CHAPTER – 6
A RÉVOLUTION – TOTAL

It has been mentioned earlier that at the annual Sarvodaya conference held in Bodhgaya in 1954, JP announced that he would devote all his time and energy to the Sarvodaya movement and its philosophy, and became the first ‘Jeevandani.’ At that moment he considered ‘Bhoodan’ to be the most important work. And Vinoba Bhave’s initial success in Bhoodan movement completed his conversion to Sarvodaya. In 1952, he announced his decision to withdrew from power politics. For about twenty years he was ‘a man in the wilderness’ of Sarvodaya. Vettickasli Thomas writes, “JP hoped that the Bhoodan movement might, with the collaboration of Govt. agencies resuscitate the village and its economy because he felt that the village rather than the city should become the centre of the national effort. This, however, proved to be wishful thinking on his part. Neither the Govt. nor the Bhoodan movement, with its method of persuasion and conversion, was able to create a situation suitable for development.”

Jay Prakash Narayan could not remain indifferent to the evil forces of corruption, manipulation, exploitation, social discrimination, unemployment, and many such other evils of Indian socio-political system, which he witnessed in the post-independent India. He, therefore, wanted to bring about a total revolution, in all spheres of Indian social system. In his ‘Prison Diary’ written during the years of his arrest and solitary confinement from 21st July to 4th November 1975, he wrote about the necessity of a total revolution. He was convinced that the present all-pervading corruption and socio economic ills rooted in politics and power. He
thought that, this is the right moment before the Indian people to discover a way "to prevent power from being corrupted in the future." He appealed to the youth of the country to fight against the use of money in election, corruption, and other socio-economic evils of the society. He felt that youth power combined with people's power can bring to an end to these evils of the Indian society. In Bihar during election time (1974), he took the responsibility of leading a students' movement and turned this movement into a socio-political revolution. His dream was to make it an all India movement for fighting corruption and other evils. As a step towards this aim in view peoples committees were formed at the grass roots to mobilize people's power and resist injustices.

"Jay Prakash realized that within the fold of Sarvodaya, under Vinoba, total revolution is impossible." He also realized that Vinoba Bhave's moral appeal could not become successful in bringing a 'Land gift' movement. He saw that even during Vinoba Bhave's presence, some donors took back their lands what they had donated. So, Jay Prakash wanted to start total revolution in the same Gandhian model but with some originality. He said that it would be a non-violent and peaceful revolution. It should not be sporadic, but gradual. It will not always take the form of a confrontation with the govt. It may be carried on in co-operation with the govt., if the govt. is responsive to the people's will and committed to their welfare. And, if the govt. is not committed, people will resort to non-co-operation, Satyagraha and such other means. At the same time, the soldiers of Total Revolution should themselves undergo a process of change, i.e., they must be upright, moral and honest. JP observed that, Total Revolution will be a permanent revolution. "It will always go on and keep on changing both personal and social
lives."4 As a matter of fact, JP took inspiration from Gandhi in launching a total revolution as Iswar Harris observed, “Jay Prakash Narayan, and Vinoba Bhave represent the prophetic and priestly wings of Sarvodaya. Both received their inspirations from Gandhi.”5 Sharma and Sharma writes, “Gandhi insisted upon the need for a total revolution, in which transformed values provided the base.”6 Again Gandhi believed “in the creative power of self-suffering individuals and that these incessant efforts for the perfection of individuality lay at the root of progress.”7 He also believed that only non-violence can bring such a revolution.

Jay Prakash Narayan was ‘bitten by the bug of revolution’ as he puts it in his ‘Prison Diary.’ In order to reach his ideal society of freedom and equality, he travelled from science to sociology in student days and from Marxism to Sarvodaya in his days as political worker. According to JP, rapid social change and revolution are synonymous. As a matter of fact, the search after revolution first took him to Marxism, then democratic socialism, thereafter Sarvodaya and finally to total revolution.

6.1 WHAT IS REVOLUTION

Revolutions are not entirely new phenomena in the world. They have occurred at all times of history. Though, Aristotle, the father of Political Science, long ago, had taken up the question of why revolutions take place and what could be done to prevent them, the fact is that in modern times the revolutions are gaining widespread attention. They have begun to be internal part of the political process of many countries.
A Dictionary of Social Science defines a revolution as - "(1) A radical change in the form of society, (2) A critical break through in cultural evolution, (3) Forcible overthrow of the government, (4) Forcible change in the form of government, (5) A radical change in the form of government, (6) A radical change affecting a considerable portion of a culture, (7) Any radical change, (10) A radical and rapid change in the form of society or a considerable portion of a culture, (11) A permanent change in a polity resulting in new ways of mobilizing and sharing power."  

Therefore, revolution may be described as a form of violence in politics. Political violence may also manifest itself in rebellion, revolt, putsch insurrection, uprising, coup etc. In short it is an attempt to introduce a radical change in the system of government.

Samuel Huntington says, "A revolution is a rapid, fundamental and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership and government activity and policies."  

Sigmund Neumann regards revolution as "a sweeping, fundamental change in political organization, social structure, economic property, control and predominant myth of a social order, thus indicating a major break in the continuity of development."  

S.R. Maheshwari writes, "A revolution is a sudden violent attempt to change the political system of a state having large sections of the population as participants, but its effect seldom remains confined only to politics."
If we look back we will find that there is a long history of revolution. This term was first used in the Italian City states in the late Middle Ages, when it referred mainly to ecclesiastical reforms. It was around 1600 that this word entered in English language. Originally the term was employed to signify the replacement of one king by another. When for instance in 1688 James II abdicated and William and Mary were enthroned in England, the event was termed as ‘Glorious Revolution,’ a term which is very popular and common today also.

According to S.R. Maheshwari, certain events or upheavals are there, which are accompanied by force, merely replace one king, army general, or courtier by another. But these are not revolutions. To be a revolution, there must be a radical nature of reforms or change in the form of government or in the system of constitutional arrangements in a country. That means a mere substitution of one set of rulers by use of violence is not a ‘revolution.’ But the term revolution “can be justifiably used if the upheaval turns into a movement that introduces, radical change in the polity or the society.”

“Historically, the concept of revolution was seen as a very destructive force from ancient Greece right through to the European Middle Ages. The ancient Greeks saw revolution as a possibility only after the decay of the fundamental moral and religious tenets of society. Plato believed that a constant firmly entrenched code of beliefs could prevent revolution. Aristotle elaborated on this concept concluding that if a culture’s basic value system is tenuous, the society will be vulnerable to revolution. Any radical alteration in basic values or beliefs provide the ground for a revolutionary upheaval.”
During the Middle Ages, priority was given to the maintenance of the established beliefs and forms of govt. Attention was given to finding means for fighting against revolution and changes in society. At that time religious authority was very strong and maintenance of order was fundamental principle. Church authority directed people to accept the inequalities of power. In the 16th century Italian writer Niccolo Machiavelli recognized the importance of creating a state that could prevent the threat of revolution, but at the same time, he provided a new belief in the necessity of changes in the structure of govt. on certain occasion. Machiavelli was recognized as the first modern revolutionary thinker due to this new idea of acceptance of change. However, he never used the word 'revolution' in his texts and was mainly concerned with the establishment of a truly stable state.

In 17th century, English writer John Milton saw revolution as the right of society to defend itself against malevolent abusive tyrants. He believed revolutions to be inherent ability to help a society to realize its potential and recognized revolution as the means to create a new order which can reflect the needs of the people and give freedom to the people.

In the 18th century, the French and American Revolution could be seen as the attempts to secure freedom from oppressive rulers. “Modern revolutions have frequently incorporated utopian ideals as a basis for change.” Another 18th century German Philosopher Immanuel Kant, believed in revolution as a force for the advancement of mankind. He believed revolution to be natural phenomenon for the realization of a higher ‘ethical foundation’ for society. This idea was the basis for the American and French revolution.
In the 19th century, we can see that German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel, recognized the importance of revolution as the fulfillment of human destiny. According to him, revolutionary leaders are necessary to instigate and implement reforms. The theory provided by Hegel was the foundation of the revolutionary thinker Karl Marx. Marx used Hegel's 'dialectics' as the basis for a plan of class struggle and envisaged a struggle by the working class for the overthrow of the property-owning class. For society, to advance, the working class or proletariat must take over the means of production. Marx viewed this happening, as the conclusion of the human struggle for freedom and a classless society and that there is no need of further political change. In Russia, Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, Cuba and among other countries Marxist led revolutions took place in the 20th century.

6.2 KINDS OF REVOLUTION

Revolution may be of different kinds. There may be agricultural revolution, demographic revolution, economic revolution, palace revolution, political revolution, rural revolution, cultural revolution, social revolution, urban revolution and total revolution.

6.3 CAUSES OF REVOLUTION

In history different revolutions took place with different motives. But some common causes can be noticed underlying different forms and patterns of revolutions.
According to Aristotle, extremist policies followed by the political rulers produce dissatisfaction in certain sections of the population and they become desperate and rise, revolt and seize power. He suggested "the path of 'Golden mean' so that no group or class in the society feel alienated and all extend their loyalty to the system of governance."15

Karl Marx identified a revolution with the capitalist system. The exploitation of the capitalist system would lead to the rise of proletariat and ultimately they would overthrow the capitalist class through a revolution. So, according to Karl Marx, revolution is the midwife of change. But interestingly at one place Marx "put forward a very different thesis as the cause of revolution. He argued that capitalism did bring about improvement in the standard living of the working class, but there was at the same time far greater improvement registered in the life of the bourgeoisie. The resultant lack of correspondence distanced the working class further from the bourgeoisie producing discontent and unhappiness in the latter and ultimately pushing them to rise and revolt. In short, either absolute degradation or a sense of deprivation is the cause of revolution, according to Karl Marx."16

According to the French thinker De Tocqueville, revolution can not be the work of the people, who are suffering from extreme poverty and degradation. Because, in a state of extreme poverty, one's energy and time are all occupied by an extreme desire to live. When some improvement in his lot takes place, then only he can think of a revolution.

From the opinions of different writers regarding the cause of revolution, we can come to a conclusion but that does not mean that revolution occurs certainly
for that cause and will occur in future also in a particular country. Each society has its unique political culture and it itself decides the cause of revolution.

Revolutions generally occur in a country when there is certain decay or break down of the old order. Such a breakdown may be caused by the inefficiency of the ruling class, economic crisis, war or for some other factors. In healthy societies revolutions seldom occurs.

War is an important factor which provide a major force to revolution. Man and material, necessary for fighting a war and the huge destruction of life and property generate a climate favourable for a complete change.

In peace time, in societies where the ruling classes have been inefficient or corrupt or too slow to adapt themselves to the changing conditions, revolution occurs. But this also does not mean that revolution would certainly occur in such societies.

Revolution may occur in a society, if a sizable section of the population feel neglected when their demands are not fulfilled. Then they feel that they are outside the prevalent system and therefore attempt to overthrow the old order.

Revolutions occur when after a long period of economic and social development in a country is followed by a period of breakdown of the economic and social development. Because the prosperity gained by the people in earlier times was followed by a decline in development affecting the peoples life. It leads to a favourable condition for revolution.
Sometimes a revolution in one country may be the cause of revolution in another country. Like fire “revolution tend to spread giving stimulus to similar activities elsewhere.”\(^{17}\)

S.R. Maheswari writes, “An analysis of revolution shows that developed countries have been politically stable while there has been a high frequency of revolutionary uprisings in the developing countries.”\(^{18}\)

With the above fundamental ideas on revolution we propose to discuss JP’s total revolution, his ideas regarding total transformation of society through peaceful means, without bloodshed. Authoritarianism, corruption, manipulation, exploitation, social discrimination, unemployment provoked JP to think for a total transformation of the society by Gandhian non-violent method. So far history has witnessed so many revolution including bloodless Glorious Revolution, but no such revolution could solve any problem of the society, i.e., mass people could not get power, the freedom of the people could be not be restored.

### 6.4 WHAT IS TOTAL REVOLUTION – JP’S CONCEPT

Though the term “total revolution is associated with JP, Vinoba was first person to use the term 'Total Revolution,' in the sense of movement of change that must transform all aspects of life.”\(^{19}\) It is to be noted that the concept of total revolution is not something novel. “Karl Marx had used this term more than century and a quarter before JP popularized it.”\(^{20}\) Writing in the ‘Poverty of Philosophy’ (1847), Marx remarks, “Mean while the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle of class against class, a struggle
which carried to its highest expression is a total revolution.”21 The idea of total revolution can be found in many of Gandhi’s writing and speeches. As G. Ostergaard observes, “Gandhi was indeed in modern parlance, an advocate of total revolution and a social as well as political revolutionary; he did seek radical changes in the structure of society, polity and economy and also in the modes of thinking and individual behaviour.”22 Vinoba Bhave expanded the idea of total revolution. In 1951, he said, “My aim is to bring about a threefold revolution. First, I want a change in people’s hearts, secondly, I want to create a change in their lives, and thirdly, I want to change the social structure.”23 G. Ostergaard observed that JP’s movement for total revolution was “a continuation of the preceding movement for non-violent revolution through Bhoodan and gramdan.”24 On one occasion JP remarked that there is practically no difference between Sarvodaya and Total Revolution. If at all there is any difference, then it can be said that Sarvodaya is the goal and Total Revolution is the means. Total Revolution is nothing but basic change in all aspects of life. There can not be Sarvodaya without total revolution. Without using the term ‘Total revolution’ JP himself had been emphasizing since the mid-forties the need for a social revolution which would not merely bring about a change in the structure of society, but also an improvement in the character of the individuals comprising it. After he joined the bhoodan movement he laid particular stress on it. He used the term ‘total revolution’ in an article published in 1969 to describe the objective of the Sarvodaya movement in India. JP considered, Gandhi’s programme of non-violence as a revolutionary philosophy. It is indeed a philosophy of total revolution, because it embraces
personal and social ethics and values of life along with economic, political and social institutions and processes.

Regarding JP's contribution in total revolution Nageswar Prasad says that he discovered something quite unconventional in Gandhi JP developed Gandhi's unconventional wisdom and technique into a total revolution.

In the beginning of the Bihar movement in 1974, JP put forward the concept of total revolution. The Bihar movement became a full-fledged people's movement under his leadership. From the time of this movement he was endowed with a much higher objective i.e., total revolution. Through this term, JP used to mean a comprehensive social revolution including all aspects of life viz., social, economic, political, cultural, ideological, educational and moral. He announced his ideas regarding total revolution for the first time in a huge gathering in Patna on 5th June 1974.

The most important aspect of total revolution is self-change. That means, "those wanting a change must also change themselves before launching any kind of action." This is the key to JP's total revolution. Gandhi also believed in the necessity of change in the individual. Like Gandhi, JP also believed in the change of the individual as the pre-condition for change in the society. According to JP, Gandhi always insisted on a dual revolution, "The internal as well as external, human as well as social. Without the internal revolution, the external one is meaningless." JP believed that the transformed individual and the social framework are to interact for arriving at an all-round change. A process of simultaneous change therefore is most essential for a society expecting a revolution.
According to JP total revolution will be a peaceful one leading to a change in all aspects of individual and social life. Such a revolution will be a combination of seven revolutions, social, economic, political, cultural, ideological or intellectual, educational and spiritual. In his ‘Total Revolution, why and how?’ (written as ‘Notes on the Bihar Movement between 18th August and 7th September 1975, from prison in Chandigarh and published in Prison Diary, Bombay 1977) he wrote, “since independence full twenty eight years now, there has been no real change in the social, economic and political structure of our society.... since independence there has been a steady decline in political, public and business morality... can the picture be fundamentally altered through the ordinary democratic process?”

Twenty eight years after independence, there has been no real change in any one aspect of Indian Social life. Though Zamindari has been abolished, land reforms laws have been passed, untouchability has been legally prohibited, but the villages in most part of India, have been still under the bigger and the medium land-owners. The small and marginal land owners and the landless, the backward classes and the Harijans who are majority in most villages in most states are still living in a very miserable condition. Some industries, banks, life-insurance have been nationalized, new large public sector industries have been established. But there is no element of socialism in all this. According to JP, nationalization does not mean socialism. He wrote, “It is a pity that our socialists very largely equate socialism with nationalization.” Not only the structure of society remains unchanged through the years since independence, but the customs, manners, beliefs, superstitions, etc. remains much the same for the masses. JP could notice
that, there has been a steady decline in political, public and business morality. He was very much worried to see the fall in the moral standards of India's public life. Total Revolution was the ultimate revolutionary 'quest' for Jay Prakash Narayan. Corruption, manipulation, exploitation, social discrimination, unemployment, and the rise of authoritarianism in the post independent India compelled JP to think for a total revolution. In his 'Total revolution Why? and How?'. JP pointed out the social evils existing in some states of India. He cited the practice of marriage customs, particularly, 'Tilak' and 'Dahez' system prevalent in Bihar, Bengal, UP and some other states. He said, "This evil has been sought to be corrected by law, but law has been a dead letter."29 "...the disease is growing fast, ruining many families and ruining the lives of many girls."30 Even those castes which do not practise these evils are "rapidly falling prey to it, because what is a social evil appears to them to be a status symbol."31 Therefore, JP, suggested a vigorous social movement, a peaceful struggle, against this evil. Because, there is no other remedy for it. Similarly, to eradicate the other evils such as corruption, there is the need of mass awakening and a mass struggle.

JP pondered over the question, how to bring about a systematic social change in society. Total revolution is to be brought about by peaceful means without damaging the democratic structure of society and democratic way of life of the people. At the same time he says that, it could never be accomplished "...if the functioning of democracy were restricted to elections, legislation, planning and administrative execution. There must also be people's direct action. This action would almost certainly comprise among other forms, civil disobedience, peaceful resistance, non-co-operation ...in short Satyagraha in its widest sense. One of the
unstated implications of such Satyagraha would be self-change, that is to say, those wanting a change must also change themselves, before launching any kind of action."\textsuperscript{32}

In history different revolution took place with different motives. The French Revolution started with the aim of providing liberty, equality and fraternity. "But it ended in Bonapartism and the humiliations at Waterloo."\textsuperscript{33} The Russian Revolution started with the aim of restoring the rights of the proletariat and the other suppressed sections of society. But the Russian mass people could not get power.

If the aim of a particular revolution is to give power to the people, to establish freedom and equality of the people, the technique of revolution has to be changed. Hence JP advocated a social revolution through human revolution by the method of persuasion and conversion. But at the same time, he said that care has to be taken to see that in the name of persuasion and conversion there is no legitimacy provided to the supporters of the established system. A non-violent human revolution would necessarily postulate a comprehensive programme of radical social reconstruction for total development and welfare. So far, the proponents of revolution have sought to execute their plans through the means of organized military violence, but this could not transfer power to the people. The Naxalites quest for violence also could not promote welfare of the people. V.P. Varma writes, "...Hence for the last two hundred years the history of revolutions is the story of the betrayal of the vast masses of humanity. There has been only a change in the structure of the elites. But the masses, continue to be the passive entities of little positive significance."\textsuperscript{34}
Jay Prakash Narayan has therefore formulated an integral scheme of seven-fold revolutions. He said, "I have been saying that total revolution is a combination of seven revolutions - social, economic, political, cultural, ideological or intellectual, educational and spiritual. This number may be increased or decreased. For instance, the cultural revolutions may include educational and ideological revolutions. Economic revolution may be split up into industrial, agricultural and technological revolutions etc. Similarly, intellectual revolution may be split up into two - scientific and philosophical. Even spiritual revolution can be viewed as a combination of moral and spiritual or it can be considered as a part of the cultural revolution and so on."

As the name suggests the 'totality' contained in 'total revolution' means an integral transformation of man and society. The authoritarians speak of total planning and total war. "In his first letter to all fighters of Freedom JP used the term 'total revolt'. He said, 'It is a total revolt of the masses that is our objective.'" The radicals refer to integral humanism. The physicists talk of field theory and the law of complementarity and the molar versus the molecular approach. In science, the more general a theory is, the more explanatory power it is supposed to have, some inspiration for reinforcing the idea of totality may also be derived from the notions of the multidimensional man. "Apart from these general conceptual frameworks popular in the contemporary intellectual atmosphere, which emphasize a field or holistic or integral approach, one can find the roots of total revolution in the various plans, programmes and manifestoes prepared by JP during his long political career of half a century."
JP, through his devotion to Gandhian techniques wanted to develop human society not only from material aspects of life, but also from its inner life. Only material prosperity he thought, was not sufficient to establish a society for equals and people's democracy or voluntary socialism, based on Gandhi's idea of Gram Swaraj. It needs the transformation of heart by peaceful means. This realization led him to turn to the idea of total revolution; a new version of Gandhian humanist ideology of ideal society. According to JP, the objects of this revolution, was, "Social change through peaceful peoples power. This social change included both internal and external change, changing the entire social frame from within and also from the outside, individual as well as institutions, 'through legal and administrative action.'" According to JP, in concrete terms this revolution had four objectives namely, eradication of corruption, high prices, unemployment and radical changes in education. He advised strongly that this revolution through peaceful means, would embrace all aspect of social life including the caste system, customs and manners, marriage, education, etc. It will not be confined only to the political field. Society as a whole or in other words, the social relations, institutions and processes will have to undergo a total change. With a goal in mind to eradicate corruption, and fulfilment of basic needs of the people, living below poverty line, JP explained his idea of 'Total Revolution.' He said that it was 'total' in the sense of a comprehensive revolution encompassing all aspects of both social and individual life, which would undergo a revolutionary change, if it could be done successfully. According to him, "...a total revolution in India should mean a revolution from the village upwards to the largest urban concentration and this he thought could only be done by the 'radical Sarvodaya group.'"
The ultimate goal of total revolution can be explained in the following way through JP's broad classification of seven revolutions.

### 6.4.1 Social Revolution

JP's concept of Total Revolution aimed at total or complete change in the existing social set up, reconstruction of the society, on the basis of truth, non-violence, physical labour, non-possession, tolerance and equality. JP suggested that the aim of social change will be more fruitful through 'gramdan', the process of carrying forward the 'Bhoodan movement' trying to establish the principle of community ownership of land, of regular sharing of labour and income in the community, and decision making by general consensus.

To create an atmosphere of love, courage and faith in truth, JP suggested the 'intellectualization of the labourer and the labourisation of the intellectual' meaning physical labour by all in the society is necessary. According to him, caste system, which is creating a hierarchical structure of high and low specially in Hindu society should be eradicated first. He further says that the so called backward classes were not low castes, but back ward castes, who are suppressed by the upper castes like Brahmin, Kshatriyas and middle castes. To eradicate caste system he suggested inter-caste marriages. JP thought that this is the only way by which the system, the barriers, the walls among caste could be broken down. Caste system is related with the question of social equality which is the very basis of democracy and socialism and JP wanted to eradicate this problem not through class conflict but through peaceful means. He further said that caste has been a terrific impediment to economic growth, because it is based on vocational rigidity and
social stratification. It is also a morally deprived system because it humiliates one section of the society. He advised the weaker sections to organize themselves and become strong enough, not necessarily to fight against the stronger sections but certainly to claim their rights, enjoy the privileges which the law has given them. According to him, there should be only one caste, i.e., human castes. However, Thomas Vettickal writes, “Though JP recognised the social reality underlying the caste configuration in Indian society, total revolution, he believed, should break the caste barriers. It must evolve new norms and practices, replacing those based on caste. For example, inter caste dining, abolition of dowry system, archaic marriage rules and regulations all must enter the area of total revolution.”

JP also stressed that, “unjustified and irrational customs, convention, contracts, and practices which dwarf the stature of man have no sanction to continue in society.” Therefore JP’s social revolution would also mean the eradication of distinction between man and woman, child and forced marriage, dowry system which stand on the way of independent and peaceful life of individual and encourage exploitation.

JP thought that urban civilization destroys human feelings and community feelings. Therefore, another aim of his social revolution was to establish a rural civilization against the urban one which he thought destroys the human feelings and community feelings. “He considered the cities to be ‘great human forests’ devoid of any social atmosphere, for which he wanted to combine agricultural economy with small scale and reasonable job-intensive industries” and build a self-governing, self-sufficient agro-industrial, urbo-rural community.
6.4.2 Economic Revolution

According to JP, modern economy based on large-scale production, wealth and power, giving over emphasis on material aspects of life degenerates the human dignity, status and morality. He, therefore suggested reorganization of economic life on the Gandhian model of decentralization and agrarian economy with small scale industries. The materialistic aspect of modern industrialized capitalist economy leads people to achieve more and more which stimulate the appetite for still more. This ultimately leads to exploitation of the poorer by the rich of the society, and as a result it is not possible to establish equality and freedom in the society. In order to establish freedom and equality in the society, JP proposed decentralization of economy in a communitarian society. In such a society, false distinction between urban and rural life, between industrialization and agriculture would be eradicated. According to him both Industry and agriculture is essential or rather should be used, ‘for the equal development of the whole economic structure of the society. His vision of future economic order was based on rural civilization, with the self-sufficient villages or communities. In such a economy, life of the people would be simple with human feelings. To JP, the aim of economic development should be ‘Man’. “The key concept in development is Man. Man is a complex, spiritual material being. Without being concerned with transcendental metaphysics, cosmogony and epistemology, it may be noted that living a life of modest material satisfaction oriented to the free pursuit of creativity is in itself a spiritual endeavour.” Individual/family should be self employed producer, community/village ownership should be co-operative ownership and in large
establishments, he suggested social ownership to be applied where ‘workers’ participation in management may be tried.

6.4.3 Educational Revolution

JP visualized a total revolution for the establishment of a new society, along with other aspects he suggested some reforms in the education system also. He stressed "the need for a radical transformation of the educational system. Because, in his vision of cultural revolution, a new ideological and thus an intellectual revolution was inevitable. Any change in the belief system or value system of society begins with a intellectual revolution." To bring cultural change the most important variable is education. "Revolution in education was one of the most salient demands of the agenda of the Bihar movement. In his critique of the existing system of education, he thinks that the system is extremely elitist in character leading only to a meaningless proliferation of institution." He considered education to be and must be a powerful element of social change and it should be closely linked to national development. The education system should be used in favour of the masses and not in favour of the upper classes, which must create a new kind of awareness among the weaker sections of our society. Education should reach the unreached. As a matter of fact his intention was to make the masses feel that they are fully integrated with the society. And therefore, he suggested more active participation of educational institutions in social service and national development programmes.

As a part of total revolution, educational revolution would change the educational pattern of the society. According to him, state controlled education
system was dangerous. Long ago the Greek Philosopher Plato also spoke in the similar way. State controlled education system is dangerous, since it would create regimentation of thought. Therefore, as a corollary to his concept of state and party free society, he suggested an independent education system. He said that "the most prestigious academic institutions are being filled with 'yes men'. The universities as a whole are suffering from the worst forms of nepotism and corruption and more and more ceasing to perform the functions assigned to them. There is no dearth of talent in them but talent is being increasingly cramped and circumscribed by the general atmosphere; full of fear and favour, enveloping these institutions." To eradicate these problems JP wanted to establish an educational system, to be organized on the basis of the basic needs and values of the society. Since our society is basically rural the education should also have a rural bias so that the villagers might prosper and an atmosphere of co-operation might develop between the rural and urban people. In his 'Prison diary' he suggested a broad list of subjects which he wanted to incorporate in the school curricula. However necessary modifications must be made according to the local needs. Some of them are agriculture, rural industry, sociology (meaningful for the students of the area), science, language, and literature, economics – co-operation and co-operatives laws, rules (constitutions), accounts and book keeping (agriculture, trade and rural industry), hygiene, sanitation (latrine, water supply), bacteria, biology (related to rural frame), horticulture, zoology, food and nutrition (sources available), gas plant, compost, urine manure, etc. With the aim of all-round development of the rural youth, JP stressed the need and importance of adult and social education also. In 1974, he launched 'A Programme for Five Weeks,' devoted to educational
system (from May 23 to 29-1974). Here he mentioned that the "parents and guardians should also be educated and made conscious about the present education system which was 'intended to produce babus.'" According to JP, this was destructive for both parents, their wards, and the country itself and therefore he suggested that these people should be enlightened enough to demand and welcome education which is a combination of academic education and manual work and training in different skills given in farms, factories and offices. From his ideas regarding educational revolution, it can be noticed that JP had an intension that education should make a man self-sufficient and capable of earning his livelihood. He thought that the whole society would be reconstructed on the lines of participatory democracy.

According to JP youth should be educated with example. In other words it means, to impart a lesson through example. He cited the example of Gandhi. Gandhi lived what he preached and herein lies his greatness. In this connection he also mentioned about formal academic education through speech, writing, conversation, discussion, observation etc. This type of education is necessary as most of the rural population in India is illiterate. Education for these people should be given by way of speaking, talking, demonstration, setting up an example etc. etc. In this regard, various audio-visual means of modern science can be used.

6.4.4 Moral and Spiritual Revolution

In his 'Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, JP writes that society can not be good, unless individual men are good, and particularly those men who form the elite of society. From this point of view, "he came to the conclusion that unless
and until the goodness of man could be regenerated, no social regeneration of any kind would be possible.”⁴⁸ According to him, the present society, is fully materialist and under the materialist philosophy, social reconstruction on the line he was thinking could not be successfully done. For this moral or spiritual revolution was needed. Man is not only an animal, he has got inner values, potentialities and reasoning. With these inner values he can do sufficient to change the social pattern. Material prosperity is no doubt essential, without fulfilling the material needs a person can not develop his self. But it is harmful, and dangerous when man starts hankering after those material ends without taking into consideration the welfare of society, i.e., his responsibility towards his fellow men. Greedy, self-centred persons, can not build a good society and that is the main idea behind JP’s moral revolution, as a part of total revolution. JP’s idea of moral revolution would aim at changing a man from within, so that he may share the social responsibility. According to him, “man is a socio-organic being, he is partly the product of nature and partly of society.”⁴⁹ He is both matter and spirit. His fullest development needs the satisfaction of both material and spiritual needs. “A full material satisfaction is a spiritual life. Craving, excess, bad means to gather wealth these are anti spiritual.”⁵⁰ The main intention of JP was to remove the anti-spiritual matters for the development of his communitarian society based on non-violent methods.

The moral revolution demands some prescriptive moral ideas and standards, which are absolute and universally applicable to promote good life in the world. Integral community consciousness with the motivation to promote affection, good will, mutuality, regard and considerations for others, magnanimity
and conquest of irascibility are some of the qualities which are to be promoted. In the same way, love of liberty as self-determination and the positive power to develop actions oriented to common good and the courage to resist oppression and tyranny are also to be developed.

6.4.5 Political and Administrative Revolution

JP was very much worried about the future polity of India. In his life time he saw that the Indian political structure was full of corruption and it was heading towards an authoritarian rule under the leadership of then Prime Minister by suppressing the fundamental rights through constitutional amendment and demolishing the multi party democratic process in India. He wanted to eradicate this type of authoritarianism and establish people's power in a participatory democracy, through Panchayati Raj system. He pointed out the defects of Parliamentary democracy which can not be run without political parties. Party system and Parliamentary democracy leads to concentration of power, which is inimical to people's liberty. Not only concentration of power, but there are several other defects of parliamentary democracy for which JP gave up party politics and wanted to establish a party less democracy, in a Sarvodaya Society, which he termed communitarian society, through peaceful means, i.e., through a peaceful revolution. Power should be vested in the hands of the people not from above. His aim was to establish a self-regulated political society, in which, liberty equality social justice, peace and brotherhood would be meaningfully realized.

JP emphasized the importance of organizing 'Lok Shakti' and not 'Raj Shakti'. For this he proposed setting up of 'Peoples Committees.' JP is said to have
taken this idea from Russians or the Chinese. He himself said, "I am pinning my hope on the committees of the people. I have taken the idea from the Russians or the Chinese."^{51}

Peoples committees can be described as organizing the Lok Shakti. The concept of ‘Lok Shakti’ is not new. As a matter of fact, most of the revolutionary personalities through the ages have recognised its importance. For instance, in our country, Gandhi’s concept of ‘Gram Raj’ and Vinoba Bhave’s concept of ‘Gram Swaraj,’ were directed towards Lokshakti. JP also took this concept and therefore during the Bihar movement he evolved a programme of ‘Janata Sarkar.’ When the Janata Party was voted to power in 1977, JP, proposed his concept of ‘Lok Samiti’ before the public. He suggested that people must organize vigilance committees to keep a watch over governmental power and he preferred to call these as people’s committees (henceforth will be mentioned as PC). However, according to him, both Raj Shakti and Lok Shakti were necessary for progress.

One point should be mentioned here that JP’s intention of organizing PC is not to destroy the present structure of administration, parliament and party system, but to improve it. They are not to be the part of the administrative or decision making body of the state. Its main function will be mass education, mass awakening and to promote economic and social change. Therefore, the PC’s are going to be a source of power for mass awakening and change and for this they must attract progressive and awakening elements in society. The progressive elements include teachers, social workers, lawyers and youth. The progressive elements are few in the society and JP also expressed his doubt that there is possibility that they may be suppressed under the present representative system.
Aims of People's Committees

The fundamental goal of peoples committee is total Revolution. In order to achieve this goal, its aims are -

(1) To construct a society, which is liberated, just and free from exploitation.

(2) To plan constructive programmes to bring about fundamental changes in the social and political fields.

(3) To work for public awakening and its active participation in public life.

(4) To encourage popular self-reliance and initiative to decentralize political and economic power.

(5) To rectify social life and behaviour to achieve social justice and progress.

In fact, the aim of the PC's will be to place the country in people's hands and build people's power, to make Indian life alive, to make the present democratic institutions responsible and effective, to root out corruption from these institutions, so that people do not lose faith in them. At the same time efforts should be made to bring about reforms through people's power and attempt should be made to reduce dependence on the government.

The main function of the PC's would be to raise issues concerning the common man. The common man should be involved in the struggle. Membership of the PC will be provided to a person, under the following conditions, if (a) People's interest or community interest is his main objective, (b) He does not take personal advantage from the struggle (c) He serves the people without
discriminating between class, caste and religion, (d). He has no connection with political interests but makes sure that the political activities are beneficial to the people.

Besides peoples committee JP suggested certain steps to be taken in the field of political and Administrative Revolution.

(1) Candidates for election should not be provided by the central or state parliamentary boards. The people's committees should set up candidates.

(2) JP suggested to experiment a combination of the German list system and the majority system and he said that there should be a comprehensive Act against defection.

(3) Not more than 2 terms should be allowed for any political office holder.

(4) People holding high posts in the legislature, government, universities and private sector, should declare their assets periodically.

(5) If the legislators cease to command confidence of a majority voters by whom, they were elected should be recalled.

(6) The governmental process should be based on discussions and deliberations of issues, demands and policies. Decision should be taken by consensus. JP did not like mere majoritarianism as the mathematical formula for solving problem.

(7) The army and the police should not obey those orders of the govt. which are illegal and intended to kill innocent people, destroying the democratic culture.
6.4.6 Cultural Revolution

JP considered the human and social problem to be a moral problem. He wanted to solve this problem by following the path of action, and thereby to attain self-realization. As a matter of fact he wanted to bring about radical change in the value pattern of human life. In other words he wanted to bring about a moral revolution to change the outlook of man towards his fellow men and society. Hence by cultural revolution JP meant a moral revolution aiming at changing the habits of individual to follow some principles of morality such as tolerance, humanity, sacrifice, fellow feeling free from corruption, truthfulness. These principle aim at changing the heart and attitude of common man to undertake social works for the benefit of all in the society. “As far as possible he urged that ‘Bhrastashar’ which has become the ‘shistachar’ should be avoided and every body should insist on his own ‘Swadharma’, the participation in all productive activities irrespective of considering the nature of the activity.”[52] JP was optimistic that the leaders of our country whether left, right or centre will correct themselves, by realizing the importance of a moral regeneration of our polities.

6.5.7 Ideological Or Intellectual Revolution

JP wanted drastic change in the moral and intellectual out look of the people for socio-economic and political regeneration. Since his withdrawal from party politics, he devoted himself to the task of reconstruction of Indian polity. He visualized a communitarian society which would be based on the goodness of human nature, without using the coercive force. According to JP, if the people can be made aware about the necessity and utility of reconstruction, the use of violence
or coercion would be useless. No change or reconstruction of any kind can be possible unless the people become aware of it. Hence JP, thought of an ideological or intellectual revolution to be based on Sarvodaya principle of non-violence for building a new social order. Jyoti Bikash Nath writes, “however JP was careful about this ideological revolution. He said that this revolution should not be involved with any ‘isms’. He explained that all the “isms” have become ‘wasms’ we are still living with our ‘wasms.’”

According to JP, for any kind of revolution, change in the values of man is required. Changes in values in man can change the society in general. For this, people should be converted to accept the new point of change. This needs the necessity of convincing the intellect or reason about the necessity and utility of the new values. Naturally, this process would take its time, and the process must be peaceful. To quote JP, “though the new ideas and values appear difficult to practise, a phased programme is so contrived that even ordinary persons are able by easy steps to advance towards the seemingly difficult goal and this programme of conversion though directed to the individual has a mass character... whole groups and masses of men are sought to be touched and moved by it.” JP cited the example of Vinoba Bhave, He has given a new idea for realizing this end. In a different context, he said, “we are only trustees of our properties and hence, it may be shared by other members of the society, and he asked first to share only a small part of his possessions, which ultimately would be followed by others and as such, the change of outlook would take place. People would come forward with, new ideas and values co-operate together to create new institutions and forms of social life.” JP thought that though this technique was a new one, but since we have
witnessed the new method of Gandhian technique winning national freedom, it would also be possible to apply this new values for bringing revolutionary changes in the existing society. The following is the summary of the action-technique of total revolution.

(i) Persuasion
(ii) Non-co-operation
(iii) Civil resistance and civil disobedience,
(iv) Strikes
(v) The mobilization of youth and student power as the genuine revolutionary force in underdeveloped societies in place of inculcating proletarian consciousness.

Thus, JP has formulated a plan of total revolution, i.e., revolution in all fields of life, broadly categorized in seven closely connected revolutions for the total transformation of the society, with a view to establish a society of free and equals, which will bring about radical change in the socio-economic-political structure and moral values of the people of our country. He was worried to notice the all round deterioration in the society and felt the necessity of an all round peaceful revolution embracing every aspect of individual and social life. He made an appeal to the youth, to constitute their inner forces to make a revolution for the eradication of social evils like caste system, untouchability, defective educational system, and the exploitation of the rural areas by the urban cities.

According to JP, the nature of total revolution would be like that of a people's movement embracing the whole nation with the purpose of articulating people's wishes.
6.6 PHILOSOPHY OF TOTAL REVOLUTION

V.P. Varma writes, "The philosophy and technology of total revolution is indeed, comprehensive and integral. It is integral, because it is multidimensional."

J.P. wanted to bring a total change in the society and therefore he suggested a total revolution by using youth power and people's power. The goal of total revolution is the radical change not only of the state system, but the social system as a whole. Therefore the idea of total revolution covers many dimensions - social, economic, political, spiritual, ethical and the like. The ideals of total revolution, seeks to focus on two aspects of individual life i.e., purification man and to make the state system ideal, which can provide justice and equality to all, irrespective of one's position in the society.

To begin with, total revolution demands a revolutionary mind, a mind that is not only open but also adaptive to the changing condition in society. According to Dada Dharmadhikari, the first requisite for a revolution is an open mind. He writes "...A revolutionary mind is an open uncommitted mind. It has no opinions, no views and takes nothing on credit from any personality, any hero, however great he may have been not from even a hero of the stature of Gandhi or Marx."

A revolutionary mind must also be responsive in nature. That is why the concept of Total Revolution puts emphasis on an open, adaptive and responsive mind.

The philosophy to Total Revolution is much wider in its scope. It has a global context. That means, no geographical or political boundary can be erected.
around this concept. Only the need for reforming the society will justify total revolution.

The philosophy of total revolution seeks to make a man ‘real man’ in the true sense of the term. A man should remember that he is very much a part of this society and he has the bounden duty to make the society worth living. This he can not do alone and needs help from others. Here lies the necessity of collective action which is the basic foundation of the philosophy of total revolution.

The basic postulates of total revolution have been explained by Vinoba Bhave as follows –

(a) Samya Yoga

(b) Belief in the dignity of labour – a principle which teaches the philosophy of equality of man.

(c) Pledge to resist injustice in any form and at any place.

Therefore it can be assumed that the philosophy of total revolution is aimed at eradication of all evils – social, economic, political and other. It should be looked upon as a path for the establishment of an egalitarian social order. According to JP, “A total revolution will bring about fundamental changes in the social, economic, political, cultural, education and moral spheres. A new society totally different from the existing one and with a minimum of undesirable features should emerge out of it.”

JP dreamed of a new India, in which each and every one of its inhabitants will lead a happy life, in which the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor
will be a thing of the past. Exploitation will disappear or be reduced to the minimum. Social evils will be eradicated and justice will prevail.

In the economic sphere upliftment of the poorest and weakest sections of our society, i.e., the Harijans, Adivasis, Muslims and the Agricultural labourers, landless farmers and such others will take place.

In the social sphere, untouchability, caste and communal strifes should come to an end. This will also mean the eradication of dowry system. Distinction of high and low should also come to an end. This way Total revolution involves revolutionization of the whole life style of the people.

CONCLUSION

Total revolution was the last revolutionary quest for Jay Prakash Narayan. Seeing corruption, manipulation, exploitation, social discrimination, unemployment and the rise of authoritarianism, JP reacted and launched a total revolution in the post independent India. According to JP total revolution was within the scope of sarvodaya ideal. He said, “Those who think that sarvodaya is made up of goody goody people, who no doubt talk about non-violent revolution, but do not mean it seriously, are in for a surprise. I can not remain a silent spectator of mis government corruption and the rest, whether in Patna, Delhi or elsewhere. I have decided to fight corruption.... To fight for a real peoples democracy.”

According to Thomas Vellickal, total revolution of Jay Prakash Narayan was based on Gandhi’s basic ideas to change the society in an unconventional method with unconventional techniques. He writes, that, a close study of JP’s
philosophical journey reveals that he was concerned with comprehensive social change and described it as ‘total revolution.’

Thomas Vetickal again writes that though it was impossible for JP to go into the details of such a revolution, he offered a vision for the future, a new agenda for social reconstruction and was hopeful for the birth of a new humanity. JP himself expressed his doubt that, there is one difficulty about this concept of peaceful social or total revolution, whether the necessary psychological climate of struggle be created at will? “If not, the struggle of this concept is as unlikely to get off the ground as Vinobaji’s movement for Gram Swarajya. Thus the preconditions for a social struggle (using the term in its widest sense) are always present in poverty, unemployment, miseducation etc. But still there is need for a spark to kindle the fires of struggle, to set alight the dry tinder-box of Indian Society.”

Acharya J.B. Kripalani criticized the very concept of the total revolution. “In his opinion revolution was complete in itself, then why total revolution? He added that in the (erstwhile) Soviet Union under the total revolution Lenin attacked even institutions like family and marriage which led to the crumbling of the social structure there. He apprehended that if this happened in India, society would fall apart. But JP’s objective was different. He only wanted to attack the evils like dowry, caste system, based on discrimination, superstition etc. He wrote that laws were enacted to fight these evils, like dowry, but they remained dead letters. And no social change was feasible without rooting out these evils. So there was ‘no remedy’ but a vigorous social movement, a peaceful struggle against the
In this sense it was a total revolution which encompassed even these aspects of life." \(^{61}\)

JP believed that a permanent revolution was a revolution for the people, of the people and by the people. But the history of revolutions shows that the common people remain at the receiving ends with the vanguard of the revolution encouraging in the increasement of power and pelf. Though the French Revolution aimed at achieving liberty and fraternity it ended in Bonapartism. Though in Russia the Bolshevik revolution started with the aim of realizing the rights of the proletariat and other suppressed classes of people, power had not ‘trickled down’ to the lowest rung of society. Therefore, JP thought of social revolution through human revolution, by means of persuasion and conversion with due care to either.

The method of total revolution, integrating all forces of social change to dethrone a particular party in power is somewhat clumsy. Because it appears to absorb all the forces from extreme left to the right wingers making suitable ground for development of a third force. The doctrine of non-class, non-party approach also is bound to produce a situation where no party would lead the socialist movement. Moreover, there may be dearth of leadership to lead that kind of revolutionary movement.

D.K. Mohanty in his Indian Political Tradition, From Manu to Ambedkar writes, "Total Revolution failed not because of the ideology of Jay Prakash Narayan, but there was no successor to Jay Prakash to continue the revolution. The spirit of total revolution however still continues." \(^{62}\)
References


4. Ibid, p. 408.


17. Ibid, p. 189.


34. Ibid, p. 529.

35. Ibid, p. 529.


37. Ibid, p. 530.


48. Ibid. p. 158.


55. Ibid.


58. Ibid.


