it without accepting government funds.

Ariyaratna felt no program of social reconstruction could be effective if it tried to improve economic conditions while separating them from spiritual aspects, from the full range of human well-being. Sarvodaya has committed itself to a dynamic non-violent revolution that is not a transfer of power from one party or class to another, but the transfer of all such power directly into the hands of the people. A person must awaken to his or her true needs and strengths for a society to prosper without conflict and injustice, Ariyaratna writes.

"Engaged Buddhism" of an equally serious nature is the subject of *The Path of Compassion*, a collection of articles and essays produced by the International Buddhist Peace Fellowship. The concept was created by the exiled Vietnamese monk Thich Nhat Hanh -- one of the writers appearing in this volume -- to mean a form of active personal non-aggression which is founded on meditation practice and mindfulness but brought directly into the world of peace and social work and the resolution of conflict. Engaged Buddhism does not hold to any doctrine (not even Buddhist ones) or ideology but is based on raw human experience of the nature of mind itself; the Buddhism of engagement does not force or try to persuade others to follow but simply acts out of individual resolve, "suggesting" by the personalism of example. Nhat Hanh knows the doctrinal pull will always be strong but must be resisted -- (the Lotus Sutra says: "My teaching is like a raft. You use the raft to cross the river. You don't worship the raft.") And Nhat Hanh writes: "With a gun you can kill a few people, but with the spirit of fanaticism you kill millions of people."

His *Guide to Walking Meditation* is also an intensely political book, though it is only offered as an instructional manual for a practice common to Theravadan and some Vietnamese Mahayana orders. Only a few thousand words in length, it is nonetheless a forceful, beautiful volume on the nature of mind; the connection of mind, breath, and body; and the relation of conditions of mind to actions in the world of society. Nhat Hanh advocates that any person active in political work should spend a minimum of 60 days a year in meditation retreat just to have enough spiritual strength and clarity of mind to cope with the difficulties encountered in society.

Anarchism appears to me to lack only one thing (if you really read your Kropotkin, Malatesta, Landauer, etc., you'll find how impressively complete our heritage is!): a fully-developed depth psychology which explains the nature of human mental suffering, aggression, blocked communications and emotions, and the rush for conceptual security. Buddhism is chiefly a depth psychology which allows the awakening of the inner self and encourages supremely successful communication and group relations and even intensified appreciation of the natural world and erotic response.

Of course many people calling themselves Buddhists lack understanding of these matters. Organized nationalistic sects will probably always exist and support very reactionary forces (consider contemporary Burma or Japanese militarism). Pure Land sects can be extremely materialistic and encourage folk superstitions. Tibetan Buddhist groups have been known to maintain small armies (one Tibetan guru today favoring comic-opera uniforms for himself). And many young Americans with a drive toward anything pure and strong are actually hurt by meditation practices, as it gives them a new form of clinging, making them grow more cold, rigid, pretentious, and humorless (though Buddhism's goals should bring forth the opposite).

Still, I would like my fine anarchist compatriots to consider these matters if they truly wish to develop an energetic and non-violent transformational revolution to benefit all beings. (What are the essentials which will make a non-violent revolution work?) No one who spends time in a real Buddhist community (or perhaps who simply reads the three books recommended above) will ever again think of Buddhists as withdrawn quietists isolated in meditation halls. Persons who understand the Buddha-Dharma are, after all, experts on Reality.

L. N. Myshkin

HISTORY NOTES

George Sergius Seldes (1860–1931)

George Sergius Seldes was born near the city of Kiev, in the Ukraine, in 1860. During the wave of anti-Semitism following Tzar Alexander's assassination in 1881, Seldes was one of the many Russian Jews who emigrated. The following year, he joined the Olan movement, which held that salvation for the Jewish people lay in returning to the land as a way of life. Seldes was instrumental in starting their Alliance Colony in southern New Jersey. According to his son, its failure was *the* big disappointment of Seldes' life.

While working as a librarian in New York City in 1886, Seldes contributed to Henry George's mayoral campaign, embracing George's single-tax philosophy. By the time he was in his early thirties, he had added Kropotkinian anarchism and Tolstoyan pacifism to his list of ideological alliances. For a period of several years in the '90's, he corresponded with both on social questions, especially those involving libertarian communities.

Between leaving New York City and moving (in 1907) to Pittsburg, Seldes operated a drugstore in Philadelphia which became a hangout for radicals of various stripes. This circle of people was able, in 1906, to help Maxim Gorky when Philadelphia's major hotel evicted him and his common-law wife.

From the Ukraine to New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Seldes never stopped dreaming of forming a utopian community. Another chance of realizing this life-long dream came in 1923 when Harry Kelley was starting the Mohegan Colony north of New York City. At the age of sixty-two, Seldes dove right into its formation and operation. One of the first people to settle there, he quickly came to be regarded as the sage of the colony. An accomplished linguist, with a mastery of Russian, French, German, Yiddish, Hebrew and English, Seldes "understood the philosophy of anarchism," according to Harry Kelley, "as well as it is possible for any man to understand it and he added to his vast learning a tender love for humanity and human freedom, a genial temperament and an optimism that came a tonic to many a depressed comrade seeking solace in his company."

Kelley also wrote that "during the long years we knew each other, I never knew, or met anyone else who knew him to waiver in the slightest degree in his devotion to his ideals nor doubt for a moment that they would someday be realized."

Once again Paul Avrich's The Modern School Movement (Princeton University Press - 1980) has furnished us with a History Note.

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