CHAPTER – 4
TOWARDS SARVODAYA

From the evolution of JP’s socio political philosophy upto 1957, it can be seen that ultimately he decided to withdraw from party and power politics. In 1951, Vinoba Bhave, who was the spiritual successor to Gandhi, started the Bhoodan movement and in Vinoba Bhave’s effort JP could see a beginning of a great social revolution. After the election in 1952, he wholeheartedly joined the movement and soon he discovered that it is a revolution by non-violent mass action. He decided to devote all his time and energy to it and in the All India Sarvodaya Conference held at Bodh Gaya in 1954, he announced his decision of commitment to it and became famous as Jeevandani. It must be mentioned here that, Jeevandani is an ordinary mortal who has.... vowed to devote his life to the remaking of man and society. It also means that he has to begin with remaking himself “Jeevandan, thus becomes a spiritual pilgrimage”! Jeevandan means dedication of one’s life to a cause.

When Gandhi was alive, JP could not believe how the non-violent technique could bring about a social revolution. However, JP admitted that this technique was successful during the freedom movement of India, but how feudalism and capitalism could be abolished, it was not clear to him. JP read Gandhi’s writings on revolution through change of heart. But in the absence of a direct demonstration, those ideas seemed impractical. JP even criticized the theory of trusteeship advocated by Gandhi. He could not believe that trusteeship could be a social norm of behaviour. When he was thinking about the practicability of Gandhian technique, Bhoodan was born in a remote village of Telengana in 1951.
under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave. In the beginning a man came forward and offered a hundred acres of land. JP first thought that it would take hundreds of years in this manner to redistribute all the land in the country. But he had a high impression on Vinoba Bhave and he noticed the steady growth of movement. He also noticed that Vinoba Bhave was serious about the land distribution problem and his economic outlook was revolutionary. So he decided to join the movement.

So far JP had seen that other revolutions failed because those who brought them about used means that are inconsistent with their ends. If the end was a stateless society, the means were the coercive power of the state itself, if the end was brotherhood, class war was the means used, if the end was rooting out of selfishness as the driving force in life, the selfishness of certain sections of society was used as the driving force for the social revolution. In the Sarvodaya method of revolution, the ends and means become one.

Bhoodan and other dan movements like Sramdan, Sadhandan, Sampattidan, Buddhidan, Jeevandan are part of Sarvodaya ideal. These are concrete manifestation of it. According to Gandhi, all land belongs to God. Bhoodan movement was a revolution through love. After Vinoba Bhave, JP became the unofficial leader of Sarvodaya movement.

JP tried to establish a new social order with liberty, equality, peace and fraternity. It was his primary concern and not the rigidity of any ideology. Therefore he made a journey from socialism to Sarvodaya which he thought would solve the problems of the society in a moral and peaceful way. Some years back it became clear to him that socialism as it is understood by everybody can not take humanity to the goals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and peace. Socialism
promises to bring mankind closer to those goals than any other social philosophy there is no doubt about it. But JP was led to believe that unless socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya, these goals can not be achieved. He was led to believe to the extent that, as in the present day we have tasted the ashes of independence, likewise the future generation would taste the ashes of socialism.

Here we propose to discuss the root and the underlying principles of this movement to understand JP’s commitment for establishing a new Indian Society.

4.1 THE ORIGIN OF SARVODAYA MOVEMENT

“Sarvodaya as an ideal, a vision and a movement is Gandhian in its origin.”2 Though Gandhi’s immediate concern was freedom of India, but his dream was Sarvodaya – the rising of all – welfare of each and every human being, and total liberation of all from all that make us less human to what make us fully human.

The three words, viz., satyagraha, anasakti, and sarvodaya constitute the whole philosophy of Gandhi. The first two words are coined by Gandhi but the word ‘Sarvodaya’ which occupies the central place in Gandhi’s philosophy “seems to have borrowed by Gandhi from a Jain (scripture) written by Acarya Samanta Bhadra, who lived about two thousand years ago.”3 But Viswanath Tandon writes that when Gandhi “used this word for the first time, he was not aware that the word had already been used in the same sense by Samant Bhadra hundred years ago.”4 The Acarya, while praising the godly spiritual leader of Jains observed, “your’s are the sacred waters of the well being of all that end, the miseries for all times.”5 He said, “Sarvodaya is the destroyer of all calamities, it is my
"The ideal of Sarvodaya is not the creation of Gandhi. This ideal has been here in India since the day of Vedas where seers have prayed for the happiness of all." The first word Sarvo occurs in a number of Vedic texts, besides its mention in the Gita. "The whole idea of service to others and living life as a prayer to God through the service of society, originated from monastic Jaino-Buddhist rules." This philosophy is ageold in India. "This ideal is also found in the thinking of contemporary Indian philosophers such as Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sri Aurobindo etc. Now a days Sarvodaya is considered as an alternative to communism, it is also considered as better alternative since it is against violence, war and class struggle."

In 1904, Gandhi's friend Polak gave him a small book 'Unto This Last' written by John Ruskin while Gandhi was on a railway journey in South Africa. This book had profound influence on Gandhi and he paraphrased the central idea of the book into Gujarati language and entitled it as 'Sarvodaya' meaning, the welfare of all.

The teachings of 'Unto This Last' by which Gandhi was so much impressed are as follows:

"(1) The good of the individual is contained in the good of all; (2) The lawyers work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work and (3) A life of labour, i.e. the life of tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living."
Sarvodaya is the substance of Ruskin's book and Ruskin borrowed this idea from the Bible. He was aware of the prevailing degradation among the workmen and the ever increasing mechanization of the day, and therefore he advocated the welfare of all human beings, and expressed it in his book 'Unto This Last'. "On the basis of the study of the Bible, Ruskin preached three cardinal truths, first the universality of objects, second, the freedom of the individuals and third, the rendering of dignity to the individuality of the poor." Since, Ruskin's books was one of the main source of inspiration in the formation of Sarvodaya, the origin of Sarvodaya can be traced to Bible. Gandhi, admitted that there are certain other sources also, like the Gospels (especially The Sermon on the Mount). Tolstoy and Thoreau.

Gandhi was greatly influenced by his contacts with Leo Tolstoy, especially through reading Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is within you.' Tolstoy accepted love to be the law of life. Gandhi was impressed by Tolstoy's simplicity of life, his ideas of love, peace and equality and vision of a new social order. Tolstoy also denounced state and private property because they contradict the principle of love.

By reading Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' in South Africa, Gandhi was profoundly impressed. According to Thoreau the immoral institution of the state supported by coercive authority hamper the individuals' moral and spiritual freedom. He visualized a society where govt. will disappear. Thoreau said that the best govt. was the one which governs least. Like Thoreau Gandhi also believed that democracy can be realized only in a stateless society and such a society can be organized on the basis of truth, love and non-violence.
The word ‘Sarvodaya’ literally means the welfare or uplift of all, but it implies, as interpreted by Gandhiji and his followers a balanced all-round well-being and development of the whole man and similar development of all men. So, the ideal of Sarvodaya is implied in the word itself: Sarva and Udaya. ‘Sarva’ means all, and ‘udaya’ means uplift. The key to this uplift for Gandhi is dedicated service to humanity.

In his early life and career Gandhi coined the term ‘Sarvodaya’ in order to articulate his vision of Indian society. Though Sarvodaya implies many other terms such as Swaraj, Rāmrajya, Ahimsā, Satyagraha, etc., but the most comprehensive term was ‘Sarvodaya’. Sarvodaya is the very basic idea of the Gandhian way of life, from the days Gandhi wrote, Hind Swaraj’ i.e., long before he made his appearance on the Indian public scene as the great leader of Indian people. Sarvodaya is a total view of life and human society comprising individual as well as collective life as much as social, economic, political, moral, religious, and spiritual.

For Gandhi, Sarvodaya means nothing but a liberated society, a Sarvodaya Samaj. “Since Sarvodaya stood for the welfare of all, commitment to all kinds of sacrifices, even unto death, for the welfare of others was at the core of Sarvodaya. This spirituality of commitment to service (sacrifice), implies absolute adherence to truth and ahimsa, supremacy of renunciation and sacrifice, cultivation of absolute fearlessness, and recognition and practice of bread-labour. It is on the basis of these moral values that Gandhi wanted to build a society for the poor. According to Gandhi, all the problems faced by human beings are moral problems. All the conflicts appeared among the human beings are the result of suppression of
rational thinking by the selfishness and the animal element. The ideal of Sarvodaya insists upon the development of moral character for the solution of all evils i.e., economic, social and political, To realize others in oneself and oneself in others is the first lesson of Sarvodaya. Gandhi holds that the spiritual ideal of self-realization or Moksha is nothing different from the social ideal of Sarvodaya.

The monthly organ of Gandhi Seva Sangha started in 1938, and it was also named as 'Sarvodaya'. But this word could not gain much prominence and the word 'Satyagraha' attracted greater attention and Gandhi's philosophy came to be known as 'Philosophy of Satyagraha'. But after the death of Gandhi, the word 'Sarvodaya' became more prominent when the followers of Gandhi assembled at Sevagram (Wardha) in March 1948, and decided to form an organization named 'Sarvodaya Samaj'. This new name was chosen in preference to that of Satyagraha Mandal. (Satyagraha circle), because the word 'Satyagraha' had been used in a restricted sense which did not include constructive work. From that time onward the school of thought which accepts Gandhi's philosophy in all its aspects and of which the central figure is Vinoba Bhave, has came to be known as the 'Sarvodaya School' and its philosophy as Sarvodaya philosophy.

Though independence came to India with the long tiring effort of Gandhi, and he had to give up his life, the independence of his conception had not come and he left it to his fellow-workers to reconstruct society on the lines indicated by him. There were two groups of his fellow workers, one accepting his political leadership, and the other accepting the whole of his thought, his philosophical assumptions and ethical principles, his view of the state and the picture of his ideal social order. This later group took the responsibility for fulfilling his incomplete
task. The most important among them was Acharya Vinoba Bhaves (1895), who started the Bhoodan or land-gift movement in 1951. The other important thinkers of this school are – Kishorilal Ghanashyam, Mashruwala (1890-1952), J.C. Kumarappa (1892-1961), Kaka Kalelkar (b.1885), Dada Dharmadhikari (b.1899), Shankerrao Deo (b.1895), Dhirendra Mazumdar (b.1899), Jay Prakash Narayan (b.1902) and J.B. Kripalani (b.1888). Except JP all of them had been closely associated with Gandhi in his constructive work. Though JP came late to Sarvodaya (1954), later became the most prominent Sarvodaya leader after Vinoba Bhave.

4.2 PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS BEHIND SARVODAYA

Sarvodaya leaders like JP and J.B. Kripalani’s approach to Sarvodaya was sociological. They did not concern themselves with philosophical problems, but as Viswanath Tandon writes, "...no thought can be devoid of all philosophical basis," Vinoba Bhave and K.G. Mashruwala, two prominent leader of Sarvodaya movement have developed integral philosophies of life based on certain abstract philosophical assumptions. Gandhi’s philosophical and ethical ideas compelled him to participate in social and political activities and this tradition was maintained by Vinoba Bhave. Most of the Sarvodaya thinkers were Hindus and believed in and were influenced by traditional Hindu belief. But they did not blindly follow the Hindu views. From their own experiences, and reasoning they interpreted these beliefs and were sometimes found to reject them also. From the study of the philosophical ideas provided by some of them we can enumerate the following as the philosophical bases of Sarvodaya.
God: Sarvodaya believes in the existence of God and assumes that He is capable of verification. God or Soul is not an imaginary concept or hypothesis formulated for a purpose. "To the most earnest and perseverant seeker the faith in 'Atma' is a conviction born of deep plunges in the depths of the mind and beyond it and is as much a conclusion based on introspection, observation, and thinking any other truth of science." But such verification requires a pure mind and heart, and a prior knowledge of the self.

The faith in the existence of God has a practical value also. To conceive Him as Father implies brotherhood of man. Again faith in some invisible power or laws facilitates a life of service and sacrifice. True belief in God must express itself in activities. A believer in God must possess a loving heart, exemplary moral character and courage, both in personal and public life and if his life is one of service and sacrifice. Again true worship of God is not a ceremonial worship, but a life devoted to the living service of those in need. According to Vinoba Bhave, belief in human goodness is the belief in God.

World: Sarvodaya Thinkers believe that since the world is the manifestation of God, the best way to worship God is to serve the world. Thus, it treats the world as real and not as an illusion. They consider the world to be a happy place. Most of the unhappiness is a result of the violation of the laws of nature. It holds that the world is governed by definite laws.

Man: Man is also manifestation of God since he is a part of creation. In a good man the manifestation of God is more apparent. The physical body does not constitute the essence of an individual, who is the spirit within the body. Man repent for his bad actions, it implies that there is some consciousness in us which
does not identify itself within the physical body. Again man often prefer physical discomforts to comforts, and sacrifice themselves for others. This also shows that there is a realization in man that he is something other than the physical body. Moreover attachment to the physical body results in externality and narrow-mindedness. It creates fear, while the feeling that we are different from the physical body gives strength. However, the physical body should not be neglected. It is the temple of the Divine. Only it should not be the end in itself.

Death: According to Sarvodaya thinkers, death is inevitable and therefore one should not fear for death. It is better to be ever prepared for it mentally and instead of working for selfish ends, should work for the good of society, which survives the individuals. What is required is that man instead of being selfish, and individualistic, should be altruistic. According to K.G. Mashruwala, the unnecessary fear of death is due to two psychological factors. One is the unknown experience that might follow death and another is the existence of unrealized desires, for which man wish to live longer. The first fear lies with those persons who lead a life which they should not lead, and the other is the consequence of a wrong aim in life. Man with noble aim in life would face death encourageously and peacefully. Hence Sarvodaya prefers a noble life.

Human Nature: According to the present day Sarvodaya thinkers, human nature is basically good and loving, as opposed to the human nature depicted by political philosophers like Hobbes and Machiavelli. However, in this regard, some Sarvodaya thinkers differ. To K.G. Meshruwala, the human mind is a combination of good and bad. Vinoba Bhave also does not deny the existence of evil in men. Because, the “Gita itself speaks of both Godly and demonic tendencies in men and
preaches the need of the conquest of 'tamas' and the proper direction of the 'rajas'."¹⁴

There is in every man a moral force which controls his pursuit of worldly goods, comforts and pleasures. There is a limit which he should not cross in any case to acquire them. According to Sarvodaya philosophy the evil side of man's nature is the result of some particular circumstances. It is primarily due to the wrong identification of the self with the physical body, which touches the horizon of his mind and out of narrowness of vision make him act in an evil manner for which he himself expresses regret later on. This explains ignorance, lack of self-control and the wrong social structure of society and social values, which are often held responsible for the wrong actions of man. According to Sarvodaya philosophy the best way to arouse goodness in man and to strengthen the moral force in him is to have faith in him. Such faith in man is the very basis of education, which presumes man's capacity for cultural development. Generally, evil actions emanate from weakness, and not out of perversity and depravity and perversity is "a case of psychological complexes, born of wrong environment, upbringing and education."¹⁵

Evil: Man's real self is his spirit and not the physical body. According to Vinoba Bhave, virtues belong to the soul and evils to the body. "The natural movement of the soul is upward, but it is dragged down by the heavy weights of the body."¹⁶ The cause of selfishness or indulgence in the pleasures of the body is always result of identifying oneself with the physical body. The wrong social, economic and political conditions would be found to be due to the same identification of the self with the body, on the part of the individuals, groups,
classes or nations. Many diseases are the results of excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the body by an individual or his ancestors. Even, many natural calamities like floods or lack of rains, are often the result of the disturbance of balance in nature caused by man out of his excessive desire for the physical comforts of life.

Again, there is a tendency in man to consider any event or evil if it in any way disturbs his or her scheme of life.

The Aim of Life: Sarvodaya thinker like Vinoba Bhave considers Moksha, or freedom from bondage to be the 'noblest fruit of life.' According to him it is liberation from attachment, anger, desire and ignorance. It implies complete destruction of the ego and becoming one with society and God – personified universe. 'Moksha' should not be sought only for one self, but for society as a whole, "...because an individualistic aim of life involves preservation of the ego and not its disappearance." ¹⁷

On the other hand, according to K.G. Mashruwala, the ultimate aim of man is the purification of mind and heart. According to him, the attainment of knowledge (jnana) as the highest objective. Though the Sarvodaya thinkers differ in their views regarding aim in life, but all agree and suggest common method of social service and the observance of the ethical disciplines for the attainment of the ultimate aim in life.

Individual and Society

According to the Sarvodaya philosophy, there is no conflict of interests between the individual and society. There can be no conflict between man and
society, if man properly discharge their debt to society and regard themselves as part of the social whole. The Sarvodaya thinkers believe that the whole creation is the 'unfoldment of God and there is no duality. Hence there can not be any antithesis between individual and society. Conflicts arises due to wrong way of life.

The Sarvodaya thinkers do not identify the state with society. They stand for such an economic and political structure which would not lead to any concentration of economic and political power and would safeguard the individual from tyranny. It resembles the thinking of Greek philosopher Plato who suggested such an economic and political structure in his ‘Republic’.

Religion

Sarvodaya advocates ‘Religion of Man’ and not sectarian, dogmatic and exclusive religion. According to Vinoba Bhave, all religions consists of four parts, viz., mode of worship, ethical principles, customs and mythology. Out of these, ethical ideas are common to all the religions. All religions preach love, truthfulness, compassion and the worship of God. Sarvodaya only values ethical ideas. Sectarian religions check the growth of independent thought and control man by means of fear. But Sarvodaya is strong advocate of independent thinking and fearlessness.

Freedom of Man

One of the fundamental problems of philosophy is the question of the freedom of man. In Indian philosophy it is related to the theory of Karma which
lays down that one must reap the consequences of one's action. It is in the context of the law of Karma, Vinoba Bhave considers the limits of human freedom. “He compares man to an ox tied to a post, the length of the rope determining his freedom of choice and efforts. According to him, our desires and actions of the previous birth determines the length of the rope. But the effect of the previous birth is over once, we have been born again with our limitations. The rest of our life depends upon our new efforts, and they would also determine our next birth. It is for us to increase or decrease our freedom, for God is no autocrat. It is not he who limits our freedom, what we desire we become, and He gives the rope accordingly.”18 So a man has in him the capacity to acquire greater and greater freedom gradually. Vinoba Bhave says that we can break the rope, if “we can annihilate our desires, then merging in God we become as free as He.”19

The views on God and other problems of the present Sarvodaya thinkers are quite similar to that of Gandhi.

4.3 ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF SARVODAYA

As a philosophy of ‘humanism’ Sarvodaya lays emphasis on the ethical aspect, because a moral life is essential for the attainment and maintenance of a spiritual life. Certain ethical principles have been laid down by the Sarvodaya thinkers which can be discussed as follows:

Svadharma: It includes all the duties of an individual. Some of them vary from individual to individual according to his age, time and place. One’s duty at any time is one’s Svadharma at that time and it is only by discharging it that he can progress. According to Vinoba-Bhave, Svadharma means the service of parents,
neighbours and society. It also means keeping oneself physically fit. "He does not identify Svadharma with Varnadharma, though the Gita speaks of it."²⁰

**Vows:** According to the Sarvodaya philosophy true and lasting morality is self-imposed and can carry no element of compulsion. Hence the various rule or disciplines have been termed as ‘Vows.’ The present day Sarvodaya Thinkers give importance to the vows expounded by Gandhi. They are regarded as guides to the right path. Of these, five vows of truth, Non-violence, Brahmacharya or continence, non-stealing and non-possession contain the essence of the spiritual thought of the Indian seers of the past for the correct working of society. Other vows have been either derived from them to suit particular conditions or are necessary for the very observance of the primary five vows. Vinoba Bhave has added one vow i.e., ‘aninda’ (not to speak ill to others).

**Truth:** Satya or Truth is the first vow of Sarvodaya teaching. According to Vinoba Bhave "truth is self-evident and defies definition."²¹ Even then, the etymological meaning of Satya that which exists, is very pervasive. It would include the ‘Ultimate Reality,’ the laws governing the universe and the agreement of expression with fact. The search for truth should take two forms. One is to act according to the truth as one perceives it at any moment. Thus, anything which appears to be our duty to us, even if it is mistakenly so, is our Svadharma. It imposed on us a duty of being truthful in words, thoughts and deeds. Untruthfulness is the greatest moral evil. It is the basic evil. Thefts, murders and sex offences are not so serious. But dishonesty and insincerity cannot make a man great.
The second, form the attempt to realize Truth. Truth as a social value means that we are all one. This unity forms the basic principles of all sociality, morality and good conduct.

**Non-Violence:** It includes most of all other vows as it denotes a way of life and implies all the virtues or qualities. This vow is essential for the realization of Truth.

The principle of non-violence has both negative and positive aspects. Negatively it does not allow violence which creates disunity and increases differences. Violence has been defined as malevolence and hatred, revenge and enmity, murder or causing any other injury, deception and exploitation. It is safeguarding and preserving of material interests by any means which the prospects of success may suggest.

Positively non-violence means love and compassion. Love denotes joy at the happiness of others, while compassion prompts us to feel for others when they are in distress and to do something positive to relieve it. So it means loving others as we love our own selves, even if they bear enmity towards us. In more real or solid terms, it means love and forgiveness, generosity and patience, peace and friendliness, civility and frankness, co-operation and service etc. Taken together this two aspects express the full meaning of non-violence. It is not only a physical rule of conduct but it also means an attitude of mind and heart. It is the joint activity of body and mind.

According to the Sarvodaya thinkers the present day mood of violence in the people is a product of prevailing inequalities, the desire to avoid physical
labour, and the search for security and happiness for oneself and for one’s future generation. These lead to exploitation creating conditions for violence on both the sides. However, this should not mean that violence is natural to man. According to Kaka Kalelkar, “violence is the fact of life, non-violence is the law of life.”

And in the present day conditions, non-violence is a dire necessity. The existence of violence in this atomic age, can only result in the annihilation of mankind, while its replacement by non-violence would give us the full benefit of science converting this world into a heaven.”

Some other points against violence has been considered by the Sarvodaya thinkers

(a) Violence can never be the natural weapon for the kind hearted and peace loving people. If it is taken as a natural weapon than the peace loving people would be overpowered by them who have natural aptitude for violence. If violence is made forcefully, a natural method for the masses, than mankind will go back to primitive state of barbarity.

(b) Violence can not be a solution to any problem instead it degrades men and give them uncivilized habits.

(c) Though a violent revolution brings radical changes, society, ultimately returns to the level of order, it is fitted for in the process of evolution. But the so called success proves deceptive. Experience shows that while violence does change society, it is not the change which was aimed at, that means, violence cannot bring desired change to society.

(d) Violence is like mad horse. Once it reins let go, it cannot be controlled.
Brahmacharya: Brahmaeharya is an indispensable condition for the observance of truth and non-violence. Truth demands single mindedness and full concentration of energy while non-violence implies universal love. An individual who has narrowed himself to his family, can neither realize Truth nor non-violence.

It is very difficult to observe this vow. But, if certain physical rules of life are observed and attempt is made to control all the senses simultaneously then it becomes easier. The ideal of Brahmacharya should be observed in the whole life of an individual. During student life it is to center round devotion to the teacher. At the household stage, it signifies mutual devotion and loyalty between husband and wife. After the age of 50, it should center round devotion to society and after 75, devotion to God.

Tastelessness: One of the physical rules necessary for observance of Brahmacharya is tastelessness. This vow implies a scientific attitude in the matter of diet. One should take the right kind of food in the right quantity. According to Dada Dharmadhikari, the social implication of this vow is that one should eat only after feeding others and the production should be not for self but for society.

Non Stealing and Non-Possession: These vows are meant for non-violence in the economic field. Non-stealing determines the method of earning livelihood, while non-possessions sets limits to possessions.

Non-stealing means more than theft. According to Vinoba Bhave ‘theft’ is taking more from society in return for less. Hence in this sense, the present day administrators, teachers, businessman and many others are in the category of
thieves, according to Bhave. In order to observe this vow, "one should only fulfil one's primary needs, limits the secondary one's and give up the false ones."²⁴

Possession means accumulation to meet future needs and the right of ownership. Hence non-possession means absence of accumulation by an individual and surrender of ownership to society. However, it does not imply a simple life or poverty. It means an affluent society, where in possession vests in society and there is proper distribution. Such non-possession is not for the recluse only but for all.

This vow is necessary for the stability and peace of society. Mankind, can not survive in the present age unless men love each other and share their affluence with others who are poorer. It can only happen if the sense of private ownership disappears.

Vishwanath Tandon has written that, Gandhi’s theory of trusteeship was much criticized during his time, especially by those who had faith in Marxism. "Yet it has a permanent truth and its validity is being more and more realized in the west today."²⁵

**Bread Labour:** This vow is intimately related to the vows of non-violence, brahmacharya and non-possession. Many people in the society avoid physical labour. In order to establish non-violence in society, all except invalids must do some physical labour. It is related to brahmacharya, because it keeps the mind healthy. It will lead to a simplicity of life and thus help in the vow of non-possession. (cultivation, along with spinning, weaving are recommended as bread labour). Social implications of this vow is that work is a duty and the produce belongs to society. This vow imparts dignity to physical labour.
Philosophy of Work: The Sarvodaya philosophy of work which considers work to be essential both for the physical and intellectual development of an individual is intimately related to bread labour. According to J.C. Kumarappa, "What food is to the body, that work is to the faculties of man."26 It is the essential medium through which man fulfills himself, develops and integrates his personality and enriches the society from where he gets his material and cultural needs fulfilled.

Every work has two components, the creative part and the toiling part. The creative part brings development and happiness to the individual. Both are necessary for development. To have a good harvest, one has to work hard. But now a days people look down physical labour and there is a tendency in the society to avoid physical labour for centuries. But according to Sarvodaya Philosophy, physical labour is unavoidable, both for the maintenance of society and for the health and development of an individual. Physical labour should be made pleasant. "If all men share in this so called drudgery exploitation would surely decrease and then there would be real cultural progress."27

Fearlessness: It is the leader of all virtues. Observation of truth and non-violence is not possible without it. Mind if the source of fear. Fearlessness results from the realization that the soul is immortal and the body is only its outer garb. "There is no distinction between ourselves and others, and hence there is no valid cause for fear."28 Proper knowledge, sense of duty, a feeling of self-respect can help in removing fear.

Swadeshi: It denotes service of one’s neighbours. This vow requires us to serve our neighbours not out of any narrow attachment to them, but because our
capacities are limited. It stands in the economic field for decentralized production so that the various regions would be self-dependent in their primary needs, while there might be mutual interdependence among them to fulfill their secondary needs. This vow demands of us use of articles produced by our neighbours in preference to those produced far away. “It implies that production should not be merely mechanical production for use, but with a view to suit individuals.”

Toleration: Sarvodaya thinkers speak for religious tolerance. It comes from the believe that the attributes of God are infinite and as such He can be worshipped in infinite ways and there is no justification for hatred and antagonism between the followers of different faiths. And since the ethical doctrine of all religions are fundamentally the same, they all support goodness and oppose wrong. This tolerance is different from the toleration found in modern secular societies or states, which is born of indifference towards all religions. The tolerance of Sarvodaya is born of faith in one’s religion and respect for the religions of others.

Removal of Untouchability: This vow stands for perfect social equality. It demands abolition of all caste, religions and racial distinctions. It demands prohibition of caste marriages, and welcome international, inter provincial and inter-caste marriages. According to, Vinoba Bhave men of higher caste should adopt professions exclusively on largely confined to the so called lower castes men. Gandhi wanted Hindu temples to be open for the Harijans. JP suggested that Brahmins should discard sacred thread.

Aninda: This vow is added to the other vows by Vinoba Bhave. It implies acceptance of every thing good we hear of others, and rejection of any thing ill. Suspicion should not be there in our minds.
Humility: It is the gateway of all virtues and there can be no search for truth and purification of mind and heart without it. However it should not be confused with courtesy. Courtesy is only an outward mode of behaviour.

Trusteeship: From the principle of non-possession, Gandhi advocated the principle of trusteeship. It has two meanings. In general it means that, everything a man has including his physical body and talent is a trust and it should be devoted fully to the service of society. In economic field, it means, we should regard ourselves as trustees of our wealth and behave accordingly.

The Sarvodaya philosophy does not support dual morality, it creates no split personality, no schism in the soul of men. It believes in the theory that as is the means so is the end. The vows or the ethical principles of Sarvodaya are the principles of a happy life. The spirit of the present age is 'search for truth'. But this should not be confined to the field of science alone. "There is a truth of social life as well – the unity of all life – without the realization of which the discoveries of the laws of science would be like rudderless boats which might even carry the world to utter destruction."30

Non-violence is the crying need of the day. The vow of non-stealing, non-possession, bread-labour, would eliminate all economic exploitation, provide economic and psychological security, abolish all economic class distinctions, and enthuse us to physical work. Swadeshi, is the ‘birth-duty of man’ which will ensure welfare of the world. Toleration will remove all distinctions between man and man. Brahmacharya can conserve human energy for higher purposes and may help to solve the population problem of the world.
4.4 SARVODAYA VIEW ON REVOLUTION

According to the Marxists, revolution primarily signifies change in the economic structure of society. But according to the Sarvodaya thinkers, revolution means, change in the values of life. Change in the values of life follow changes in the political, economic and social structure of society and hence a revolution signifies revolution in the values of life. The essence of a revolution lies in the revolution of values and Society changes with changes in men. Therefore, Sarvodaya technique of revolution is to convert the people to the new point of view. For this, at first, it appeals to the intellect and reason and secondly, it appeals to the heart of an individual.

Viswanath Tandon writes, "Sarvodaya technique of social change accords primary importance to the power of ideas and in this respect it has the support of many thinkers in the west including Bertrand Russel."31 According to Russel, "The power of thought, in the long run, is greater than any other human power."32 Sarvodaya emphasizes the importance and need of creating a congenial atmosphere for the acceptance of the new values by the society. Hence, according to Sarvodaya, simultaneous attempt should be made to transform the individual on the one hand and to change the social structure on the other. "Thus Sarvodaya steers a middle course between the view that an individual is driven under the force of his moral nature and that the social structure changes its forms along with the development of human character, and the Marxist view that it is the environment which primarily needs change."33

For two reasons, stress is laid on conversion of the individual in Sarvodaya philosophy -
(1) It is the individuals who start the process of revolution, and try to change the social environments. To do this effectively, at the beginning, the individuals need conversion.

(2) It is true that a proper social structure helps in moral development. Hence it is right to say that an adequate moral development leads to a good social structure.

Hence priority is given to transformation of an individual in the Sarvodaya technique of revolution. The stress laid by Sarvodaya on the role of the individual is supported by some evidences of history. A great many changes are due to the influence of persons or groups. R.B. Gregg says, "Before there could be Socialism there had to be a Karl Marx, before there was Christianity, there was Christ." Therefore, it is the individual which is most important in bringing about changes in society. JP took this guiding principle from Sarvodaya philosophy when he says that, not only the social structure, but the individual also needs reform. Therefore he was attracted towards Sarvodaya philosophy. His view on economy is also guided by Sarvodaya view. Sarvodaya criticizes western economy. The following are the points of criticism:

4.5 Sarvodaya view on economy: Sarvodaya thinkers criticize western economy, especially the capitalist economy. According to them –

   Capitalist economy judges and values everything in terms of money. Money is a medium of exchange but to confuse it with wealth and to give it a prime position is injurious to society. If money becomes the aim in life, it leads to unlimited greed. Production is undertaken with a view to profit and not with the
object of supplying the needs of the society. The moneyed people exploit the poorer section of the society. The principle of Sarvodaya economy are –

(1) Simplicity of Life: Capitalism and socialism assume that production and consumption of material things are the most important aspects of life and civilization. But Sarvodaya distinguish between ‘a high standard of life’ and ‘a high standard of living’ and thinks that it is not proper to call the present standard of living in the west as ‘high.’ The most important principle of Sarvodaya, economy is simplicity of life. However, simplicity of life should not mean, poverty or asceticism. It signifies a balance between poverty and affluence. Affluence alone cannot lead to happiness. Material things are no doubt important but up to a point. Craze for multiplicity of goods will destroy contentment, tranquility and peace of mind which will lead to exploitation. It results in exploitation, enormous waste of nature’s materials and human labour, and in ever preparedness for war.

According to Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, “A man whose needs are few such as can be met by himself can afford to raise his head high, and refuse to bow to any power which seeks to enslave him... Every new luxury he adopts becomes an additional fetter preventing him from freedom of thought, movement and action.”

Viswanath Tandon writes, ‘a simple life is more conducive to the exercise of higher faculties.’ Even Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was so anxious to raise the standard of living of the Indian masses, admits that mere accumulation of wealth may lead to an emptiness in the inner life of man. According to the Sarvodaya Philosophy, the present craze for multiplicity of goods is not natural, it is an artificial demand created by advertisements, because modern industrialism can not survive without it.
(2) Decentralization: Decentralization is the second important principle of Sarvodaya economy. It means that as far as possible all enterprises should be in the hands of individuals, carried on not in factories but in their own houses. The unit for which production is made should be small, such as the village or a small group of adjacent villages which forms a corporate whole and aims to be self-sufficient in its primary requirements. "For some articles the unit of self-sufficiency may even be a province." According to Sarvodaya economy, the decentralized industries would make utmost possible use of modern science. It is wrong to confuse science and technology with size. The laws of nature can well be utilized for the benefit of decentralized industries. According to Sarvodaya thinkers, there is a good deal of misuse of science these days. It has to be made to serve a better way of life. In the words of JP, "commercialization of science has to be replaced by humanization of science, instead of science being exploited for power and profit, it has to be used for peace and happiness."

(3) Self-Sufficiency: It is the third principle of Sarvodaya economy. Self-sufficiency can be obtained by decentralization. Self-sufficiency in Sarvodaya philosophy means that a village and if not possible a region of some ten or twenty villages, should be self-sufficient in their basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter. Only the surplus production should be exchanged for other commodities needed but not produced by them. Thus production will be primarily for neighbours. According to JC Kumarappa 'Self reliance is the basis of freedom.' It denotes co-operative endeavour of a higher order. Secondly, "it binds all people together not only in economic ties but also human ties." Thirdly, democracy
needs local leadership for its success and the local leadership can help in local economy. However, self-sufficiency of Sarvodaya economy is criticized.

(4) Co-operation: (or corporate economy): Sarvodaya stands for a co-operative way of life, which is very much related to self-sufficiency. Because, competitive economy leads to every form of injustice, exploitation and moral corruption. The co-operation of Sarvodaya is born of the growth of community spirit in the people and the degree of that co-operation depends on the degree of that spirit. According to Vinoba Bhave true co-operation is voluntary, and it does not involve any enslavement of the individuals. In village life, it means co-operation in cultivation, sowing and consumption and this is the philosophy of Gramdan and the basis of co-operative philosophy of societies in the villages.

This way Sarvodaya wants to build a society based on rural civilization, where the villages would be self-sufficient and industries would be decentralized. In such a society, the principle of simple living and high thinking would replace craze for multiplicity of goods, and co-operation would replace competition. A true community spirit would prevail in such a society.

4.6 SARVODAYA VIEW ON POLITY

With the idea to form a new society, the Sarvodaya thinkers have also suggested changes in the existing polity. These ideas are published in some books and speeches. Jay Prakash Narayan has written his future vision of Indian polity on Sarvodaya ideal in his ‘A Plea For Reconstruction of Indian Polity’ and in his ‘Swaraj for the People.’
As a political doctrine, Sarvodaya seems to be mildly anarchist. It is not in favour of 'Statism' and is in favour of maximization of individual liberty. "But liberty is not license and it is to be regulated and controlled for the fullest development of human personality. Therefore Sarvodaya lays more stress on duties rather than on rights. It can therefore be regarded as a anarchism of different type. According to Sarbodaya there is no need of abolition of the state abruptly. Only its authority is to be minimized, gradually through the development of Jan Shakti, or the non-violent power of the masses. Sarvodaya advocates a philosophy of society without active governance of the state Sarvodaya thinkers term it as 'Lokniti', as opposed to Rajnity or the politics of the people.

It further believes that if the institution of private property disappears, and non possession forms the basis of the social structure, there would be no need of state authority. So long man is bad, there is the need of the state, but since in Sarvodaya men would be reformed, there is no need of the state.

Lokniti and Rajnity: According to the Sarvodaya political philosophy the defect of the present day society is that it is based on 'Rajnity' (Politics of Power) and not on 'Lokniti' (Politics of People). The difference between Loknity and Rajnity can be explained in the following way –

(1) In Rajnity state is strong, as the instrument of social welfare. But in Loknity there is self effort and initiative on the part of the people for their welfare, through voluntary and autonomous institutions.

(2) In Rajnity administration is strong. On the other hand, Loknity develops self-control and self discipline in the people.
(3) In Rajnity, people compete for power, while in Loknity civic character of society is developed through service and co-operation.

(4) In Rajnity, there is emphasis on rights, while in Loknity there is emphasis on duties.

According to Sarvodaya philosophy, Loknity should be the basis of a true democracy. Sarvodaya wants to establish a state free society, by developing in the people a capacity to do without the state, as far as possible, by implanting some ethical principles in the individuals.

Non violence, the power of the self can be found through ‘Lokniti’ only. It “would abandon political parties and elections and arrive at decisions through consensus and forge an identity of interests that would ensure continuing social harmony.” Bhave calls the power of Loknity “a third force, as distinguished from both violent coercion and ‘the force of law.’” Politics and law singularly can not succeed or incapable of producing the virtuous individual or society.

4.7 JP’S VIEW ON SARVODAYA

Jay Prakash Narayan realized that morality and goodness should be the basis of a civilized society. Marxism highlighting materialism as a philosophy of life can not ensure a moral and good life. “If matter determines man’s consciousness and his culture, Jay Prakash says, then there is no reason why any one should be good, generous, kind, unselfish, in a materialist society. Why there should one be sympathetic to those who are weak, poor or sick?” He wrote, materialism as a philosophical outlook could not provide any basis for ethical
conduct and any incentive to goodness. The root of morality lies in the endeavour of man to realize his self. According to JP, to some all this might appear to be irrelevant to the political and economic struggle. But to him, all actions, personal or public, political, economic or other should have a philosophy of life.

According to JP, socialism as a doctrine of material prosperity has its self-contradiction. In poor countries like India, it is the main task of social reconstruction to raise the standard of living of the people, but if an insatiable hunger for material goods becomes the goal of life, JP observed that there can be no peace in the minds and hearts of men. Because it will lead to competition between individuals and nation, which can not be controlled, and that will again lead to violence, war etc. etc. The result will be that all values of life would be subordinated to this desire for more.

"Disciplining of the bodily appetite is essential for a moral life and the growth of personality and the blossoming of all human qualities and values. This is true particularly of socialist values. The socialist way of life is a way of sharing together the good things that common endeavour may make available." But how this sharing is possible. According to JP, if this sharing is made voluntarily or willing, there will be more socialism. Unless the members of society learn to keep their wants under control, willing sharing may be difficult. Then the society will be comprised of two divisions one "(1) Comprising those who are trying to discipline others and the other (2) Comprising all the rest." And in such a society the question arises, who would discipline the discipliners, rule the rulers? The only solution according to JP may be to restrict the control from above, and every member of society practised self-discipline and the values of socialism, willingly
shares and co-operate with his fellow men. And this problem brought JP close to
the problem of Sarvodaya and socialism, party and power politics and non-party
and non-power politics.... Or ‘Rajnity’ Vinoba Bhave replaced the term ‘Rajniti’
with ‘Loknity’. ‘Nothing succeed like success.’ The success of Gandhi’s
Satyagraha campaign in the freedom movement also encouraged JP to follow the
path of Gandhian Sarvodaya.

4.8. Regarding his attitude towards law and social change, JP also writes, “It is
not institutions, not laws, not political systems, not constitutions, which create
good people. For that you require a wide spread process of education understood
in the widest sense of the word. Education does not mean academic education, but
the improving of human beings, through service, love, examples, preaching,
reasoning and argument.” According to JP, society can not be good, unless the
individual men are good. Religion in the past provided the motivation for good
action. As motivation consist of mental attitudes and predisposition, it follows that,
goodness and human reconstruction can not be legislated. In the speeches of
Vinoba Bhave and Jay Prakash Narayan, India’s Five Year Plan, Community
Development, and Panchayati Raj Programmes are often described as examples of
the inadequacy of attempting to legislate motivation for change. JP begins “with a
theory of human nature as benign. Capacities for destructive behaviour obviously
exist, but if motives of compassion and non-violence, creativity and co-operation
are cultivated and reinforced by society, then people can unquestionably realize
the essential spirit of goodness, that lies within them. With the proper example and
education to encourage them, individuals will choose to follow ‘good men’ and
’noble effort’.” This in turn will lead to the evolution of the kind of non-violent.
community that Gandhi first called Sarvodaya. According to JP, method of change commonly used by political or military regimes cannot create a Sarvodaya social order. "The example of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet State demonstrates the bankruptcy of violence, which only tends to 'ensure the victory of the party that is more skilled in its use, establishing an iron grip on the people'; undermining all attempts at democracy and attainment of social justice or equality. Therefore Parliamentary democracy, on the other hand, because of its reliance on legislation. For instance India's political system shows legislation for redistribution of land has failed because there has not occurred a corresponding change in moral values to enforce it. "Legislation without conversion (first) is a dead letter." Therefore he emphasized on the importance of conversion. In his 'From Socialism to Sarvodaya, JP referred to Gandhi's method of conversion to accomplish the non-violent social revolution. The method Gandhi termed as 'Conversion was "a wide spread campaign launched to persuade men — irrespective of class, creed and other differences — to give up these ideas, ways and values of life that have been found to be wrong and harmful and to accept in their place, certain others." These new values are chosen in such a way as to have a direct bearing on some major problems of the society. Their acceptance and practice are expected to lead to a solution to that problem and thereby leading to a radical change in the society. According to JP other revolution failed because, their means were inconsistent with the ends. If the end was a stateless society, the means were the coercive powers of the state, if the end was brotherhood, class war was the means, if the end was rooting out of selfishness, the selfishness of certain sections of society was
used as the driving force for the social revolution. "In the Sarvodaya method of revolution, according to JP, The ends and means become one."  

It has been seen that throughout history values have constantly undergone phases of transformation. As a matter of fact the basic thing in social reconstruction and social engineering is the very quest of values.

In India from the olden days the value of spirituality has been developing. It includes "human freedom - the value of identification, love - the value of enabling every individual to develop itself and personality to the fullest extent, and the wholeness of life - of all the pursuits of man."  

Sarvodaya philosophy seeks to bridge the gap between the old and the new. "The old is the mode of spiritualism in Indian thought. The new is the tide of change that has brought new values and great scientific progress in its wake." The aim is "to achieve in our country a synthesis of these basic spiritual values which we have inherited from our forefathers, and science... and technology must be subordinate to this pattern of social life, to these values."  

In the introduction to Vinoba Bhave's book, 'Third Power,' JP writes. "The concept of three qualities (gunas), three 'disorders' (dosh), ...three aspects of divinity, three worlds has come to us from ancient Indian tradition. In modern politics we speak of the 'Three worlds.' That part of the world which lies beyond the respective spheres of influence of America and Russia is called the 'Third World' Like wise we have the concept of a 'Third Force' as a power for the promotion of world peace," though there is no clear picture of this third force. He again writes that, there are only two powers known to history for the transformation of human society for its reconstruction and preservation - the
power of violence (Himsa Shakti) and the power of law (Danda-Shakti). The power of love though mentioned is always limited to the family circle. Mahabira and Buddha made compassion (Karuna) the foundation of their dharma. But this practice was limited to individual practice, or only applied to the inner life of the 'Bhikishu Sanghas'. The three religions of the world (Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism) are founded on the bed rock of love, non-violence and compassion, but the adherents of these religions have not been able to build their own societies on this foundation.

JP says that coercive and legal powers of the state which can be termed as disguised form of coercion, continue to rule human society even today. But the forces of coercion, and of law have both failed to solve the basic problems of human society. Therefore a third force is needed i.e., the force which Mahabira, Buddha and Jesus have set before us in the fashion of the power of love, non-violence, compassion. Since men are no longer content with the kind of society, which the forces of coercion and law have created, the third force is the demand of our historical situation, JP hopes to bring it to the society through the ideals of Sarvodaya. At the same time at one place he remarked that he does not suggest Sarvodaya to be the last word in social philosophy. "Man is ever progressing towards the truth for he is by nature an enquiring being and will never be able to reach the ultimate truth, but by gradually eliminating untruth he will be able slowly to approach the truth." JP believed that Sarvodaya represents a distinct advance over the existing social philosophies and systems. In the 'Introduction' to JP's book 'From Socialism to Sarvodaya' Vinoba Bhave has also written "Sarvodaya is not a reaction to any ism. It is India's own thought and her own
system but not something that cannot be applied in any other time or country. Its external form may vary according to the needs of particular times and places. This non-insistence on a specific form is a fundamental element of Sarvodaya philosophy. But its inner core is eternal.... I am firmly convinced that the various one-sided ideologies, grouping towards their ownfulness, will ultimately merge in the ocean of Sarvodaya.”

According to JP, Indian Freedom Movement was a people’s movement. It was not Rajniti (politics) of the state, but Loknity (politics of the people). He said that the movement for freedom that Gandhi led was ‘political’ in the sense that its goal was the national independence of India, it was not politics in the sense that it was a struggle for Power for not any Particular Party. If its aim was power, it was power for the entire Indian people.

JP’s most thought provoking concept was his concept of partyless democracy. The corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in party system disturbed him very much. He saw, “how parties backed by finance, organization and the means of propaganda could impose themselves on the people, how people’s rule became in effect party rule, how party rule in turn become the rule of a causes or coterie, how democracy was reduced to mere casting of votes, how even the right of vote was restricted severely by the system of powerful parties setting up their candidates from whom alone, for all practical purposes, the voters had to make their choice....”

According to him parties capture power for themselves, to rule over the people, no doubt, with their consent. But he said, “The Party system, as it appeared to me, was seeking to reduce the people to the position of sheep whose only
function of Sovereignty would be to choose periodically the shepherds who would look after their welfare." He said that this is not 'Swaraj' for which the country had fought.

To give power to the people, to establish 'Swaraj,' he thought of decentralization of power from below. Decentralization cannot be effected by handing down power from above to people. "Today the village Panchayats are being established according to laws made in the Vidhan Sabhas. These are not true Panchayats, nor what Gandhi understood by gram raj. Gandhi said, Panchayats can function only under a law of its own making." A self regulated community must be created and the process must start from the bottom. A constructive non-partisan approach is needed for the programme of self-rule and self-management.

As a matter of fact he was constantly in search of a better substitute for party system. He thought that Gandhi's non-partisan constructive approach towards people's self-rule was the only hope for a better society.

JP was more concerned with the place and role of the state in human society in relation to the goals of social life. His early concept of Marxism, may led him to think for a stateless society. Though he had given up the basic postulates of Marxism, as they did not led him to his goals, he began to feel that human freedom could be fully and wholly realized only in a stateless society. He was not sure about the withering away of the state but he strongly felt that, power and functions and spheres of the state should be reduced as far as possible. Like Gandhi he began to believe that 'that govt. was the best that governs the least. In his words, "The test of human evolution for me became man's ability to live in amity justice and cooperation with his fellow men. Without outward restraints of any kind. That is why
I have considered the human and social problem to be at bottom a moral problem. According to him, democratic, socialist, communist, and the welfarists are all statists. All of them add powers and functions of the state. In bourgeois state there is monopoly of political power, in socialist state, there is the possibility of monopoly of economic power. Again he said, paper constitutions can not guarantee freedom and sovereignty to the citizen.

Therefore according to him, the only remedy is people’s socialism, the remedy is to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavour of the people rather than by the use of power of the state. "...the remedy is to establish people’s socialism rather than state socialism. ‘Sarvodaya is people’s socialism.’" JP said that whether every socialist agrees or not with Sarvodaya, he should agree that, the more of people’s or voluntary socialism and the less of state enforced socialism, the fuller and more real the socialism. Few socialists pay attention to people’s socialism. JP has referred to Mr. Jack Bailey, the British co-operative leader, speaking of British Socialists, he said, “In Britain the concentration of most socialists upon the capture and use of state power has tended to blind them to the validity of non state forms of socialism. (Quoted by Harold Campbell in Socialist Commentary, July, 1957) What is true of Britain is true of all the world. It should be obvious that in order to develop non-state forms of socialism, it should be unnecessary for any one to function as a party or to engage in a struggle for the capture of power. Both power and party have no relevance in this context. What is needed rather is a band of selfless workers prepared to live and move in the midst of the people and help them to reorganize
their lives on a self-reliant and self-governing basis." Gandhi’s Lok Sevak Sangh is to be remembered here.

JP tried to ponder over the question, as to what will be the form of society, where there will be co-operation, self-discipline, sense of responsibility. He said, “Human Society has so grown that we have the complex industrial civilization of today with great human forests that are called cities, with economic and social relations that are utterly impersonal and non life giving....” “Such a complex and top heavy society can not but be heaven for bureaucrats, managers, technocrats, statistists. Such a society can not be a home for brothers to live together as brothers,” He again writes, “I submit that in such a society the very breath of socialism would be hard to draw. Self-government, self-management, mutual co-operation and sharing, equality, freedom, brotherhood - all could be practiced and developed far better if man lived in small communities.”

According to him, this fact is also realized by forward looking thinkers even in the west. And this type of small communities will be more suited to the realization of Sarvodaya ideals. But he said that this should not be taken for granted that small communities by virtue merely of their size, will necessarily be Sarvodaya communities. In his words, “Had that been so, we would have encountered Sarvodaya in every village of India today. The outward forms of living have relevance only when the inward forms are given. Men must understand and accept the Sarvodaya view of life before they can proceed to investigate in what environment and social frame-work they could live that life best.” According to JP in a Sarvodaya world society, the present nation states have no place. “The Sarvodaya view is a world view, and the individual standing at the center of
Gandhiji's oceanic circle is a world picture of Sarvodaya. There is no reason to suppose why self-governing small communities will be hostile to one another isolationist or selfish in their inter-relationship. If the internal life of a community is laid on sound foundations, its external life cannot but be equally sound.66

The attraction of the new politics of Sarvodaya compelled JP to withdraw from party politics. He said that Sarvodaya also has its politics. It is the politics of the people. It is distinct from the politics of party and power, i.e., Lokniti as distinct from Rajniti. Sarvodaya have no party and no concern with power. Its aim is to see that all centers of power are abolished and JP hoped that this is the process, through which the state will wither away. He says that Lokniti is the child of Rajniti. They must have contact and co-operation. All democratic parties should hand over power to the people, as soon as possible, in the way, as every good father hand over to his sons when they are old.

JP tried his best to give all his energies for the development of Lokniti. He admits that to some extent Rajniti influences the lives of the people and therefore he will not shut his eyes to what happens in the sphere of Rajniti. This way JP, tried to build a communitarian society on the foundation of 'Sarvodaya Ideal.'

We seek to study the future vision of Indian society as proposed by JP on the ideals of Sarvodaya. In the next chapter we intend to study his plan for a partyless and participatory democracy leading to a communitarian society.

Conclusion

Alternative to establish a moral society according to JP lies in the path of Sarvodaya, i.e., a stage of self-rule of the people, those who realize the self. This
self-rulling system is based on two types of negation, viz., (1) this first one is the
negation of the state, (2) the second one is the negation of the individual self
interest. But whether the negation of the state (both the bourgeoisie or capitalist
state and the socialist or communist state) is a solution of the problem of morality
or a creation of a clumsy and anarchic state of affairs, it needs detail analysis. So it
is not clear. In the gram raj the individual is to be every ready to be perishing for
the village, the village is to be ever ready to be perishing for the ocean of villages
of a small self governing community. Political power negated thus the military self
defensive power and policing power is also negated to solve and settle the problem
of morality. But, how the amoral elements outside the gram raj, or the dacoits,
invaders and power mongers would be controlled that is not clear. Further, this
situation might lead to an anarchic pause of the society, where anything and
everything might happen because of aggression. Because, at a time by night gram
raj would not be established through out the world.

Non-violence as an ethical principle of Sarvodaya might also be criticized.
Gandhi himself said that non-violence is a method of political action, where both
material arms, and weapons, or physical strength and mental violence are
discarded. Therefore, there is no question of making the exploiters, the colonialists
or oppressors the target. What is to be fought out and defeated is exploitation, sin
and oppression, but not the perpetrators of exploitation sin and oppression. But this
seems to be a clumsy argument. Because an oppressor, one colonialist ruler or
group of rulers, sinner and group of sinners can not be dethroned from power
without nurturing some sort of feeling and use of force. Secondly, the
philosophical and practical point is that, the human society is not one in itself. In
most simple sense of the term, it can be said that it is divided. One part is the oppressors, sinners, colonialists or bad people. The other part is the peace loving, democratic and good people, those who believe in equality and fraternity. The other part is violent. They use force to dominate the other part. If non-violence is practised by the good people, it would be fruitful, if only the other part discard violence: Non-violence become meaningful only if both good and bad sections of the society practise it. Without self realization of both the parts, non-violence would be meaningless. Hence, non-violence is a powerful weapon only if mass in millions practise it which seems to be impossible.

It is again doubtful whether Loknity in controlling corruption and political and economic life would be successful one. Loknity to control the failure of parliamentary democracy and national economy is not clear.

According to the present day Sarvodaya thinkers, human nature is basically good and loving, as opposed to the human nature depicted by political philosophers like Hobbes and Machiavelli. JP was also of the same opinion. So, their attempt at constructing a good ideal society has failed.

The gram dan movement, the practical experiment of peaceful transformation of the rural agricultural economy and the society failed to produce basic changes of the rural social scene. Society remained more or less at the same stage where it was before starting of the gram dan movement. This schematic agenda of the movement was good, slogans were extra-ordinary and with revolutionary colours, words used by the leaders were very much potent imbued with electrifying tone, but the results were disappointing. The movement could not establish a society of equal partners of landed property. JP himself said
disheartenly, that *gram swarjya* movement was not capable of bringing about a systematic political revolution. Success had not been achieved anywhere.

Regarding Sarvodaya philosophy, Viswanath Tandon said that the philosophy is 'idealistic' in that it recognizes the existence of God and asserts the primacy of the spiritual over the material. Though it attempts at a synthesis between idealism and materialism it has a leaning towards idealism.

According to some, Sarvodaya may be an utopian ideal which could never be achieved. "Sarvodaya is of course, an ideal and ideas are often all ideals which are not necessarily be achieved in full. Even if Sarvodaya believes in awakening the masses the process could start only with the initiative of a few individuals. From this point of view JP was the pioneer."
References


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52. Ibid.


55. Ibid. p. 4.

56. Ibid. p. 36-37.

57. Ibid, p. 37.
58. Ibid, p. 38.
60. Ibid, p. 41.
61. Ibid, p. 41-42.
64. Ibid, p. 43.
65. Ibid, p. 46.
66. Ibid, p. 47.