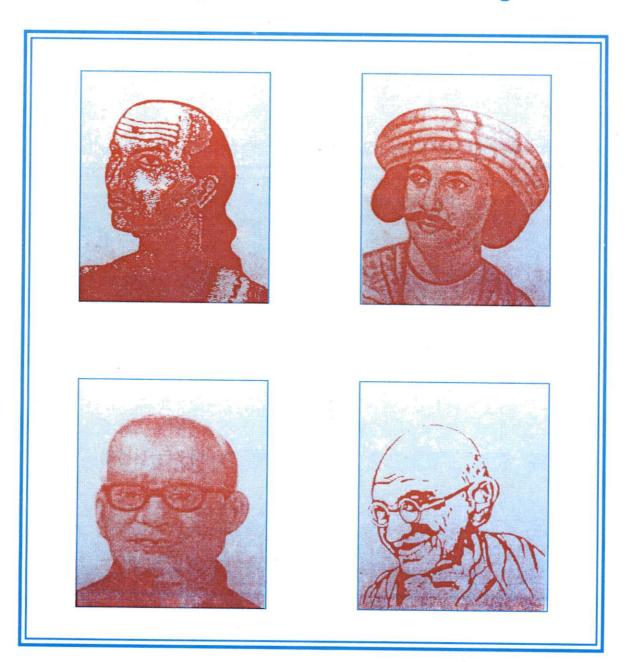


POLITICAL SCIENCE MA [PREVIOUS] Course II

1357

Paper - Indian Political Thought



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

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ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

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ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.
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ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಜ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ತರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu



Political Science Course II

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Block VII

This block deals with three important political thinkers of modern India: Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, and Jayaprakash Narayan. Unit 19 exclusively focus on the political thought of Gandhi which include his life sketch, his understanding about the state, means and ends, his notion of trusteeship, non-violence, techniques of satyagraha, Sarvodaya, Swaraj and Swadeshi. Further this unit also deals with the relevance of Gandhi's' views in the contemporary world.

Unit 20 deals with another Gandhian-Vinoba Bhave, especially with his life history, political ideas, his notions about Bhoodan and Gramdan, his concept of Sarvodaya. Finally this unit also makes an estimate of Vinoba Bhave as a Gandhian disciple

Unit 21 deals with another Marxist turned Gandhian thinker: Jayaprakash Narayan. It also focuses on his life history, socialism, Sarvodaya, and total revolution. Finally this unit also makes an evaluation of Jayaprakash Narayan

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Unit 19: Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi

Structure:

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Life Sketch
- 19.3 State
- 19.4 Means and Ends
- 19.5 Trusteeship
- 19.6 Non-Violence
- 19.7 Techniques of Satyagraha
- 19.8 Sarvodaya
- 19.9 Swaraj
- 19.10 Swadeshi Movement
- 19.11 Relevance of Gandhi
- 19.12 Let Us Sum Up
- 19.13 Key Words
- 19.14 Some Useful Books
- 19.15 Answer to Check Your Progress

19.0 Objectives

Following are the major objectives of the study

- To understand the life sketch of Mahatma Gandhi
- To analyze Gandhi's notions about trusteeship, Non-violence, Swaraj,
- To evaluate his techniques of Satyagraha and Swadeshi Movement
- Finally to understand the relevance of Gandhi's Views in the contemporary world

19.1 Introduction

Gandhi who is vividly known as "Bapu"," Father of the nation", "Mahatma" "an enlightened anarchist", "a world phenomenon" was more of a political agitator than a political philosopher in the academic sense of the term. This is because of the fact that he never developed a systematic political philosophy; rather his ideas grew out of his experiments, and evolved over the times. Even he was not a system builder- it is difficult to fit him into any particular school of thought. He was the one who translated nationalist struggle into a mass struggle, overcoming the barriers of regions and social identities. His political agitations combined the tactics of Pressure-Compromise -Pressure against the colonial powers. His use of moral power, expressed in his satyagraha, and arguments for Hind Swaraj are seminal contributions to Indian politics. Gandhi however believed that the political freedom does not mean the freedom from within. Rather he believed that social and economic freedoms are equally important. Although Gandhi was critical of western modernity, however, he was also advocating indigenous modernity that combined the philosophy of rationalism and reason- his modernity believed in decentralization of power, creation of rational human beings, non-exploitative social relations, and also a new social structure that believes in selfsufficiency. Despite the fact that Gandhi represented indigenous resistance to colonial power, his influence be elsewhere at the global

level can not be glossed over- even Gandhi himself was influenced by others- Tolstoy, Thoreau, Ruskin, Emerson, etc. Nonetheless, Gandhi was the one who brought religion closer to politics. He would again and again stress, "politics bereft of religion are a death trap"

19.2 Life Sketch

Gandhi's emergence as a nationalist leader, representing mass irrespective of social backgrounds needs to be located in the context of colonialism- the latter was showing its ugly face. Colonialism was then identified with racism, oppression, control of vast tract of land through its brute force, subjugation of countries, discrimination, and denial of freedom, rights, and liberties. Gandhi's political activities in fact did not confine to India alone: his struggle began in South Africa and, on later date it stretched to India. Nonetheless, credit should go to Gandhi for changing political discourse of nationalism through his moral force.

Mahatma Gandhi was born in the year of 1869 in Gujarat to a business community. At the age of 19, i.e. in 1888 he left for England to study law. In London he studied in London Inns of Courts and became acquainted with western political philosophy or thought. His studies of Roman law deepened his ideas of a higher law "morally superior to any constitution and positive law." During his stay in London, he became a member of London Vegetarian Society. After completing law he came back to India for a brief period. In 1893 he went to South Africa to work with a Muslim firm. It is here he encountered for the first time racial discrimination that made him to resort to Satyagraha. In South Africa he also became the founder secretary of Natal Indian Congress. In 1896 he returned to India and visited different places, met many people with the intension of highlighting the racial discrimination that the Indians were facing in South Africa. Next year he returned to South Africa wherein he stayed up 1915, although in between he visited India once or twice. During his stay in South Africa he organized Indian Ambulance Corps to

assist the British in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899), organized an Indian Ambulance Corps during the Zulu Rebellion (1906), resorted to Satyagraha against the racial discrimination and anti-Indian legislations and established Tolstoy farm (1910). In 1915 he came back to India to settle down permanently. The same year he established Sabarmati Ashram. Between 1915 till his death in 1948 Indian Nationalist movement came under his spell. He led many movements and applied his principles of satyagraha: he took up the cause of Indigo cultivators in Bihar (1917); lead the Ahmadabad Mill Workers strike (1918) and Kheda peasant struggle. In 1919 he lead the all India Satyagraha against the Rowlett Act. Meanwhile he supported the Khilafat Movement. In 1920 Indian National Congress adopted Gandhi's programme for non-co-operation, the latter was withdrawn after the Chauri Chaura incident. He became the President of Indian National Congress in 1924. In 1928 he visited Kerala in support of Vykom Satyagraha. In 1930 he led the famous Dandi March, which ended up in Gandhi Irwin pact. Next year he attended the Round Table Conference in London. Nonetheless, in 1934 he formally resigned from the Indian national Congress. In 1936 he founded Sevagram Ashram near Wardha. His famous struggle came in 1942. In that year he launched Quit India Movement. The last phase of Gandhi saw sharp division taking place between Congress and Muslim League which lead to the partition of India into two halves: Pakistan and India. A fanatic Hindu assassinated Gandhi in 1948.

There are large numbers of scholars; philosophers and intellectuals influenced his thinking and character. Gandhi was influenced by Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson Henry Summer Maine, Certainly he was influenced by Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is within you, What is Art, The Slavery of Our Time and the First Step. Gandhi derived the basic economic philosophy from Ruskin, especially he works such as A Joy for Ever and Its Price in the Market, The Political Economy of Art, Unto this Last-the

last book had profound influence on Gandhi's thinking on human labor, or nature. From Henry Summer Maines' classic book *Village Communities*, Gandhi got the inspiration about Indian village communities. His skepticism about new industrial civilization came through the writings of Edward Carpenter, Thomas Taylor, Max Nordau, Godfrey Blount, and Robert Harborough Sherad. However, Gandhi also came across *Duties of Man* written by Mazzini, of Italyit was basically about the unification of Italy. Even he read Plato's Apalogia, Socrates. Even he was influenced by different religious doctrines such as Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Jainism, including Hinduism.

Gandhi wrote his autobiography or "The Story of My experiments With Truth" in two volumes in 1927 and 1929 respectively. These volumes contains his numerous experiments with "truth." Further this autobiography contains description of his childhood, his surroundings, his education, his life in South Africa, his experiments with *satyagraha*, and his involvement with peasant struggles including his association with Congress.

Hind Swaraj is a seminal work of Gandhi. This text was written in 1909 within a span of ten days (between 13th and 22 November 1909). This text is not only fundamental to understand his life but also politics of colonialism/Asia of the time. It was this text that he returned again and again for inspiration. This text has been called "a very basic document to the study of Gandhi's thought." This text covers such issues as Swaraj, his critique of western civilization, western modernity, condition of India, reconciliation of Indians and British.

Gandhi also wrote other books: In 1928 he published his Satyagraha in South Africa. In 1941 he published Constructive Programme: Its meaning and Place. Nonetheless Gandhi in 1919 became the editor of two weeklies: Navjivan (Gujarati) and Young India (English). Gandhi also founded an English weekly, Harijan in 1933

19.3 State:

Even though Gandhi was not a political thinker in the strict sense of the term, however, Gandhi had a consistent thinking or arguments about the State. For Gandhi, the state is a combination of "force," "violence in a concentrated and organized form" and "a soulless machine." Its origin lies in violence. State, he believed, caught in the evils of violence and therefore failed to create spaces for non-violence at any moment of the history. - It uses the violence against those who disagree with it, suppress the people who have the property, destroys the individuality, oppose to the nature of man and takes away freedom enjoyed by the individuals. Gandhi further thought that internal and external violence of the state grew out of the need to retain the unjust and exploitative economic system. Therefore Gandhi's opposition to the state chiefly came from ethical and moral principles.

In fact Gandhi stood for stateless democracy, basing on truth and non-violence. Since he advocated stateless democracy, there are accusations saying that Gandhi was an anarchist. His argument needs to be understood in the background of his desire to see the decentralized administration. Gandhi, in fact, opposed to centralized power in the hands of the state, rather he would prefer minimum of state-functions. Centralization of power is inconsistent with his arguments of non-violent society. Since the centralization means providing spaces for absolute power that leads to creation of violent politics and society, it becomes anathema to the Gandhian paradigm of the state. It is here that Gandhi becomes an "enlightened anarchist" than mere "anarchist"

In addition, his arguments also come from his analysis of political power. Basically Gandhi was not opposed to political power. In 1931 for example, Gandhi viewed the political power not as an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every walk of life. He defined the political power as, "capacity to

regulate national life through national representatives." Meanwhile he argued that, "if national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation is necessary." This stage, he called "state of enlightened anarchy." It is in this state, Gandhi thought, everybody would be his own ruler; he would not be a hindrance to his own neighbor. In this ideal state there will not be any political power as such. Since this ideal state is not possible to realize Gandhi advocated a government that governs the least. In other words Gandhi advocated least interference of the state- this he calls "truly democratic." At the same time in his true democratic state, Gandhi contemplated two things: one, absence of any place for inequalities based on possession, color, race, creed and sex; and two, "weakest should have the same opportunities as the strongest"

It is in this context that Gandhi advocated total decentralization of power-political and economic. For him decentralization means, " Rule by the small independent, self -sufficing village communities." In this context villages became the main units of decentralization. At the same time Gandhi stood for self-sufficiency, independence and autonomous nature of the villages. Villages for him the real centers of democracy, although in 1931 Gandhi argued that, "Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to greatly abused." This is because there is a tendency that democracy would degenerate into mobocracy. This is the reason why he believed in disciplining the people in non-violence and truth- the latter should be the basis for decentralization. It is here Gandhi accepted the representative form of government. His notion of Swaraj was based on the principle of self- rule- meaning "that Government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the highest number of adult population." At the same time he favored a small number of representatives whose election and removal becomes the right of the people- it is here Gandhi was bringing in popular sovereignty. Even the parliaments have no power independently of masses or the people- state in the final

analysis becomes one of the means to serve the people.

At the same time Gandhi would advocate capacity building for the people- capacity to regulate and control authority. Here, once again he advocated non-violent means such as non-cooperation, civil disobedience, fast, and Satyagraha for the effective control. This tactics he advocated for the masses so that they can defend their liberties and rights, including the social justice in the state. Meanwhile he was not opposed to the presence of military, judiciary and police force- however in his non-violent state they will play a constructive role: police will become servants of the people, military will remain confined to face the external enemy till they are replaced by non-violent Satyagrahis', judiciary will be guardian and custodians of the liberty of the people.

Gandhi even envisaged an attack on the non-violent state. Meanwhile, advocated non-violent tactics against the aggressor such as non cooperate with the aggressor, and two, non-violent resistance —"offering themselves unarmed as fodder for the aggressor's cannon."

In the final analysis his "Non-Violent state" which he calls "Ramarajya" will be a state of perfect harmony, perfect morality, enlightened individuals and it will based on minimum use of force

a. Merits:

- It was Gandhi who tried to create a state with the moral force.
- His ideal state is a state of perfect harmony, perfect morality and enlightened citizens
- By analyzing the state in terms of brute force and violence,
 Gandhi became closer to great political philosophers such as Marx and Lenin

b. Demerits:

- His state is more of an ideal than a reality
- His state is an anarchist state
- His theory of the state contains ambiguities that are difficult to resolve

Check	Your	Progress	-	1
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Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.
2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end o
the Unit.
1) Discuss life history of Gandhi
- 41
2. Explain the state in Gandhi

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19.4 Means and Ends:

Gandhi was emphatic about non-violent means for the future of society. His construction of an ideal society rested on the principles of peaceful means. In Gandhi, means and ends were closely related and interlinked. For him, there is no dichotomy or contradiction between ends and means. Both are continuous and everlasting process. They cannot be delinked and analyzed separately. Gandhi

principally opposed Marxist contention that ends justifies the means, rather he would argue that both the end and means are convertible one. At the same time for Gandhi means should justify the ends. Good ends, for Gandhi, cannot be achieved through bad means. However, for Gandhi end is to create a non-exploitative, non-discriminatory, non-violent, peaceful society. For that Gandhi would advocate peaceful, non-exploitative, non-violent means. Many a revolution, for example, has failed for the simple reason that they advocate violence, which ended up in creating a violent society. It is here that different revolutions have failed to understand the basic philosophy of means and the ends. Therefore, Gandhi justified the use of better or ethical means, and thereby an ethical or better society. This is not confined to social set up alone, rather it include even the political system too. This is rightly argued by Gandhi in 1939, "Democracy or Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means."

Nonetheless the end and means are flexible, they are not rigid. They are flexible for the simple reason that they can be adjusted to "suit the particular individual level of development." It is here Gandhi added ethical force, moral precepts, and individual personality as part of means and ends. In fact, he used non-violent means both as practical concern as well as part of ethical concern for creating a human being who is both rational and enlightened one. His justification of non-violent means also lies in the fact that violent means ultimately becomes self destructive and dangerous to human kind. In fact, nonviolent means combines a set of other means: persuasion, self-injury, conversion etc. This would help in winning over the opponent. In other words, Gandhi would use non-violence as a means to justify the change in the character of opponent. However, since basic philosophy of non-violence rest in truth, non-violence and truth becomes inseparable methods to achieve the larger goals. It is in this sense non-violence become both end and a means to create an enlightened human beings, society, and the political system.

a. Merits:

- Gandhi was the one who made non-violence and truth as the supreme principles in means and ends
- His theory of means and ends are not only meant for the contemporary world but also for the future

b. Demerits

- He raised the issues of Means and Ends as supreme values
- It is not always the case that means would justify the ends
- · Even ends would not justify the means
- Most of the time end and means remain different
- · Gandhian argument is more of an ideal kind.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain Means			
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19.5 Trusteeship

The trusteeship stood on the principle that all that wealth does not belonging to any one person. It is the gift of nature or the God. What belongs to individual is right to an honorable livelihood. Gandhi argues, "Rest of the wealth belongs to the community and must be used for the welfare of the community." In other words wealth should be used for the common good. This trusteeship, Gandhi believed, is

obligatory. This trusteeship is basically to make men to outgrow their greed and sense of possession. At the same time it was meant to make the men of wealth to come down to the level of those who "earn their bread by labor." In other words, it was to bridge the gap that separate "prince" and the "peasant," "millionaire" and "poor agriculturist." This gap, Gandhi thought, cannot be bridged by means of all gold mines and "Bhadravatis." However, the lager agenda of the Trusteeship was to increase the wealth of the nation without resorting to exploitation. It was also intended to replace the private property by public. It is also preordained to realize a state of equality by love and non-violence. Further it is meant for co-operatization of large-scale property. Finally it was part of creating a state of "Ahimsa." Trust ownership is not inheritable, it terminates once the original trustee dies or removed. The trustees are not entitled for profit making, however they are entitled for remuneration for managing the affairs of the trust. Meanwhile trusteeship is pitted against the state-, as the basic principles of the state are violence. At the same time Gandhi feared that too much-centralized power in the hands of the state kills individuality. This is the reason why Gandhi argued that the violence of the private property is less injurious than the violence of the state. And, therefore, Gandhi's main desire was to convert the capitalists through non-violent method such as through trusteeship than through the violence of the state. In fact Gandhi addressed the concept of trusteeship at different levels. First of all he approached the issue as a universalizing means of continuously redistributing wealth, secondly it was addressed as a means to over come the fear of exploitation or subjugation and create an enlightened/ rational, self respect human being, thirdly, it was meant to establish a non-violent society. Gandhi enumerated practical trusteeship formula as follows:

• "Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives no

room for capitalism, but gives the present owning class a change of reforming itself. It is based on the presumption that human nature is never beyond redemption"

- It does not recognize any right of private property ownership of property except in as much as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare
- It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth
- Under state- regulated trusteeship an individual will not be free to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of society
- Trusteeship believes in obliteration of differences in the living wages

However Gandhi also talked about statutory trusteeship. In a free India, Gandhi believed that all the "capitalist will have an opportunity to become statutory trustees." He believed that such statute should come from below than from above- the former is possible when people begin to understand the implications of trusteeship and when the conditions favored for it emerges from below. Such a statute trusteeship will be introduced beginning from gram panchayats to all the levels of the state. Gandhi thought the trusteeship coming from below is 'easy to swallow. Coming from above it is liable to prove a dead weight." However, in statutory trusteeship the owners of wealth would not only retain their "stewardship of their possessions and to use their talent to increase their wealth, not for their own sakes, but for the sake of the nation and, therefore, without exploitation"

a. Merits

- Trusteeship combined the philosophy of Ahimsa and nonexploitation
- Trusteeship also combined the philosophy of creating a rational and enlightened human being

 It believes in converting the social relation through change of heart than by violence

b. Demerits

- One of the problems is that it has not been able to overcome the issues of exploitation and backwardness
- Secondly, it is not the case that capitalist always behave nonviolently and resort to exploitative relations

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the	importance	e of Truste	eeship in	Gandl	ii	
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19.6 Non-Violence

One of the basic tenets of Gandhian philosophy is the stress on non-violence. For him non-violence is a value, "a positive love" "unchangeable creed", "a science" a greatest force", "a mightier than mightiest weapon", and a "philosophy", which has to begin from within and later on to cover the whole body politics – Gandhi applied it in his every walk of his life, including domestic, institutional, economic and politics. In fact, in its dynamic condition non-violence

means conscious suffering. Non-violence is not meant for retaliation; rather it is a moral opposition to defeat the tyrant, unjust empire, to save one's own honor and one's religion. This is the reason why Gandhi argues that violence "can only be effectively met by nonviolence." He thought that even atom bomb becomes useless "when matched against non-violence." Interestingly Gandhi argues that he learnt the lessons of non-violence from his wife, she was his teacher: "I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will, one the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidly involved, on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her and, in the end, she became my teacher in non-violence". Nonetheless, for Gandhi, non-violence is Ahimsa, it is the ultimate truth, and that both are interwoven - they cannot be separated or disentangled. That is why Gandhi said, "without ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find truth" For Gandhi Ahimsa was the means, the Truth was the end. It has the universal applicability, and in the process it becomes a universal value. This can be seen in the way Gandhi suggested Abyssinians, Czechs, the Polish, the England, Jews to resist the aggressors non-violently, but in vain. He argues, "if one does not practice non-violence in one's personal relations with others, and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is vastly mistaken," However, Gandhi was optimistic about the "infinite possibilities of the individuals to develop non-violence. This is the reason why Gandhi would stress on the training in non-violent methods both for the individual as well as the nation. While talking individuals, Gandhi was stressing on common man, including "rishis and saints." A non-violent individual would ultimately create non-violent society. He opposed any dichotomy between non-violence within in oneself and violent outside one's own realm. Non-violence is put to test only when it is confronted with resistance. In fact non-violence does not work in

the same as that of violence- rather it works in the opposite manner. For him non-violence in the ultimate analysis becomes a moral force, it is the law of life and it requires convictions. It should be practiced "towards those who act violently." It is all-pervasive, - it sustains our soul, it is continuous process. Meanwhile, it should not be identified with passivity of any "shape or form." Rather it is a "an active force, a "supreme law", "only lawful activity" law of our species", "the highest action", "an eternal law of answering anger", "an active force of an highest order", it is the summit of bravery", "supreme virtue of brave". "A soul force or Godhead within us," a rule of "conduct for society"." In the latter case Gandhi would argue that non-violence is essential for the society "if it is to live consistently with human dignity and make progress towards the attainment of peace for which it has been yearning for ages past."

There are few characteristics that Gandhi attributed to nonviolence:

- "It is the law of human race and is infinitely greater than and superior to brute force"
- It is not available to those who do not have the living faith in the God of love
- Non-violence is impossible without a living faith in God.
- "Non-violence is the end of all religions-Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism etc
- It protects one's self -respect and sense of honor
- Habitual practice of nonviolence is a bulwark against the possession of armed men to defend oneself
- Non-violence is not helpful in the defense of ill-gotten gains and immoral acts.
- Non-violence demands sacrifices for its defense
- It is a power, which can be used equally by all -children, young men, women, and elders. It depends upon their faith in God of love and equal love for all mankind

- Nonviolence does not believe in satiation
- It demands truthfulness, humility, tolerance, loving kindness, honesty, overcoming cowardice,
- Non-violence is not a cover for cowardice- it does not mean running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected.
 Cowardice is inconsistent with nonviolence
- "The path of true non-violence requires much more courage than violence"

a. Merits

- It was Gandhi's staunch belief that non-violence would prevail over violence
- He made non-violence as a creed, a philosophy and life practice
- He extended the philosophy of non-violence to non exploitation and peaceful living
- He made it a point that non-violence can be used as a moral force against the aggressor
- · Now, his philosophy has become a universal creed

b. Demerits

- There is no guarantee that non-violence prevail over violence
- There are times that Gandhian non-violence led to increase in the state violence
- It is not necessary that non-violence means will create a nonviolent society

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the philosophy of non-violence in Gandhi					
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19.7 Satyagraha

One of the techniques that Gandhi adopted during his life timeboth in South Africa and India- was Satyagraha. The term Satyagraha combined the spirit of Satya (truth-love) and Agraha (firmness). It is "the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self" was the basic philosophy. The principle of Satyagraha came into being before that name was invented in South Africa against racial discrimination, "Sadagraha" was the initial name given to it; later on Gandhi changed it into "Satyagraha." Satygraha was initially identified with passive resistance, however later on different principles were added. Gandhi thought that the tenets of Satyagraha could be found in different religions. Islam, for example, also defends Satyagraha. He argues that in "Koran self-restraint is dearer to God than violence, and that is the law of love" The latter he calls satygraha that he treats as an obligation. Further he argues that, "the very word Islam means peace, which is non-violence"

Gandhi often called Satyagraha "non-violent warfare," "war without violence" "truth-force" or "soul-force." The principle of Satyagraha stands on indomitable love, "and, as a well political scientist Bikhu Parekh argues, "relied on the power of uncomplaining suffering and sought to mobilize the opponent's moral energies". In other words, it believes in moral principles of converting the opponent through the demonstration of purity, humility, and honesty. Secondly it stands on the premise of "Ahimsa." Gandhi opposed violence in any form. This is corroborated with the fact that once Gandhi disapproved peasant struggle during 1930s on the ground that it would lead to violence. Secondly, as Gandhi argued in 1921 in Young India, that' Satyagraha excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and therefore is not competent to punish". Further Gandhi argued in 1931 that, "it is possible to fight a nonviolent battle even with one Satyagrahi but it can not be fought with a million nonsatyagrahis." In Gandhi's views the Satyagraha attracted all classes of men and women, created conditions for concreted actions and organizational skills. Gandhi thought that it could be used against anybody including the greatest tyrants of the world including the fascist. Classic case is the way Gandhi advocated the principles of Satyagraha against Hitler. At the same time he was opposed to any kind of revolution thinking that this would replace one system of injustice by another. This is because of the fact that it would give enormous power to the state. This is the reason why Gandhi thought Satyagraha is the only method that would solve the problems of exploitation, oppression. Thirdly, Satyagraha assumes that there are spaces for a constant dialogue between the adversaries and the Satyagrahis. This is because of the belief that in the ultimate analysis there would be reconciliation between the two. However, method of Satyagraha adopted by Gandhi went side by side with his other constructive programmes aiming at national regeneration. It created what is called "countless public spaces."

Non-Co-operation. This is a mild form. Second form is Civil Disobedience of the laws of the state. This is treated as a strong form. Civil disobedience might take either an individual form or mass form. Gandhi thought that complete disobedience is more powerful and dangerous than the armed rebellion. Interesting in 1927 Gandhi argued that, "all civil disobedience is a part or branch of Satyagraha but all Satyagraha is not Civil Disobedience." Earlier the non-cooperation movement of 1920-22 combined the multiple strategies of Satyagraha:

- Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies
- Refusal to attend government durbars, or official or semiofficial functions
- Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by government.
- Gradual withdrawal from British courts by lawyers and litigants
- Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and laboring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service
- Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to councils
- Boycott of foreign goods
- Laying down of arms and suspension of taxes

It is through this mass *Satyagraha*, Gandhi thought, any tyrannical state can be disciplined. There are certain principles attached to *Satyagraha*:

- It involved strict adherence to non-violence
- · Rigorous training of the masses
- Satyagraha demands sacrifices and sufferings
- It is meant to develop moral and social courage
- It requires mass participation irrespective of social background of categories

 At the same time satyagraha required mass mobilization, effective leadership and consistent action

There are different types of satyagrahas. They can be classified into constructive, purificatory, and aggressive. His constructive programmes were part of constructive type. However, hartal, fasting, prayers form purificatory satyagrahas, and aggressive satyagrahas were meant to confront the state/ evils/ etc in an aggressive manner. Nonetheless following were the different types of satyagrahas:

- Fasting and Prayers
- Hartal, boycott of foreign goods,
- Non-co-operation. It also include withdrawal of essential services and refusal to pay taxes to the government
- · Picketing,
- Peace marches or Long Marches
- Hijrat or voluntary migration

Nonetheless, for Gandhi, a successful Satyagraha depends upon Satyagrahi. The latter requires having certain qualities- in other words; Gandhi prescribed certain qualities that a true satyagrahi has to have

- A satyagrahi should have infinite patience, abundant faith in others and ample hope
- There must be common honesty among Satyagrahis
- A satyagrahi loves his so-called enemy even as he loves his friend. He owns no enemy
- He must never contemplate to hurt anyone by thought, word, or deed
- He should strive to reach the reason through heart
- There is no time limit nor is there a limit to his capacity for suffering
- · He should neither retaliate nor would submit to criminal, but

seek to cure him by curing himself

- A Satyagrahi should not only be ready for fight, but also for peace
- He should exhaust all other means before resorting to Satyagraha
- In the code of the Satyagrahi, there is no such thing as surrender to brute force
- · He should prepare for "do or die"
- He should not harbor any anger but suffer the anger of opponent

In fact, in 1939 Gandhi came out with a list of qualification for the satyagrahis, which include the following:

- He must have a living faith in God, for He is his only Rock
- He must believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering
- He must be leading a chaste life and be ready and willing for the sake of his cause to give up his life and his possession
- He must be a habitual Khadi-wearer and spinner
- He must be a teetotaler
- He must carry out with a willing heart of all the rules of discipline

a. Merits:

- One of the greatest achievements of Satyagraha is the fact that it could able to create an enlightened and rationalist human being
- It could able to achieve what others means have failed- it tamed the British colonialists

b. Demerits

 Satyagraha when it was resorted against the British imperialism did not always work. This is the reason why he had to adopt other strategies such as social ostracism, economic boycott, and fast unto death.

- Satyagraha was always countered by the violence of the state.
 In fact Satyagraha was making colonial state more powerful
- His notion of Satyagraha received little experimental support as it was largely based on faith
- Satyagraha invited more state repression and in the process made the state a brutal force against the masses.
- One of the criticisms leveled against Gandhi is that his satyagraha assigned no role to the rural poor
- His Satyagraha in the final analysis took up only the local issues
- Even in Satyagraha an element of subtle coercion was present
- It is not always the case that Satyagraha would change the heart of the opponent

Check Your Progress - 5

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

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19.8 Sarvodaya:

Sarvodaya literally means "welfare of all." This term was counter posed to utilitarian concept of greatest happiness of greatest number. Sarvodaya envisaged an ideal society characterized by

"decentralization of economic and political power and envisages over all development of individual." It also stood for total life and human society. It is in this context it becomes imperative that it stands for over all development of India. – In other words it was the larger, ideal vision of Gandhi for India.

For Gandhi Sarvodaya stands on the premise of spiritual and moral values. These cannot however be treated in metaphysical way. Since Sarvodaya stands on the premise of over all development, Gandhi believed that Sarvodaite should pledge himself to all kinds of sacrifices, even he should be prepared to sacrifice his life. At the same time it presupposes the use of non-violent means or purity of means to achieve the goals. In other word it demands, "purity of means, adherence to truth and ahimsa, supremacy of renunciation and sacrifice, cultivation of absolute fearless and recognition and practice of bread-labia's. In the last case Gandhi advocated one's earning through one's own labor

Second, important issue that is linked to Sarvodaya is the place of poor and backwards in his schema. His main intention was to make the poorest of the poor on par with the tallest, both in the power sharing and also in terms of position in the social order.

Thirdly, his concept of Sarvodaya was place opposite to class struggle. Gandhi was in favor of class harmony and social good. He thought that Sarvodaya couldn't be possible in the midst of large-scale class differences and conflicts. This is the reason why he believed in class unity and harmony. Towards uplifting the poorest of the poor, and for the over all development, Gandhi had eighteen-fold programmes. These programmes are as follows:

- Communal Harmony or unity
- · Removal of Untouchability
- Prohibition
- Khadi
- Other rural industries

- Village sanitation
- Nai Talim
- Adult education
- Upliftment of Women
- Education in health and hygiene
- Provincial language
- National Language
- Economic equality
- Upliftment of Kisans
- Lapers
- Adivasis
- Students

a. Merits

- The greatest value of Sarvodaya lies in the fact it tries to elevate the poorest of the poor
- Secondly, it is not simply confined to individual, rather it is a part of national reconstruction
- Thirdly, it believes in establishing non-violent and nonexploitative social relations, including society

b. Demerits

- Sarvodaya suffers from cult thinking. It romanticizes the localism and local bodies, particularly panchayats
 - Sarvodyas underestimate the value of conflict of ideas

Check Your Progress - 6

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the concept of Sarvodaya in Gandhi						
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19.9 Swaraj

Swaraj has different meanings: Swaraj as self-government or quest for home rule and two, Swaraj as self-rule or self-improvement. For Gandhi Swaraj does not mean capturing political power and achieving economic prosperity alone by overthrowing the enemies violently. He argues that the real Swaraj require not only political power and economic prosperity but also above all moral development, which include self restraints, "who does not cheat any one, does not forsake truth and does his duty".

Swaraj as self—rule mean the rule of the self by the self. In other words, it is the rule of mind and passion over itself—in the latter case he would include greed, hate, aggression, cheat etc. It is here Gandhi was trying to create an enlightened human being who conquers himself from within.

Swaraj as self—government or home rule is the rule of "praja" or people by themselves- it is a rule by the people- at the same time it demands not only political freedom but also freedom from wants and social discrimination. Nonetheless he conceptualized his Swaraj as "Hind Swaraj." This Hind Swaraj is a critique of western civilization and modernity. At the same time it contained an alternative

to the western paradigm of development. It is in the process of critiquing the western civilization that Gandhi called the latter as "satanic", 'irreligious', "emblems of slavery" etc.

Gandhi was also concerned about *Poorna Swaraj*, which he calls as "complete independence." In fact he identified the constructive programme with Poorna Swaraj. The latter he wants to achieve it through truthful and non-violent means. Interestingly his complete independence includes, "social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages." In other words Gandhi was not simply concerned with political freedom. His Swaraj had larger meaning- that is why his Poorna Swaraj covered different issues such as communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, Khadi, village industries (such as hand grinding, hand-pounding, soap making, match making, paper-making tanning, oil -pressing etc) village sanitation, new or basic education, adult education, women education in health and hygiene, national language, economic inequality, peasantry, labor, adivasis, lepers, students. Interestingly even in this Poorna Swaraj Gandhi was not averse to the use of civil disobedience. In fact Gandhi argued that, "civil disobedience without the constructive programme (Poorna Swaraja) will be like a paralyzed hand attempting to lift a spoon"

a. Merits

- His concept of Swaraj was the most comprehensive onefrom individual self to the political/economic self of the country.
- His notion of Swaraj which he calls "Hind Swaraj" is an alternative to the western model of development
- It contained the critique of western civilization. At the same time it contained a critique about ourselves

b. Demerits

 In the process of critiquing the western world, Gandhi emerges as anti-modern and anti-west

- It is practically difficult to conquer the self and thereby the Swaraj becomes misnomer
- Gandhian concept of Hind Swaraj becomes an ideal in the context of interdependent world.

Check Your Progress - 7

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the concept of Swaraj in Gandhi					
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19.10 Swadeshi Movement

Swadeshi movement was a multifaceted nationalist movement aroused in the background of anti-colonial struggle. It began as a reaction to partition of Bengal in 1905. Gandhi took up the issues as opposed to colonial rule. He gave different meanings to it. In fact in 1905 itself Gandhi saw the revolutionary potentiality inherent in the Swadeshi movement. For Gandhi Swaraj comes through Swadehsiboth are interlinked and inseparable entities. Gandhi explains the Swadeshi in the following words, "Swadeshi carries a great and profound meaning. It does not mean merely the use of what is produced in one's own country. It also means "spirit that dictates man to serve his next door neighbour to the exclusion of any other." Gandhi however viewed the concept of Swadeshi consistent with the law of humanity and love. Meanwhile Gandhi also argued "Swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from

its earthly bondage." But there is another meaning implied in it which is far greater and much more important. Swadeshi means reliance on own strength." It is here he combines two principles for Swadeshiprinciples of Satyagraha and principle of moral/soul force. This he thought was the "only real key for Indians." In addition Swadeshi demands sacrifices that should go beyond oneself to the whole country or community including the humanity. . Thirdly, Swadeshi demands purity of the self and the service. Nonetheless Swadeshi was operative at three levels. At the economic level Swadeshi represented boycott of British imports or goods that ended up in burning foreign clothes or boycotting foreign cloths, giving up western dress, taking up Charka as the symbol of Indian ness, In fact, this Swadeshi movement can be identified with mass civil disobedience movement, boycott of foreign goods, including the popularizations of Khadi. This is the reason why Gandhi said," Swadeshi is nothing but the use of all home made things to the exclusion of foreign things". All these do not mean Swadeshi was opposed to machinery neither was it antiwest. In fact, in 1919 Gandhi clearly stated that pure Swadeshi is not all opposed to Machinery, rather it was basically opposed to the used of foreign made goods, such as clothes. Gandhi argues," Opposition to the machinery is not the point, what suits our country most is the point." At the same time Gandhi believed that as an alternative, one should go for cottage industries, or home industries. In fact, in the final analysis, *Khadi* become the symbol of or represents Swadeshi- that is why Gandhi again and again stressed the need for Khadi industry as the latter has many meanings: it creates a whole sale Swadeshi mentality; two, it reverses the existing process of development - from cities to self -contained villages; three, decentralization of production and decentralization. In the educational field it means resigning from the government jobs and other lucrative jobs .It also means establishing national educational institutions. At the political level it was meant resigning from the legislative councils

and joining the nationalist movement. Nonetheless, Gandhi also advocated some principles for the votaries of Swadeshi:

A true votary of Swadeshi will not harbor ill will towards the foreigner

- He will not be moved by antagonism towards anybody on earth
- Votary of Swadeshi should study his environment and try to help his neighbors
- Votary should try to remedy the defects of his neighbors
- Votary should prepare for supreme sacrifices including prepare for selfless services
- Votary should believe in Ahimsa and love

a. Merits

- Gandhian concept of Swadeshi was not limited only to political issues, rather it covers wide range of issues-education, production etc
- Swadeshi provided an alternative to the western paradigm of development
- Swadeshi provided new theoretical framework to escape from the western dependency
- Gandhian notion could able to create a new nationalism other than political emancipation

b. Demerits

- It is not always possible to delink from the western world
- This has the potentiality to create aggressive nationalism against the west which in the final analysis might turn against the big industrial sectors operating in India
- During his time, Gandhi, although advocated Swadeshi for India, however, he failed to convince Indian industrial sectors to delink from western capitalism. This is because of the fact that Gandhi himself was capitulated to India's big industrial capitalist

Check Your Progress - 8

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the concept of Swadeshi in Gandhi						

19.11 Relevance of Gandhi

Many think that Gandhian preaching has no meaning to the contemporary world. Most of the time he is treated as spent force, a bygone theorists, an anarchist who has no place in the contemporary political philosophy. All these criticisms are far fetched. Gandhi is still relevant for the following reasons:

- His argument of non-violence provides a solution and also acts as an alternative to the existing multifaceted conflicts.
- His satyagraha is often used as a peaceful means to redress the grievances
- His concept of mass struggle in fact, has increased and deepened our understanding of democracy.
- His trusteeship arguments makes the capitalist to give up their exploitative character
- Gandhi's advocacy for class harmony, communal harmony is the need for the day
- His defense for Village Swaraj or decentralization is answer to the present day globalization
- His idea of Sarvodaya welfare of all- without resorting to

- violence has made his ideas more relevant
- His ideas about the state had helped many to rework on the nature of state-
- Gandhi has been a big influence among the people of the west.
 Many of them are now tilting towards Gandhi
- His seminal ideas such as Swadeshi can be an answer to the modernism, industrialism and cosmopolitanism
- Others took up Gandhian ideas too at the global level. One among them was Martin Luther King in the US. He refer to Gandhian tactics of non-violence

19.12 Let Us Sum Up

Gandhi is one of the greatest of political agitators, who made seminal contribution to the philosophical discourses through his experiments. His experiments came through the mediation of nationalist struggle. As a nationalist his struggle began to take a formal shape when he confronted with a racial state in South Africa. This journey, which began in Africa, culminated in joining and taking up the nationalist struggle in India. It was Gandhi who converted the nationalist struggle into a "true mass struggle," from middle class, metropolitan struggle confined to certain pockets of India. During his time, nationalist struggle drawn every body from the nook and corner of India,

It was in the course of nationalist struggle Gandhi came out with novel ideas and methods. All his ideas were based on twin principles of Ahimsa and Truth. He added moral force in each and every experiment he carried. This is apparent in his experiments on Satyagraha, Sarvodaya, Swadeshi, and Swaraj etc. Although in his other notions such as "state" Gandhi appeared to be "anarchist," he had the justification to be so. In the final analysis he emerges as "enlightened anarchist" who saw in the state a characteristics of suppression and exploitation. Secondly, he believed in decentralization of the power than concentration of it. One interesting

aspect was that Gandhi never believed in explaining different concepts in isolation. His concepts were linked to larger issues, and had larger meaning-such as Swadeshi, Swaraj, etc. In the ultimate analysis Gandhi tried to link up the issues from grass root to the larger issues afflicting India. In other words Gandhi stood for poor masses, poor people, decentralization of power and nativity. Finally, it was Gandhi who provided us the path of alternatives to the western domination or paradigm of development.

19.13 Key Words

Anarchist

: Nihilist

Antagonism : Rivalry, opposition

Acquainted : familiar

Mobocracy : Rule of the mob

Preordained:

Inevitable

Indomitable

Strong, Resolute

Fascists

: An Ideologue who believed in the absolute

power of the state

Imperialism : Power to control through brute force

Reliant

Dependent

19.14 Some Useful Books

M.K.Gandhi,

An Autobiography or the story of my

experiments with truth,

Bhiku Parekh,

Colonialism, Tradition, and Reform,

M.K.Gandhi,

Industrial and Agrarian Life and

Relations

S.C.Biswas Ed, Gandhi

Theory and Practice-Social Impact

and Contemporary Relevance

R.S.Narayana, Gandhi's

Contribution to Political Thought

M.K.Gandhi Hind Swaraj

V.P. Varma,

Modern Indian Political Thought

Mahajan P.Mani et.al, Foundations of Gandhian Thought.

V.V.Ramamurti, ed, Gandhi: Essential Writings,

B.P.Pandey. Gandhi, Sarvodaya, and Organizations

Hiren Mukherjee, Gandhi: A Study

Richard B Gregg Seven Months with Mahatma

Gandhi

Robert Payne, The Life, and Death of Mahatma

Gandhi

19.15 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise

Check Your Progress 1

- 1. See section 19.2
- 2. See section 19.3

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 19.4

Check Your Progress 3

1. See Section 19.5

Check Your Progress 4

1. See Section 19.6

Check Your Progress 5

1. See Section 19.7

Check Your Progress 6

1. See Section 19.8

Check Your Progress 7

1. See Section 19.9

Check Your Progress 8

1. See Section 19.10

Unit 20: Vinoba Bhave

Structure

- 20.0 Objectives
 20.1 Introduction
 20.2 Life Sketch
 20.3 Political Ideas
 20.4 Bhoodan and Gramdan Movements
 20.5 Sarvodaya
 - 20.6 Estimate
 - 20.7 Let Us Sum Up
 - 20.8 Key Words
 - 20.9 Some Useful Books

20.0 Objectives:

The objectives of this unit are as follows:

- To study the life history of one of the well known Gandhians,
 Vinoba Bhave
- To understand the political ideas of Vinoba Bhave
- To analyze the Bhoodan and Gramdan Movements led by Vinoba Bhave
- To explain the concept of Sarvodaya as expounded by Vinoba Bhave

20.1 Introduction

One of those who tried to practice Gandhian in its totality was his well known disciple Acharya Vinoba Bhave. He was a "scholar, saint, man of God, moral tribune, a beacon of hope, and solace to millions of Indian and abroad". Likewise Gandhi Vonoba Bhave too was ahead of his time It was Vinoba Bhave who tried to contain the rural discontent through the methods of Bhoodan, Gram Dan, Jeevandan (gift of life), sampatidan (gift of wealth) etc in India. These "gifts" were the logical extension of Gandhian spirit of reconstruction of India. As a Gandhian, Vinoba Bhave combined the spirit of love and universal brotherhood. His methods never deviated from Gandhism. He was the one who believed in Sarvodaya - upliftment of all irrespective of caste or creed. He believed in communal harmony His concept of sarvodaya combined the issues of partyless democracy. . Vinoba Bhave believed in people' power and their ethical behaviour. This is apparent in the following arguments," What we should aim at is the creation of people power, which is opposed to the power of violence and is different from the coercive power of the state". "A country should be defended not by arms but by ethical behavior." By arguing the ethical means he could able to transform the capitalist from the greed of money-he could

able to do so or transform the capitalist or big zamindars without pitting one class against another. Vinoba's revolution in the final analysis addressed the issues of both materialism and non-materialism. It is here he emerges as a spiritual visionary who had had the pragmatic stance with deep concern for the poor or the deprived. In fact, his life is sagas of his commitment to nonviolent ways of bringing change

20.2 Life History

Vinoba Bhave, a trusted and truest disciple of Mahatma Gandhi is called vividly: leader of "India's Spiritual revolution", "a spiritual visionary," 'a Rishi, freedom fighter" "scholar-saint thrown up by the modern Indian renaissance," a founder of bhoodan movement" and "an apostle of non-violence". He was born on September 11 1895 in Gangoda, a village in Maharastra. His real name was Vinayaka. Gandhi changed his name to Vinoba Bhave. He studied Sanskrit at Banaras. As a youth he was confronted with the idea of seeking spiritual solace in the Himalayas or joining revolutionary activities against the oppressive British rule. This ambiguity was resolved when Bhave met Gandhi in 1916 in Ahmedabad. Over the years the bond between the two grew stronger. Vinoba participated actively in Ashram of Gandhiji, doing the works of teaching, studying, spinning, and supporting the community. He took charge of Wardha ashram in 1921, on the instance of Gandhi. Next year he brought out a monthly magazine called "Maharastra Dharma". His first arrest came in 1923 for leading flag Satyagraha in Nagpur. In 1925 he was sent to Vykom in Kerala by Gandhi to supervise the famous Vykom struggle of temple entry by the Harijans In 1932 he was arrested again while participating civil disobedience movement- he was awarded sixmonth jail imprisonment. Many a times the British government for participating in the nationalist movement arrested him. In 1940 on Gandhi's request he resisted British wartime efforts. Between 1940 and 1941 Vinoba was arrested three times for his individual

satyagraha. In fact, Gandhi selected him as the first individual satyagrahi, at a time when he was unknown throughout India He was once again imprisoned in 1942 for participating in quit India struggle for three years. These jails for Bhave became centers were he could read and study more. He gave series of sermons on Gita in jail. He completed writing the book, "Swarajya Shastra" Ishavasyavritti' and 'Sthitaprajna Darshan'. After the death of Gandhi Vinoba Bhave was accepted and treated as his successor. In 1950, Vinoba launched a programme called freedom from dependence on gold or money - or what is popularly called "Kanchan Mukti. During the same time he also launched another programme called Rishi-Kheti- cultivation without the use of bullocks as was practiced by the sages. In 1951 Vinoba Bhave began the famous Bhoodan or Land -gift movement in Pochampalli in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh to counter the growing rural militancy and the conflicts. This was nothing but redeeming economic and social independence to the thousands of poor people. Bhave traveled thousands of miles on foot from villages to villages, accepted the land as a gift to be distributed among the landless. Within three years the sum of land received as gift exceeded any land reforms achieved by the government. Its extended programme was the Gramdan-or: Village donation wherein he collected "entire villages in order to set off the revolution." In Gramdan the village property was horded in trust for the benefit of the rural poor. On later date Vinoba Bhave devoted much of his time in prayers, disillusioned with the differences and resentment that had gone into the Gandhian movement.

Vinoba Bhave also formed a Shanti Sena or army of peace. He also helped the women to form Women's Power Awakening. Vinoba Bhave lived a life of renunciation. He walked for thirteen years throughout India. It is argued "He had left Paunar on September 12, 1951 and returned on April 10, 1964. He started his *Toofanyatra* (journey with the speed of high-velocity wind), using a vehicle, in

Bihar in July 1965, which lasted for almost four years. He covered thousands of miles, addressed thousands of meetings, and mobilized the people cutting the barriers of caste, class, language, and religion. Some dacoits from the notorious Chambal Valley (a hideout of dacoits in the northern India) surrendered themselves to Vinoba in May 1960. For Vinoba, it was a victory of non-violence."

In 1969 he announced his decision to stay in one particular place, and entered into hidden form of spiritual action. Between December 25 1974 and December 25 12975 he observed "Maunavrata" –or silence with a aim to prevent cow slaughter

He lived a simple lifelike a peasant, he had no passion for material things- such as cars, He would address the issues of peasants in simple terms, speak the language of peasants and never imposed his ideas into the minds of peasants. Rather he would prepare the peasants to solve their problems. He had learnt sixteen languages. At the age of ten he took the owe of chastity from which he never deviated.

Vinoba died on November 17, 1982 at Panaur. He was honored with the *Bharat Ratna* posthumously in 1984

Vinoba"s writings include Principles and Philosophy of Bhoodan Yajna (1955). Talks on the Gita (1960,), and The Steadfast Wisdom (1966) He also wrote Swarajya Shastra" Ishavasyavritti' and 'Sthitaprajna Darshan'. He also edited magazines such as "Maharastra Dharma, Sarvodaya (in Hindi) and Sevak in Marathi

As a true Gandhian, Vinoba Bhave never believed in caste system. His approach was democratic. He would not impose his ideas on any body. Even he never urged anybody to follow his life.

Interestingly Vinoda Bhave was not opposed to industrialization as such.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use	the	space	given	below	for	your	answe	r
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2) Also chec	ck your answer	with the	clue	given	at the	enc	of
the Unit.	1			. 4	:		d

1) Discuss the life Sketch of Vinoba Bha	ve	* *

20.3 Political Ideas

a. Partyless Democracy

Vinoba advocated moralization and spiritualization of democracy. In fact, Bhave believed in partyless democracy. There are four basic principles that Vinoba Bhave stressed. First, Vinoba argued in favor of nominating the workers, whom would be "servants of the people" at the grass root level. Here lies Vinoba's support to consensus among the members of community. This is nothing but replacing majority decision by unanimity. Secondly, it also included indirect nomination. For example, members of a *Thana panchayats* are not chosen by all the members of the *Thana* concerned rather they will be selected by village *panchayats* of the *Thana* concerned. This selection or nomination continues up to the level of district, including the central too. At this juncture Vinoba Bhave argues that the material power will reside in the village; the people at the central will exercise the moral power.

The third step in the partyless democracy is to refuse meddling with different parties. Meanwhile Vinoba would believe in inviting

different political parties to co-operate with his endeavor so as to make them realize the importance of his *Sarvodaya* work. It is here his argument for a co-operative endeavor comes into picture. The basic idea for such an enterprise is to "draw the parties nearer one another with the result that their differences will gradually shrink and point of agreement increase." This helps the country go forward and "makes for the growth of *Jana-Shakti*- the inherent strength of the people"

b. Decentralization:

As a true Gandhian, Vinoba too believed in the decentralization of power. He was opposed to the concentration of power either with one single individual or institution. Decentralization in the different front was treated as an essential condition for the growth of an economy and also the politics. In fact, Vinoba Bhave was in favor of some sort of federation of villages, numbering around four lakhs. However he was not opposed to centralized authority. But the power of the centralized authority would be rendered to advisory one in the scheme of Vinoba Bhave. In fact, Vinoba Bhave argued in favor of Lokniti than Raj Niti. If the latter concentrates on government, power control, competition for obtaing sovereignty and rights, the Lok niti stands for self-restraint, freedom, discipline, and duties. Here Bhave advocate the principle of unanimity. Therefore he pleads for "principle of unanimity among all persons of honesty and goodwill". This principle, Vinoba Bhave argued, should replace the principle of majority vote.

c. Ideal State

There are four pillars on which the ideal state was conceived or constructed. The ideal state according to Vinoba basically oriented towards the happiness and good of the individual or the people. However the four pillars are: Sevabhava, which stands on the principles of serving people, second pillar is Svavalambana, - which is nothing but self-reliance; the third pilliar is Ahinsaka Trana, - this

is nothing but non-violence protection; and the final one is *Tulya* Parishramika- this is nothing but equality of wages.

d. Non-Violence and peace

His notion of peace is not only confined to India alone, but rather it contained global characteristics. Bhave believed that peace should mean absence of fear. This can be a possible only when no part of the world is afraid of being exploited or suppressed. He strongly felt that armament by the countries concerned would not lead to peace- more than peace it will end up in squandering billions of rupees of poor countries to purchase arms. Therefore he further argued that country's strength couldn't be gauged from the military strength. He thought that the country become strong only when it is free from internal conflict and when it is self—sufficient and the people are united by bonds of love. It is here he reduced the peace to mental and spiritual level. He advocated the Gandhian principles of non-violent resistance to combat violence. Therefore he combined ethical behavior and unity for the defence of the country.

Secondly, Vinoba Bhave was also concerned about the deteriorating world peace due to the war. He argued that present day wars are not only fought in the battle-fields but also at two more fronts: the ideological, and home fields. Interestingly Vinoba Bhave advocated a unilateral disarmament for India, especially because of its given great tradition. Interestingly Vinboba argued in favor of negotiation, arbitration for the international peace. Meanwhile he also argued for the formation of *Shanti Sena* or Peace Army. This is an army, according to Bhave, "offers its services in perpetuity to all men without distinctions." It will serve the needs impartially, disinterestedly, without asking for any reward. Its whole vocation will be to confront hatred and love." However, there are certain characteristics assigned for a *Shanti Sainik*: that he should have a living faith in truth and non-violence, he should give equal respect to all

the religions of the world; that he should be known for impartiality and partisanship, he should be free from hatred and fear; he should trust one another and frighten none; he should make no distinctions on the basis of country, creed, race, caste and language. he should keep a distance from power and party politics, he should not support war, he should be prepared to undertaken even the risk to life in claming disorders, he should not consider other man as his enemy .There are certain task that Bhave assigns to the Shanti Sena: remove the root causes of unrest- the gulf between the haves and have-nots, the pride of ownership, the insistence of "mine and "thine", on high and low, on caste distinction, on religious differences and disputes. This is a full time service army that aims at finding peaceful solutions to national problems. . Interestingly Bhave gave a call to women to be a part of Shanti-Sena, as their presence will change the face of the world and "achieve freedom from the problems" that we are facing today. Further he argued that, "if our women come forward with their divine qualities of restraint and modesty, and use their mother -power, they can establish the rule of compassion".

However, for the internal peace he advocated the following: cast off mututal differences and share our wealth and woe together". He believed that sharing decreases misery and increases joy.

a. Merits

- It was Vinoba who conceived the idea that partyless democracy is the only answer for deteriorating values in politics
- His arguments in the final analysis were not confined alone to India, but rather they become internationalist too
- His concern for decentralization was to make people masters of their destiny

b. Demerits

Vinoba Bhave was more of an idealist than a practical theorist

- The principles of partlyless democracy containes practical complexities. In fact Lok niti is not always easy to practice
- His notion of spiritualization of democracy always had the danger of misinterpretation

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the Political Ideas of Vinoba Bhave					

20.4 Bhoodan, and Gramdan

a. Bhoodan

One of the greatest problems that the Asian countries in general, India in particular are facing is in the sphere of agrarian issues. Incidentally, Indian government had introduced many land reforms measures such as Zamindari Abolition Act, tenancy act, land-to-the tiller etc, all these had not brought about the required radical transformation at the grass root level. The are multiple reasons why the radical reforms have been defeated: Zamindars saw to it that their control over the land remain intact, they continued to hold the land under *benami* names or transfer land to their kith and kin etc. In this context feudalism continue to exist in the countryside. The presence of the feudalism or the hold of the Zamindars had multiple consequences. This has generated multiple problems, including the conflicts at the grass root level. Even it had helped ideologically

opposite camps to take up the issues and organize the peasants militantly. Marxist incidentally had benefited much from the agrarian problems at the countryside. In this context Bhoodan and Gramdan came as a challenge to communism on the one side, at the same it came as a movement to solve the land problems at the grass root level on the other e. It was a means to persuade the landlords through non-violent means that they should distribute surplus lands to the landless peasants without payment of any compensation. This movement came at a time, when Telangana movement in Andhra Pradesh was at it sharp- Telangana movement was a movement of poor peasants, who were pitted against the landlords. This movement was against the feudal practices that the landlords were resorting to in the countryside. At the same time, Telangana movement was giving rise to similar peasant uprising in different parts of India-West Bengal. It was in this context Gandhians like Vinoba Bhave felt that, if the peasant uprising is allowed to grow then it might engulf the whole of India, and, in the process it would create a violent and antagonistic society. Vindoba Bhave correctly understood the larger problems inherent in the emerging conflict. In fact, if Bolshevik revolution expropriated the land through violence, the Bhoodan movement believed in distributing the land through non-violent methods and change of hearts

Vinobha began *Bhoodan* movement in 1951 precisely in the place known for peasant uprising- i.e., Telangana in Andhra Pradesh. Bhaye visited and toured the violence-infected areas and came out with a novel method to combat the conflict through persuading the landlords to donate their surplus lands to peasants. It is here he said, "What is needed at this juncture is not to get panicky, but to keep our heads cool and find a peaceful means of resolving the conflict. When a new idea is born, new expression cannot combat it." In this movement Bhave received more than 35,000 acres of land as donation that was later on distributed among the poor peasants.

Bhoodan movement believed in the following principles:

- Firstly, it believed that wealth; intelligence etc that a man inherits or has should belong to society. "If something remain with somebody, he is the trustee"
- , Bhoodan believed in change in the outlook of the donors. It is not a religious activity of charity, but a conscious act of "a person who desires to bring about a change in the social order."
- This movement was not a one sided affair confining to just one sector of life. Bhave categorically stated that, "it includes all efforts aimed at building up a strong and noble life throughout our land. It certainly includes moral regeneration of our people. The redistribution of land and promotion of village industries will help in eradicating poverty and clear the way for moral uplift"
- It believed in preventing violent revolution and "create non-violent one." This is why he argued that "the future peace and prosperity of the country depends upon a peaceful solution of land question"
- Bhoodhan movement never believed in discriminating people on the basis of caste, creed, community etc. Here the treatment was same and equal to every body, irrespective of creed and background. Even the Bhoodan came from a variety of people-big zamindars, small landlords. Interestingly even ideologically opposite such as communists including bitter critics of Vinobha Bhave also donated lands to Bhoodan Movement. It is here Bhave stressed that all problems ought to be solved by negotiation.
- As a true Gandhian ,Bhoodan never believed in hating others, including creating the violent society. It believed in establishing new values-" to make morality the guiding principle for social

life and to make economics, which enjoys undue importance at present, subservient to the former." There is no place to hate even ideologically opposite camps. This is apparent in his treatment of Communists: "If you would give up class hatred and truly work for the good of all, I would be the first to join you." In the final analysis Vinoba wants the *Bhoodan* Movement as an instrument of non-violent and peaceful change of values.

Nonetheless, for Vinoba Bhave *Bhoodan* itself represented a form of *satyagraha*, as its main aim was to transform the people through peaceful means. At the same time Bhave argued that the *Satyrgaha* after the attainment of Swarajya should be more positive, explicit and full of strength

b. Gramdan

This is the next step in the creation of Sarvodaya, Gramdan believed that all the lands belong to village community. It is nothing but communization of the land in the hands of community. It carried the germ of total agrarian revolution. In this Gramdan ownership is rendered to community freely without any compulsions. More than that, the outward change was accompanied by inward change. At the same time it never believed in the abolition of ownership by "force or any kind." However ownership is surrendered freely to the community. It also believed in overcoming social conflict and tyrannies, through mutual good will and accord, including freedom. One of the major agendas of Gramdan is to develop villages into self sufficient and self-reliant. They will have stock of food grains and other consumer goods at least for the next two years. This was meant to foster sense of community strength, cohesiveness, and initiative. In fact it is in this Gramdan that Vinoba Bhave saw the concept of decentralization being realized, which in the ultimate analysis transform into ", gram-rajya and "ram-rajya". Further he argued that, "every village would become state in miniature with all

the departments efficiently functioning in a village". In fact, Gramdan movment began in 1952 in village called Mangroth in Uttar Pradesh. Nonetheless, according to Bhave following are the major characteristics or principles of Gramdan:

- "Gramdan is an expression of the spirit of the age. It asks
 people not only to break the narrow domestic walls and
 consider the whole village as one family, but goes further and
 asks all villagers to meet together to consider their common
 problems and to solve them with one mind."
- Secondly it symbolized the human compassion. It presupposes the collective living. It is the beginning of culture- the latter lies in the experience of serving others
- Thirdly, *Gramdan* believed in removing social disparities and reducing economic inequalities
- Gramdan would aimed at accentuating production and increase the purchasing power of the power
- It aimed at increasing the self-sufficiencies of the village economies

and the second of the second

a. Merits

i) Bhoodan

 Success of Vinobha Bhave's Bhoodan lies in the fact that it believed in the principles of universal love and renunciation

ii) Gramdan

- It success can be gauged from the fact that by 1970s 1,60,000
 villages had responded to the call of Bhave
- Gramdan demanded a co-ordination between rural economy and urban centers. Otherwise it may lead to lop-sided and uneven development

b. Demerits

I)Bhoodan

 Most of the time Bhoodan was defeated by the fact that land was gifted to movement without any title deeds, some time lands were distributed without any authentic documents. Even many of the lands given for distribution were barren, unfertile and unproductive In many cases the land owners went back on their promises

- One problem is the ambiguity in the loss of right- is the loss of right perpetual
- It s success was partial. This can be gauged from the fact that in 1975 a total of 41,94,270 acres was obtained, and the land actual distributed was 12,85,738. A total of 18,57,398 acres were found to be unfit for distribution
- Bhoodhan programme in the final analysis confined to poor villagers than the urbanite.
- The structure of poverty and oppressions were much more deeper than what Vinoba Bhave perceived

ii)Gramdan

- Since major wealth and power is concentrated in the urban areas, the Gramdan movement had no influence on the urban sector
- It had no programme for trade and industries

101.7

- The presence of caste system made the effective implementation of *Gramdan* a difficult one
- In both the Gramdan and Bhoodan cases moral appeal never

combined a campaign for active resistance. It is here Vinoba Bhave differed from Gandhi

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

Bhave	- K	
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20.5 Sarvodaya:

Vinoba Bhave, one of the greatest disciples of Mahatma Gandhi carried forward the Sarvodaya movement, after the assassination of Gandhi in 1948. In Bhave the Sarvodaya became a gospel of human brotherhood and a creed to create an ideal social order. In fact, word Sarvodaya suggested the overall-spiritual and material-well being of all. Sarvodaya is in fact different from other ideologies such as capitalism, communism, and socialism. In the case of capitalism, according to Vindoba Bhave, the stress is laid on four important elements: centralization, mechanization, armaments, and exploitation. In the case of communism, the stress is laid on workers' dominance, stateless society, forcible elimination of capitalists, importance on ideology, rapid industrialization at the cost of agriculture, party discipline etc. Communism he believed would eliminate exploitation, but at the same time it retains centralization, mechanization marmament. However, socialism support society over

individuals, it forcible stresses on equality and liberty, it believes in common ownership, state superiority over man and finally it believes in curtailing competition. All these are contradictory to the principles of Sarvodaya. A Gandhian principle however, more than believing in class antagonism and conflict, believes in class harmony and collaboration. Vinoba Bhave practically proved that class conflict and antagonism have no place in Sarvodaya. Vinobha Bhave made his notion of Sarvodaya clear in 1952 itself stating that, "the villages of India must become self supporting, and they must be saved from fluctuations as much as possible. They must manufacture the finished goods, which they require, in their own village, if the requisite raw material for them is produced locally. Machines should belong to society at large. There should be no intervening agency between production and ultimate distribution. A society based on Ahimsa cannot function through intermediate agencies. To bring about such a society, village industries should strive. All should get food and all must work. The economy of the nation should be planned on the lines of a joint family. If charka can provide employment to all it should be used. If you can not plan for the whole nation, but have to discrimination, posing myself as a s communist I must say in that case you should discriminate in favor of the poor in making your plan. This is my outline of Sarvodaya in brief"

Sarvodaya also believes in replacing the everyday practices of power politics to the co-operative politics. This, Bhave believed would lead or create an ideal society. Vinoba Bhave came out with ten principles for an ideal society:

- "International fraternity
- The conscious, spontaneous and hearty co-operation of all the inhabitants of the country
- The identity of the good of the capable minority and the general majority
- The orientation towards the universal and equal development

of all

- The widest dispersion of political sovereignty
- The least amount of government
- The easiest way of justice
- · The minimal expenditure
- The lowest degree of external protection"
- The universal, uninterrupted and neutral or objective spread of knowledge

a. Merits

- Sarvodaya was the logical extension of Gandhian ideas
- Sarvodaya proved that Vinoba Bhave was much concerned about the poor people
- Sarvodaya also stressed on non-exploitative social relations and

b. Demerits:

- It is more of an ideal argument than a practical solution
- Sarvodaya is not an easy task in the context of multiple social relations, multiple social practices and sharp inequalities among the people
- Sarvodaya requires tremendous sacrifices which is not an easy
 one for individuals

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the concept of Sarvodaya in Vinoba Bhave					

20.6 Estimate

Vinoba Bhave, one of the finest disciples of Gandhi not so much an activist than a person who believed in prayers It is in this politics that he can be treated as a symbol for the struggle of 'good against the evil", ' of spiritual against the mundane". His movement such as Bhoodan and Gramdan must be judged as a heroic but failed experiment. Meanwhile one cannot overlook the fact that Vinoba's movement rekindled the hope for non-violence and human values advocated by Gandhi. His thesis presented an alternative to the violence and a broader vision of a non-violent society. His strategies and concern raised important questions regarding the inequality in the society. He saw land as a gift of god to be shared among people without prejudices and without resorting to violence. He connected the spirituality with science and "autonomous village with the world movement." One of the greatest contributions was that he made the people's power superior than the power of the state. Other side of the picture was that he could not able to convince and transform thousands of Indians in their greed for property and prosperity.

20.7 Let Us Sum Up

Vinoba Bhave is known as "true successor to Gandhi," a "rishi", "an agitator etc." He was the one of those who tried to implement Gandhian ideas to its logical end. His politics therefore belongs to post-Gandhian period that saw the militant peasant uprising, poverty, backwardness, and uneven development in India. It is in this context that Bhave advocated Gandhian principles of class unity, class harmony, upliftment of poor, decentralization of power and partyless democracy and non-violence. All these can be see in his programmes such as *Bhoodan*, *Gramdan*, *Sampatidan*,

Sardovaya, etc. These programmes were not meant to individuals but to the whole society. It was also to transform the society both from within and without. It is here he injected morality and truth for a better life. His notion of better life transcended social, economic, and political life to culture and civilization. However, his ideas were not limited to India alone, but to the whole world, especially when he was arguing disarmament it was basically meant for world peace. He was a simple man, who believed in casteless, classless society. He also tried to combine spiritualism in his politics. However, one cannot negate his contribution to make power of the people superior than the power of the state.

.8 Key Words		
Squandering	:	wasteful, reckless
Arbitration	:	Mediation
Compassion	:	Sympathy
Meddling	:	Interfering
Beacon	:	Light,Bonefire
Disciple	:	Student
Benami	:	Nameless, in disguise form
a contract of the contract of		

20.9 Some Useful Book	s					
Mahahan P.Mani, et al,	Foundations of Gandhian Thought					
S.C.Biswas,	Gandhi: Theory, and Practice:					
	Social Impact and Contemporary					
	Relevance					
R.C Gupta,	Great Political Thinkers					
V.P. Varma,	The Philosophical, and Sociological					
	Foundation of Sarvodaya					
Vasto,	Gandhi to Vinoba: The New					
	Pilgrimage					
Mark Shepard,	Gandhi Today: A Report on					
	Mahatma Gandhi's Successors					

Vinoba Bhave,

Democratic Values.

Vishwanath Tandon,

Selections from Vinoba

Sriman Narayan

Vinoba: His Life and Work

Vishwanath Tandon

Acharya Vinoba Bhave,

20.12 Answer to Check Your Progress

Check Your Progress 1

1.See section 20.2

Check Your Progress 2

1. See Section 20.3

Check Your Progress 3

1. See Section 20.4

Check Your Progress 4

1. See Section 20.5

Jayaprakash Narayan Unit 21: Structure . 21.0 Objectives Introduction 21.1 21.2 Life History Socialism 21.3 Sarvodaya 21.4 **Total Revolution** 21.5 21.6 Evaluation 21.7 Let Us Sum Up

- 21.8 Key Words
- 21.9 Some Useful Books
- 21.10 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise

21.0 Objectives

Following are the main objectives of the unit:

- Study the life history of Jayaprakash Narayan who is popularly called JP
- To Understand JP's notion of Socialism
- To evaluate JP's notion of Sarvodaya
- To estimate his contributions to Total Revolution
- To review his contribution

21.1 Introduction

Jayaprakash Nararyan who is popularly called "JP." "Loknayak" combined the basic philosophies of Gandhism and Marxism. There are three phases in the life history of JP: a militant fighter for national freedom, second, a democrat, and finally a nonviolent revolutionary. Nonetheless, JP had a single goal that was seeking an answer to a single question: " how to make India independent and help establish a social, economic and political democracy." All these made him to venture into different ideological and political streams until he came to the conclusion that Gandhi was the only answer to the problems afflicting India. Here too he was not for adopting what is called, "mindless application of Gandhian ideas" rather, he was for "their dynamic and revolutionary adaptation." At the same time he was pragmatic in nature- he would not accept mechanistic theory of Marxism, rather he would find the suitability of ideology to the conditions prevailing in India. In the final analysis JP thought Gandhi was more revolutionary than anybody- for him Gandhi was the one who gave the masses a revolutionary strategy and made them the centers of analysis. In fact it was JP who changed the political

discourses during 1970s in India and also strived for total revolution. Although he died as a disappointed person, his contributions however cannot be negated.

21.2 Life History

Jayaprakash Narayan or JP, a son of junior official in the state government was born on October 11 1902 in a village called Sitabdiara, situated in between Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. He was the fourth son of his parents. He did his high school in Patna, with highest percentage. After completing high school he joined a college in Patna on a government scholarship. In college he came into contact with many revolutionaries of his time. At the same time nationalist movement deeply influenced him. In 1921 as a response to Gandhi's call of non-cooperation, JP joined Bihar Vidhyapeetha than joining institutions receiving government funds. Earlier JP married to Prabhavathi, daughter of a lawyer in 1920, who was an independent minded and went on living in Gandhi's ashram while JP pursued his studies abroad.

During 1920s, JP decided to continue his studies in the US. This is because certain reasons: one, he was opposed to study in any institutions in India funded by the British government; two, the US then was treated as "citadel of democracy" and three, America was treated as a land which provided support to the revolutionaries. JP sailed to the US and reached California on October 8 1922. Next year January, he got admission in Berkeley. To pay for his admission he worked in grape ranch or yard, washed dishes, worked as a mechanic and other odd jobs. All these jobs made JP to understand the difficulties that the working class was facing.

From Berkely he moved to Iowa State. Here he worked in many places for his livelihood; he worked in restaurants as waiter or doing the odd jobs such as washing dishes, or working in factories and stockyards. Next step in JP's life was Wisconsin University,

considered to be one of the most progressive universities in the whole of United States. Here he was introduced to Karl Marx's "Das Capital." In fact, it was Polish Jew Avron Landy introduced him to Marxism. It was during this time that he read almost all the texts of Marxism. He regarded Marx as the "one of the greatest intellectuals produced by the human race." This has had impact on his studies too- from science he switched over to sociology and economics to understand better the bourgeoisies system and to apply the tenets of Marxism to the developing countries like India. However, he was also convinced about the need for some modifications to Marxist thinking. He also delved into the books by Indian intellectuals like M.N.Roy. During his stay at the university of Ohio, he proved himself as a "scholar in making"

JP came back to India in 1929, when his mother was seriously ill. Immediately afterwards he joined the Congress- led nationalist movement. He was asked by Nehru to head the Labour Research Cell at Allahabad, although he was still a believer of Communist school of thought. During 1930s, he helped setting up underground office at Bombay to continue Congress work at a time when most of the leaders were under arrest. This work was a consequence of Dandi March of Gandhi. During this time, JP traveled extensively different parts of India, doing the work of printing, distributing and organizing clandestine meetings. He was arrested while traveling to Madras with a "delegation that had come to India to inquire into allegations of political repression of India. From Madras he was sent to Nasik jail. It was in this jail that he met Lohia, Ashok Mehta, Minoo Masani and others who had the desire to take Congress towards the goal of Socialism. JP was released from the jail in 1933

Next year he and his friends together formed Congress Socialist party with Acharya Narendra Deva as its president, JP as its secretary. This new born party evolved two point programme both within the Congress and outside it: "it would check the growth of parliamentary mentality and constitutionalism in the Congress – this is part of work assigned within Congress and two, it would take up economic issues to strengthen or broaden the basses of the Congress. In fact his main aim was to make socialism the goal of the Congress.

In 1934 the difference between the All India Congress Committee and Congress Socialist Party began to surface. It was this time, AICC decided to participate in legislative assembly election, However, CSP called its members to refrain from contesting the election. In 1936 JP became a member of Congress Working Committee. He also served as member of mass contact committee. He was also asked to prepare a report about the working of Congress – herein he recommended a complete reorganization of Congress from primary unit to national level. It is here he advocated closer rapport between the Congress and the peasant/trade unions.

In 1940 JP was detained for opposing Indian participation in the World War II. That year he appealed to the people to take advantage of "the war and overthrow the British imperialism; two stop paying rent and revenues; three, establish parallel courts, and boycott the British administration and finally stop supply of goods for war efforts". He was taken to Deoli detention camp in Rajasthan. He was although released in 1941, but again he was arrested next year for his participation in the Quit India struggle. However, he escaped from the jail to Nepal and formed a guerilla army called "Azad Dasta." Again he was arrested in Amritsar and was detained for the next sixteen months. He was released from the jail in 1946. During this time he toured entire country for his struggle. He was firmly rooted in the ideas of revolution- he was opposed to the Congress taking constitutional means. He thought, "Revolution was the only path." His revolution, it is argued, "Would consists of organizing general strikes to paralyzing the whole country, and seizing government machinery with the help of trained forces and disaffected services personnel". Once again the differences between left and

Congress working committee came to fore- this is regard to the participation in the constitution assembly as well as the partition of India. JP opposed both the thing- he pleaded against the partition of India. Meanwhile JP began to identify in Gandhian techniques a strategy for revolution as Gandhian techniques would believe in mass struggle and had the faith on masses

After Gandhi's assassination, the JP took up the task of building a *Swaraj* on the principles of mass struggle. Incidentally immediately after the independence Nehru invited JP to join the cabinet. The latter refused as Nehru could not able to give assurance to implement fourteen point plan which contained such issues as reforming the Constitution including the Administration and Judicial system, nationalizing the banks, redistributing land to the landless, reviving Swadeshi, and setup cooperatives. It was this time that JP began to get disillusioned about the communism practiced in Russia, especially after the emergence of Stalinism. Meanwhile he was disappointed with the way the Congress was conducting the affairs of the state. He was convinced that Gandhism is the only alternative available for India- Gandhi was only who can take mass struggle to its logical end. Since JP's notion of socialism believed in mass struggle, he did not find it difficult to adapt Gandhian principles

The dramatic change came on April 19,1954 when JP announced his total dedication of life 0r what is called Jeevandhan to Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya movement. He renounced the power politics, donated his land, and announced his self-interest to join the movement. He toured different parts, conducted seminars on varied issues relating to Gandhism. However his greatest achievements came during the decade of 1970s when he tamed Naxals in Bihar region, dacoits in Chambal region, and his opposition to the autocratic rule of former Prime Minister, Smt Indira Gandhi with his total revolution. During emergency he was arrested After lifting emergency he became instrumental in the formation of Janata party. The latter party

incorporated all the suggestions and goals of JP.He was also a witness to the collapse of Janata experiment. He died on October 8 1979.

Jayaprakash wrote many books .In a book "Why Socialism?" (1932), Jayaprakash explained why socialism would be right for India. He was adored by the youth for his idealism. His thoughtful, well-researched, and brilliant book, "The Reconstruction of Indian Polity," won him the Ramon Magsaysay Award. His book "Nation Building in India " was a collection of his articles speeches and paper statements. His other book, "Towards Total Revolution" was also a collection of his speeches and articles

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the life history of Jayaprakas	h Naray	an	
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21.3 Socialism

For Jayaprakash Narayan Socialism is not just Sarvodaya, rather it was "much more"- it includes "rational way of life" a "school of thought", "a system of social reconstruction," "a new culture, a new civilization" and a 'social democracy", JP's larger vision was to combine the method of Marxism to the objective conditions prevailing in India. That is why he said, "when we speak of applying socialism to India, we mean the reorganization of the whole economic and social life of India: its farms, factories, schools, theaters etc'. In other

words he was in favor of combing the method of Marxism with Gandhism This is why he said, "Gandhi is the one tremendous fountain in India from which socialism will continue to derive inspiration." However, JP was opposed to establishing socialism by law, as it was done in the case of western world. In other words, he was opposed to the use of forcible method to introduce socialism. In the western method the major concern is to capture political power and bring in the changes through the legislation and state power. His concept of socialism was very close to Gandhism or democratic socialism - he would prefer decentralization, and "go direct to the people and helps them affect the revolution in their lives and in the life of the community." For JP the power of the people is prerequisite for the overall change. Unlike the western method where the socialism believes in pitting one class against the other, the JP including the Gandhian method believed in cutting across the barriers of classesin other words going beyond the confines of classes and parties.

In fact, he began analyzing the concept of socialism by counterpoising his ideas of democratic socialism with totalitarian socialism or communism, capitalist society, and feudalism. In the latter case he argues that the power will be vested in the hands of feudal lords. In the case of totalitarian socialism/communism, he argued, except the ruling party no other party is allowed to exist; opposition is virtually banned; individuals have no freedom to enjoy; it believes in nationalization of industry, commerce and banking, collectivized agriculture, the state acquires the unchallenged control over the life. liberty and happiness of the subjects and state reduces to a tool in the hands of ruling clique and finally the party leaders and others become a class by themselves by distancing themselves from working class. . Interestingly he calls the communism as a case for arrested revolution. It is here he become a critique of Marxism. One of the arguments he makes was that Marxism and Leninism were wrongly interpreted and introduced at different places. This is obvious in his

argument about the method in Marxism. JP believed that Marx believed both in peaceful and armed method to bring in revolution. He argued that the correct Marxian position is "that either method can be used, but which of the two is suitable to a particular situation can be determined only by their relevant historical and objective conditions." In all these cases people are denied of their rightful power.

In the second case of capitalism JP expressed his reservation on multiple issues: that capitalist society is based on exploitation of labor; that it stands on the premise of private profit; that in this capitalist society the "the degree and exploitations are determined by the capitalist class"; that the state largely controls the state; that the production is not adjusted to the needs of the society rather it is dictated by the market forces; and, that the capitalist production is "wasteful and plan less"

Nonetheless, socialism that he conceived, which he called Democratic Socialism believed in the premise that: 1) unequal distribution of property is the core of the social problem2) the source of wealth is nature and the agency that creates it is human labor 3) the poverty of Indian is mainly due to the fact that the means of production such as tools, materials, land etc, are not controlled by themselves; 4) India is a also a land of rich who accumulates through extracting those who till the land; 5) India is industrially a backward country. It is in this context JP came out with a series of measures for introducing socialism in India. However, his notion of socialism believed in the following:

- Abolition of the private ownership of the means of production
- It believes that the democratic method is the "right" method to work for socialism
- It believes in fullest economic and political democracy
- Individual or the worker is free and the state "has no power to deprive him of his rights and privileges except through the

- process of law"
- In socialist society the purpose of economic activities centers around satisfying human needs than profit. Nonetheless socialism believes in increasing the human productive labor including the fact that it leaves the laborer more time for the pursuit of happiness, rest, and recreation.
- Socialism believes in the attainment of highest possible standard of living which include material and cultural standard of life
- Socialism never believes in capitalism, nor believes in private owners of productive property.
- It believes in the abolition of Capitalism either through revolution or through democratic process. No capitalist class will exist, including other exploiting classes such as landlord and capitalist farmers
- Property in the socialism belongs to the worker or it is hold "corporately." In other words, "the state, its subordinate limbs, the municipalities, village communities, cooperatives and similar corporate bodies become the property owners, and together the managers and directors of all economic activities".
- State will manage all the large-scale industries such as defense and basic industries. However, the "consumption industries and industries of small and middle sizes are owned by other corporate bodies". The states also have the control over the trade and banking establishments. However JP also advocated the cooperatives for trade establishments
- In this socialism land belongs to village community within which each hold certain minimum and maximum limit of acreage. Further cultivation is made cooperative including the fact that individual cultivator made as a part of cooperative society
- Trade unions are allowed the freedom or the right to strike

- Voluntary organizations are also given freedom
- It allows the formation of different political parties other than the party in power
- The monopoly of the state over the mass media is withdrawn.
 The state will be reduced to worker's state
- · Right to criticize the state is permitted to every person
- In this new society of socialism the economic power to plan production, to determine conditions of work, are "held not exclusively by the state bureaucracy but shared by trade unions, cooperatives and other suitable representative bodies of workingman."
- Socialism will make all "forms of production such as large, small and dispersed subservient to the needs of production, health, employment, and aesthetics." In other words production is meant for the needs of the society than the individual
- The state functionaries would be elected by appropriate constituencies and are made subjected to recall
- There will be near equality in the wage distribution
- No higher income group or their children receive any additional advantages or titles
- "Government and management of economic affairs are made as simple as possible, enabling immediate participation in these activities of the greatest possible part of the community"
- Socialism believes in removing the conflict between urban and rural economy. The discrepancy between urban areas and the rural areas will be bridged which include differences in standards of living, differences in the values of labor,
- Nonetheless in this socialism there is no place for religion- it will not interfere in the religious matters. "Religion would be completely free in socialist India"
- · There will not be any caste distinction or discrimination

• Women will be treated equally with the men. There will not be any discrimination based on sexes

Elsewhere JP had argued that socialism is possible only in the presence of complete political freedom, abolition of capitalism, abolition of Zamindari system, co-operative farming etc. However, Congress Socialist party to which he was associated with came out with following fifty programmes for achieving socialism:

- "Transfer of all power to the producing masses
- Development of the economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the state
- Socialization of key and principal industries
- · State monopoly of foreign trade
- Organization of co-operatives for production, distribution and credit in the unsocialized sector of economic life
- Elimination of princes, landlords, and all other classes of exploiters without compensation
- Redistribution of land to peasants
- Encouragement and promotion of co-operatives and collective farming by the state
- Liquidation of debts owed by peasants and workers
- Recognition of the right to work or maintenance by the state
- "To every one according to his needs and from every one according to his capacity" to be the basis ultimately of distribution and production of economic goods
- Adult franchise on a functional basis
- No support or discrimination between religions by the state and no recognition on the basis of caste or community
- No discrimination between the sexes by the state
- Repudiation of the so-called Public debt of India"

JP summed up his vision of socialism in the following manner: "This is a social democracy in which princes and feudal lords will have no place. In socialism all men are equal and even the constitutional

difference between prince and subject is irrelevant to it.... It is a democratic society where every one is a worker and all men are equal including women; where there are equal opportunities for all and wages do not differ so as to create distinctions of class, where all wealth is owned by the community, where progress is planned, where labor is joyful and life is richer; fuller and beautiful"

a. Merits

- JP's socialism was a combination of Marxism and Gandhismhe was attempting a radicalize the politics by combining the Marxist tenets with Gandhian ideology
- This socialism is indigenous in nature, peculiar to the conditions available in India
- This socialism is not anti-caste but also opposed to religion.
 Even though caste is a fact in Indian condition, it has no place in JP's concept of socialism
- This socialism contains radical programme from grass root to larger level

b. Demerits

- JP's socialism contains large number of ambiguities was he concerned about bringing changes through democratic means or through mass movement?
- Unless and until issues of caste is not solved any philosophical arguments about socialism remains a rhetoric
- JP's vision of India leaves out the major issues afflicting Indiasuch as regional imbalances, ethnic and communal conflict etc

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your	answer	with	the	clue	given	at the	end	of
the Unit.	*			. 1				

1) Discuss the principles of socialism in Jayaprakash Narayan

21.4 Sarvodaya

Sardodaya, for Jayaprakash Nararyan was a concrete programme of basic social revolution; "a first attempt to picture concretely a new social order" and, a national reconstruction programme. It aims at creating casteless and classless society. This Sarvodaya plan itself was the product of anti-colonial struggle

The ideal that the Sarvodaya attempted was many fold: on – violent, non exploitative cooperative society, two, providing equal opportunity to everybody and replacing the present competitive economy by cooperatives

At the second level Sarvodaya attempts to retain the right over land by the tiller "under regulation laid down by the society." Secondly, it believes in redistribution of land and, "no one shall gave more land than three times the economic holding." Further, it believes in pooling uneconomical holdings and form cooperatives. It also believes in collective farming on wastelands. At the same time individual farmers would have to function through village multipurpose society- in other words, every individual farmer is tied up with cooperative society.

At the same time Sarvodaya divides industry into centralized and decentralized one. Here too Jayaprakash Narayan advocated

should be owned by society and run by autonomous corporations or by cooperatives if possible." Meanwhile it advocated that centralized industries should be socialized on payment of compensation. However, *Sarvodaya* also advocated workers participation in the management of the centralized industries. Most striking argument was its opposition to the presence of foreign firms: "Foreign concerns should either go out of existence or pass under public ownership." In other words, in the latter case he advocated the control of public corporation on the foreign concerns. Nonetheless, it advocated that in the decentralized industries the instrument of production would remain in the hands of individuals or in the hands of corporation.

Sarvodaya also had programme for other issues such as banking and insurance. Jayaprakash Narayan argues in favor of mass saving and control over investment with the aim of facilitating growth in agriculture and decentralized industries. Further it was meant to, "socialize banks and insurance companies to save the national economy from the vicious manipulations of high finance."

Sarvodaya also concerned about the rural taxation. In the latter case he argued in favor of spending fifty per cent of revenue collected on the village development itself.

However, Sarvodaya also have political programme. Following are the political programmes:

- It repudiates power politics.
- It repudiates party politics at the grass root level
- It believes in decentralization of power at the grass root level
- It believes in partyless democracy.
- Sarvodaya believes in nominating the workers who are treated as "servants." In fact, while criticizing the "bossdom" in the village level JP came out with a solution. The solution is, " daring and imaginative socio-economic reform and education and enlightenment of the masses." In the process Sarvodaya

believes in indirect nomination up to the central level.

- It believes in universalization of self-government
- It believes in replacing Lokniti from Rajniti

a. Merits

- JP's notion of Sarvodaya was an extension of Gandhian notion
- One of the peculiar feature is that it believes in distancing from power politics
- JP's main intension was to create a new social order basi. g on non-exploitation

b. Demerits

- This notion of Sarvodaya fails to understand the social reality of India- especially it is little concerned about understanding the social set up based on caste system
- Replacing Lokniti from Rajniti is more of an ideal than a reality

Check Your Progress - 3

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Discuss the conce	pt of Sa	rvodaya	in JP		***	
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21.5 Total Revolution

JP had a clear-cut idea about total revolution. He argues that the term should not frighten anybody. What he meant by total revolution was nothing but bringing changes in as many social fields as possible. In other words it should cover the totality of human relations and social organizations. He writes emphatically that, "when a revolutionary movement is on, its aims should not remain limited to whatever they were at the beginning but, taking advantage of the revolutionary atmosphere, they should be widened to cover as many fields of social life as possible".

His notion of Total Revolution should be read against his disillusionment of constitutional means and the state. He believed that these means have failed to make any significant impression or changes in moral, social, and economic conditions of India. One of the examples is the colossal failure of the Indian state to implement effectively the land reforms. This has not only widened the gap between categories but has multiplied the atrocities on the agricultural poor. It is here that the constitutional means have failed to deliver the goods.

Secondly, his notion of Total Revolution needs to be understood in the background of his analysis vis-à-vis the Indian democracy. He believed that even though in India democracy is strongly rooted, however, it is not without any shortcomings. First of all, JP thought that problem of democracy is basically a moral problem. The moral issues required for a democracy include concern for truth, aversion to violence, love of liberty and courage to resist oppression and tyranny, spirit of co-operation, preparedness to adjust self-interest to the larger interest, respect for other's opinions and tolerance, readiness to take responsibility; belief in the fundamental equality of man; faith in the educability of individual.

There are few shortcomings that JP enumerated about Indian parliamentary democracy. - First of all, Indian Parliamentary democracy has the tendency to atomize the society; Secondly, it has the tendency to create spaces for centralization of power; thirdly, Indian parliamentary democracy has the tendencies towards

bureaucratization; Fourthly, parliamentary democracy makes the party to control every aspect of politics and Finally, parliamentary democracy is becoming more and more expensive, beyond the reach of common people.

It is in background that JP believed in the mass struggle to bring in "total revolution." Therefore he writes that, "Without a struggle involving the people, all our efforts to build a new India would go in vain." This can be seen in his active involvement in the movement of "Total Revolution" in Bihar during 1970s. In fact, "Total Revolution" as a movement began in Bihar in 1974, initially against the price raise and scarcity of commodities. It initially started as a militant movement of the students In Bihar alone many people became the victim of state oppression. As the movement began to spread others too joined such as trade unions representing steel industry, mines and white-collar employees etc. Students formed a broad coalition of groups, excluding the communists. Students "unearthed hoarded commodities and forced the traders to sell the new stock at fixed prices." Further, students resorted to different tactics: gheroed the state assembly, set fire the government buildings, looted godowns, broke open railway wagons carrying essential commodities etc. When movement came virtually under JP, he tried to spread it all - India level, but in vain. This attempt was foiled due to the declaration of emergency and the subsequent arrest of JP. Nonetheless, JP tried to give a philosophical foundation to the concept, "total revolution." In fact, it was a search for an ideology too.

a. Merits

- Total Revolution introduced a new discourse to the politics
- For the first time it could able to make the people to feel that democratic apparatus can be defended by new form of movements
- It reposed confidence on the Indian democracy

b. Demerits

- The movement for "Total Revolution" failed due to the internal contradictions and conflicts from among its cadres
- Since the movement combined activists from ideologically opposite and divergent camps it could not able to resolve the basic problems
- Most important problem was the ambiguity in defining the term, "Total Revolution" in the context of student agitations
- Total Revolution could not able to withstand the state oppression against the activists and the imposition of emergency

Check Your Progress - 4

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

- 150 - 150	ng of Total Revolution in JP

21.6 Evaluation

Jayaprakash Narayana sojourn from Marxism to Gandhism was not an accidental one- it was due to his intense and deep understanding and appreciation about the Indian tradition, culture, economic situation, and the nationalist struggle. He remained, despite adopting Gandhism and identifying with Sarvodaya movement, a radical to the core, who believed in empowering the masses and mass struggle. His radicalism can be seen in the way he tried to change the

ideology of Congress from within. Secondly this can be seen in his concepts of socialism, Sarvodaya, and Total Revolution. However, JP despite his best efforts could not able to bring in radical transformation in the politics. The faults lie not with JP, but his associates and his disciples. In the final analysis JP will be remembered as one who tried to give new dimensions to Indian politics

21.7 Let Us Sum Up

Jayapraksh Naryana who is vividly called "JP," "Loknayak," "one of the architects of India's freedom," " one of the greatest political thinkers whom India has ever produced," was a man of integrity and vision. He combined in himself the essentials of Marxism and Gandhism. At the same time he was neither a dogmatist nor a conservative, rather he was a pragmatist to the core. This can be seen in his attempt to indigenize the Marxism to the Indian condition. Incidentally he saw in Gandhi, the required radical programme, and a vision for future India. This made him to tilt towards Gandhism and later on to Sarvodaya. Nonetheless, his radicalism can be seen in his attempt to change the political ideology of Congress, his notion of socialism, or his notion of Sarvodaya. For him poor masses, decentralization of power, etc became most important things. One of his greatest contributions came when he lead movement for "Total Revolution." In fact, Total Revolution in the ultimate analysis was called "JP Movement." His ideas about socialism, democracy, Sarvodaya etc. still have relevance to a backward democratic country like India, including many of the third world countries

21.8 Key Words

Citadel

Fortress, Fort

Adapt

Get Used to, adjust

Power

Capacity to influence the behaviour

Renounce

Give up

Indigenous

Native

Lokniti

Politics of people

Rajniti

Politics of the state; power politics

Sojourn

Rest, Break

21.9 Some Useful Books

Jayaprakash Naryan,

Nation Building in India

Jayapraksh Narayan,

Three Basic Problems of Free India

V.P. Varma,

Political Philosophy of Mahatma

Gandhi and Sarvodaya

Jayaprakash Narayan,

Towards Total Revolution: India and

Her Problems

S.P. Verma

Indian Political Thought

Allan and Wendy Scarfe,

JP: His Biography

Ghanshyam Shah,

Social Movements, and the State

Bimal Prasad,

Socialism, Sarvodaya, and

Democracy

Jayaprakash Narayan,

Towards Total Revolution: Search

for an Ideology

21.10 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise

Check Your Progress 1

1. See section 21.2

Check Your Progress 2

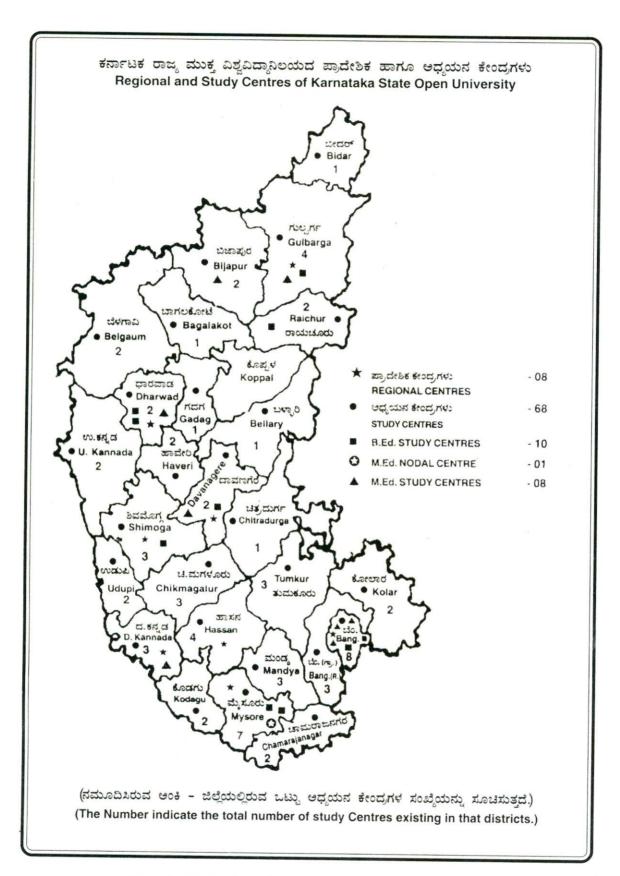
1. See Section 21.3

Check Your Progress 3

1. See Section 21.4

Check Your Progress 4

1. See Section 21.5



ಆದೇಶ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ : ಕರಾಮುವಿ/ಸಿಪಾವಿ/4/809/2007-08 ದಿನಾಂಕ : 28-05-2007 ಒಳಪುಟ : 60 GSM MPM ಕಾಗದ, ವೈಟ್ ಪ್ರಿಂಟಿಂಗ್ ಮತ್ತು ರಕ್ಷಾಪುಟ : 170 ಆರ್ಟ್ ಕಾರ್ಡ್ ಮುದ್ರಕರು : ವಿನಾಯಕ ಆಫ್ ಸೆಟ್ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ನ್ಸ್, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-560 076. ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು : 3000

