CHAPTER - IV
J.P. AND THE SARVODAYA MOVEMENT
Gandhi, Vinoba and Jayaprakash Narayan are the harbingers of a new civilization in the sense of Dr. K. Aram (Director Nagaland Peace Centre, Kohima) which may be called sarvodaya civilization. According to Mahatma Gandhi, his idea of "Sarvodaya" is apex of Gandhian socialism. "Sarvodaya" to him does not meant that majority alone enough; the growth and upliftment of every one is vitally necessary. In this respect, Gandhian socialism thinks of society as an organic whole where differences do not exist. The concept of organic unity, where all individuals have equal importance and the rise of everyone is dependent on the rise of every others is a fundamental contribution to socialistic theory and practice. Gandhian idea in general and Gandhian socialism in particular is no mere theory, not merely an intellectual groups or philosophical satisfaction which can be attained by simple speculation and thinking. The most particular and significant aspect of Gandhian socialism is the emphasis which Gandhi laid on the internal aspect of life.

"Sarvodaya", accepts the sacrosanct character of the human spirit. It is symphatic on the inclination of the values of the freedom, equality, justice and fraternity. So it is opposed to the state machine. Like Leo Tolstoy, Gandhi was immensely hostile to the state. He pleaded for "Sarvodaya" the inner rule of man over himself. He wanted that sarvodaya should be based on the moral sovereignty of the people. According to Gandhiji, sarvodaya aims to replace the politics of power by the politics of co-operation. It emphasis mutualistic activities spontaneously engaged in by the people. "Sarvodaya" is definitely hostile to the mechanism of representative democracy which amounts in actual practice to the dictatorship of the cabinet and party oligarchy. Hence, Sarvodaya advocates party less democracy. The concept of party less democracy will be thoroughly realized at the full consummation of the "Bhoodan movement".
In place of the ever growing centralization of power "Sarvodaya" pleads for decentralization. Gandhi was hostile to all types of construction of power and he pleaded for the deconcentration both at the economic and the political levels. According to philosophy of "sarvodaya" instead of bolstering centralization, nationalization and state socialism in the name of the welfare state, the primary need is to discipline and train the people in the art of managing efficiently their economic, social and administrative problem. One of the argument advanced by the protagonists of "sarvodaya" is that in a decentralize political systems there is less of difference of opinion and hence there is greater hope for realizing the concept of party less democracy.

According to the "sarvodaya" conception, the realization of the village self-government "Gramraj" postulated upon the exercise of all political authority by the inhabitants of the village. But "sarvodaya" accepts the universalization of self-government and it means the emergence of the people to vigilant active participation in co-operative action. The philosophy of "sarvodaya" is the philosophy of spiritual revolution in the word of Mahatama Gandhi. It shows that revolution does not confine itself only to a section of life, either to the external objective world to the internal subjective one. It is an integral revolution. In the sense of "sarvodaya" philosophy is based on the internal value of truth and love which are the twin expression of the fundamental unity of life. This "sarvodaya" has developed the logical consequences of this unity leading to "Integral Revolution". The "sarvodaya" thought has been trying to redress human suffering in different ways. The country wide satyagraha and non-cooperation movements led by Mahatama Gandhi and the Bhoodan and Gramdan - land gift movements led by Achareya Vinoba Bhave have drawn the attention of the whole world towards this integral revolution "as an answer to a categorical demand of time".
The real message of “Sarvodaya” propagated mainly by Mahatama Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave. Mahatama Gandhi and Achareya Vinoba Bhave, the leaders of the countrywide movements in India for realizing the ideal of “sarvodaya” the all-round well-being of all. “Sarvodaya” wants to “strength politics” people instead of “power-politics”. As one of the foremost sarvodaya leader, J.P. has suggested a form of non party democracy.

The word “sarvodaya” was coined by Gandhiji while he was in south Africa that gained currency only after his death. Before his death, Mahatama Gandhi had planned to convene a conference of constructive workers in February 1948 to chalk out future course of action by them. But that conference could not materialized due to his sudden death. Although, the followers of Gandhiji met at Sevagram in March 1948 and under the inspiration of Vinobaji’s decided to form a loose brotherhood of all those who followed the Gandhian path and named it as “sarvodaya samaj”. In March 1975, the great divide among the Sarvodaya worked came on to the force on the issue of Bihar movement to be followed by the forced in actively of the bulk of them on account of the emergency promulgated in June of the 1975.

Sarvodaya is a mighty and summate one-word expression of Gandhi’s view of life : individual life and social life, both literally meaning “Total uplift” or “Universal assent”. Sarvodaya marked the effulgence of Gandhi’s soul and gave this frail person the dimension of a moving spirit. Gandhiji’s whole being was sustained by an implicate faith in ‘Advaity’ indivisibility or one being from another. Universalism which was his forte was regarded by him as the inviolate identity of each human being in order that he or she could survive brutal leanings in situations of conflict.
Gandhiji gave birth to two big ideas in South Africa when he spent his formative years. They are entitled Satyagrah and Sarvodaya etc. The idea of satyagrah or non-violent resistance was distinct from the earlier idea of “Passive Resistance” and “Civil Disobedient”. Satyagrah was a new conception and regarded a new word to denote it. Thus he coined “Satyagrah”.

In course of time Sarvodaya came to indicate the ideal social order of Gandhijis conception. Though he was absorbed throughout his life with the Indian freedom struggle, he tried to elaborate the concept of sarvodaya now and then.

For instance, he said, “In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never ascending circle”. In post independence India, the Gandhian ideal of “Sarvodaya” did make some progress. Soon after Gandhijis death, his colleagues and friends gathered at “Sevagram” and with the guidance of Vinobaji decided to form “Sarvodaya Samaj” a loose brotherhood of Gandhians believing in the principles of Truth and Non-voilence.

“Sarvodaya” stands for the ideal of social orders according to Gandhiji. The word “Sarvodaya” means the welfare of all. It was Ruskin’s “Unto the last” that helped Gandhiji to discover some of his deepest convictions lying latent in his breast. The extent that the prevailing social orders could go was the greatest number. But Gandhiji’s spiritual explorations lead him deeper to see the beauty of not only human life but all creations and so he was thinking not merely the good of the many but the good of all, the entire creation. 
"Sarvodaya" was ultimately accepted because it included constructive works besides purity of means, trusteeship and national integrity etc. Sarvodaya according to Gandhi means welfare of all, stands for social orders that Gandhiji stood and worked for. This concept is being developed and presented as an alternative to Feudalism, Capitalism, Communism and Fascism. "Sarvodaya" is not a reaction of to any ism but it takes a synthetic view of life. It has the potency of bringing all ideologies closer. "Sarvodaya" means a classless and casteless society. All will have to share in the manual labour necessary for human existence in such a society. Every one will get equal opportunity and time to educated himself. Lands and others means of production will be owned in common by the village community and will be under the control of the users. These are four pillars of sarvodaya order11.

"Sarvodaya" is a concrete programe of social revolution. It offers us the picture of a new social order. The ideal of the plan sets out to achieve is that : of a non-exploitative, co-operative society which shall not be based on castes or class and in which there shall be equal opportunity for all. In the sense of J.P. Narayan there shall be redistribution of land and no one shall have more land than three times the economic holdings.

Gandhiji set high value on the value of individual and spcial life, which are the foundation of Gandhian society. It is true that philosophically Gandhism has a non-secular and religious foundation, whereas socialist philosophy is wholly secular, natural or materialist. But translated in terms of the practices of life the values are those stressed by socialism, castelessness; economic equality freedom from exploitation, fullest freedom and opportunity for full self-development, dignity of human personality, co-operation, responsibility of society for the well being of everyone12.
Gandhiji wanted the structure of the “Samaj” to be built upon moral principals, humanitarianism and equality and a “Samaj” called “sarvodaya Samaj” in place of the state. He said, “I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall fact that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice an Indian in which there shall be no high class or low class of people, an India in which communities shall live in perfect harmony”. The aim of “Sarvodaya” is not to establish a new pattern of state. It aims at the establishment of a society where there will be no oppression of one class by another class. The class oppression must go, and along with it should go the government. Gandhiji did not favour the establishment of equality with the help of state machinery.

He on the other hand, relied on the moral consciousness of the people for the ushering in of a society where there is no economic inequality. He proposed that India’s social and economic problems are many have facing but thought, the doctrine of sarvodaya, India can solve her various problems. Gandhiji despised all the artificial barriers of caste, creed, colour, birth, wealth and power. He was against untouchability. He dreamt of a class less society, a sarvodaya samaj where in every individual got equal opportunity for his or her all round development. Every members of this society would trained to be a useful citizen, capable of bearing the responsibility and fulfilling the duties, he owes to the society. According to him, the chief characteristics which are love, non-violence, truth and justice are called him “sarvodaya samaj”. The motivating force of such a society would be spiritual force, the moral code and the moral sanction. In short, “sarvodaya” ideology aims at the mental, moral and economic uplift of the people of India. Gandhiji’s life is one of service and sacrifice. His idea of ‘sarvodaya’ is unique in the field of social thinking. He wanted to secure equality in India by peaceful means. It aims at the change of hearts of the greedy and selfish.
The sarvodaya is not a theoretical concept. It is not a mere imperial idea of Gandhiji in regard to the solution of India's manifold problems. On the other hand, it is a great effort to revolutionize the country's thought and recognize the forces of love and co-operation as the basis of life. It is not an end in itself. It is rather the means to bring about a radical change in the whole social economic and political outlook of the Indian people. His ideas of sarvodaya can only succeed if the people of India are sincerely willing to uproot all social anamalies. The people should understand the wrong of their social order and to right in the same in a righteous way.

The principles underlying the concept of sarvodaya seem up in essence the practical implications of Gandhian philosophy. Gandhi titled one of the chapters of his autobiography as "The magic spell of a book", where in he described the effect on him of Ruskins Unto This Last (meaning the uplift of the last). He translated it later in to Gujarati calling it sarvodaya welfare of all. Gandhiji's modification from "welfare of the last" to welfare of all is significant, because for him, besides the last, others also needs uplifting. On the other hand, the peculiar characteristics of sarvodaya idea is that it allows scope for the existence of different views and freedom of thought.

In 1951 the Bhoodan movement have had launched and this movement constituted a creative approach to the land problems in keeping with Gandhian Principles. The movement made substantiate progress and more than 40 lakhs acres of land were received in Bhoodan- a remarkable achievement considering the fast that all the land Ceiling laws could produce very little surplus land for distribution to the landless. The growth and expansion of the Bhoodan movement gave a new meaning and substance to the concept of Sarvodaya.
SARVODAYA was no longer a mere vision or Ideal. Bhoomdan, Gramdan campaigns transformed Sarvodaya into a movement which attracted National and International attention. The Sarvodaya movement, under the leadership of Vinobaji, also developed Shanti Sena, programmes and promoted Khadi and Village industries and the movement remained confined to the rural sector. It did not make much impact on the Urban or industrial sector. This Sarvodaya movement was devoted to world peace and Vinobaji even gave a new motto “Jai Jagat”.

In Vinoba’s words - let there be a Sarvodaya Patra (pot) in every home. The children of the house should drop one handful of grain into it daily before taking their own meals. We do not want a handful of grain from the adult that would bring in much, for I have no desire for large quantity. I want only a child’s handful of grain. Children will learn that they must not eat till they have contributed something to the society. There will be no burden on any one on amount of this Sarvodaya patra (pot). This should be in the home of the poor as well. The children in the poor homes will also drop their handful of grain in the patra for the sake of peace and of those poorer still. This will be a great contribution. There is dissatisfaction all over the Country. Freedom has come but we are yet to infuse new life and Vigour in to a it. The poor have to be lifted up. This is the work for all of us and for this we must have Sarvodaya patra (pot) in every home.

The aim of Sarvodaya movement is also not only to bring about isolated cases of moral conversion but also to generate mass movement of inward change. It is only then that a new social order will arise and new values of life established. Vinoba’s Bhoomdan movement is indeed an application of this technique. Its value is to be judged not merely in terms of
land donated, but more so in terms of a moral atmosphere created. That is why Vinoba accepts land even from the poor. It is not merely the rich who suffer from greed, selfishness or possessiveness. The sense of Dictatorship of the poor is no weaker than that of the capitalists and the landlords. If they shed their own possessiveness, and share equitability what they have, a moral climate would be created that would induce the rich to do the same. And if some of the rich do not do so, the others will be justified in withholding their cooperation with which no one can be rich.  

The Sarvodaya movement as envisaged by Vinoba represents in some respects a contribution but in others a distinct departure from Gandhi’s techniques and style of revolutionary action. In the words of Smith “VINOBA” has developed and enlarged the neglected aspect of Gandhi’s legacy, has paid much less attention to mass mobilization, has articulated to strategy of conflict and has consistently spurned political power even when proffered. Vinobaji explains his revolutionary ideology in the words “Our works consist in changing the present social order from the very root. This is the secret of this Bhoodan campaign. That is why when people ask me whether this can be done by legislature alone, I reply in the negative. This is not a one sided movement. When it succeeds, the state will change, the government will change and the life structure will change”.  

In the word of Vinoba, Bhoodan movement which is the vital ingredient of sarvodaya, in fact has not been able to cater to vast mass mobilization. His primary technique has been to walk from Village to Village, hold meetings and appeal publically to the landlords peasant, to donate 16 or more of their land for distribution to the landless peasants. This is hardly a strategy of conflict like that of Gandhian “Satyagrah”. A sort of moral appeal is made to the landlords whose response, positive or negative, is accepted and won’t accept land under duress by Vinobaji.
The poor will gain economically and the rich spiritually. The society will no longer remain split in two classes, the propertied and the propertyless. Vinobaji’s concept of sarvodaya is well summed up in these words. “In this unhappy world, everybody requires to be uplifted for everyone has fallen long since and the poor have also arisen at all. The result is that both need to be uplifted”\(^{18}\). The sarvodaya ideal seeks to build up the no-violent self-reliant power of the people, called “Loka-Shakti” by Vinoba. To the extent we are able to develop this power the social and political life would improve\(^{19}\). Vinoba’s Bhoodan movement also revealed to him the significance of Gandhiji’s technique. Hence he joined “sarvodaya” movement and became a “Jivandan”. But J.P. described “sarvodaya” as people’s socialism\(^{20}\). In the sense of Gandhiji money we have plenty of at present; but wealth, which indicates prosperity, has diminished. If we give prestige to money, the prestige of labour is necessarily reduced. Under Gandhi’s scheme, a person giving a lakh of rupees to the congress would have been considered its donor, but not a member entitled to vote. The contributor of hand-spun would have become the voter. It was a revolutionary idea, which the congress failed to understand.

Vinoba had accepted this “sarvodaya” ideal of his “Guru” Gandhi, and practised it fully in life. He pointed out that in a civilized society the first necessity of man was not so much food as cloth. You can go about anywhere in the world without feeling ashamed even if you have remained hungry for some days. But modern civilized society does not allow you to move about naked even in all the parts of your house, and hence even thought it may not be possible for every man to his own food, he should produce at least his own cloth and fortunately this is much simpler and more within one’s own power than the production of food. Beside, on the moral plane “Khadi” is particularly the emblem of a peaceful and non-violent order. It is suggestive of industriousness, bread, labour, non-exploitation and self-expression\(^{21}\).
As a real disciple of the Mahatama, in the year of 1916 Vinoba came in contact with Gandhiji and accepted him as his “Guru”. So long as Gandhiji was alive, he lived with him in “Sabarmati Ashram” only when deputed by his master for some other important works. In 1940 when Gandhiji announced an individual “Satyagrah”, he was the first to offer “Satyagrah” under orders from his “Guru” Gandhiji. After independence, instead of entering the Government, he devoted himself to propagation of the ideals of “Sarvodaya” of Mahatama Gandhi and Bhoodan movement. All these movements were intended at establishing “Sarvodaya Samaj” or a welfare state in India.

The concept of Bhoodan, Gramdan or Jivan Dan is nothing but a part of social philosophy of Vinobaji which aims at establishing an ideal social order. Bhoodan is nothing establishment of a social order which is based on freedom, public good and does not recognized violence as a mode or instrument of social transformation. He wants the state and society to be based on the foundation of ‘Love’ and kindness. In such a society, the law shall not be an external affair but the law of the heart. In such a society, people are not formed to obey laws but they obey them voluntarily, because those laws are helpful for the betterment of society and the mankind. This whole concept is based on a philosophy which envisage “Sarvodaya”. In such a society, everybody is guided by the welfare of the whole of the community and goodness of all the person. Indian Political Thinkers (Through his Bhoodan (Vinoba), Sampatidan and Gramdan movements be brought about a revolution of great magnitude in the Indian village. He devised inspiration from Gandhi’s technique teachings in all his thinking, social, economic and political. His views centre round Bhoodan and Gramdan movements which may be regarded as original contribution towards the Gandhian concept of sarvodaya.
Gandhi M.K., in India had the vision of “Ramarajya” or “Sarvodaya”.
It was left to Vinoba and later to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to deepen the
significance of this concept in the context of the existential human situation
in India. “Sarvodaya” is integral revolution or double revolution as J.P.
Narayan called it “Social Revolution” through “Human Revolution”.
According to J.P. Narayan, with his concept of “Total Revolution” he added
an aggressive dissension to sarvodaya which has resulted in the formation of
people committees as a third force of the people representing “Loka Shakti”
as against the “Raja Shakti” of parliamentary democracy. Naturally this is the
vision of a creative minority and is likely to remain so far some time to come.
It is a revolutionary act to be born out of the revolutionary situation, for
which organization and leadership are necessary. Whether India can provide
such an alternative for a new world and a new value is a question which can
be safely left to her destiny.

Sarvodaya is an integral concept, rather an “Integral Revolution”. It
touches on all levels of politics, society and culture. But it was not left along
to the saintly persons like Gandhi and Vinoba and a few thinkers of the east
and the west. Jayaprakash Narayan, originally a Marxist, popularly revered
as “Lok-Nayak” now came to this conclusion as early as 1954 after his long
journey in to the night of politics.

In 1954, J.P. joined the Bhoodan movement led by Vinoba Bhave and
the All India Seva Sangha. He build his own “Ashram at Sekhodeora” in
Gaya District of Bihar. J.P. practically withdraw himself from active
participation in the socialist movement. Between the 1954 and 1971, J.P.
played an active part in the “Sarvodaya” movement, but gradually he began
to realize that Bhoodan movement or the “Sarvodaya” movement could not
solve the problems of the country. To Jayaprakash Narayan, Bhoodan was not just an agrarian movement, but represents "the beginning of an all round social and human revolution". In 1956 at the conference of the "Asian Socialist" J.P. presented "Sarvodaya" as the "True" read to socialism. In 1958, he made a clarion call "going back to Mahatama", insisting that the leaders of the country must go to the people to live and work with them, then to some, guide and keep then says "Jayaprakash": "without the involvement of the people, a new society can not be created. To think that after leaders at the top can create socialism is nonsense. You can not enact socialism".

J.P. and Vinoba agreed to accept the two ways of "Sarvodaya" one for Gramdhan or "Gram Sarvodaya" of Vinoba and another for the total revolution of J.P. Narayan. But both the ways would be guided by three things, - Satya or (truth) Ahinsa or (non-violence) and Samuyan (restriant).26

The word "Sarvodaya" is a Compound Sanskrit word comprising "Sarva" (all) and "Udaya" (rising) - meaning all round well being or good of all. This all "includes that the all living being. We find the Vedas praying for the well being of even quadrupeds along with bipeds (Sam no astudvipade), sam no astu catuspade). They wished prosperity to all. According to the Gitta, the term "Serva" refers to all creation. It is natural for man, limited as he is in his strength, to have the speaker of his influential relationship limited to the human world. In fact for a man, living in society, his neighbour is the representation of mankind. The meaning "Sarvodaya" words stands for certain concepts. They try to convey the content of these concepts. As the concepts develop and gather deeper and wider meaning the word, through remaining out wardly the same, represent the progressively enriched concepts. This is the case with the word "Sarvodaya". This word and its
generally understood meaning is almost as old as the perennial philosophy of India. But it represents an array of different meanings today. The content of "Sarvodaya", as it stands today, has not been developed by any theoreticians or logicians. However, some active social workers have given the word its present augmented meaning through their striving to better the conditions of humanity.

That is why, while unfolding the concept of "Sarvodaya", it will be inevitable to refer to the incidents and events in the lives of these "Sarvodaya" leaders and the society in which they lived, so far as these incidents refers to the concept of "Sarvodaya". But all the great religions can be said to be echoing the idea of "Sarvodaya". "Sarvodaya" is opposed to the state machine. According to Jayaprakash Narayan, the aim of "Sarvodaya" is to see that all centers of power are abolished. According to him, it is not possible to achieve any success through developing the power of state. The state is not the reflection of the divine being but is a soulless machine to effectuate the will of those who have the cunning and capacity to control the governmental structure.

"Sarvodaya" today has assumed the dimension of a movement is a social force of great potentialities and power. It has been regarded as a dynamic philosophy which can make possible the advent of a radically transformed humanity. "Sarvodaya", as an ideal, seeks to build a new society on the foundations of the old spiritual and moral values of India. Its philosophy is integral and synthetic in characters. It takes up the Gandhian synthesis of the ideas of Vedanta, Budhism, Roskin and Tolstoy. Besides Gandhism it has taken some of its ideas from the socialist philosophy which is a synthesis of theoretical abstractions and political and economic generalizations.
Vinoba, a true Gandhian, and J.P. Narayan a true socialist are the two main leaders associated with “Sarvodaya” movement. The fundamental concept in “Sarvodaya” philosophy is the primary and ultimateness of the spirit. Gandhiji’s main ambition was to realize God. His political economics and social programme were oriented towards progressive entargement of the human consciousness through the service of the poor. As J.P. Narayan said, “This movement is based on the principle of change of heart. It in being conducted in the belief that man is amenable to change. That is so because all of us are essentially one fragment of the same almighty father”. He further said, “I feel convinced that man rest go beyond the material to find the in center in goodness. As a corollary I further feel that the task of social reconstruction can not succeed under the inspiration of materialistic philosophy”. “Sarvodaya” lays emphasis on moral values which are of an abiding nature and stress on self-abnegation. It wants to replace jealousy and competitions by mutuality and altruism.

It appeals to our minds and heart in terms of values and goals which are ingrained and wants to corporate the moral and spiritual values in social, political and economic life. In short, it stands for the supremacy and absoluteness of moral values. Jayaprakash Narayan said “Sarvodaya represents the highest socialist values. It takes a balanced or whole view of life. It is naturally opposed to capitalism and stands for decentralization of the forces of production. “Sarvodaya” it pleads for self sufficient village communities. It claims to establish a society of producers. “Bhoodan”, “Sampattidan” and “Gramdan are some of the basic techniques of “Sarvodaya”. Bhoodan and Gramdan are techniques of agrarian revolution based on moral force ; “Sampatidan” is a techniques of transforming capitalism in to a “Sarvodaya” society.
These two movements i.e. to a “Bhoodan” and “Gramdan” visualized village ownership of land as well as individual cultivation by the villagers. “SARVODAYA” like as socialism, it lays stress upon equality of economic opportunities and equitable and just distribution of resources of society. It believes in social justice and collective ownership. It likes socialism holds that it is not sufficient to increase production but it is also necessary to ensure an equitable distribution. Main technique of socialism is nationalization, that of “Sarvodaya” is villagisation. Socialism believes in nationalizing the means of production for increasing production. In other words socialism believes in the power of the state and wants to make it sovereign, sarvodaya, on the other hand, believes in the goal of stateless society. Vinoba Bhave thus writes, “Gradually we will reach a stage when all authority in every form will have become unnecessary and will, therefore, fade away giving rise to a perfectly free society”. Communism or the radical type of socialism believes in violence as a proper technique of destroying the existing Capitalistic structure whereas “SARVODAYA” has no place for violence technique but believes in the nobility and purity of means and holds that only nonviolence can be the foundation of the society force from exploitation and injustice. “SARVODAYA” is a philosophy which based on moral approach to the problems of mankind and as sum-up the great contribution of “SARVODAYA” lies in the assertion of a moral approach to the problems of man.

“SARVODAYA” accepts the Universalization of self-government in which the people should actively participate in cooperative action. But in place of centralization of power, “SARVODAYA” pleads for decentralization both at economic and political levels. “SARVODAYA” wants to elevate the people and not the Central parliament or the cabinet to become the focus of political attention. In other words, “Rajanity” should be replaced by “Loknity”. “Rajanity emphasis on Government power control and rights whereas “Loknity” on the other hand, lays on self-restraint, freedom, discipline and duties.
In short “SARVODAYA” pleads for the substitution of “Shasan” by “anushasan” (discipline). It seeks not merely change in the opinion of the people, but a change in their hearts. According to J.P. Narayan “Sarvodaya” stresses the cultivation of real “Janshakti” or the power of the people. As an ultimate ideal, therefore, ” Sarvodaya” is satisfied not with merely limiting or regulating the state machine but with the total elimination of the state. “Sarvodaya” is not satisfied with the working of the present system of representative democracy which amounts in actual practice to the dictatorship of the cabinete and party oligarchy.

The political philosophy of “SARVODAYA” is a powerful intellectual attempt to build a plan of political and social reconstruction on the basis of ethical idealism. Jayaprakash Narayan had been pleading for a reconstruction of India polity. He urges the implementation of participating or communitarian democracy in place of the formal and mechanical quest of majoritarianism based on the winning of seats on plurality votes in unfair elections communitarianism would involve the devolution and genuine decentralization of political and economic power at all levels. Jayaprakash Narayan urges real decentralization of power and not decentralization or the mere extension of local self-government. According to J.P. the scheme of the reconstruction of Indian polity and economy involving increasing decentralization of power for the realization of “SWARAJ” is in live with the ancient Hindu traditions and institutional patterns of self-government. To him the revitalization of the sense of man’s belonging in a community is to be the goal of a “Sarvodaya Worker”. As one of the foremost “SARVODAYA” leader, J.P. has suggested a form of non-party democracy system.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. R.C. Gupta "Great Political Thinkers" (East and West), Agra P.P. - 126-127.


21. R.C. Gupta, “Great Political Thinkers” (East and west), Agra - 3 (1963), P-159.
23. Ibid P-404.
29. Ibid, P.P. - 355 - 357.
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J. P. NARAYAN AND SARVODAYA PHILOSOPHY: (B)

J. P. Narayan hold that parties and movements which follow a materialist philosophy cannot satisfy the mental, spiritual and moral aspects of the people. The spirituality and mysticism in him turn away from politics. He outright condemned, the dark sides of politics but he continued to take interest in the cooperative system of parties his right to interview. Sarvodaya is the people's socialism and the solution of the dilemma of power politics.

The two aspects of sarvodaya appealed to him. Conversion is an essential aspect; it is to persuade all sections of people to give up false ideas. The ends and means become one in it. The utopianism is phased out; it is made acceptable by being served in small doses. Converts are not asked to part with all their property but only a part of it. The revolution in ideas as represented by community Bhoodan, sampatidan and Gramdan and the revolution in the outward organization represented by community ownership of land and community self-government constitute give a picture of peaceful revolution.

He payed proper thought to Sarvodaya ideology, yet he is not free from other considerations. He jumped in to the freedom movement inspite of his Marxian and pro communist having. He was fascinate by a lining a Gandhi and later by Vinoba. He is of the opinion that Gandhism has suceded in India. His Satyagraha Campaigns were all successfully worked out and inspired the masses as nothing had done before. Potentialities of Gandhiji's economic and social programmes for the emancipation of Indian masses with emphasis on decentralization effects were led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Gandhian in Vinoba Bhave found in Bhoodan movement a cause to Identify himself.
In his essay titled “From Socialism to Sarvodaya” he wrote, “I decided to withdraw from party and power polities not because of disgust or a sense of any personal frustration but because it became clear to me that polities could not deliver the goods, the goods being the save old goods of equality, freedom, brotherhood, peace. . . . the polities of Sarvodaya can have no party and non concern with power. For many years he went from Indias Countryside requesting the Villagers to give land in the from of gifts as a part of campaign in pursuit of Gandhiji’s theory of trusteeship.

Within a week nearly 7000 areas of lands were obtained as gifts. It was spontaneous and from small holder. He lives the life of a peasant in Shekhodeora Ashram with his Illustrious wife Smt. Prabhavati devi. The political theorist in him is the real spirit behind doing sarvodaya movement. He is a fine example of the synthesis between socialism, Democracy and Sarvodaya. In his estimate Democracy will merge in sarvodaya or may go even further. In spite of his embracing Gandhism and sarvodaya, he enriched the content of socialism and way for its realig realization. It is but an evolution of his personality. He is the embodiment of socialism, Democracy and sarvodaya.

In his own words: "I am not for a movement suggesting that I have arrived at a flawless solution of social problems or that sarvodaya is the last word in social philosophy. Man is ever progressing towards the truth, for he is by nature as enquiring being. It will be pleasant to accompany him on his enquiring, just as accompany accompanying Vinoba on his Padayatra. Both open for mankind news "Vites of Vision". In 1961 J.P. brought out his brochure wherein he made a bad statement with his own eyes on the dark picture of future of the country. Even after two general election the people
had only transient contact with the workings of democracy. He made a strong plea for a benevolent and less centralized centre in place of a strong centre with fascist and totalitarian trends in order to save the state from under strains and strains to just his own words:- National unity or strength dose not depend upon the list of subjects that a central government deals with, but or such intangible factors as emotional integration.

J.P. dedicated his life for the cause of Bhoodan and Village industries. He brought challenged that the rewards of independence has not reached out to the common people. He equated free India with a socialist India and swaraj implies justice and opportunity for the poor and the downtrodden to contribute their share for the development of the country. He outlived a comprehensive programme of planning when there is intimate contact between the people and the government, politics have no play and there is scope for social service. Sarvodaya is the completion of socialism common experiences and aspirations, national ethos, mutual good will and the spirit of accommodation, and above all, upon large-hearted wisdom on the part of national leader"3. J.P. laid stress on the efficias Panchayat system through which the common man may have a picture of Swaraj. He coined the term "Swaraj from below" as a substitute for Panchayat. With certain actions their system shall meet people economic and administrative necessities. As a tier system it will loving "a self-governing, self sufficient, agro industrial, urban - rurals local communities.

Gram Sabha is the highest political institution of the local people with all adults and its members. The Panchayat is the executive whose members should be selected by general consensus of opinion in the Sabha without any contest. There lies the responsibility of managing things on the part of the
sabha and Panchayat. It must be their nation duty to ensure that everybody in the village should get enough food, clothing, shelter etc. There must be provision of primary education. The next level of the political structure will be that of the Gram Panchayats integrated with panchayat systems. Society, similarly the panchayat societies of a will, be integrated in to the District Council, the District Councils will be integrated in to the State Assembly and the state assembly’s integrated in to the National Parliament. Thus the political institutions at its level will be integrated with the lower institutions at each level. He preferred Indirect election to direct election.4

J.P. is emphatic in warning the panchayats so that they may be a tool in the political parties and ambitions politicians. Under the circumstances the Panchayats must be influenced by electoral contests. It is therefore necessary that the political parties should place themselves under self-denying ordinance and refrain from putting up party candidates or pressurize the elected representation to becomes party members5.

The vision of Participating Democracy aims at the fulfillment of sarvodaya programmes. The peace and plenty of the individual is the programme in the village and urban areas. He hinted a word of caution also. The Agroindustrial democracy of the village is relative to the limitation of wants. Free reigns to desires are like free reins to horses. They do not cease by fulfillment, rather the flames leap higher and higher. If this is the position there will no peace of mind nor peace amongst men. That leads to an embroiled competition between individuals, groups and nations. Similarly, discipline of bodily appetites is necessary for growth of human personality. Reducing tension and coercion in society, sharing together of good things produced by common effort is a necessity. To spare in our wants and necessities will have the way for equality, freedom and brotherhood. It is but a migration from “Rajniti to Lokniti”

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There is a close relation between Panchayat Raj and sarvodaya movement. The first step to selflessness is first step to check the greed. Sarvodaya aims to prepare a new way of life. It implies a new type of human being whose social behaviour and attitude must undergo a radical change. Bhoodan, Sampatidan, Gramdan and Jeevandan are based on a new dynamics of social change. It seeks to persuade people to to lead a life of sharing and to abandon the nation of individuals' ownership of property. It is to be pointed out that some villages obtained through gramdan are loving this way of life, ceaseless labour and transformation of people by one's own example are required for this new life. Politics is within the reach of Sarvodaya workers. In J.P's opinion Bhoodan is itself a deep political movement. A movement that revolutionize man and society is political but it is different from the politics of parties, elections, parliaments and governments. It is but the politics of the people. It is Lokniti rather than Rajniti. J.P. suggests that he may not belong to any political party or may not take part in politics, directly or indirectly for position or power. One must be involved clearly in the political field, working of democracy and its various institutions. A Sarvodaya worker must play a more effective and constructive part in the shaping of the politics of the country. According to J.P. sarvodaya is the most vigorous attempt to reconstruct a non-violent mass action scheme of Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba for the bright future of the world. It is reshaping of Indian Democracy and one of the great contribution to the world thought.

From Bhoodan to sarvodaya was a short method. He option "beautiful revolution - a revolution different from revolutions of violence and revolutions made by law. Even the violent revolution no longer systems?"
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Vide chapter II in connection with his early life.

2. Dr. M. Kirti Singh, Philosophical Import of Gandhiji, Delhi (1994), P.P. 137-140.


4. Loc cit.


6. Mr. Hams jonists check, Secretary general of the socialish internationals remark on quated in Amrita Bazar Pratica, Tuesday, October 9, 1979.

Aspects of Sarvodaya Philosophy and Its Implications in Indian Thought and Culture:

Aspects and aims of Sarvodaya philosophy according to Gandhi M.K. was of the view that the greatest good of the greatest number must be achieved through non-violent methods. But it could not be aimed at material prosperity only, it also aims at development and welfare of all, through peaceful and non-violent methods to Gandhiji, aspects aims of sarvodaya may be kept shortly as under the following heads: Via- Decentralization of power, employment and means of livelihood, regional self-sufficiently, self-dependence, self-restraint, self-discipline, satisfaction of basis necessities and civilized and culture society etc. Self-restraint and self-discipline should have of passes the following qualities as spiritualism, truthfulness, non-violence, non-stealing and non accumulation, celibacy or Brahamacharya, division of physical labour, tastelessness and from slavery of palate, self-dependence and self-reliance, opposed to untouchability, fearlessness, secularism and religious equality etc. The whole of the Gandhian philosophy is based on the concept of self-sufficiency. According to Gandhi M.K., was of opinion that only those persons who have self-reliance and self-restraint could build up a society in which all had a freedom to develop. To him Sarvodaya could not be established without self-discipline and self-restrain.

Gandhiji's aspect of Sarvodaya was very much akin to communism. It aims at synthesis and doing away of the discrimination between the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the labour and wants every body to be provided with equal facilities and fulfillment of needs and requirement. It is based on the principle of "Co-existence" and "living for other". Like communism, it also aims at establishment of a classless society and the society free from all sorts of distinctions. It also envisages establishment of a society which is freedom exploitation and which has no place for exploitation.
In Indian thought "Sarvodaya" is based on the following implication in the principle of love and non-violence. To make the incapable, capable of doing things and establishing human values. According to Karl Marx, the struggle for ushering in communism is inevitable but to Gandhiji "Love is inevitable for ushering in sarvodaya". Sarvodaya does not recognize struggle as inevitable and natural part of human progress. Its aims at behaving with a clear heart and in a loving manner.

Means of sarvodaya is not easy to change the present existing social order all of a sudden. In ushering sarvodaya, certain things have to be done. The thinking that have to be done for establishing the sarvodaya, have come to be known as techniques. Through these techniques only it is possible to establish sarvodaya or society that aims at upliftment and welfare of all. These techniques are as namely given - Non-violent Revolution, Brood minded ness, satyagrah or truthful non-violent struggle and Dan or gift or giving away of what is in surplus.

According to Gandhi, he has evolved a new technique as known Non-violent Revolution or the process of changing the hearts of all. It involves social change through non-violent technique. Those the persons who have not the broad mind and out look cannot realize what to say achieving it. He opines that co-existence can be achieved through eliminating struggle and violent means. Non-violent Revolution can only be carried out by those who are broad-minded and are prepared to put up with the view points of others. The main object of Satyagrah is to persuade people to acquire truthful and non-violent life. Those who do not believe in the ideals of Sarvodaya, have to be persuaded to believe in through love, cooperation peaceful persuasion and if necessary through self-pain. Through these methods only it is possible to change the heart of others. It is in fact an instrument for persuading others to accept the objective of truth and of non-violence.
In sarvodaya society those who possess more have to part with it and those who do not have, they will possess it. This will have to be done through non-violent method. Through this process, it is possible to bring about equality between the economic status of people. Bhoomi Dan, Gram Dan, Sampatidan etc. are the different forms through which this inequality can be done away with. The formula of trusteeship or theory of trusteeship of Gandhiji is based on this very of ideas. Sarvodaya aims at synthesis of service and non-violence. It aims at creating a cultured and civilized, society which shall recognize the dignity of labour and also provide equal political opportunities through peaceful and non-violent means. It shall aim at the establishment of a classless society which shall be governed according to laws of truth, non-violence and love.

Modern civilization and culture are the products of masculine tendencies of assertion, competition, aggression and violence. It is a one-sided civilization. The feminine virtues of respectively, humility and love will have to be introduced as motivation forces in socio-economic structures as well as politics. Instead of imitating the masculine ways of behaviour women will have to contribute the feminine splendour, grace and beauty. These only we will be set free of ugliness of existing patterns of behaviour.

According to J.P. he conceived Sarvodaya Movement is an attempt at the discovery and enshrinement of the soul of India and its fulfillment at the social and economic levels. It envisaged the rebuilding of the political and social structure on the basis of the reconstructed agrarian traditions and patterns of behaviour of India. But in the era of mad race for power, the importance of Sarvodaya lies in emphasizing the ever-abiding value of self abnegation. It wants to substitute the law of mutuality and dominant altruism
for party strafes, jealousies and cut-threat competitions. It stresses replacement of majority voting by unanimity in the village panchayats, thus enshrining the primary of goodness and character in place of the skill of manipulation and self-assertion. It appeals to our mind and heart in terms of values and goals, embodied in our Indian culture.

Dr. S.C. Kumarappa mentioned that “Sarvodaya is a socio-Economic order based on Gandhian Principles of non-violence and truth, working for the uplift of every individual”. According to J.P. Narayan, socialism is not opposed to the dominant values which have been cherished in Indian culture. Indian culture has exalted the ideal of the emancipation of the individual from the thraldom of the lower ego, covetousness, dualities and acquisitiveness. Its ideal is freedom realized by the conquest of cupidity, stupidity, anger and aversion. To him sharing of “Samvibhaga” has been one of the dominant values of Indian culture and hence it is ridiculous to condemn socialism as an importation from the materialistic and hedonistic west. The organized economic doctrines of socialism, no don’t, have been formulated in the west but its fundamental idealism is a part of the dominant concepts of Indian culture.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

2. Ibid Page, 319.
3. Ibid Page, 322.
4. Included in the “Sarvodaya” a monthly English Megazine, Volume No. XXXII (3-4), September to October (1984), P - 133.
5. Dr. Vishnoo Bhagwan, “Indian Political Thinkers” Atma Ram, Delhi - 110006 (1996), P. 282.