginning with the restoration and normalization processes and concluding

with reawakening of the people…a holistic approach encompassing the spiritual,

physical and mental well being of a people":[169]

Relief: Proving immediate assistance in the form of food, clothing, shelter and essential commodities to affected communities.
Rehabilitation: To involve those affected in the process of rebuilding their lives together with Sarvodaya and providing them with support to maintain their lives in dignity.
Reconstruction: Reconstruction of damaged and destroyed homes.
Reconciliation: Implementing all programs while keeping in mind the need to integrate communities and help them to work together to heal the wounds of conflict and build back their lives together.
Reawakening: The affected communities need psychosocial and spiritual support to assist them in their part to recovery. Sarvodaya believes that this would enable them to be reintegrated into the mainstream of development.

Adjudged by the U.N. as the best voluntary organization that contributed relief and

rehabilitation work during and after the disaster, Sarvodaya was awarded the U.N.

Habitat Scroll in 2005 for its tsunami effort.[170]

Based on knowledge realized from its Tsunami disaster effort Sarvodaya inferred

that it was "unlikely" that hazard information would reach individual households at

the last mile – notwithstanding an effective national and local early detection and

warning system – without "a process of training local officials and providing

education to respond appropriately to warnings, and preparation of protocols and

response plans well in advance of potential hazards."[171]

A critical part of the Last Mile Project was a "pilot initiative" that was to be

"carried out in 32 selective villages." The seven day training and workshop for the

pilot initiative (April 3-9, 2006) was held at one of Sarvodaya's Development

Education Centers at Bandaragama, and entitled: *Training of Trainers (TOT)*

Workshop and Field Activities. The *TOT* brought together 24 Shanthi Sainiks selected

from 6 coastal districts. The goal was that these young motivated "HazInfo Trainers"

would take from the *TOT* the skills to accomplish the main objectives of the pilot initiative: effectively communicate hazard information to individual households within the last-mile; train local officials; provide public education; and the preparation of protocols and response plans. The *TOT* was my first opportunity to observed and experience the Sena's mission and also the longest Shanti Sena activity scheduled during my stay.

In a 1984 paper entitled: Community Preparedness, delivered at a symposium on Disaster Relief at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute (20 July 1984) A.T. Ariyaratne, in his introduction, asked two questions: "Has there ever been any attempt to prepare communities to prevent and minimize the adverse effects of such hazards? Who can organize communities to fight such disasters?" The experiential roots of the origin of Sarvodaya's participation in the *TOT* and of Ariyaratne's questions can be traced back to its 1965 disaster relief work in the aftermath of "when waves and cyclones played havoc in the Mannar district." The knowledge from that first experience of a major disaster enabled Ariyaratne to delineate "some basic components which should essentially be included in any programme at the national level to prepare communities to face natural disasters;" components and experiential knowledge that would be incorporated into the Last-Mile Project. The cornerstone component is community preparedness: involvement, organization, motivation -the corpus of Sharamadana.[172]

Ariyaratne noted, that the immediate relief work and subsequent rehabilitation efforts by the movement in Mannar "took the form of a donor-recipient relationship, rather than the affected community getting involved actively" and, more pertinent, "the affected communities were neither organized nor motivated for such activities

prior to the disaster." Further on, in the body of the paper, Ariyaratne inquired ".., could a disaster preparation programme survive in isolation?" or, in other words, is it possible or practical to prepare a village to combat natural disasters divorced from an overall development scheme that is executed by the village community? "The biggest disadvantage," Ariyaratne asserted, "of such a programme existing in isolation would be the loss of enthusiasm and motivation in the community between the periods of disasters. This situation itself will prevent people from participating in preparatory activities."[173]

The Mannar incident proved that the answer for the necessitation of community preparedness for disasters is the same embodiment of disaster readiness to a "broader development" program propelled by four decades of "institutionalized participation." Once such participation is ongoing and various infrastructure improvements have been attained concomitantly with individual and communal power, then the task to create awareness among individual households on the necessity to prevent and prepare for disasters becomes much easier.[174]

Sarvodaya's facilitation of the Last-Mile Project is underpinned by the Shanthi Sena's overall objective "to develop effective community leadership among youth by awakening their personality, training them in discipline and self reliance, teaching them services useful to the community and skills helpful to themselves..."[175] Included in his discourse on community preparedness was Ariyaratne's view on the importance of identifying "functional leadership" in the village communities; believing leadership must arise organically in the community, and a disbelief that leadership dictated from above can ever solve community problems. "According to Sarvodaya's programme,

functional leaders are supposed to be selected by the community itself in order to secure acceptability and avoid conflicts."[176]

What the twenty-four Shanhti Sainiks recruited for the *TOT* workshop have beyond their steadfast commitment to the Movement's principles, is the acclamation of their respective village -praise and respect garnered through years of voluntary service. The chosen Sena members participating in the *Last-Mile Project* were at various steps in the Shanthi Sena 2 year period of training and service.

TOT: Observation and Participation 3-9 April 2006

The late afternoon and night before the beginning of the *TOT* saw the hostel and canteen at Moratuwa become animated with anticipation as the twenty-four trainers, selected from six coastal districts, arrived at Sarvodaya's headquarters. A few came together, but mostly they traveled on their own, and by evening all were gathered for supper; and although there was no formal meeting or introductions, a few sainiks knew one another, and soon the canteen was loud with conversation. Early the next morning the HazInfo Trainers, two Shanthi Sena staff members, and myself, climbed aboard a Sarvodaya transport bus for the forty minute drive to Bandaragama. Even before the bus pulled away there was laughter, singing, drumming on seats, and talk that needed to be very loud, to be understood. The dancing, and camaraderie that ignited the night before intensified and was sustained throughout the week —each bus ride thereafter a happening.

Bandaragama Development Center was an ideal setting for the 7 day training, providing the young HazInfo Trainers with modern, yet sparse accommodations, set

amid the spacious, resort-like palm and coconut grounds. The entire training was conducted in an informal but structured manner. The *TOT* participants spent 5 days learning theory in the classroom: through lectures that incorporated Power Point presentation, group work, where groups of 4 to 6 engaged in parallel activities that were later summarized in short presentations, through the viewing of selected videos and films that were integral to the workshop content, and, just as important, where the collective outdoor activities that energized the body, fostered fellowship and solidarity, while providing a break from the classroom.

A well designed format in depth of content and pace of learning, coupled with a knowledgeable instructor who was simultaneously stimulating, stern and witty, produced a pedagogical success. The lesson plan was broken into sessions, with topics such as: Understanding Vulnerability and Risk; Getting to know Multiple Natural Hazards; and Disaster Response Plans, including Evacuation Strategies. Even though the lectures were predominately in Sinhala, with Tamil language interpretation, the hand-outs, Power Point presentations, and videos were in English, and therefore, I easily understood the daily lessons' content and tasks, as well as grasping the overall objectives of the training.

My observations, however, were trained on the interactions of the Shanthi Sainiks: how they bonded, the dynamics of their teamwork, their self-discipline, and the esprit de corps they emoted.

Each day of the five day classroom work (Monday- Friday) began alike, with devotional prayers and/or brief religious readings, ending with group meditation. Indicative of the Movement's inclusiveness and respect for all religious or spiritual

beliefs, those in attendance, not of the Buddhist faith, were called upon first to offer a prayer, reading or meditation reflective of their belief.

A short, thirty minute, sharamadana work cleanup of the grounds followed. The daily policing of the environment are not unlike the daily policing activity conducted by Marine Corps recruits during boot camp. After the morning sharamadana time was set for personal grooming, cleaning of rooms, and preparations for Shanthi Sena activities.

Forming as a Shanthi Sena unit the twenty-four sainiks and two staff members drilled daily; marching by twos a short distance to where, following a few close order drill movements, they the raised the flags in formation. Their entire "uniform" for the training and other Sena duties throughout the week consisted of a maroon colored polo-shirt with the wording and the Shanthi Sena emblem printed in sharply contrasting saffron. (This same drill was executed during a Shanthi Sena three day coaches training: *Sports for Peace*, which I observed, and participated in a week later, again at Bandaragama. One of the instructors, a Swiss national, after witnessing the morning drill and flag ceremony, jested in high goose-step motion –which the sainiks weren't doing- and expressed disparagingly that he had never seen anything like it. He answered "no" when I asked if he had ever saw a military drill in close order or raise the flag. I told him that I was once in the US Marine Corps and intimated that his was an extreme comparison. "Then you know," he replied; and "beside," I said, "they are a nonviolent army.") The precise unfolding and hoisting of the Sri Lanka, Sarvodaya, and Shanthi Sena flags respectively, was followed by the singing of the Sarvodaya anthem and the national anthem of Sri Lanka. Then, after formal dismissal from drill,

the Shanthi Sainiks usually formed into two groups and played short physical games, where dexterity was whetted and team work was the goal.

Each evening at Bandaragama saw cultural activities: native songs and dances, poetry readings, a few Bob Marley reggae songs sung in English, and comical skits. Each evening brought more participation with less inhibition, as group dynamics jelled. The importance of cultural activities may be difficult to quantify; yet, when those two female sainiks performed one of their native Tamil dances on that first evening, I felt a tangible shift toward the informal –it was a tangible ice-breaker. At a mid-week dinner reception –preceded by a few days and nights of gentle persuasion- I attentively rose and sang "We Shall Overcome;" and again I felt that palpable shift, this time toward the group's acceptance of me, friendlier, more open, as if I was no longer on the outside looking in.

Field Activities

The two day (Saturday-Sunday) field work module of the *TOT Workshop* was conducted at the coastal village of Thalpitiya, Wadduwa, 16 kilometers south of Sarvodaya's headquarters in Moratuwa. Although located on the southwestern coast of Sri Lanka, Thalpitiya was adversely affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. Sarvodaya responded to the aftermath by exercising the 5-R Disaster Action Plan in Thalpitiya and other affected villages in Wadduwa. The Thalpitiya villagers were motivated to participate in the design of an effective *"Last-Mile"* warning system. One of the Sarvodaya re-constructed tsunami damaged homes served as the staging area. The food for lunch and tea during the two days was provided by Sarvodaya but it

was the community volunteers who cooked and served each meal, and cleaned up afterwards. Sharamadana epitomized, power arising from giving what you can, and variations on thoughts and insights first elaborated and experimented at Kantaluwa.

Based on the "briefing and discussion" the night before, the HazInfo Trainers broke into four groups, and with a detail map, depicting the location of streets, houses, buildings, graveyards, railroad tracks and crossing, etc., they executed a reconnaissance of their assigned section of Thalpitiya. I attached myself to one of the groups –purposely choosing a group whose members I hadn't yet connected with- and after mid-morning tea we started walking the entirety of lanes, ways, and streets of our assigned section, checking the accuracy of the map's coordinates and making on-the-site corrections as needed.

Three to four local young people (10 -14 years old) were embedded with each group, in keeping with Sarvodaya's mission of having the lowest possible level of supporting power at the village level of democracy. These young people prove invaluable in the canvassing of each household, introducing the HazInfo Trainers/Shanthi Sena, talking to the villagers to identify the most likely hazards, and aiding in explaining the what, why, where, when, and how of the project and the voluntary evacuation drill set for the following day. This recruitment of village children is an ongoing scheme of the Movement, inculcating Sarvodayan tenets, mobilizing them to contribute to the common good, and then ceding them a voice in the activity with corresponding and commensurable responsibilities; and, moreover, identifying potential leaders.

After lunch each group went to a separate house to re-draw and enlarge their map, with all the corrections and additions gathered from the survey. Each group completed

their survey at different times. One group was quite late to come in, having had to canvass more than 50 homes that were not on their map. After tea and before departing to Bandaragama most of the trainers and supervisors and some villagers walked the 1.6 km evacuation route to the Thalpitiya Palada Viharaya (Buddhist Temple), the collectively chosen inland common gathering place in the event of disaster.

The morning of the evacuation drill was spent at Thalpitiya, the staging site, planning the exercise, assigning tasks, and developing strategy for "warning dissemination." HazInfo Trainers were to be stationed at various points along the evacuation route: at least one at most intersections, six were positioned at a very busy, fast moving highway crossing, two at the railroad crossing, four or more at the Buddhist Temple, and numerous trainers and supervisors on foot, bicycles, and motor vehicles constantly traveling the route.

The entire evacuation drill itself lasted one and half hours; beginning when two vehicles, with twin mounted loudspeakers, set out in opposite directions and collectively covered the village area. Besides the local drivers, a Shanthi Sena HazInfo Trainer was on board and charged with announcing –repeatedly- the warning, the evacuation, the evacuation route, and the gathering place, prefacing each round with "this is a drill…" At the Temple a small but enthusiastic crowd (40-50) of participated in a Q&A session with the HazInfo Trainers and supervisors while tea and food was served; after which an engineer demonstrated the 'Remote Alarm Device" that was engineered and manufactured at the nearby University of Moratuwa. A debriefing of

the field activities and classroom sessions held during the week completed the *TOT* curriculum.

That evening, the *TOT Workshop and Field Activities* was formally ended with a ceremony that included a banquet, the lighting of a small "cultural fire," songs and dances with local musicians, closing remarks by the organizers and sponsors, and the presentation of certificates

The activities at Thaplpitiya were viewed as an educational experience for the villagers and the trainers. The experimental research design of the project was employed "to evaluate the role played by a number of factors that contribute to the design of an effective last mile hazard information dissemination system."

1. Reliability of ICTs [information and communication technologies] as warning technologies;
2. Effectiveness of ICTs as warning technologies;
3. Contribution of training to an effective warning response;
4. Contribution of the level of organizational development of a village to an effective warning response;
5. Gender-specific response to hazard mitigating action;
6. Degree of integration of ICTs in the daily life of the villages.[177]

The research project was conducted "with the intention that the findings from this study will inform the future design of early warning systems in Sri Lanka and the region." The field activities were advantageous in better defining the role of HazInfo Trainers, and will prove valuable in comparing and evaluating the effectiveness and suitability of various ICTs that are "deployed in different village contexts and in the absence or presence of hazard response training," during the next phase of the project. This phase will send teams of 3 HazInfo Trainers into 2 villages each, in their district, to provide training to 16 of the 32 selected villages, as proposed in the research project.[178]

Building grassroots capacity for disaster warning and preparedness in Sri Lanka was undertaken by Sarvodaya, in collaboration with sponsors and supports, in response to the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004. All those involved in the research project were unanimous in their belief that Sri Lanka could ill afford to wait for the government to implement a national warning system; and the likelihood of a local warning system combined with public training could not be envisaged.

The reach and reputation of Sarvodaya and the Movement's success at fostering active participation at the village level would be invaluable in bridging the *"Last-Mile."* That the first HazInfo Trainers were recruited from the ranks of the Shanthi Sena speaks to their self and collective discipline, their leadership and organization, and their moral mandate to never take life. I observed a group of Shanthi Sainiks come together to learn theory in the classroom and apply it gracefully in the village laboratory. Moreover, I observed a group of youth leaders, representing all Districts of the Island and all religions, come together and bond amid a climate of escalating violence and I felt their esprit de corps.

The task of providing training, education, and aid in the preparation of emergency evacuation protocols is within the mission of a peace army. The success that the Shanthi Sena exhibited throughout the *TOT Workshop and Field Activities* is an example of what they have accomplished, and encourages the reader to envisage what they could potentially accomplish in the future.[179]

Salient Inferences, Lessons, and the RDPB

> The theorist always takes his clue from his observations of
> practice; but having noticed events and trends he does not
> need to drag behind and can assist in their acceleration.
> -John Burton

Most of the purposive salient inferences to be recapitulated and fleshed out derive

from unexpected perspectives, are confluent and form a dynamic research matrix, an

educative paradigm of nonviolent human potential. The Sarvodaya Sharamadana

Movement and its Shanthi Sena is the fount; it strikes me that they are something else

too: laboratories where social scientists could envisage their nonviolent social and

political suppositions being field tested.

Glenn D. Paige (2002) hypothesizes combining sociologist Sorkin's (1948; 1954)

exceptional studies on "love" and "creative altruism," with "Arendt's [1970] emphasis

on conversing, deciding, and acting together," and Burton's (1970) emphasis on social

and political processes "that are nonviolently responsive to human needs." "All,"

Paige stresses in a one sentence paragraph, "can be seeds of new nonkilling political

theory."[180]

As argued, Sharamadana is a veritable laboratory of altruism in action, where ego-

centric outlooks are transmuted to altruistic outlooks, where components of Pittinsky's

"allophia: love or like of others," are fostered along with other inculcations, and where

participants creatively manifest Sorkin's "extraordinary studies." The allied programs

of Sarvodaya and Shanthi Sena: People's Peace Tables, People's Forums, Amity

Camps, Village to Village: Heart to Heart Program, and others provide discursive space for Arendt's emphasis on people acting in "concert."

All are forms of people-based peacemaking.

Sarvodaya offers concrete support for the complex human process of engaging with and mobilizing communities; stimulating and encouraging the poor and oppressed to develop the collective will and take the social action necessary to enable them to improve their social, political, and economic conditions. The psychological process that transpires during Shramadana from the outset is the essential element in the building of efficacy. "As individuals draw together into action to achieve their needs," Burns (2003) makes plain, "their collective efficacy unites them into a transforming force..."[181] The architecture of participation contrived by Sarvodaya and Shanthi Sena corresponds to Arendt's: "Power is never the property of an individual: it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together"[182] This was epitomized in Sarvodaya's and Shanthi Sena generated "waves of compassion" to counter "waves of destruction" generated by the 2004 tsunami.

Assumed under Sarvodaya's *Ten Basic Human Needs* is Burton's (1979) emphasis on social and political processes that are responsive to human needs. Burton, in "Conflict Resolution as a Political Philosophy "(1990), examines the principle that conflicts, either communal or international, that concern nonnegotiable "ontological needs of identity and recognition, and associated human developmental needs," cannot be "contained, controlled or suppressed," as long as basic human needs remain unsatisfied.[183] Also presumptive under Sarvodaya's basic human needs scheme is Galtung's (1969) analysis of structural violence, indirect violence built into social

structures and processes that perpetuates social and economic inequalities and, consequently, unequal opportunity.

Sarvodaya's empirically-based list of basic human needs are identified within the Shramadana matrix during two decades of practical experience, and evolved into the holistic exercise of the 5-R Programme. The *Ten Basic Human Needs* transformed my understanding of human rights: that I conceived human rights too narrowly as political and civil rights, and that children have the right to a healthy life. I noticed also that my reference point for international relations has shifted to what Burton (1979) calls, "human needs as a navigation point."[184]

Close reading of the salient inferences considered here makes plain that Sharamadana is more than the implementation of Sarvodaya philosophy. Each work camp is a microcosm: Sarvodaya realized. The "revolutionary technique to awaken people to their own potential," that is unleashed during Sharamadana, incorporates these themes and leaves one salient inference to be emphasized: leadership.

Paige (2007) notes that A. T. Ariyaratne, and the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement entail "what James MacGregor Burns has termed 'transformational leadership,' in which 'leaders and followers raise one another to high levels of motivation and morality.'"[185] The integral philosophy of Sarvodaya transcends transforming leadership interpretations that tend to focus upon the individual leaders' skills and qualities in affecting the responsiveness of followers. For Paige, the Sarvodaya example "suggests a tripartite combination of interdependent qualities of leader, philosophy, and movement."[186]

What is our obligation to each other? Obligation here is understood as what people

owe each other. This question accompanied my research, and was, no doubt, intimated by the genius of the locality, and led during the writing process to moral leadership. This confluence coalesced with Paige's tripartite leadership and suggests to my mind a non-western dynamic of mutually empowering interactions between and among leader, follower, and morality. Ariyaratne is a transforming leader. The Sharamadana Movement transforms all who participate and constitutes a nonviolent revolution in the existing patterns of thought, values, beliefs and social behavior within the Sri Lankan society. And lastly there is the morality of Engaged Buddhism embedded in Sarvodaya philosophy, especially Ariyaratne's social reinterpretation of the Buddha's *Four Noble Truths*. "All three- reminiscent of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha- possess potential for evoking transformational no-poverty development throughout the world."[187] This concept of leadership is provocative, for I've come to look upon leadership as an open system where the quality of leaders matter less than the quality of followers; where empowerment of followers "does not diminish the role of leadership itself but rather enhances it."[188]

From a western paradigm Paige's tripartite leadership evokes Margaret J. Wheatly's appropriating the chaos theory term fractal, as in a fractal organization, a concept she addresses in *Leadership and the New Science: Learning about Organization from an Orderly Universe*.

> Fractal organizations, though they may never have heard the word *fractal*, have learned to trust in natural organizing phenomena. They trust in the power of guiding principles or values, knowing that they are strong enough influencers of behavior to shape every employee into a desired representative of the organization.[189]

Wheatley believes that there is a "fractal quality" to the very best organizations; a "consistency and predictability to the quality of behavior." This "self-similarity" is found and can be observed in its people, regardless of the complexity of roles, and levels, " because those behaviors were patterned into the organizing principles at the very start."[190]

With regard to the subtitle of her book, Wheatly utilizes a vivid photograph of a broccoli plant to depict a fractal: a large head of broccoli, a smaller head, and a bite-size piece are photographed close together from above, with their shadows merging. "No matter where you look," Wheatly writes, "the same pattern will be evident." And just as "[t]he dominant shape of a broccoli can be seen in the individual elements that make up a floret," the patterned behaviors of Sarvodaya's moral philosophy can be seen in the individual elements of the Sharamadana Movement, its leaders, staff, and volunteers.[191]

The transformational leadership exemplification of A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement is furthered by Paige as also providing, "a case in which 'this biggest, boldest kind of leadership confronts the largest, most intractable problem facing humanity in the twenty-first century: the basic wants of the world's poor.'"[192]

As stated, the reader should not take Sarvodaya's *Ten Basic Human Needs* as doctrine. They are tendered and distributed to the villages, along with suggestions for implementation, as an educative guideline for self-analysis, right understanding of village needs, the marshaling of resources, and joint emancipating action. Two cardinal categories and symbols of capitalism and modernization in general, "income"

and "employment," are purposely omitted by the Movement. Although most twenty-first century strategies for economic development revolve around these central, global tenets of capitalism, they are understood by the Movement to have only limited applicability for a backward village economy where the goal of production is not the accumulation of wealth but the satisfaction of basic local needs.[193] In Sarvodaya philosophy, the identity of basic human needs is axiomatically assumed.

Other social scientists have hypothesized that basic needs do exist, that they are universal, and that they require fulfillment. Sites (1973) convincingly demonstrated the widely accepted importance of a needs approach, and concluded: "The point we wish to make here is that basic needs do exist and that they are more universal, and thus less specifically cultural, than some behavioral scientists would have us believe."[194] Burns (2003), who "wanted to build a leadership hierarchy out of these priority lists," was impressed by the "emphasis on security" he found in historical studies; and remarked on political scientist James C. Davies who "saw the want for security –for 'order, predictability, dependability of the environment'- as not just another stage in the hierarchy but at the core of the process, as the crucial means of making attainment of all other wants possible."[195]

It will be argued that the proposal to fund and implement a *Rapid Deployment Peace Brigade* (RDPB), through a one year pilot project, is an immediate attempt by Sarvodaya and its Shanthi Sena to obviate communal strife and direct violence stemming from Sri Lanka's civil/ethnic war. And, as previously discussed, the ratcheting up of violence created a rightful sense of urgency at Sarvodaya where, the recidivistic nature of latent violence in conflicts between ethnically or religiously

divided populations are well understood. The launching of a RDPB, to mind my, is also an implicit addition to Sarvodaya's *Ten Basic Human Needs*. Burns' "overwhelming want for political and social security,"[196] that he had found in the historical record, would be Sarvodaya's eleventh basic human need.

Although the establishment of a RDPB is a goal of *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* (2000) its implementation, as aforementioned, lagged behind other chronological goals and actions. Peace in Sri Lanka, and moreover and more broadly for Sarvodaya a nonviolence-based way of life, is important for "the awakening of all;" and the synthesis of self and other that is contained and began in the act of sharamadana is blocked by violence.

For all Sarvodayans peacebuilding and peacemaking is the matrix within which daily life is conducted; and Shanthi Sainiks, in particular, are explicitly and simultaneously concerned with all aspects of Galtung's triad of peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. That the reemergence of violence in Sri Lanka calls for a reevaluation of peacekeeping tactics is to be expected, for without a new method of peacekeeping to address "the want for security," Sarvodaya saw the attainment of the other basic human needs and the awakening of all consciousness hindered.

The main goal of the one-year pilot project to create a RDPB was to identify and train 50 females and 50 males between 20 and 40 years of age. This "highly motivated group" is to be representative of "a broad range of villages across all religious groups" in the Batticoloa district. The Brigade members will be trained to mollify violence, assume leadership roles in peacebuilding and peacemaking activities in their communities and, should communal strife intensify, aid in the protection of fellow

citizens and property. The training is suggestive of a Gandhian satyagraha brigade: an unarmed peacebuilding/making/keeping force; and is aligned with Sarvodaya's mission to encourage democratic governance and grass roots empowerment through the vehicle of effective youth leadership.[197] Acknowledging that a political solution itself will not create a lasting peace, the pilot project supports *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* with its integration of three elements: consciousness, economics, and power that meld to "create a healthy, dynamic society."[198]

The Batticaloa district was selected based on a history there of violent clashes between Tamils and Muslims; and because Sarvodaya "believes this particular area has the greatest need and the greatest potential for positive, measurable change." The recruitment selection preferred knowledge of both Sinhala and Tamil languages, and specified that the two local Project Coordinators, working directly under the Project Manager –chosen "according to his or her suitability for the task, irrespective of religion"- will represent the two communities: Muslim and Tamil.[199] Lakshman Perera disagreed with the choice of Batticaloa; he was in favor of the Trincomalee district for the pilot study. "In Trinco," he stated, "you have all: Tamils, Muslims, Buddhist, all parts, including even more LTTE."[200]

The seven page proposal to fund and implement a RDPB begins with a *Brief Project Summary*, followed by overviews of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement and the Shanthi Sena, and, by describing the 'intractable political issues that have perpetuated the war," argues a rationale for the project. A detailed budget is submitted. An *Implementation Strategy* with its "Expected Outcomes" and "Indicators" of specific planning, recruitment, and training activities are presented via a chart.[201]

A further delineation beyond that the project was funded and a RDPB was launched at Batticaloa, close to the 1st July 2006 to 30th June 2007 implementation period, is not necessary for the task at hand. Yet, after numerous emails requesting a written summary or evaluation (A "post-evaluation with measured indicators" was part of the proposal."[202]), I do not know the outcome of this important experiment in expanding the scope of the Shanthi Sena peacekeeping. Although the project was externally funded it is an important benchmark of the ambitious and integrated *Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan*, and was personally led by Dr. Vinya Ariyaratne and in its execution, directed by Ravi Kandage, Executive Director of Shanthi Sena, it was hoped that if the Batticaloa pilot scheme was successful it would be extended into other districts.

The creation of a permanent RDPB is a subsequent possibility of the Shanthi Sena. And by addressing the "wartime conditions of fear and uncertainty" in Sri Lanka's "silent 'dirty' war" (Burns' "overwhelming want for political and social security.") the RDPB aids Sarvodaya in treating "the underlying issues [that] are the basic human needs of all Sri Lankans, particularly the minority communities, some of whom find themselves at a disadvantage simply because of where they live and their ethnicity."[203] Direct violence must be quelled in order to fight structural violence and to allow the people a role in the peacemaking processes aimed at breaking down long-standing and protracted inter-religious barriers.

Pragmatically, the creation of a RDPB is an evolutionary step in the process of the Shanthi Sena as a nonviolent, disciplined peace force, in overcoming the difficulty in combining Galtung's (1976) three possible approaches to conflict. Salient lessons culled from the RDPB's experience at Batticaloa would be valuable in conflicts

between ethnically or religiously divided populations, which have increasingly come to characterize the landscape of collective violence in the twenty-first century. And would help too, in answering questions of its viability as a model for nonviolent peacekeeping ventures, especially the modus operandi the RDPB employed in communal disturbances.

I'll end this section by noting some pertinent ideas, comments, and observations stated, argued, and developed during conversations and ruminations concerning the Shanthi Sena and the creation of a RDPB in particular. These remarks will also address a few of the questions raised during my time at Sarvodaya and with its Shanthi Sena. Some of these questions I'm still pondering.

During my conversation with Sharif Abdullah where he stated that the Shanthi Sena is only an asset if used, he elaborated that Sarvodaya and the Shanthi Sena are "very good at internal peace work:" peacemaking activities of Amity and Intercultural Camps, the Village to Village: Heart to Heart Program, People's Peace Tables and Forums, conflict resolution, mediation and other ventures of the Peace Secretariat Office. He argued though, that they were "unsuccessful at "external peacekeeping work:" dealing with overt disturbances, especially violent situations that arise from ethnic and religious conflicts –the need for immediate peacekeeping.[204]

Our too-short conversation revolved around the success of Sarvodaya: the hard earned and deserved reputation to empower villages throughout the island across all cultural and religious divides with an apolitical agenda. Sarvodaya's success provides

the proper organizational framework, logistical support, and the infrastructure which allow the Shanthi Sena to function efficiently.

This ability to reach effectively into almost every village via Sharamadana peacebuilding activities, coupled with the requisite moral sanction, engendered from selfless service, would bode well for an unarmed and known peacekeeping force exercising a natural command. Sarvodaya has continuously addressed some of the problems Galtung and others claimed are inherent in a peacekeeping/making/building force, proving them to be spurious given the nature of a nonviolent, disciplined peace force comprised of local ethnic and religious representation. Moreover, Sharif Abdullah expressed that there are more than a few Shanthi Sainiks "who are willing to participate as peacekeepers," but that "they [Sarvodaya] are too cautious."[205] He meant, mostly, that Dr. Vinya Ariyaratne was unwilling to put the life of any young Shanthi Sena member or Sarvodayan at risk –his reluctance to send the RDPB into an overt disturbance.

During a conversation with Lakshman Perera, at his Nuwara Eliya office and just prior to our aforementioned return trip to Sarvodaya's headquarters, I mentioned Sharif's "too cautious" statement. Lakshman didn't overtly disagree, but in presenting his cogent and well considered ideas of a RDPB he discounted the role of inter-positionary peacekeeping in Batticaloa along with its attendant risks. I pointed to and read out loud the section pertaining to risk in the proposal to fund a RDPB.

RISK AND OBSTACLES

> The obvious risk in this proposal is the outbreak of open hostilities or even civil war as a result of which, we may be hampered. That aside, we do not envisage significant risks or negative impacts as a result of this project.[206]

I commented on the "open hostilities" statement amid a state of war in Sri Lanka. Again, he did not disagree, but advocated that the most appropriate (my term) task for the RDPB in Batticaloa would be interventionary peacekeeping to prevent open hostilities, and if a communal disturbance erupted into violence, to move quickly to lessen its effect and dampen its spread.

Lakshman understood that a RDPB would have three main tasks. The first and cardinal task, generic to Sarvodaya's moral philosophy, would be to change the consciousness of the people through spiritual awakening, moral development, and inner peace work encompassed in emotional sharamadanas, cross-cultural dialogue activities, Amity Camps, and other actions spelled out in the Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan. "We need very deep and hard training to change the consciousness of people… change consciousness, attitudes change, [then] we start thinking possibilities."[207]

The establishment of Peace Committees –called for in the proposal to fund a RDPB- in each of Sarvodaya's 12 Divisional Centres in the Batticaloa District, would be crucial for accomplishing Lakshman's second main task: identifying "hot spots," communities where conflicts and disputes have the potential to escalate into direct violence. While talking, Lakshman was sketching a map of Nuwara Eliya and labeling the ethnic make up –some with percentages- of the communities.

"The peace Committee members will subsequently form local links between the Brigade members and their communities."[208] Religious leaders, community leaders, principals from schools, business leaders, and also the police and government agents would all be part of Lakshman's ideal Peace Committee. He felt strongly that the members need to be very visible in their communities and they need also to

understand the tasks and responsibilities of a RDPB. The engagement of the community for Lakshman is crucial; because the Peace Committee's conduit to the people, along with Sarvodaya's established social networks becomes the "eye and ears" of the RDPB. The knowledge of the surrounding community is an aspect of William Ury's "third side." "No dispute takes place in a vacuum. There are always others around –relatives, neighbors, allies, neutrals, friends, or onlookers. Every conflict occurs within a community that constitutes the "third side" of any dispute."[209]

"Here," Lakshman points to his sketched map, "these two places, mixed communities, Tamil, Muslim, majority Tamils; this majority Singhalese and this one mostly Tamils. This," he puts his finger on his drawn border between two communities, "is a hot spot, we need to understand."[210]

Responsive channels of communication will aid the RDPB in understanding what the root-causes are kindling the potential hot spots: ethnic, religious, criminal, political, land use, or water rights.

I broached the subject of uniforms with Lakshman by telling him of my train ride, with a staff member of the Shanthi Sena, from Colombo to Kandy. When the Sena participates in a large gathering or a peace march all their members dress in white; and during various trainings, such as the *Last-Mile TOT*, an identifying piece of clothing is collectively worn. During the train ride to Kandy, where I gave that first lecture on nonviolence, I expounded on the need for a standard recognizable uniform for the Shanthi Sena. Leaving aside the very large issue of funding, I argued that it would have been advantageous for my fellow traveling Shanthi Sainik to be seen in uniform. A uniform or some striking identifiable piece of clothing –I offered the international

Red Cross and the blue helmets of the UN international peacekeepers- that would be instantaneously recognized, over time, by the vast majority of Sri Lankans: a uniform that would become an icon of peace.

Lakshman partly agreed; he saw little need of uniforms for a local Shanthi Sena Unit or a RDPB, whose power is demonstrably derived from being known. Uniforms may prove beneficial in conflicts involving a large number of people and/or encompassing a wide geographic area, and therefore requiring the summoning of Shanthi Sena Units from surrounding communities or villages. The thrust of my rebuttal was that if a video or documentary film was made to propagandize the Shanthi Sena in uniform, then a formative visual association would begin to be established, enhancing local and island wide recognition.

The ethnic, religious, and gender composition of the proposed RDPB and of the Shanthi Sena in general was discussed. I pointed out that the proposal for funding called for the recruitment of a "highly motivated group" representing "all religious groups" throughout the Batticaloa District, without specifying a balance between Tamils and Muslims. Because of the history of violent clashes between Tamils and Muslims in Batticaloa it would behoove Sarvodaya, I argued, to have symmetry between the two in the ranks of a RDPB, along with a representative percentage of Buddhist and Christians. I expressed to Lakshman, who is Catholic, my opinion of the omnipresence of the Buddhist religion in Sri Lanka; and that I could not fathom its affect on Tamils, nor could I comprehend religion as a catalyst to incite violence among Tamils and Muslims. Yet, I vouched for the efficacy of a RDPB in Batticaloa with equal members of Tamils and Muslims -all of whom are known to their

respective communities- waging peace side by side. Moreover, I interjected, that I had yet to meet a Muslim Shanthi Sainik; and that when I questioned Sharif Abdullah on the percentage of Shanthi Sena members who are either Tamil or Muslim, he understood that those figures were arguable quite low and that their exact numbers were unknown. Lakshman noted that Tamil and Muslim participation was indeed low.

Lakshman's ideal RDPB will be well positioned to intervene when violence flares up not as an interpositionary force –"No one can prevent a suicide bomber."[211]-but as a disciplined interventionary force charged with the -third main- task of addressing the ramifications of violence: those concentric circles of retaliation rippling through the community that need to be lessened or stopped. To illustrate, Lakshman mentioned a potential hot spot that was quelled. "One Singhalese person was killed by a Tamil," and even though every one in the local community knew that the Singhalese was "a very bad person," the ethnic tension in the community was heightened. Through Sarvodaya's grass roots "eye and ears," Lakshman soon learned of the incident with its attendant problems. Knowing first hand that the local police and government agent there had no experience in mediation and conflict resolution, Lakshman and a few other Sarvodayans –all of them known to the community through their development and peacebuilding work- rushed there and addressed the brewing conflict before its consequences intensified.[212]

Amid our discussion of Sarvodaya's peaceable utility, during that aforementioned ride from Nuwara Eliya to Moratuwa, Lakshman, in a tongue-in-check reference to the Bush administration, called that intervention a "nonviolent pre-emptive strike."[213]

Concluding Remarks

Aren't these insights, by virtue of human solidarity
from which they arise, truly political in the end.
                                        -Walter Benjamin

That first sharamadana work camp, as it came to be named, that first sharing of labor

at Kantoluwa was a valediction from the lingering effects of colonialism and the

immediacy of national and global economic theories that failed to secure basic human

needs of poor villagers. Each sharamadana camp encourages self-reliance and values,

not only of hard work and discipline, but of altruism, nourished by active tenets of

Buddhist social conduct. Each work camp concretely demonstrates collective efficacy,

and offers insight into the "hypothesis of creative potential: the capacity of political

leaders and followers to improve upon their inventiveness, to provoke or respond to

the creativity of others, and to assist the translation of ideas into social action."[214] The

capacity for creative potential is inherent in the activities of Sarvodaya and the Shanthi

Sena, especially in its development of leadership.

The radical change in existing conditions and factors that the villagers previously

viewed as unyielding, along with reintegration of Buddhist values, beliefs, and social

behavior constitutes revolution; for Sarvodaya, a beginning of the long term objective

to initiate a violence-free, poverty-free society. A.T. Ariyaratne understands that

leading a life based on morals and spiritual principles is difficult without meeting

basic human needs (The Buddha's teachings on social, economic, and political matters are not well known or understood –especially in the West.[215]); and that the fulfillment of the envisaged no-poverty, no-violence society, and the possibility of spiritual growth is hindered through structural violence. All of this underscores the need for peacebuilding.

At the heart of my thesis is the axiom that the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement and the Shanthi Sena are central; you can not pry apart a knot so closely knitted as this. As we have seen, when no conflict presents itself for peacekeeping work, the Sena devotes most of its time to the tasks of peacebuilding, and at times peacemaking amid divided communities, in activities and schemes that parallel those of its Sarvodaya parent. Peacemaking/building activities provide the discipline and strength needed for unarmed peacekeeping. In brief, the approaches and roles of the Shanthi Sena not only negate the contradictions pointed out by Galtung, in combining and applying his triad approaches to conflict, its peacekeeping work is essential to allow Sarvodaya's all-important work of peacebuilding to continue.[216]

One of the Movement's salient lessons is that it has maintained "independent nonviolent integrity without alienation" amid the violence of Sri Lanka's civil war.[217] Yet, as violence intensified and spread, the need for a more active peacekeeping Shanthi Sena became apparent; and with a sense of urgency Sarvodaya implemented a RDPB in Batticoloa, an east coast city close to the central area of conflict. This advancement in the Shanthi Sena's peacekeeping charge is one of the *Mid-Term Actions* of **The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan** of 2000; and it is also a task that the Shanthi Sena –an unarmed and disciplined, peace force- is well prepared to take on.

For French Philosopher Jacques Maritain "[t]he problem of End and Means is a basic, *the* basic problem in political philosophy."[218] (Emphasized in original) Gandhi asserted that "the means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree: and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."[219] Sarvodaya, like Aldous Huxley, maintains that "good ends…can only be achieved by the employment of appropriate means."[220]

The sharing in a sharamadana camp today becomes the means of achieving a greater and remoter goal tomorrow. Therefore, insistence on non-violence is a cardinal, *the* cardinal principle of Sarvodya; and nonviolence was the mulch that surrounded and protected the seed sowed at Kantoluwa and has been observed across all endeavors. Shanthi Sainiks pledge to "sacrifice my life to maintain national and world peace" and to participate selflessly in community service,[221] and to help in the "awakening of all."

Vasant Nargolkar, in a cogent and poetically written preface to Vinoba Bhave's *Revolutionary Sarvodaya* (an edited booklet of excerpts culled from Vinobaji's writings and discourses) captures the integral part of the philosophy of the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement of Sri Lanka and its Shanthi Sena. In short, the author notes that "Successful substitution of violence by non-violence as a means of social change is by itself a revolution."[222] This means of revolution embodied in the peacebuilding activities of the Sarvodaya which involves literally a "complete turning" of the human heart, can yet be an increasingly vital force for meaningful change, not only in Sri Lanka, but throughout the world; and especially in other "third world" countries with basic human needs.

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[1] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works,* Vol. I (Ratamalna, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Press, 1999), 52. "The Movement began as an educational experiment. The word 'education' is used here in the broadest meaning of the term. It is not passive accumulation of knowledge or skill by an individual or a group. It is a dynamic process of change both in the individual and the group."

[2] Ibid., 59.

[3] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII. 154. "From the Convocation address delivered by Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, President of the Sarvodaya Movement in Sri Lanka, at the XVIIth Convocation Ceremony of Gandhi Gram Rural Institute, India on 5th February 1997." Ibid., 157.

[4] Ibid., 153. Ariyaratne, expounding on "widening the noble qualities of your heart," taken from an essay entitled: "Five Lesson and A Goal": "From my twelfth year I developed the habit of helping others. Very few in my village had the means to attend high school but my parents, though not rich, sent all of us…[in my family]…to secondary school. Whatever I learned at school I thought I should share with the less fortunate children in the village, so from that time on until I left for higher studies in Colombo, I conducted evening classes for free of charge for village children." A. T. Ariyaratne, Collected Works, Vol. IV, 117.

[5] James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1978), 4.

[6] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, 84.

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[10] Gunadasa Liyanage, *Revolution Under the Breadfruit Tree: The Story of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement and its Founder Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne* (Ratmalana, Sri Lanka: Sinha Publishers, 1988), 51.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Joanna Macy, "In Indra's Net: Sarvodaya and our Mutual Efforts for Peace," in *The Path Of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*, ed. Fred Eppsteiner (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1988), 174.

[13] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 22.

[14] George D. Bond, *Buddhism at Work:Community Development, Social Empowerment and the Sarvodaya Movement* (Bloomfield, Ct: Kumarian Press, Inc., 2004), 10.

[15] Joanna Macy, *Dharma and Development: Religion as a Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-Help Movement* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian, 1983), 32. Also quote in Bond, *Buddhism At Work*, 10.

[16] Liyanage, 51.

[17] George D. Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka," in *Engaged Buddhism: Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia*, eds. Christopher S. Queen and Sallie B. King (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 134.

[18] Liyanage, 52.

[19] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I (Ratmalana, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publication, 1999), 53.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., See also Detlef Kantowsky, *Sarvodaya: The Other Development* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980), 42.

[23] Liyanage, 52.

[24] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works,* Vol. I, 53.

[25] Ibid., 59.

[26] Ibid., 60.

[27] Richard B. Gregg. *The Power of Non-Violence* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1934), 236.

[28] B. S. Sharma, "The Philosophy of Sarvodaya," in *Studies in Political Science*, ed. J. S. Bains (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 282.

[29] George D. Bond, *Buddhism at Work* (Bloomfield, CT: Kaumarian Press, Inc., 2004), 128.

[30] Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka," 129.

[31] Macy, *Dharma and Development*, 36. See also, Bond, *Buddhism at Work*, 15. Criticism of Sarvodaya's reinterpretation of Buddhist's tenets is stated by Obeyesekere: "The Buddha had a realistic view of human life in society: the achievement of the ultimate Buddhist goals cannot be realized in the world; it requires the arduous path of the homeless monk and systematic meditation….By contrast Sarvodaya attempts to achieve the great goals of Buddhism by living in the world and participating in this-worldly activity." Richard Gombrich and G. Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 216. As quoted in Bond, 1996, 128.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Bond, *Buddhism At Work*, 14.

[34] Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka," 130.

[35] Macy, *Dharma and Development ,*37.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Macy, "In Indra's Net: Sarvodaya and Our Mutual Efforts for Peace,"175, 179.

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[41] Donald K. Swearer, "Exemplars of Nonviolence in Theravada Buddhism," in *Inner Peace, World Peace*, ed. Kenneth Craft (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 74.

[42] Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 25.

[43] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol .II, 81. See also Kantowsy, 60.

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[45] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. VI.,112.

[46] Kantowsky, 179.

[47] Ibid., 40.

[48] Ibid., 41.

[49] Ibid., 43.

[50] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 26.

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[63] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 55.

[64] Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka." 134

[65] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 54.

[66] Ibid., 55. "During the period 1958-1966 over 1,500 lectures, over 50 seminars, 6 national conferences and hundreds of discussions were conducted to explain Sarvodaya Shramadana to diverse types of people." Ibid. See also Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka," 135.

[67] Macy, *Dharma and Development*, 92.

[68] Ibid., 55.

[69] A. T. Ariyaratne and D. A. Perera, *Sarvodaya as a Movement* (Moratuwa, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Press, 1989), 6. Cited by George D. Bond, in *Buddhism at Work*, 23.

[70] Dennis August Almeida, "An Investigation of the Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade) of Gandhigram Rural University: The Training of Youth in Non-Violence as a Way to Peace," (A non-published Senior Honors Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii,1986), 19.

[71] Gene Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, Inc., 1979), 84.

[72] "The contact with people during the Constructive Program work would prove in valuable in times of direct action." Sharp, Ibid, 85.

[73] Thomas Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press,1996), 178.

[74] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 57-60. Quoted at page 57.

[75] Bond, *Buddhism at Work*, 21.

[76] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, 58, 69, 71.

[77] Liyanage, 97-98. See also Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka", 135. Some of the other international awards of A. T. Ariyaratne: the King Baudoiun Award for International Development (Belgium, 1982), and The First Alan Shawn Fienstein World Hunger Award from Brown University (1986); see **Appendix A** for a complete list.

[78] Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka," 135. European foundations such as The Netherlands Organization for International Development (NOVIB), the German foundation Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS) and Helvets in Switzerland; see **Appendix B** for a complete list of Resource Partners. See also Bond, *Buddhism at Work,* 24.

[79] A. T. Ariyaratne and D. A. Perera, *Sarvodaya as a Movement* (Moratuwa, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Press, 1989), 4. Cited by George D. Bond, *Buddhism at Work*, 24.

[80] Bond, *Buddhism at Work*, 24.

[81] Bond, "A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement," 136. Also, see endnote 47.

[82] Sarvodaya: *Annual Repot: 2004 – 2005*, Ratmalana, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Printers, 2006. xii, 16.

[83] Dr. Vinya Ariyaratne, *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* (Moratuwa, Sri Lanka: Vishva Lekha Printers, 2005), 8. and A.T. Ariyaratne, "Acharaya Sushil Kumar International Peace Award"(Acceptance Speech, University of Toronto, Canada, 23rd April 2006), n. p. 7.

[84] Vinya Ariyaratne, 20.

[85] A. T. Ariyaratne, "Acharaya Sushil Kumar International Peace Award" (Acceptance Speech, University of Toronto, Canada, 23rd April 2006), n. p. 9.

[86] *Annual Report 2004 -2005*, 73, 74.

[87] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, 146.

[88] William Ury, *Getting to Peace* (New York: Viking, 1999), 7. *Container*, italicized in original. See page 191, for a chart on the "Ten Roles of the Third Side."

[89] Sarvodaya: *Annual Report: 2004 – 2005*, 72, 73.

[90] Ibid., 75.

[91] Ibid., 76.

[92] Ibid.,133.

[93] Ibid., 16.

[93] Ibid., 35.

[93] Ibid., 36.

[94] Ibid., 28.

[95] Ibid., 33-35. ("do not, nor will they..." at 33.)

[96] Ibid., 35.

[97] Ibid., 36.

[98] Ibid., 59-60. ("Its partnership with Helvetas of Switzerland also goes back to 1978." at 59).

[99] Ibid., 64. Italicized in original.

[100] Ibid., 91.

[101] Ibid., 89-90.

[102] Ibid. 66.

[103] Ibid., 67.

[104] Paige, 2007, 6.

[105] Sarvodaya: *Annual Report* 2005-2006, 45-47, 25-31, respectively.

[106] Paige, 2007, 3, 5.

[107] Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, "Involving Youth in Peace Action and Conflict Resolution." Seoul, South Korea. Paper presented at the Global Human Family Looking at the 21st Century Conference, 1986, 4.

[108] M. K. Gandhi, *Harijan*, 18 June 1938.

[109] Radhakrishnan, "Involving Youth in Peace Action and Conflict Resolution," 5.
   1. He or she must have a living faith in nonviolence. This is impossible without a living faith in God.
   2. The message of Peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions on earth.
   3. Peace work can be done singly or in groups.
   4. The messenger of Peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality.
   5. A Peace-bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.
   6. The Peace Brigade will not wait till the conflagration breaks out, but will try to handle the situation in anticipation.
   7. There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the Peace brigade so that they would be recognized without difficulty.

[110] Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army*, 66.

[111] M. K. Gandhi, *Harijan*, 18- June-1938.

[112] Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army*," 48, 52, "second half of the century" quoted at 52.

[113] See: Bhave, Vinoba. 1963. *Shanti Sena*, 2nd ed., trans. Marjorie Sykes. Rajghat, Varansi, India: Sarva Seva Sang Prakashan; and 1994. *Moved by Love: The Memoirs of Vinoba Bhave*, trans. Marjorie Sykes. Hyderabaf: Sat Sahitya Sahayogi Sangh.

[114] See: Narayan, Jayaprakash, 1975. *Towards Total Revolution*. 4 vols., especially *Total Revolution*, vol. 4., ed. Brahmanand. Bombay: Popular Prakashan; and 1964, "The Urgency for the Shanti Sena," In *Sarvodaya* 14, no.4 (1964): 153-156.

[115] Dr. M. Aram, "Gandhigram Rural University," *Sarvodaya* (English monthy). XXXIII, Nos. 5, 6. (Nov- Dec 1984), 227.

[116] Dr. N. Radhakrishnan, "The Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade) of Gandhigram Rural University: Educating For Non-violent Leadership and Participation." San Jose, Costa Rica, 1984. Paper presented at the Seventh World Conference of the World Futures Studies Federation. 5,6.
The Shanti Sainik pledge:
   1. To observe truth, non-violence, and non-possessiveness to the up-most of one's ability;
   2. Nishkam Seve (disinterested service) without desire for results;
   3. Avoidance of all party politics and power politics, while endeavoring to win the up-most possible cooperation from every individual, regardless of his party affiliation;
   4. Not to recognize distinction of class or caste and to respect all religions equally; and
   5. To give one's whole thought, and as much time as possible, to serve the community around.

[117] Ibid., 36.

[118] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII. 154. See endnote 3 for annotation.

[119] Radhakrishnan, 1984. "The Shanti Sena...Educating for Non-violent Leadership," 36.

[120] Liyanage, *Revolution Under the Breadfruit Tree*, 57.

[121] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Bhava Thanha: An Autobiography*, Vol. 1 (1931-1972), (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2003), 214. As quoted in Paige, "Nonviolent Transformational Leadership for No-Poverty Development," 3.

[122] Liyanage, 57.

[123] A. T Ariyaratne, *Bhava Thanha: An Autobiography*. 218. Quoted in Paige "Nonviolent Transformational Leadership," 3. See also Liyanage, *Revolution Under the Breadfruit Tree*, 63.

[124] Ibid., 377-349, Quoted at 349. As for Asha Devi being a convener of the Shanti Sena see Weber *Gandhi's Peace Army*, 76-78, and endnote 47 on page 238.

[125] Shanthi Sena brochure (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya, Vishva Lekha Printers, n. d.).

[126] A. T. Ariyararne, *Bhava Thanha: Autobiography*, Vol. 2 (1973 – 1999). (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2003), 810-820. The twenty-six suggestions are on 819-820.

[127] Ibid., 818.

[128] Personal conversation with Ravindra Kandage, 1 April 2006, at the Shanthi Sena's office.

[129] Gene Sharp, "Nonviolent Struggle: An Effective Alternative," In *Inner Peace, World Peace: Essays on Buddhism and Nonviolence*, ed. Kenneth Kraft (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), 122. See also Sharp, "…more careful examination of circumstances for effectiveness is required." Passage cited in Gene Sharp. "Gandhi's Political Significance Today," *Gandhi Marg*, 9 (1 Jan. 65), 55.

[130] Personal conversation with Sharif Abdullah, on 20 April 2006, at Sarvodaya's international canteen in Moratuwa.

[131] Personal conversation with David White, 30 March 2006, at Moratuwa.

[132] Sarvodaya *Annual Report*: 2005-2006, 116.

[133] Personal conversation with Sharif Abdullah, 20 April 2006, at Sarvodaya's international canteen.

[134] University of Rhode Island, *Center for Nonviolence and Peace Studies*. www.uri.edu/nonviolence.

Steps of Nonviolence "The Skill"	Principles of Nonviolence "The Will"
1. Information gathering doubt your first impression	1. Nonviolence is a way of life for courageous people.
2. Education share info. w/everyone	2. The Beloved Community is the framework for the future.
3. Personal commitment strengthen your resources	3. Fight the forces of evil, not the people doing evil.
4. Negotiation listen first	4. Accept suffering without retaliation for the cause, to achieve the goal.
5. Direct Action purpose: get back to #4	5. Avoid internal violence of the spirit, as well as external.
6. Reconciliation a win-win outcome. -Martin Luther King, Jr.	6. The universe is on the side of justice.

[135] Vinoba Bhave, *Shanti Sena*, 75.

[136] Ibid., 14.

[137] Ibid., 120.

[138] J. P. Narayan, "The Urgency for Shanti Sena," *Sarvodaya* 14 no. 4 (1964): 153-156, at p. 156. This passage is quoted by Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army*, 85.

[139] Sarvodaya *Annual Report: 2004-2005*, 116.

[140] Ibid., 118-119.

[141] Ibid., 120-121. Also, Shanthi Sena brochure (Moratuwa, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Printers, n. d.).

[142] Sarvodaya *Annual Report: 2004-2005*, 121.

[143] Ibid., 11.

[144] Ibid., xii, 13, 122-123. Sarvodaya's "profound understanding of community dynamics," on page xii.

[145] Ibid., 11, 122.

[146] Ibid., 122. During the first month of relief work an estimated 38,900 people were reported missing and close to half-a-million people had been displaced (page 11). The number of houses destroyed was close to 100,000 and, Sarvodaya reported 40,583 inmates among their camp communities (page12).

[147] Ibid., xii. This was accomplished despite wholesale destruction of all transport and communications, thereby making access to the affected villages nearly impossible. "Cars, buses, vans, lorries, boats and a train full of passengers were tossed aside, while the damage to public and private buildings, roads, railways, power and water supplies, telecommunication facilities, etc., is estimated at one billion US dollars." Quoted on page 11.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Dr. Vinya Ariyaratne, *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* (Ratmalana, Sri Lanka: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2000), 2.

[150] Personal conversation with Sharif Abdullah, 20 April 2006, at Sarvodaya's international canteen.

[151] Personal conversation between Lakshman Perera and my-self, that took place during the ride from Nuwara Eliya to Moratuwa, 10 May 2006.

[152] Vinya Ariyaratne, *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan*. 17.

[153] Hannah Arendt, *On Violence* (New York: Hardcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1969), 44.

[154] Paige, 2002, 92. I would not have made the connection of Sarvodaya exemplifying Arendt's definition of power without Paige's inquiry into the possibilities of a non-killing political philosophy and theory.

[155] Johan Galtung, "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebulding." In *Essays in Peace Research. Vol. 2, War, Peace and Defense*, ed. J. Galtung, (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1976), 282-304.

[156] Johan Galtung and H. Hveem, "Participants in Peacekeeping Forces." in *Essays in Peace Research. Vol. 2. War, Peace and Defence*, ed. J. Galtung, (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1976). 264-81. "The closer one comes…," on page 272.

[157] Weber, xvii-xviii.

[158] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167-91.

[159] John Burton, "Conflict Resolution as a Political Philosophy." *Interdisciplinary Peace Research* 3. no. 1. (1990): 62-72. See also J. Burton, *Deviance, Terrorism & War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

[160] Johan Galtung, "Three Approaches to Peace:" 296-297.

[161] J. Galtung and H. Hveem, 280.

[162] Ibid., 279.

[163] Weber, xviii.

[164] J. Galtung and H. Hveem, 280. A good analysis of the Quaker approach to international conciliation is in C. H. M. Yarrow, *Quaker Experiences in International Conciliation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978). (As quoted in Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army*, at endnote 83 on page 260.)

[165] Weber, *Gandhi's Peace Army*, 257. "It should be pointed out that peacemaking and peacebuilding are processes and peacekeeping is a specific short-term task that must at times be carried out so that the all-important processes can be undertaken." (As quoted in endnote 28, on page 257.)

[166] Ibid., 170.

[167] Last-Mile Hazard Information Dissemination overview and Training of Trainers (TOT) Workshop and Field Activities syllabus. The syllabus can be found at: http://www.lirneasia.net/2006/05/lirneasia-partners-launch-hazinfo-project/ accessed on (30 May 2006).

[168] "Waves of Compassion: Sarvodaya's Tsunami to Deshodaya Plan after Six Months of Action," Moratuwa: Sarvodaya Head Quarters, 2005. As quoted in Paige, 2007, 2.

[169] Sarvodaya: *Annual Report* 2005-2006, 45. And the Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya "5 R Programme," pamphlet, n. d., n. p.

[170] A. T. Ariyaratne, "Acharaya Sushil Kumar International Peace Award," (Acceptance Speech, University of Toronto, Canada, 23rd April 2006), n. p. 6.

[171] Last-Mile syllabus.

[172] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, 126.

[173] Ibid., 126, 127.

[174] Ibid., 127. "On the other hand there were many instances where disaster relief and rehabilitation work has been used by the Movement as entry points into communities to mobilize them for development activities subsequently. Community preparation for disasters is necessarily continued with their development programmes." 127.

[175] Shanthi Sena brochure (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya, Vishva Lekha Printers, n. d.)

[176] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Collected Works*, Vol. III, 128.

[177] http://www.lirneasia.net/2006/05/lirneasia-partners-launch-hazinfo-project/ accessed on (30 May 2006), 1-2.

[178] Ibid., 1-3. ("with the intention…," at 1.), ("deployed in different…," at 2.)

[179] For "ten broadly delineated concepts," fleshed out with dozens of specific examples of what the Shanthi Sena would accomplish see Gene Keyes, "Force Without Firepower: A Doctrine of Unarmed Military Service," *CoEvolution Quarterly*, No. 34 (Summer 1982), 4-25.

[180] Paige, 2002, 83, 92. "All can be seeds…" at 92.

[181] Burns, 2003, 240.

[182] Arendt, 44.

[183] Burton, 1990, 2.

[184] Burton, 1979, 62.

[185] Burns, 1978, 20. As quoted by Paige, 2007, 12.

[186] Glenn D. Paige, "Nonviolent Transformational Leadership for No-Poverty Development: A. T. Ariyaratne and the Sarvodaya Sharamadana Movement," [Draft chapter to be published in 2007], in *Leadership for Development in a Globalizing World*, edited by Dennis Rondinelli (Duke University) and John M. Heffron (Soka University of America), 12.

[187] Ibid.

[188] Burns, 1978, 4.

[189] Margaret J. Wheatly, *Leadership and the New Science* (San Francisco: Berrett -Koehler Publishers, Inc., 1992), 132. *Fractal*, italicized in original.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid, 80, 82.

[192] Burns, 2003, 231; as quoted in Paige,2007, 12.

[193] Kantowsky, 61.

[194] Paul Sites, *Control, the Basis of Social Order* (New York: Dunellen Publishers, 1973), 7. As quoted in Burton, 1979, 66.

[195] Burns, 2003, 142, is quoting James C. Davies, *Human Nature in Politics: The Dynamics of Political Behavior* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963), esp.9-11, quoted at 9.

[196] Ibid.

[197] "A Proposal to FLICT from Sarvodaya :Establishing a Rapid Deployment Peace Brigade in Batticaloa to Sustain Peace and Reduce Conflict." n. p., n. d., 1

[198] Vinya Ariyaratne, *The Sarvodaya Peace Action Plan* (Moratuwa: Vishva Lekha Printers, 2005), 10.

[199] "A Proposal to FLICT," 3-4.

[200] Personal conversation with Lakshman Perera in his office at Sarvodaya's District Centre at Nuwara Eliya, 9 May 2006.

[201] FLICT, 1-5, "intractable political issues," at 3.

[202] Ibid, 6.

[203] Ibid, 1-3, "the underlying issues..,' at 3.

[204] Personal conversation with Sharif Abdullah at Sarvodaya's international canteen, 20 April 2006.

[205] Ibid.

[206] FLICT, 6.

[207] Personal conversation with Lakshman Perera in his office at Sarvodaya's District Centre, at Nuwara Eliya, 9 May 2006.

[208] FLICT, 4.

[209] William Ury, *Getting to Yes* (New York: Viking, 1999), 7.

[210] Lakshman Perera, personal conversation, 9 May 2006.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Ibid.

[213] Personal conversation between Lakshman Perera and my-self, that took place during the ride from Nuwara Eliya to Moratuwa, 10 May 2006.

[214] Glenn D. Paige, *The Scientific Study of Political Leadership* (The Free Press: New York, 1977), 4-6. "...the capacity of political leaders and followers..." at 5.

[215] Walpolpa Rahula, "The Social Teachings of the Buddha," in *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*. rev. 2d. ed., Fred Eppsteiner ed. (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1988), 104.

[216] Weber, 179.

[217] Paige, 2007, 12.

[218] Jacques Maritain, *Man And The State* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 54.

[219] M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1942), 71.

[220] Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means: An Inquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods Employed for Their Realization* (Edinburgh: Readers' Union and Chatto and Windus, 1938), 9.

[221] A. T. Ariyaratne, *Bhava Thana: An Autobiography*, vol. 1. (Ratmalana: Sarvodaya Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2003), 348. As cited in Paige, 2007, 11.

[222] Vinoba Bhave, *Revolutionary Sarvodaya: a philosophy for the remaking of man* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya, 1964), viii.

APPENDIX   A

National and International Awards presented to Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne Founder and President of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement

Year	*Award*
1969	Ramon Magsaysay Award for community Leadership from the Philippines
1982	King Baudouin Award for International Development from Belgium
1986	The First Alan Shawn Fienstein World Hunger Award from Brown University, Rhode Island, USA
1986	Deshabandhu Award for Distinguished National Service from President J. R. Jayewardene of Sri Lanka
1990	Auguste Forel Award form the International Temperance Movement of Denmark
1990	Jamnala Bajaj International Award, 1990, for promoting Gandhian Values outside India
1992	The Niwano Peace Award from the Niwano Peace Foundation of Japan
1995	Vijaya Dharmashri Sasanalocana Award commemorating 100 years of Dhamma School Teaching
1995	Ilga Memorial Award for community Services from Korea
1996	Hubert M. Humphrey Award for Alleviating Poverty and Economic Inequality, from the University of Minnesota, USA
1996	Vishvva Prasadini Award by Hon. Sirimavo R. D. Bandaranaike Prime Minister of Sri Lanka
1996	Gandhi Peace Prize 1996 from the Government of India, for outstanding human creativity reflecting the Gandhian ethos

1996	Soka University Award of Highest Honor, Japan
1998	Mahaweli Randiyawara Award 1998, from the Association of United Engineers of the Mahaweli Authority of Sri Lanka
1999	"Victories of a Lifetime," Life Time Achievement Award USA –Asia Foundation
2000	Saratha Dharma Visharadha' (World Buddhist Foundation)
2000	Millennium Award for Outstanding Personalities in Social Development -the Visha Sarana Award- from the National NGO Council of Sri Lanka
2001	Manawadharma Sanathapana Shiromani from Vidyalanka Pirivena, Peliyagoda, Kelaniya
2002	Vishva Keerthi Shri Jathika Abhimani Award from the Sri Lanka Nikaya
2004	Spirit of Detroit Award USA
2005	Life Time Achievement Award –Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development Switzerland
2005	Professor Ram Lal Parikh Award for World Literacy India
2005	Moraji Desai Award for Community Education India
2005	Global Humanitarian Award by Alliance for a New Humanity Puerto Rico
2006	Acharya Sushil Kumar International Peace Award, University of Toronto, Canada

APPENDIX B

Sarvodaya Resource Partners

The Sarvodaya Movement gratefully acknowledges the support form all
Resource Partners, both local and international, whose contributions
helped to sustain its diverse programs and projects during the year.
(Sarvodaya: *Annual Report: 2004-2005*)

Organization	*Country*
Nippon Foundation	Japan
Zen Zen Association	Japan
One World One People (OWOP)	Japan
Japan Asia Friendship Society (JAFS)	Japan
KIND Organization	Japan
Arigatou Foundation	Japan
Niwano Peace Foundation	Japan
Rissho-Kosei-Kai	Japan
Novartis Foundation for Sustainable Development	Switzerland
Helvetas	Switzerland
Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM)	Switzerland
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC)	United States
Northern University of Illinois	United States
Nature Spirit	United States

Organization	*Country*
World University Service of Canada	Canada
Global Eco-village Network	Denmark
Hope for Children	United Kingdom
FLASH Foundation	The Netherlands
Dr. Reijntjes Foundation	The Netherlands
Liliyana Fund	The Netherlands
Wild Geese Foundation	The Netherlands

International Development & Aid Agencies in Sri Lanka

AusAid –Australian Agency for International Development

CARE –Sri Lanka

CIDA –Canadian International Development Agency

DRC –Danish Refugee Council

NORAD –Norwegian Agency for International Development

NOVIB –The Netherlands Organization for International Development Cooperation

SIDA –Swedish International Development Agency

USAID –United States Agency for International Development

Foreign Diplomatic Missions

British High Commission

Embassy of Japan

Royal Netherlands Embassy

Embassy of Sweden

United Nations Agencies in Sri Lanka

ILO –International Labour Organization

UNDP –United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF –United Nations Children's Fund

UNHCR –United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNFPA –United Nations Population Fund

Sarvodaya International Affiliates

Sarvodaya USA –United States

Vereneging Sarvodaya Twente –The Netherlands

Sarvodaya Bewgnan -Germany

Government and Non-Government Organizations

Department of Social Services

Department of Probation and Child Care Services

District and Divisional Secretariats

PAFFREL –People's Action for Free and Fair Elections

ADIC –Alcohol and Drug Information Centre

FPASL –Family Planning Association of Sri Lanka

NPC –National Peace Council

Lions Clubs of Sri Lanka

OSC –Overseas School of Colombo

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