"A votary of Ahimsa will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the Idea."\(^1\)

In the story of human evolution, the original unit of the human aggregate was family. But this unit had to be enlarged in order to meet the demands of a wider and more complex growth. And as humanity rose in the scale of evolution the grouping became more and more complex. Along with the widening of the groups and the geographical extent different societies were developing social relationships according to their genius. The Indian people who constitute about one fifth of humanity have the longest continuity of history. The Indian society was developing in a unique way. But under the British rule, it was transformed into a colonial, under developed capitalist society. Gandhi would have desired the society to have been rooted in ethical and spiritual values of Truth and Non-Violence.

As a matter of fact, Mahatma Gandhi presented the idea of Sarvodaya in order to found a society where everybody would be equal and the welfare of all would be the goal. It is quite clear from the following statement, “If we would see our dream of Sarvodaya, i.e., true democracy realized we would regard the humblest and lowest Indian as being equally the ruler of India with the tallest in the land. This presupposes that all are pure or will become pure if they are not. And purity must go hand-in-hand with wisdom. No one would then harbor any distinction between community and community, caste and outcaste. Everybody would regard all as equal with oneself and hold them together in the silken net of love. No one would regard another as untouchable. We would hold as equal the toiling labourer and the rich Capitalist. Everybody would

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\(^{1}\) Gandhi, M.K., *Young India*, 1926, P.12.
know how to earn an honest living by the sweat of one’s brow and make no distinction between intellectual and physical labour.”

Sarvodaya: Meaning and Genesis

As regard the meaning of the word ‘Sarvodaya’ there are broadly two views: the first, in its micro form, means simply the rise of one and all; secondly, the macro form connotes the rise of all, the universal welfare and the all round development of all. It stands for not only making all happy by eliminating suffering from all but also for bringing a world state based on equality.

However, the ‘Sarvodaya' is the combination of two words 'Sarba' and 'Uday'. It denotes the meaning uplift of all and welfare of all. In other words, it is concerned with Gandhian Socialism. Its purpose is the socio-economic development of all sections of the society.

Mahatma Gandhi translated ‘Unto This Last’ and used the word Sarvodaya in its place in modern times. Literally, it means the rise or welfare of all. While in South Africa, Gandhi read in 1904, John Ruskin's ‘Unto This Last’ which impressed him so much that in his autobiography he wrote that “The book was impossible to lay aside, once I had begun to it. It gripped me: Johannesburg to Durban was a twenty-four hours journey. The train reached there in evening. I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideas of the book.”

Immediately, he learnt three great lessons from it which actually conveyed:

1. That the good of the Individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's 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.

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3. That a life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living.

In fact Gandhi was very much impressed by this book which called Gandhi a Magic Spell and he wrote, "The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. Unto This Last made it as clear as daylight for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice."4

In fact, Gandhi published in Gujarati an adaptation of Ruskin's book, and entitled it 'SARVODAYA'. He had borrowed the word from a Jain scripture5 by Acharya Samantabhadra who lived about 2000 years ago. The idea, though not the word is found in the following prayer repeated by Hindu Saints and Sages from time immemorial.

राजेन्द्रि सुक्लिन: सन्तु सवै सन्तु निरंग्या: ।
सवेय भद्रणि पशयन्तु मा कार्यत तुस्मानुपस्तः ॥

"May all be happy. May all enjoy health. May all come by prosperity. Let none have misfortune for his lot."6

Gandhi used the word to describe the principles that he felt should guide us in our efforts to build ourselves, our families, our communities and nations. He had arrived at these principles of a Sarvodaya Society on the basis of his studies, his observations and his experiments with truth and non-violence. He felt very strongly that the soundest foundation on which societies should be built were the qualities of truth, love and compassion in both our personal and public lives.

"His childhood impressions of Vaisnavism-the tolerant sect of Hinduism and of some of the lives of benevolent Jains have had much to do with the idea of Sarvodaya that was developed in his mind in his later life. A Gujarati song

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4 Ibid., Part – IV, Ch. XVIII, p. 275
5 सर्वोदयांकर हिंदु स्त्रीब्रती स्त्रीस्तिथि तत्वेन
deeply imprinted a message on his heart; it formed the foundation stone of the Sarvodaya according to Gandhi. The song says:-

But the truly noble
Know all men as well
And return with gladness
Good for evil done.”

Similarly, “In the Gita a similar idea is expressed in the twelfth chapter, when the Lord characterises the yogins, who attain the goal through rigorous discipline of body and mind, and worship of the unmanifest, by saying that they indulge themselves in wellbeing of all creation. The wise one, according to the Gita, is not partial to the good and just to the virtuous alone: they consider all creation with the same respectful outlook, irrespective of moral and natural distinctions.” According to Vinoba, “the idea of Sarvodaya, as preached by the Gita is to merge oneself in the good of all.”

Gandhi also knew that mere invocation of God for the welfare of all living beings brought little solace to the oppressed, the suppressed, the poor or the needy. One had to incessantly strive and to actively help them in their immediate needs and as a long term objective, initiate a non-violent revolution which could lead to the establishment of a society based on love, cooperation and absence of exploitation and discrimination.

**Spiritual Basis of Sarvodaya**

Sarvodaya is essentially a spiritual activity, which has two meanings, viz., negative and positive. As a negative concept, Sarvodaya is not limited to one person or to one group of persons. Nobody is excluded from enjoying anything from other. It is not something which one man or set of men can gain or enjoy to the exclusion of others. As a positive concept, Sarvodaya implies the participation of all kinds of people irrespective of class, caste, creed and

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8 Ibid., p. 18
9 Gandhi, M.K., Sarvodaya its Principles and Programme (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House), 1951, p. 21
religion. It also stands for the total blossoming of all the faculties—physical, mental and spiritual of the human being. It is an activity in which all may partake and if it is to be amount to a full realization of the human faculties of the human soul.

Besides, Gandhian approach to Sarvodaya - welfare of all, is based on the ancient scriptures and tradition of India. “Gandhi was a man of action. As a spiritual reference book or a dictionary, the Gita gave him the necessary guidance to achieve selflessness in action. Non attachment, while doing one’s duty is the message of the Gita.”

The base of Philosophy is Commonness, i.e. what is done not for any particular individual or group but for all. Thus, the main purpose of Sarvodaya is to create moral atmosphere in the society. In the best Indian tradition, Sarvodaya assimilates what is good in each of them and ignores the undesirable. Sarvodaya is concerned with Gandhi's ideal social community. According to him it is a casteless and classless society and it helps in overcoming the difficulties of the problems of caste, communal evils, economic inequalities and social divisions. Sarvodaya is a strong ideology for prevention of socio-economic ills of the society and it stands for creating high moral character in the society which is only possible by truth, non violence, self sacrifice and purity.

Gandhi said that “all our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim’s progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive. But without Truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life.”

The aim of self sacrifice for the sake of other is the best principle in Sarvodaya. According to Gandhi, “A life of sacrifice is the pinnacle of art, and full of true joy. One who would serve will not waste a thought upon his own  

comforts, which he leaves to be attended to or neglected by his Master on High. He will not therefore encumber himself with everything that comes his way; He will take only what he strictly needs and leaves the rest. He will be calm, free from anger and unruffled in mind even if he finds himself inconvenienced. His service, like virtue, is its own reward, and he will rest content with it. Voluntary service of others demands that best of which one is capable, and must take precedence over service of self. In fact, the pure devotee consecrates himself to the service of humanity without any reservation whatever. 13

Morality is the essential means to achieve spirituality and good society or good end. Many thinkers like Kautilya and Machiavelli maintain that end justifies the means. This reveals that through any impure means like cunning, hypocrisy, hatred or violence one can get one’s desired end. To them, ends and means are watertight compartment. End is everything, no matter what or how the means are. Means become good if they serve the end.

However, for Gandhi, the goal of Sarvodaya can be reached only through a change of heart on a mass scale. Purity of means is as essential as the achievement of the goal. “The clearest possible definition of the goal and its appreciation would fail to take us there, if we do not know and utilise the means of achieving it. I have, therefore concerned myself principally with the conservation of the means and their progressive use. I knew if we can take care of them, attainment of the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means. This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest.” 13

For him, “Ahimsa is the means; Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so Ahimsa is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later. When once we have grasped this point, final victory is beyond question.” 14 Gandhi asked the people to submerge their individual selfish interest for the welfare of

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12 Kumarappa, Bharatan (ed.), Sarvodaya The Welfare of All, op. Cit., p. 17
13 Gandhi, M.K., (as described in Amrit Bazar Patrika, 17-9-33).
14 Yeravada Mandir, op. cit., p. 9
the society as a whole. He taught them that what they considered as their wealth was in reality the product of social cooperation and efforts. Wealth is produced by the collective efforts of society. People must be made to realize that it is because of society that they possess what they have.

In order to achieve this Gandhi rely on those few people in the society, with strong will and who are capable of transforming their lives once they are intellectually convinced of the correct of the new values. As a majority of men have weak wills, and are unable to change their life habits even if they are convinced of the new values. The feelings and emotions of such men have to be aroused to make them adopt the new values. In other words, it needs some effort and sacrifice on the part of those who want to enshrine new values in society, and they themselves can only be effective if they have already adopted those values in their lives. There is also always a third group of die-hards in every society, who are not at all converted. They are to be left to change under the pressure of circumstances. It may be expected that as the new consciousness would develop, they would be compelled by moral pressure or social disapprobation to fall in with others.

**Sarvodaya Political system**

The ethics of Idealism of Gandhi is propounded by his philosophy of Sarvodaya. Gandhi considered the institution of state as an organization based on violence and force. And that is why being an apostle of non-violence he was repelled by the coercive character of the state. Although, Gandhi struck to the ultimate ideal of stateless society, he retained a degree of state organization in his actually realizable social order, since he considered the ideal of stateless society unrealizable in its entirety. Thus whereas most of the western anarchists regarded the state as an unnecessary evil and many of them believed in the actual total elimination of the state, however, Gandhi taking into consideration man's actual temporal and mortal on account of his inherent imperfections, did not believe in its complete elimination in actual practice. He would rather employ the machinery of the state to the service of man, the efforts always
being progressively to minimize its use, constantly keeping in view the ultimate objective of its complete elimination. Thus, he writes. "To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes as perfect as to become self regulated, no representation becomes necessary."\textsuperscript{15} In the Ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. Gandhi repudiated the state because of its coercive, exploitative and violent nature.

The state, as he viewed it, is an engine of violence. Force is the basis of state and it militates against the principles of love underlying the philosophy of Sarvodaya. Force or violence is the very anti thesis of love, i.e., non-violence. For Gandhi “Ahimsa (non-violence) is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of Ahimsa. But it is its last expression. The principle of Ahimsa is violated by every evil thought, by under haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody. It also violated by our holding on to what the world needs.”\textsuperscript{16} Therefore, what is advocated is a coercion-free social order in which the people are developed and enlightened enough to keep them on the right path.

Sarvodaya can be attained only when selfless individuals have fallen in line to reform and reconstruct a society that does not what its weapon of steel, rather takes into kindliest consideration the needs of others prior to his own. For this Gandhi prescribed certain vows for those individuals who would bear the yoke with him. These are eleven:

\textit{
अहिंसा तत्त्व ब्रह्मचर्य असंग्रह
शरीररूप अर्थात सर्वत्र भयवर्जनम्
सर्वधर्मो समानत्व स्वदेशी स्पर्शभावना
ही एकादश सेवानी नमस्ते ब्रह्मचर्ये॥
}

\textsuperscript{15} Gandhi, M.K., Young India, July 2, 1931, p. 3
\textsuperscript{16} Gandhi, M.K., Yeravada Mandir, 1945, p. 7
"Non-violence, Truth, Non-Stealing, Celibacy, Non-hoarding, Physical labour, Tastelessness, Fearlessness, equality among all religions, use of country's products and untouchability are the eleven vows."  

"The spirit of Sarva-mukti must be inculcated prior to joining the battle for establishing a Sarvodaya-Samaj. Sarva mukti means both release of all and release from all (bondages). For releasing all the people or peoples from covetous machinations, one has to attempt it within oneself. One must be fixed in truth, which is another name of God, should apply only non-violent means, for all violence has an ingredient of untruth in it, and must care for the purity of means above the achievement of desired ends. This alone could arrange the material prosperity of every man, through a morally ordered social and political set up. Gandhi aimed at a classless, casteless and stateless society achieved through non-violent methods and non-centralization."  

Truth, Non-violence and purity are the foundations of the Gandhian view of Sarvodaya. Moreover, Sarvodaya stands for national unity and solidarity. It condemns provincialism and regionalism as these issues hindered the growth of nationalism and affect the unity and integrity of the country. 

The other spiritual basis for Sarvodaya which the mahatma laid stress is that Duties precede Rights. According to Gandhi, "rights were nothing but duties well performed and all rights accrued from duties." The duty of individual in the present context is to work toward the welfare and betterment of his fellow citizens. He should be ready to sacrifice his life in order to help the society to achieve new heights of human development and progress.

Gandhi’s insistence on building up of character, a discipline of body and soul is pre requisite to the establishment of an egalitarian society. Such persons alone can make the cudgel and renovate the society that stinks due to exploitation and ignorance. In India Gandhi drew up a big constructive

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18 Ibid., p. 166  
programme for initiating the process of a harmonious development of the mind, spirit and physical power of the common people. The programme is comprehensive and has the essential seeds of Sarvodaya.

Sarvodaya does not relate itself to economic betterment alone, but the full utilisation of the talents inherent in each individual. Society demands both giving and taking and the process cannot make a full circle until the individual has realised his qualities and prepared himself to render the due to his society.

The eighteen fold programme therefore attempted to prepare the citizen for such offering. These are what India needed most:-

1. Communal unity.
2. Removal of untouchability.
3. Prohibition.
5. Other rural industries.
7. Nai Talim- or Basic Education.
8. Adult Education.
10. Education in Health and Hygiene.
11. Propagation of Rashtra Bhasha or National Language
12. Love of one’s language-Swa Bhasha Prem.
15. Uplift of Labour.
16. Uplift of Students.
17. Services of Backward Tribes.

Gandhi’s followers would be tested first by the exercise of the eleven vows mentioned earlier and then by working these eighteen point
programme.\textsuperscript{20} Thus to facilitate non violent reconstruction in India, Gandhi prescribed the eighteen fold programme of action. Just as training is necessary for armed combat, so it is equally indispensable for non violent constructive efforts. He said “the constructive programme is the non violent and truthful way of winning ‘Purna-Swaraj.’ Its wholesale fulfilment is complete independence. Imagine forty crores of people engaged in the whole of the constructive programme which is designed to build up the nation from the very bottom upward. Can anybody dispute proposition that it must mean complete independence in every sense of expression, including the ousting of foreign domination?”\textsuperscript{21} He further added, “My notion of Purna Swaraj is not isolated independence but healthy and dignified interdependence.”\textsuperscript{22}

In fact Gandhi had desired to establish ‘Sarvodaya Samaj through granting power at the grassroots so that they could enjoy Gram Swaraj forever. The basic unit of Sarvodaya, is the village, each village will, as for as possible, be self- sufficient at least in meeting its basic needs. It was important for the development of villages. For this villages should be given priority in giving aid as the villages form the keystone of Indian democracy. It is the duty of every individual to look to the welfare of village people or society. The importance given to truth and non violence is to cure social corruption and irregularities. It stands for self-limitation of human wants, so that every individual in society can enjoy the basic requirements of his life.

The means of production will be consistent with local economic ability and owned by the villager himself. Full employment for all is the goal sought. Planning for brotherhood will be the very foundation of the economics of Sarvodaya. Every village will have its own arrangement of education, recreation, industries and craft etc., but this self-sufficiency; however this does not exclude inter-dependence. There may be needs and projects for which the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Dhawan, Gopinath, The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House), 1962, p. 194
\item Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 26-3-31, p. 47
\end{itemize}
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village will have to cooperate with other villages. Sarvodaya advocated reorganization of the economic life on the basis of decentralization, self-sufficiency, simplicity of life and cooperation. However, it is concerned that application of these principles can take different forms in different countries according to the conditions prevailing there and in a particular country itself, the economy can vary from time to time.

Besides, Gandhi wanted a classless society and party-less democracy. Freedom, Equality, Justice and Fraternity form the basic part of Sarvodaya. Thus, the philosophy of Sarvodaya is critical to the coercive nature of the state.

According to Gandhi, for 'Swaraj', Sarvodaya is necessary. In Sarvodaya, there is no space for the kind of politics of today which only wants to grab the political power. On the other hand, the base of Sarvodaya is the politics of mutual cooperation. It is the realization of the happiness and elevation of all. There is no scope for class struggle in Sarvodaya. Social good, rationality and communal harmony are the basic principles of Sarvodaya. It accepts the universalisation of Self-government. It emphasizes that a radical change in the existing patterns of thought, values, beliefs and social behaviour constitute the real revolution. A revolution therefore, must start with oneself as the nucleus and spread out to other by example. Moreover, it is the identity of the means and end is axiomatically assumed what is an end today can become the means of achieving a higher and remoter objective tomorrow. Consequently, insistence on non-violence becomes one of the cardinal principles of the philosophy of Sarvodaya.

**Sarvodaya Social order**

Sarvodaya is concerned with Gandhi’s social ideas and ideal of a community. In his words, it is casteless and classless society. At the very outset it can be noted here that in order to overcome the difficulties of the problems of caste, communal disharmony, economic inequalities and social divisions, he had propounded the philosophy of Sarvodaya.
The problem of social equality is bound up with the class and caste division in society. "Caste is only an immobile class and class is only a mobile caste." But it is the caste system which is a special feature of the Indian society and which is of the concern to Sarvodaya. The caste system is a much criticized intuitions, but it has survived all on slaughter of social reforms and has even penetrated the non-Hindu religious communities of India. It is breaking up, no doubt under the stress of modern life, but the process is very slow and at times the system seems to have acquired greater strength.

Gandhi had gradually veered round to the view that the caste system must go in its prevailing from, but its good features must be retained. The old was based on certain useful and valid principles of social organization and they must be retained in any future reconstruction, as it did not originally imply any feeling of high or low, any difference in payment or prohibition of inter-caste marriage. The practices of untouchability have divided the society in many groups and increase the gap between various sections of people in society. Gandhi fought against the curse of untouchability and not only asked people to erase it but himself adopted such principles in his ashrams and in his daily life. According to Gandhi, "This problem of untouchability cannot be solved merely by making friends with untouchables, but by loving all life as our own selves. Removal of untouchability means love for, and services of the whole world, and thus merges into Ahimsa, removal of untouchability spells the breaking down of barriers between man and man, and between the various orders of being. We find such barriers erected everywhere in the world." 

Furthermore, “Sarvodaya accords women perfect equality with men. It stands for the removal of all their disabilities- religious, social, legal or economic. The physical differences between them may make for some differences in the spheres of their activities, but they cannot be justified in the existing discrimination found in Indian society. Women should not be confined

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24 Kumarappa, Bharatan (ed.), Sarvodaya The Welfare of All, op. Cit., p. 35
to household work though they may devote to it more time than men. The best family is that in which none of them dominates. The so-called chivalrous attitude of men towards women is only an emblem of their inferiority and must cease.”

However, it must be mentioned here that equality is not to be equated with similarity. To attain equality with man, she must preserve her individuality, her special traits of character. In being she not only lays her own good, but also that of society. She can well prove her superiority over man is love and compassion and an atmosphere of non-violence would be more conducive to their independence and for the development and wellbeing of the society as a whole. “Gandhiji tried to arouse in women a sense of dignity and honour. It was under him that women, for the first time in Indian History, exerted their right to serve the cause of nation on a large scale and in a new way fitting to them. Satyagraha opened for them a new path to show that women, though weak in body, are not cowards in mind. They could lay claim to equality, since human strength lies in spiritual capacity and not in physical power. It was to deliver, Indian women from her slavery that Gandhiji preached against child marriage, parda and dowry system.”

Sarvodaya thinkers continued the traditions of the Mahatma with some individual variations. “However we find a very great anxiety in Vinobaji that women should break their age-old shackles and take their proper place in society along with men. It is with this object of developing the requisite capacity and leadership among women that he has founded the Brahma Vidya Mandir (Institute for the knowledge of the Absolute) for women at his old ashram at Paunar, Wardha. Gandhiji attained the first step in the emancipation of the Indian women and Vinobaji was equally anxious to complete it.”

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25 Tandan, Vishwanath, The Social and Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya After Gandhi, op. cit., p. 103
26 Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. cit., p. 30
Accordingly, Sarvodaya does not relate itself to economic betterment alone, but the full utilization of the talents inherent in each individual. Society demands both giving and taking and the process cannot make a full circle until the individual has realized his qualities had prepared himself to render the due to his society. Sarvodaya, thus is an integral philosophy of life. It is a product of native soil. It stands firmly on the rock of Indian culture and points to an ideal of life, which is first and last spiritual Selflessly striving to establish a society where work as well as sufficient food, clothing, shelter etc. would be guaranteed to the poor and the needy as a right is considered under Sarvodaya to be as much a spiritual activity as constant meditation on and awareness of self.

Great men, in all generations, have been anxious, above everything else, for the improvement of the lot of human beings all over the world. Social welfare is the unceasing quest of great political and social thinkers from time immemorial, Sarvodaya is a link in that long chain of attempts at ushering in a social, political and even spiritual good of mankind. The concept of social welfare has undergone a great change with times. Social welfare is the term now applied to the service formerly known as the poor law or public assistance. But in its present application it has a wider connotation than ever.

So far as the humanist principles of Sarvodaya are concerned, they are as old as human civilization itself. But Sarvodaya as a modern concept owes its origin to Mahatma Gandhi who refused to recognize any division based on considerations of class, caste or creed in human society. While western democracy pleaded for 'the greatest good of the greatest number, Gandhi stood for the 'good of all' and strove hard to put this principle in actual practice. It was this humanist approach that made Gandhi a great champion of non-violence.

Thus, the main theme of Sarvodaya is the realisation of the happiness and elevation of all and Gandhi made it clear that this is not the feeling for the greatest good of the greatest number. “A Votary of Ahimsa cannot subscribe to
the utilitarian formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will
strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal. He
will therefore, be willing to die, so that other may live. He will serve himself
with the rest, by himself dying. The greatest good of all inevitably includes the
good of the greatest number, and therefore, he and the Utilitarian will converge
in many points in their career but there does not come a time when they must
part company, and even work in opposite directions. The utilitarian to be
logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice
himself.  
28  He thus surpasses Bentham and his group and then takes a long leap
over Marx also.

Therefore, Sarvodaya aims not at the rise of the few or the many or for
that matter the rise of the greatest number as it contains the germ of minority
and majority. Contrary to utilitarianism stands for the good of one and all, of
the high and low, of the strong and the weak, the intelligent as well as dull. As
against the Laissez faire theory, that is the survival of the fittest, Sarvodaya
believes in the survival and development of all.

Though Gandhi valued the Varna Dharma of the ancient India as the
supreme principle providing non-competitive basis to society but he attacked
Western civilisation in his ‘Hind Swaraj’ that this civilisation takes notes
neither of morality nor of religion, the people living in it make bodily welfare
the object of life, which our Indian ancestors knew that the more we indulge
our passions the more unbridled they became. Gandhi states that Civilisation is
that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of
duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is
to attain mastery over our mind and our passion and Gandhi considered manual
work as one of the important means of controlling passions. Bodily labour is
enjoyed to all people belonging to different Varnas.  
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28 Gandhi, M.K., Sarvodaya: Its Principles and Programme, op. cit., p. 6
29 Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. cit.,
p. 22
Economic Philosophy of Sarvodaya

As a matter of fact, Gandhi’s economic thought is interwoven with ethics of the highest order. It is a pattern that would suit all backward nations, because it does not demand favourable extraneous conditions, rather demands arousing of internal affections for man. Swarajya, said Gandhi, is self control.

"Only he is capable of self control who observes the rules of morality, does not cheat or give up truth, and does his duty to his parents, wife and children, servants and neighbours... A state enjoys Swaraj if it can boast of a large number of such good citizens."[30] More explicit then this he said, "India must indeed have Swarajya but she must have it by righteous methods. Our Swaraj must be real Swaraj, which cannot be attained by either violence or industrialization... The philosopher's stone which can effect this transformation is a little word of two syllables Satya (Truth). If every Indian sticks to truth, Swaraj will come to us of its own accord."[31]

The fundamental postulates of Sarvodaya militate against the present society with its social and Economic inequalities, its spirit of competition based on the belief of the antagonism of individual interests, its worship of money, and duality in the conduct of people at home and outside. It aims to reconstruct society on the basis of truth, no-violence, physical labour, non-possession, tolerance and equality. In such a society there would be no distinctions of any kind, there would be an all round development of all, and all would be able to cooperate with each other because the absence of inequality and exploitation would allow the better side of human nature to assert itself.

In fact, most of the inequality in society, social or economic is born of the low esteem in which physical labour is held and of the high regard for mental work. The way to its removal lies in the intellectualization of the labourer and the labourisation of the intellectual. Hence Sarvodaya advocates a society in which none would be exempted from physical labour except for

30. Gandhi, M.K., Unto This Last – A Paraphrase (Ahmedabad : Navajivvan Publishing House), 1962, p. 65
According to Gandhi, “Intellectual work is important and has an undoubted place in the scheme of life. But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from that obligation. I will serve to improve even the equality of his intellectual output.”

Even ministers, doctors, professors and judges would have to perform some physical labour for a few hours per day. It may be that some may devote more time to intellectual work and some less, but that would be no ground for difference in payment. The ideal would be that everybody participates in agricultural activity. for experience shows it to be the best work for normal persons.

It helps most in the development of the individually contact with natural and work in the field imparts zest to life and is conducive to self-restraint; and it engenders love, courage, a spirit of enterprise and faith in truth.” Further, “individual distinctions of rank would be abolished. when everyone without exception acknowledged the obligation of ‘Bread Labour’. It is common to all Varna. There is a worldwide conflict between Capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated; the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustee of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest.”

Moreover, to Gandhi, “when an individual had more than his proportionate portion he became a trustee of that portion for God’s people.”

Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the present owning class a chance of reforming itself. It is based on the faithful that human nature is never beyond redemption. According to Gandhi, “no other theory is compatible with its obnoxious character in society. What one possesses should have value only in so far as one’s possessions contribute to

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32 Harian 23-2-47, p. 4
33 Tandan, Vishwanath, The social and Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya After Gandhi, op. cit., p. 97
34 Gandhi, M.K., Yeravada Mandir, op. cit., p. 35
35 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan 25-2-47, p. 6
the amelioration of the entire society. Trusteeship in this sense is the social version of the principle of non-possession in individual’s spiritual life.”

Thus, as against the present tendency toward urbanization. Sarvodaya primarily, stands for a rural civilization. It regards city life unhealthy because it lacks community of feelings and does not permit contact with nature. Cities are human Jungles, dense but devoid of feelings. Moreover, a democracy of peasant proprietors is the most peace living regime. But agriculture cannot stand alone and it has to be combined with handicrafts and industries making the communities agro-industrial. It may be observed here that in laying emphasis on physical work for an intellectual worker Sarvodaya thinkers are not alone. Both social thinkers and physicians in the west are realizing the need of physical work for both physical and mental health of the people. Even in communist China the leaders are of the opinion that unless intellectual participate in manual labour, they cannot get rid of their bourgeois outlook and attain an intellectual equation with the toiling masses.

To attain all round development, stress was put not only on the development of formal education but also on moral and ethical education. Goal of education is Character building. This would try to development courage, strength, virtue, the ability to forget oneself in working towards great aims. This is more important than literacy; academic learning is only a means to his great end. Gandhiji lays special importance on the development of education in society. “By education I mean an all round drawing out of the best in child and man-body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of the education or even the beginning. It is only one of the means by man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child’s education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education. Only every handicraft has to be

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36 Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. Cit., p.29
taught not merely mechanically as is done today but scientifically, i.e. the child should know the why and wherefore of every process.”

Gandhi laid emphasis on small scale industry which suits the Indian conditions. He explained, “I would favour the use of the most elaborate machinery if thereby India’s pauperism and resulting idealness be avoided. I have suggested hand spinning as the only ready means of driving away penury and making famine of work and wealth impossible. The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery, and in my own humble way I have tried to secure improvements in it in keeping with the special conditions of India.”

**Sarvodaya, Communism and Socialism**

Gandhi called himself a socialist and even a communist but for him, socialism and communism were transcendental forms of egalitarian social philosophies that find their fulfilment and culmination in Sarvodaya. Although the situational background from which socialism and Sarvodaya have emerged is different, still their humanist idealism is almost similar. Socialism and Communism are basically idealistic, ethical and humanitarian in nature. They are concerned with the illumination of the misery of millions, elevation of the status of poor, unfortunate and downtrodden and founding a society based on the principle of economic equality and social justice. Sarvodaya stands for the just society free from all types of exploitation and human miseries. Sarvodaya represents an aspiration toward a society based on truth and nonviolence in which there will be no distinction of caste or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for development both for individual as well as groups. Sarvodaya desires the establishment of a society in which there will be no exploitation, there will be prefect equality, harmony and each individual will have equal opportunities for development.

No doubt there are some fundamental similarities between socialism and Sarvodaya, but there are great differences between the two on the question of

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37 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan 31-7-37, p. 5
38 Gandhi, M.K., Young India. 3-11-21, p. 6
means and methods. The principle difference between communism and Sarvodaya is that the former attempts to establish a stateless society through an intensification of the state, and a peaceful society through hatred and class war. As against it Sarvodaya would bring about a state free society by developing in the people a capacity to do without the state as far as possible. It would breed such habits in people as are in harmony with the ethical principle it wants to see materialized in society. According to them, all revolutions are spiritual at the source. They mean a more or less radical break with past ideas, modes of thought, feelings and actions. In the wake of the change in the values of life follow the changes in the political, economic and social structure of society as such a revolution signifies revolution in the values of life on the other hand, violence breeds counter – violence. And on the basis of violence, it is not possible to establish the just social order. A recasting of social order is a far more important characteristic of revolution than a change of political constitutions or the use of violence in the attainment of that end as per the ideas of Sarvodaya. In concrete terms Sarvodaya aims at a revolution which would establish such new values in Individual and social life as are implied in the various ethical vows. "The Sarvodaya revolution aims to develop humanity in man through his own efforts and by means consistent with the spirit of humanity."39

Since the essence of a revolution lies in the revolutions of values and society changes with change in men, the first step in Sarvodaya technique of revolution is to convert the people to the new point of view. This needs dual process. One is of the appeal to the intellect and reason, and the other is of the appeal to the heart of the individual.

Similarly, it has also been observed that "Sarvodaya pleads for the replacement of the concept of class struggle by the mere rational theory of social good and harmony. This social harmony is to be experienced in daily

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39 Tandan, Vishwanath, The Social and Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya After Gandhi, op. cit., p-86
conduct. There has to be a deliberate extension of good feeding. The aim is not the forcible expropriation of the health of the rich but the conscious and spontaneous practice of sharing the goods one has ready in hands. To a Marxist, therefore, a revolution primarily signifies change in the economic structure of society, while Sarvodaya attach as much more importance to change in the values of life.

However, it is also true that the Sarvodaya process of revolution does not minimize the importance and the need of creating a congenial atmosphere for the acceptance of the new values by society. Hence the process must be double sided. Simultaneous attempts should also be made to transform the individual on the one hand to change the social structure on the other. Thus Sarvodaya stresses 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.

"Greater stress is laid on the conversion of an individual in Sarvodaya for two reasons. First, it is individuals who start the process of revolution and try to change the social environment. To do so effectively these individuals they first of all need conversion. Secondly, while it is true that a proper social structure considerably assist moral development, it is truer to say that a good social structure can be achieved only when there is an adequate moral development." Hence the transformation of an individual gets somewhat of a priority in the Sarvodaya technique of revolution. Such a mass change in social values cannot be brought about through legislation. It can only give its sanction. People should realize that they are not entitled to more than what is necessary for their own wants as long as there are others in societies, who are more in wants. Gandhi, therefore, advocated simplicity in our life-style and a change in the standard of values. According to him, "The idea of creating an

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40 Verma, V.P., Modern Indian Political Thought (Agra: Laxmi Narayan Agarwal Printing works), 1964, p. 563
41 Tandan, Vishwanath, The social and Political Philosophy of Sarvodaya After Gandhi, op. cit., p. 90
unlimited number of wants and satisfying them seems a delusion and a snare. The satisfaction of man’s physical needs, even the intellectual needs of one’s narrows self, must meet at a certain point a dead stop, before it generates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness.\(^{42}\)

Moreover, the Sarvodaya avoids the evils of legislative or legal coercion in democratic socialism and violence and physical coercion involved in communism. It relies on the technique of conversion for bringing about social transformation in the direction of a non – exploitative and egalitarian society. Gandhi was concerned with the welfare of all and hence rejected the view that the welfare of all could ever be attained by physical, intellectual and moral coercion perpetrated by a section of the people against the rest of the community. He believed that Sarvodaya could be realised only by the application of a moral and ethical method. Through such application of technique of persuasion and appeal to innate good sense of the privileged people might be made to renounce their privileges and apply their superfluous wealth for the welfare of the community.

In the past, relations between man and man have not been so intimate because of the great distance, now these distances has been conquered and people of different countries are coming together into what may be called "one family" or "Global village". Therefore, it is imperative for all to work for the good of the whole society which is the chief idea enshrined in ‘Sarvodaya’. It is not a narrow national Ideal but an order that includes the whole world and the entire human race.

In terms of economics it implies that one should have no more than one need. However, the judge of one's needs is one himself and these needs would vary from individual to individual or nation to nations. But they should vary only within limited margins like the statures of men. Small differences, therefore, do not matter but great disparities have to be removed. Because these

\(^{42}\) Bebarta, Kailash Chandra, Forest Resources and Sustainable Development: Principles, Perspectives and Practices (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company), 2004, p. 128

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stir up Jealousies and create tensions. There can be no peace, security and cooperation unless there is approximate economic equality. However, ‘Sarvodaya’ does not favour the method of forcible dispossession or nationalization, since the one involves violence and the other increases the power of the state, which Sarvodaya would like to reduce to the minimum, as minimum as humanly possible.

**Sarvodaya and Sustainable Development**

Increasing consumption of resources, a menace in the emerging society, received Mahatma’s attention. Gandhi warned humanity of this dangerous situation as early as 1909 when he pointed out in the seminal work ‘Hind Swaraj’ that unprincipled growth will lend humanity on the brink of disaster. Principle like ‘give and take’, ‘live and let live’ and ‘love and to be loved’ are the cornerstone of his philosophy. He advocated a holistic vision of life and emphasised equality and justice for all the people on the earth. He stressed on the simple truth that each individual is unique and we should respect his individuality.

Gandhi had cautioned humanity against ecological devastation and other human misery that might arise unless modern civilization takes care of nature and man tries to live in harmony with nature and reduce his wants. He exhorted that unlimited consumerist tendencies and indifference to social values would not help humanity to progress toward peace and prosperity. Therefore, he advocated practice of simple living and high thinking and discovered the strength of people’s power of participation in the process of all-round development.

Industrial revolution, which initiated a drive for material development, had led large-scale exploitation of nature. In this context, Gandhi said that no civilization is worthwhile unless it saves nature and provides full opportunity for the fullest development of human beings. He, therefore, says, “Nature produces enough for our wants from day-to-day and if everybody takes enough for our wants from day-to-day and if everybody takes enough for himself and
nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world.” To explain it more lucidly, he said that, “The Earth provides enough to satisfy every one’s needs but not for anybody’s greed.”43

Gandhian strategy of development lays emphasis on two aspects. One is individual response to development and second is pattern of economic development. Individual response to development is aimed at individual behaviour. Gandhi’s concept of development is pervasive and holistic. It becomes relevant to consider few of the elements, which are significant from the point of social or societal change. These are as follows:44

- He emphasized on austerity in consumption.
- He exhorted to choose technology, which does not create ecological imbalance.
- He said that production and consumption should be as proximate as possible. This facilitates proper use of local resources. This also achieves self-sufficiency in villages. Reasonable self-sufficiency should be the integral part of the economic system.
- He laid stress on decentralized mechanism operating on the principle of participatory democracy and management.
- He laid emphasis on improving the moral values of the society.
- He fought for promoting values, which encourage consumption standard in consonance with ecological parameters.
- He said that the production pattern should be non-degrading and non-destructive of environment.
- He said that the development lies on a volume of output that commands maximum social value rather than market value.

Gandhi also stressed on equalitarian and non-exploitative society that ensures the basic needs of the community and empowers all the sections of the

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43 Ibid., p. 128
44 Ibid., p. 129
society to raise to the level of conscious, critical and creative participation in the organisation and management of the community. He also made it abundantly clear that economic growth alone cannot bring benefits to all the sections of the community. He stressed on moral character of the nation. Therefore, the principle and ethical elements propounded by him, if practiced in a wide scale, will go a long way in establishing a society based on the principals of sustainable human development.

**Sarvodaya and Democracy**

However, in spite of all criticism of the present day democracy, Sarvodaya subscribes to the democratic ideal, which believes in equality, in the worth and dignity of the individual person and in positive freedom. There would be as much as possible a participatory democracy and it would do away with centralized control and party government. The Sarvodaya favour a welfare society instead of welfare, state, where decision will be taken by consensus of opinion, party-less democracy and either a modified system of direct elections or of indirect elections for choosing representative to provincial and national legislature.

As a result, Sarvodaya envisages a society wherein the people themselves would plan and carry out welfare work for themselves. The state authority may exist to inspire and encourage them in their task and to render help when they need it. The so-called today’s ‘Welfare state’ is criticized by Sarvodaya on the ground that it robs the citizens of their initiative. It leaves no space for the development of the natural virtues of love, compassion, sharing for common good etc. The concentration of power it entails makes a few individuals arbiters of human destiny. Moreover welfare state is considered an attempt to mitigate the evils of unbridled capitalism so as to preserve the class structure of society. Hence is the place of this paternal but disabling state.

The present – day democracy works on bare majority principle, which is inconsistent with the very conception of Sarvodaya which stands for the good of all. It could be achieved party through the process of intensive
education and training of the rural masses in order to inculcate the spirit of humanity and harmony among them. The government of the village will be conducted by the system of Panchayat "annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualification." And that will have all the authority and jurisdiction required. Since there will be no system of punishment in the accepted sense, this Panchayat will be the Legislature, Judiciary and Executive combined to operate for its year of office. To Gandhi, "True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village." Similarly, decentralisation of social and political power is the key to attempt at building village republics, i.e., Panchayat Raj. In such a system, decision making power will vest in the village panchayat rather than in the state and the national capital. In this system the panchayat exercises legislative, executive and judicial powers and functions. It would look after education, health and sanitation of the village. It would be the panchayat’s responsibility to protect and uplift untouchables and other poor people. Resources for managing village affairs would be raised from the village. All the conflicts and disputes would be resolved within the village. And so far as possible not a single case is to be referred to courts outside the village. Accordingly the panchayats were expected to develop moral and spiritual values to strengthen the foundations of the social and political structure.

Therefore, Sarvodaya does not approve the present system of democracy, the method of elections and party organization. It goes much further. It believes in direct democracy and in self-reliance of the people. Gandhi had desired that the Congress should be a party that devotes itself exclusively to the

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45 Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, 28-7-46, p.4
46 Arunachalam, K., Gandhian Approach to Rural Development (Madurai: Sarvodaya La Khiva Pannai), 1981, p. 83
47 Gandhi, M.K. Harijan 18-1-48, p. 7
service of the people. He wanted the Congress better to establish a non-violent society by becoming a voluntary service organization.

In this respect, Jayaprakash Narayan adds that “In the primary village communities panchayats, instead of political parties should play the required role. This will open the door of the responsible life for the common man. The life of responsibility bestows vigilance and nourishes dutiful nature. Without self control and consideration for others life of togetherness in society is impossibility.”

Similarly, there are many scholars who claim that the principles of Sarvodaya may be very relevant today to bring about an egalitarian and participative democratic society. In the place of parliamentary representative democracy, there will be as much as possible, participatory democracy wherein people themselves would plan and carryout welfare work for themselves. In order to achieve the said goals, the Panchayati Raj Institution pattern was adopted through 73rd Constitutional Amendment act 1992. which in a way materialized the concept of democratic decentralization and made democratic system a participative system in its real sense. It is a step adopted by the government to work toward a social and political order where everybody may get a chance for his or her development and to fulfil the Gandhi’s dream of Sarvodaya.

Vinoba and Sarvodaya

Gandhi aimed at establishing a new socio-politico order based on love, truth, self-sacrifice, and non-violence. Where exploitation of many by one in all forms would end; inequality would be replaced by equality, competition by the co-operation and conflict by goodwill. But Mahatma could not live to give practical shape to his ideal. His mission remained unfulfilled which was taken over later by Acharya Vinoba Bhave who joined the Sabarmati Ashram in 1916 and devoted his life to solve the economic problem by purely non-violent means and by ushering in the Sarvodaya samaj.

49 Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. cit., p.47
In reply to the questions such as what is Sarvodaya samaj and what kind of organisation was it, Vinoba explained. “It is not just an organisation. It is a mighty word expressive of a revolutionary idea. A powerful word is mightier than institutions. Organisations do not possess the power that great words have. Words have the power to make as well as to unmake. Words elevate, words also degrade men and nations. We have adopted one of these great words of tremendous power. What does signify? We do not want the rise of the few: not even of the many; or for that matter the rise of the greatest number. We are not satisfied with the greatest good of the greatest number. We can be satisfied only with the good of one and all, of the high and low, of the strong and the weak, the intelligent as well as the dull, only then we will be satisfied. This word Sarvodaya expresses this lofty and all embracing sentiment.”

To Vinoba the basic techniques of Sarvodaya are Bhoodan, Gramdan, Sampatidan and Jeevandan etc.

**Bhoodan:** - Bhoodan or the gift of land is at the core of Vinoba’s Sarvodaya movement, as the land problem has been the core of India’s difficulties. Vinoba Bhāve held that a man’s mind could be changed, if the man who wanted to change the same, himself possessed a high startling character. Accordingly to him, if the preacher touches the inner core of the listener and his approach is sincere, selfless and in the interest of common good, it is bound to succeed.

On 18th April 1961, Vinoba started his Bhoodan movement under the banner of Sarvodaya when he found during the course of his tours that the communist sponsored disturbances in Telangana were due to pitiable economic conditions of the landless people. To Vinoba, the aim of the Bhoodan Movement was not to take away land from those who had and to distribute it among the landless. But it sought to build up a new social order on the principles of non-possession, manual labour, co-operation and self-reliance.

The Acharya Bhāve wrote, “This Bhoodan yajna (Land Gifts Mission) is an application of non-violence, an experiment in the transformation of life

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50 Harijan, 26-12-1948, vol. xii, p. 4
itself. I am only an instrument in the hands of him, who in the lord of all ages, like even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired to give away hundreds of acres of land freely? My appeal to all and everywhere is to take this as a thing which God desires them to do, and bequeath their lands to the landless liberally and lovingly.\(^{51}\)

Moreover Bhoodan was bloodless revolution unprecedented in the history of the world, whereby a step was taken in the direction of Sarvodaya or setting up of a new social order by converting the exploiter and making his services available to society instead of doing away with him and depriving ourselves of his ability for organisation and management.

**Gramdan:** Gramdan was another technique adopted by Vinoba to implement his goal of Sarvodaya samaj. Bhoodan forms only a part of the non-violent revolution or the first part of it. To Vinoba, another important stage in Sarvodaya is the Gramdan. It means that instead of individual giving away some portion of the land, everyone in the village should surrender his entire holdings. Individual ownership is to be ended; the ownership is to be transferred to the village community. All the land was thus to be distributed for cultivation to all the families living in the village according to their respective needs, the larger families receiving more than smaller ones, irrespective of their holdings before the Gramdan. The people were required to share their joys and sorrows together. They would also use their talents for the common good.

So Vinoba said, "Gramdan is such a unique programme that it has all the advantages and no disadvantages. Parting with one twentieth of land and thirtieth and fortieth of the annual income or produce every year will not be heavy. But it will preserve the land in the village itself and will do so for generations. This will enable the people of the village to frame a complete plan for the village. You can have Sarvodaya republics... so doing, terrible

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\(^{51}\) Bhave, Vinoba, Bhoodan Yajna (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House), 1987, pp. 10-11
problems like dearness, scarcity, unemployment etc., will at least disappear from the village."\textsuperscript{52}

The idea behind the Gramdan Movement to Vinoba was to develop what he thought of Lok Niti or Lok Sata, as distinguished from raj-niti. Vinoba considered the Gramdan as the Gangotri of Bhoodan. It was like Gangotri, the source of Ganga and he thought that the trickling stream will gather strength by and by it goes along.

\textbf{Sampatidan}: - At first Vinoba was opposed to the acceptance of money as dan (donation), because collection of funds was not a part of his movement. But later on he felt that money was essential for the success of his mission. To Vinoba, the change in villages is to be affected by Bhoodan and Gramdan, but in cities it is to be brought about by Sampatidan. Underlying it is the principle that the wealth, a man earns is not due to his individual efforts but it is a social product and therefore he should share it with all others. In Sarvodaya, there are three main purposes for which this Sampatidan was to be utilised.

\begin{enumerate}
\item To supply implements and seeds etc., to the poor who will be put in possession of lands under the distribution scheme.
\item To meet the expenditure to maintain workers in villages.
\item To propagate Sarvodaya literature and the ideas of Dharma among the people in a simple way.
\end{enumerate}

Vinoba extended his Sarvodaya Movement to other facets of life through Budhidan, Shramdan and Jeevandan. Budhidan means that a talented person should dedicate a part of his intelligence to the promotion of the common good for sacred cause. Vinoba wanted that money should not be wasted on payments of wages for completion of projects of public welfare: people should come forward willingly to donate free labour. Through Shramdan all could share in the comradeship of labour.

\textsuperscript{52} Bhave, Vinoba & Jayaprakash Narayan, Gramdan to Gram Swaraj (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan), 1957, p. 5
**Jeevandan:** - By Jeevandan Vinoba means that a person devotes his entire life to the service of Sarvodaya movement. The individual places his services at the disposal of the movement, to be obliged by it in any form. As in 1954 Jayaprakash Narayan along with other Sarvodaya workers dedicated his whole life for the success of Sarvodaya Movement.

    To Vinoba Sarvodaya samaj would be ‘Shasanamukta’ or free from a centralised coercive authority. The politics of such a society would be those of service and not of power; Lok-niti would take the place of raj-niti. As he wrote: “Lok Niti is the supremacy of the moral love of the people which does not need the coercive power of the state. Lok niti would reduce the power of the state to the minimum.”

    To Vinoba in the present form of government where ‘niti’, the moral law rules, government disintegrates; where there is ‘raj’, a coercive government, niti is destroyed. For the future, we want not a kingdom, ruled by the political ‘kings’, but a ‘commonwealth’ ordered by the common people. For him “Swarajya is a term in Vedic language. It it defined thus: Swarajya is the government of each, i.e., it is such a government that it will seem to each to be his own rule, or government by all, or Ramrajya (Kingdom of God).”

**Jayaprakash Narayan and Sarvodaya**

    Jayaprakash Narayan – ‘J.P.’ as millions of Indian affectionately called him, was a crusader all through his life, which saw his journey from Marxism to Democratic Socialism and then to Sarvodaya. J.P., the most dedicated Sarvodaya leader after Gandhi and second in hierarchy to Vinoba Bhave was the person who gave a new inspiration to our masses and could make them realise that they were the real masters of this country. They are the arbiters of the destiny of this nation. It is not the politicians, not the few people at the helm

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53 Bhave, Vinoba, Sarvodaya (Tanjavur: Sarvodaya preachuralayamy), April 1971, vol. xx, p.477
54 Bhave, Vinoba, Swaraj Sastra: The Principles of A Non-Violent Political Order (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan), 1973, p. 10
of the affairs who could determine the future of this country, but young man, peasantry and the toiling masses.

In 1929, Jayaprakash Narayan while in America came into contact with the East European intellectuals and studied M.N. Roy’s writings. He became Marxist and appreciated the philosophy and ideology of Marxism. What attracted him to Marxism was its doctrine of freedom and equality. He also thought that Marxian science of revolution offered surer and quicker road to freedom than Gandhi’s technique of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. It now became clear to him that political freedom was not enough and that it must be accompanied by freedom from exploitation and poverty.

On his return to India in 1927, he threw his heart and soul in the Civil Disobedience Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. But he felt greatly disappointed when he saw that the Indian communists denounced the civil disobedience movement as bourgeois and Mahatma as a lackey of the Indian bourgeoisie. There begin his differences with the Communist Party of India, which ultimately led to his complete ideological alienation from Soviet Russia which was till then the paragon and exemplar of all communist virtues. This all hurt J.P. and he wrote, “The ideological conflict and struggle for power that had gone on in Russia for some years prior to this had not yet produced any positive reaction in me, apart from a suppressed anxiety. Indeed, there was not much information available yet regarding those matters. But when at home I was face to face with a soviet dictated policy, which my Marxian just could not be reconciled with, I could not help being somewhat alienated.”

The result was that J.P. kept aloof from the Communist Party of India. But that did not in any way reduce his passion for socialism; free India meant to him a socialist India, and Swaraj, the rule of the poor and the down trodden. In order to put pressure on the Congress to move in the direction of socialism.

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he with the help of other socialist leaders founded the Congress Socialist Party in 1934, which played a major role in giving shape to the socio-economic programme of the Congress. He played an outstanding role in making the Socialist Party a mass party. The results of the first general election held on the basis of adult franchise gave him a shock. J.P. never reconciled himself to the results in which his party won very few seats. Gradually he felt that electoral politics would not bring salvation to the country. More and more he began to explore the potentialities of the Gandhian method and came very close to Vinoba Bhave.

Explaining his voyage from Socialism to Sarvodaya he wrote that “The same old become lights of freedom, equality and brotherhood that had guided the course of my life and brought me to democratic socialism drew me onward, around this turning of the road. My regret is that I did not reach this point in my life’s journey while Gandhi was still in our midst. However, some years back it became clear to me that socialism as we understand it today cannot take mankind to the sublime goals of freedom, equality, brotherhood and peace. Socialism, no doubt, gives promise to bring mankind closer to those goals than any other competing social philosophy. But I am persuaded that unless socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya, these goals would remain beyond its reach, and just as we had to taste the ashes of independence, so future generations may have to taste the ashes of socialism.”

Ultimately in 1954 at a Sarvodaya Conference at Bodh-Gaya where Lord Buddha found enlightenment, Jayaprakash Narayan announced that he had become a ‘Jeevandani’ – one who had dedicated his life to Bhooman. He thought that Bhoodan and Sarvodaya would bring about a basic social change and social transformation; it would solve the land problem, the agrarian problem and it would also bring about a basic change in social order. As a true

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Sarvodaya follower, J.P. had in mind to change the society on Gandhian principles of Love, Non-violence, Truth and Satyagraha. He combined the Gandhian techniques with Vinoba Bhave’s Bhoodan, Gramdan and Jeevandan as means to establish a Sarvodaya Samaj.

**Bhoodan:** - Before coming under the influence of Bhave, J.P. was of the view that Bhoodan would take hundreds of years to redistribute all the land in the country. But two main factors convinced him: one was Bhave’s unusual zeal for the movement and the other was the steady growth of movement. Significantly he wrote that “it is closer to Gandhian ideal, then anything else in India.”

In fact J.P. had realised that Bhoodan was not a programme of merely collecting and distributing lands, rather It was a process whereby we could reach the goal of Sarvodaya society. He further wrote: “it makes a direct appeal to the masses and would inevitably cast its influence on their approach and way of life.”

Moreover Bhoodan Movement gave a new thinking to Jayaprakash Narayan, as it was very quite different from other types of revolutions as in Russia and China. In these countries there was compulsion of law and physical force whereas Bhoodan was an endeavour to make one realise that one must share his wealth and possession with those who are denied the same. According to J.P., “Bhoodan is thus a great mass movement of conversion and the creation of a new climate of thought and values of life. It brings about a living and immediate revolution in the minds of men and their mutual relationships. It attacks and correct here and now the system of exploitation and inequality. It teaches men to share what they have with their fellowmen.”

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57 As quoted in ‘Sarvodaya’ (journal), Jayaprakash’s life from Communism to Sarvodaya, 1970, vol. xxi, p. 183
58 Narayan, Jayaprakash, A picture of Sarvodaya Social order (Tanjore: Sarvodaya Prachuralaya Akhil Bhartiya Sarva Seva Sangh), 1964, p.167
59 Narayan, Jayaprakash, Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy, op.cit., p.125
The Political Theory of Bhoodan

To Jayaprakash Narayan, Bhoodan aims at creating such a type of political order in society, in which people will manage their affairs directly without the intermediation of political parties. There would be absolutely no need of a large and powerful parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise, making laws and administering national affairs on the principles of majority rule. The politics of such a society would be those of service and not of power; ‘Lokniti’ would take the place of ‘Rajniti’. Rajniti or power politics is a divisive force; instead of uniting people in the pursuit of common ends it separates them. Lokniti on the other hand, unites the people. It is based on ‘janshakti’, or power of the people. It means the expression of democratic values in the mutual respect, citizens have for one another. Moreover, Lokniti springs from self-discipline or self-restraint. As he wrote; “in the present world the state not only in its totalitarian form but also in its welfare variety is assuming larger and larger powers and responsibilities. The welfare state, in the name of welfare, threatens as much to enslave man to the state as the totalitarian... it is for this reason that the Bhoodan or Sarvodaya movement insisted that if our ultimate aim is to without state, we must here and now create those conditions in which the people will rely more and more on themselves and less and less on the state.”

Gramdan: - To Jayaprakash Narayan, Gramdan is the key to success for the establishment of a Sarvodaya samaj. In it one voluntarily surrenders the ownership of one’s land and in the name of village society, sits down together with all adults in the village assembly and contributes regularly a portion of one’s field produce or wages as earning to the village fund. He was of the firm idea that if India wants Panchayati Raj and a true programme of community development, they can do so only if they introduced therein the heaven of Gramdan. As he wrote; “It leads to the creation of a responsible and responsive

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10 Narayan, Jayaprakash., A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order, op. cit., pp.28-29
society. The changes that can be brought about even in the initial stages by Gramdan are such a vital character as cannot be obtained by any amount of official work, or programme of political parties or activities of ‘Panchayati raj’ or ‘community development’, or of five years plan programme or ‘rural programme’ or ‘man power utility programme’, etc. All these programmes will never be able to match in quality or quantity, the attainments of Gramdan.”

Jayaprakash Narayan has based his Gramdan on four main pillars:

1. The village sets up its Gram Sabha (village assembly) of which every adult; male or female is a member.

2. All the land holders of the village transfer the ownership of their entire land to the village community or Gram Sabha.

3. All the land holders donate one-twentieth of their land to the Gram Sabha for the sake of the landless of the village.

4. They will set up a ‘Gram Kosh’ (village fund) in which the land holders regularly offer one-fortieth of their produce and the salaried people or wage earners contribute one day’s earning (or one thirtieth of their income) year after year.

Moreover, Gramdan creates a new environment and converts the heart of the people to an extent. If Gramdan gets success it would help in accomplishing such other things, like khadi, prohibition, removal of untouchability. In fact the Gramdan is a part and parcel of Sarvodaya Movement.

**Jeevandan:** By Jeevandan J.P. meant not only dedication of one’s life to a cause, but it is a dedication to a particular cause. After his becoming ‘Jeevandani’ to Vinoba’s Bhoomi, many followed his example. By his dedication Bhave moved so much that he wrote in a letter to Jayaprakash “in response to your call of yesterday, here is the offering of my own life for the

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61 Bhave, Vinoba. & Narayan, Jayaprakash, Gramdan for Gram Swaraj, op. cit., pp. 83-84
establishment of a non-violent social order based on Bhoodan yajna and with village industries as its main stay.”

Between 1954 and 1974 Jayaprakash Narayan played an active part in the Sarvodaya Movement. He had been constantly touring the country and also went abroad to carry the message of Sarvodaya to countries in Europe and the America. Bhoodan, Gramdan became very close to his heart. But gradually he began to realise that Sarvodaya Movement was not the answer for the country’s need. He felt that Vinoba's movement was a status quo and its power that be and that Sarvodaya in its existing form could not become an effective instrument for change.

In 1974 there came a time when Bhave and J.P. developed differences in their approach to Sarvodaya, against J.P.’s involvement in Bihar Students movement. A few Sarvodaya workers led by Smt. Nirmala Deshpande and Shri Dayanidhi Patnaik had been raking objection to J.P. and other Sarvodaya workers association with the movement, which, according to them, was being run, not in strict conformity with Sarvodaya principles. The entire Sarva Seva Sangh almost broke on this issue at a Conference in Wardha in July 1974. After a long discussion with Vinoba he agreed to the idea that each worker would follow the dictates of his own consciousness.

Later on, Jayaprakash Narayan declared that the idea of ‘Total Revolution’ – a peaceful one could make India, the India of his dreams, a Sarvodaya State.

After analysing the Sarvodaya of Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan we come to know that their idea of Sarvodaya samaj was based on the development of the villages. In order to achieve the goal of all round development of nation, the base should be village, because in India majority of people still live in villages. In such situation both of them focus on the rural

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62 Bhattacharya, Ajit, Jayaprakash Narayan: A Political Bibliography, op. cit., p. 124
structure of our social system. They wanted the people to rise above their personal interest and work for the betterment of the whole society.

It must be noted here that during his lifetime, Gandhi never allowed Sarvodaya organization to be formally instituted. His thinking was that once you serve people, as 'Sevaks', within the Sarvodaya philosophy there was no need to institutionalize. But since his demise, Sarvodaya organization was established worldwide—on all continents—genuinely helping people towards building new societies from the grass-roots up. These are now being connected into a Sarvodaya network with headquarter in Bangalore, India.

At the operational field level, the most successful Sarvodaya programmes have most often been those which apart from being self-created and self-managed, have employed practical hands-on learning by doing methods, including a lot of income generation, skills training and conscientisation; rather than the theoretical "talk shop" or work shopping approach. And they have always exercised a almost respect for the cultural mores of the people involved, whether their ethics come from world faiths such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc. or any other traditional religion.

**Sarvodaya outside India**

In the international field also Gandhian discovery of the new technique of Satyagraha became well known. And it has impressed many movements in the world, like Dr. Martin Luther King—was been deeply influenced by his thought and technique to remove some of the racial discriminations in the southern states of the U.S.A. The creeds of international Institute of Rural Reconstruction (based in the Philippines), as articulated by its founder, Dr James Yen, encapsulated a mythology that is very much in consonance with Sarvodaya.


Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka

The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement is a self-governance movement in Sri Lanka, which provides comprehensive development and conflict resolution programmes to villages. It was founded in 1958 by Dr. A. T. Ariyaratne, when he took forty high school students and twelve teachers from Nalanda College, Colombo on an educational experiment to an outcaste village Kathaluwa and helped the villagers fix it up. It is based on Buddhist and Gandhian principles, including Sarvodaya from which it got the name and Swaraj (self-governance).

Besides, for them Sarvodaya means the ‘Awakening of All’, and Shramdan means to donate manual labour. Beginning in just one village and extending the movement to a total of more than 15,000 has been a fascinating adventure. Initially it involved in an educational program aimed at enabling students and teachers to live and work with the most remote village communities in Sri Lanka to lend a hand and develop self-help initiatives.

The Sarvodaya programme begins with an invitation from a village for discussion of what is needed and how it can be done. It proceeds in stages through creating a village council, building a school and clinic, and setting up family programmes, creating economic opportunity so that the village economy becomes self-sustaining, starting a village bank, and offering help to other villages. In addition, Sarvodaya sponsors public meditations in which tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands of Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Christians meditate together for each other’s welfare, using the Buddhist Brahmavihara (sublime attitude) meditations, which are acceptable within all faiths.

The Path to this new society and better life, writes Dr. A.T. Aryaratne, head of the Sarvodaya organization in Sri Lanka, begins with the awakening of individual, families and communities to their own potential. A major sect of this awakening is helping people to understand that they can make and carry...
out their own development plans to meet their own needs. And that they do not need to be mentally and physically dependent on what is handed down to them by distant and other agencies outside their spheres.

Within nine years, however, the ‘service learning programme’ had expanded into a full-fledged development movement in hundreds of villages, with the goal of a comprehensive and nonviolent social transformation. During its first 15 years, Sarvodaya grew with hardly any foreign aid or state support, relying on volunteer labour, mostly from the beneficiaries themselves.

By the late 1970s, the Sarvodaya Movement, with support from partner organisations in more prosperous countries, became capable of reaching nearly every part of Sri Lanka. The programme of self-reliance, community participation and an holistic approach to community ‘awakening’ appealed not only to the people in poor communities, but also to donors. Thousands of young women and men learned how to motivate and organise people in their own villages to meet the ten basic human needs, ranging from a clean and adequate drinking-water supply to simple housing and sanitation, communications facilities, an energy supply, education and ways of satisfying spiritual and cultural needs.

During its first three decades, the Sarvodaya Movement succeeded initially without any assistance, and later within a framework of development cooperation with like-minded organisations – to become one of the largest participatory organisations in this region if not the world.

The momentum of the movement was such that by the early 1990s, in spite of harassment by the government and political violence, Sarvodaya had achieved an enormous outreach. The movement’s work now included peace building, conflict resolution, appropriate technology and programmes for children at risk, elders and those with disabilities all the while focusing on a holistic approach to social mobilisation through empowerment of people beyond mere economic development.
It is quite significant to mention here that at around the same time, international priorities changed, switching to economic development strategies. Large projects and macro-interventions began to dominate the scene amongst donors, and Sarvodaya, which had originally attracted attention due to its broader based philosophy, became the victim of its own success. In 1991, when 85% of its external aid dried up, the movement was forced to go back to its roots. From then on, it had to have on so-called pioneer villages to provide support for the surrounding communities still requiring development. In addition, they reduced the numbers of paid staff and counted on the commitment of Sarvodaya’s long-term supporters to keep the movement on course.

However, the Sarvodaya Shramdan Movement has now become stronger than ever before. A new administrative management at national level is supporting a motivated group of emerging leaders at the village and district levels. Although almost one-third of the districts supported by Sarvodaya are not financed by outside partners, they are nevertheless surviving in the knowledge that in the long term, progress for them will result from partnership and self-sustaining development activities rather than from charity. The important role in peacemaking, community building, and securing a certain quality of life in Sri Lanka is undiminished, and there will to achieve innovation in the social, ethical, cultural, spiritual and economic fields is constantly nourished by partners who have the confidence that their experience and period of hardship have a certain value.

It is also the largest indigenous organization working in reconstruction from the tsunami caused by the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake. As of 2006, Sarvodaya staff people and programs are active in some 15,000 (of 38,000) villages in Sri Lanka. The organization estimates that 11 million citizens are individual beneficiaries of one of their programs. The group distributes funds from a financial reserve bank of 1.6 billion rupees.
Sarvodaya (formally known as Lanka Jatika Sarvodaya Shramadana Sangamaya) is an organisation developed around a set of coherent philosophical tenets drawn from Buddhism and Gandhian thought; it has been operational for almost 50 years. It has been described as an international role model by international bodies. Its founder and charismatic leader, Dr A.T. Ariyaratne, whose visionary contributions have been recognised in multiple countries, continues to provide ideological and inspirational leadership to the organisation while the day-to-day operations are in the hands of a new generation, receptive to modern forms of management that are compatible with the overall vision of this volunteer-based peoples’ organisation.

Abstract thought is not capable of solving the day-to-day and concrete problems. In order to fulfil the dream of Gandhi, Sarvodaya Samaj was founded at Sewagram near Wardha in 1948. It helps to carry out the concrete programme for the implementation of Sarvodaya ideal. The objective of this samaj was, to do one’s utmost to shape a new society, on the foundations of Truth and Non-violence. In this society there would be no caste, and no opportunity to exploit others, in which, again both individual and community find freedom to fulfil themselves.

However, this samaj was a loose organisation with no strict discipline. It has been conceived for the natural co-operation of those who believe in the employment of pure means for the welfare of all. According to Vinoba, “it is not an attempt at building a political party or at creating a new sect that believes in Gandhian thought.”

Party and politics are not considered to be the right means of creating the new world, since power offers a magical chair that determine to get a great extent the activities of one who accept it. Sects are generally motivated by limited vested interests and therefore become unable to resolve the problems to the satisfaction of all. “The samaj does not stand as a

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63 Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. cit., p.31
contradicting body; it thus eschews the possibility of organisational violence, solely relying on mutual understanding and voluntary cooperation.\textsuperscript{64}

It was felt necessary to state some precepts in the form of suggestions for guidance. It has been wished that these should not be taken to be hard and fast ritualistic rule, nor should they be used as criteria to judge others. The precepts reflect Gandhi's ashrams rules.

1. To ply the spinning wheel in order to reveal the dignity of labour and the principle of bread labour.
2. To insist, so far as possible, on the use of things manufactured in village and cottage industry. This is not a campaign machine but a protest against its obnoxious use in the modern society.
3. To use cow-milk while at home. This is also to encourage use of animal instead of machine, for agriculture and other necessities.
4. To look after one's sanitation. The observance of this rule is intended to do away with caste and class distinctions in society and reveals the equal value of all sorts of work.
5. The rebuilding of Indian society as the immediate task of Sarvodaya Samaj, naturally, determines its working. For a healthy social order unity and mutual understanding are of fundamental importance. Language is one of the important means of joining the heart of people through communication. Hence, it suggested that workers of Sarvodaya samaj should learn at least four languages.\textsuperscript{65}

It has been emphasised that the actual form and the details of the working of the society do not matter as much as the fundamental conviction that the samaj stands for the wellbeing of all.

It was in view of the urgency of moral reconstruction in rural India that Sarvodaya, the cherished mission of Mahatma Gandhi, emerged as a definite

\textsuperscript{64} Gandhi, M.K., Sarvodaya Its Principle and Programme, op.cit., p. 36
\textsuperscript{65} Tikekar, Indu B., Integral Revolution An Analytical Study of Gandhian Thought, op. cit., pp. 35-36
response to the Telengana movement and found expression in the form of Bhoodan movement under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave.

Undoubtedly, Sarvodaya was the logical culmination of the constructive programme to usher in an era of non-violent revolution. Bhoodan was the campaign to persuade landowners to donate voluntarily a part of their lands for redistribution to the landless labourers, who constitute the poorest fifth of India's rural population, came to be seen as the vital lever by which revolutionary social change on Gandhian lines might be affected. Intuitively, Vinoba had sensed that, in India as in other Asian countries, the peasant held the deep to social revolution; Vinoba declared that “in a just and equitable order of society, the land must belong to all. That is why we do not beg for gifts but demand a share to which the poor are rightly entitled.”

Vinoba aimed at a threefold revolution, viz, to change people's hearts, to create a change in their lives, and finally, to change the social structure. Bhoodan was therefore, a non-violent, persuasive programme for social transformation which was opposed to none yet strived to help all.

The apex of Bhoodan is what is known as Gramdan-Gram Swaraj movement the latter sought to establish village republics after attaining the triple target of wiping out inequalities, generating peoples self reliant power, and of transforming individual virtues or assets like truth, Non violence and Non-possession into social forces through the process of persuasion, consent and dialogue in which non-cooperation with injustice or evil is implied. It proposed to bring about such a revolution, from the bottom upwards, as will help produce a new society which, marked by economic inequality and social justice will have its first as also ultimate expression in Gramdan. Gram Swaraj spearheaded Sarvodaya movement in its genuine spirit which strived to deflect

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66 Sachchidananda, Sarvodaya and Development (Patna: A.N.S. Institute of Social Studies), 1978, p.5
popular anger from violent revolutionary path and turn it into a social force to rebuild the system which would be free of inequalities and exploitation.

According to Gandhi, "Swaraj of my dream is the poor man's Swaraj. The necessaries of the life should be enjoyed by you in common with those enjoyed by the Princes and managed men. But that does not mean that you should have places like theirs. They are not necessary for happiness. You or I would be lost in them. But you ought to get all the ordinary amenities of life that a rich man enjoys. I have not the slightest doubt that Swaraj is not ‘Purna Swaraj’ until these amenities are guaranteed to you under it. I do not know when we will win it but we have all to strive for it."67

However, the most disadvantaged sections of the community being the economically, the physically and the mentally poor, it is obvious that no egalitarian society could evolve without the poor taking part in the evolutionary process. And for this sector to take part, focus must be put on raising their status to an acceptably decent level. However, as it should be for all the other sectors of society, if an acceptable level of existence is to be reached and maintained for the disadvantaged sector, it is imperative that it should be self sustainable through their participation in their own management. Otherwise, they will continue to be dependent. Otherwise, they will continue to be dependent on theirs a state in which true liberation or empowerment could never take place.

Sarvodaya then is the application of the principle of Non-violence in the transformation of societies: from their present forms which are mostly exploitative and disfavour the most disadvantaged, toward more balanced, inclusive and egalitarian forms in which could be enshrined the principle of social justice for all. The theory of Trusteeship: elimination of exploitation in every shape or form; a classless society which offers no privileges by the birth

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67 Gandhi, M.K., Young India, 26-3-3, pp. 1-2
or health or talent, mutual cooperation being the driving force of motivation and behaviour; and above all, securing the welfare of all without any distinction of race, religion, sex, political affiliation these may be said to be the highlights of the Sarvodaya society envisioned by the Mahatma.

Mahatma Gandhi gave advocated the ideology of non-violence and applied it in the context of particular time, place and situation. Each age and each problem needs a solution of its own and techniques of its own to resolve the problem. Those who oppose to follow in the footprints of Gandhi have to evolve techniques different from the one that Gandhi had evolved. His instrument in itself, once innovated by one of the rarest of men under specific cultural and historical conditions, now exists in the images, impulse and reutilizations of many who have become aware of it by what we call ritual diffusion. It now calls for leaders who will renovate it elsewhere, sharing no doubt, some of the personal or historical motivation of the first leader, the first followers of those first led, but recombining its motivation with totally new elements.

As a matter of fact, Sarvodaya is a free and flexible ideology which welcomes and assimilates all that is good in others. It synthesizes the best in western democracy with the best in communism. It preserves all that is valuable in the cultures of the past and accepts all that is valuable in the modern thought and practice. There is an organic unity in the whole of this philosophy. Its philosophical postulates form the basis of its ethical principles. While the ideas of revolution and its process are in consonance with the principle while the ideas of revolution and its process are in consonance with the principle of non-violence.

The structure of society as envisaged and the process whereby the society is to be transformed are fully consistent with its basic ideas. The world today requires both peace and revolution and Sarvodaya appears to be the only ideology which gives hope for a peaceful revolution. It is also the only existing
philosophy which holds a comprehensive view of the world transcending all barriers that separate man from man. However, the most important aspect of Sarvodaya is its proper understanding, awakening in the masses and its proper application by its operators.

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