

Marxist and gandhian effect on components of Total Revolution

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Jayaprakash Narayan was looking for a path of change keeping in mind the contemporary socio - economic and political reality that can solve the socio -economic problems of India. which he received as the concept of complete revolution, Jayaprakash Narayan's concept of complete revolution is the result of the ideological journey from Marxism towards Gandhism was where there was an advocacy of adopting non-violent methods for socio-economic and political change, by using these methods, there was talk of changing the individual ,society and the state.

There are seven components of Total Revolution – social, economic, political, cultural, ideological, intellectual, educational, and spiritual. JP himself thought that the cultural revolution could include educational and ideological. He also thinks that each of the seven categories can be further split up into sub-categories.

- (a) cultural, which includes spiritual – moral, ideological, intellectual, and educational;
- (b) social-economic;
- (c) political.

Cultural: It related to individual and group behaviour. At a personal or group level, cultural revolution invokes a change in the moral values held by the individual or the group.

JP declared: “We eschew the unclean and unscrupulous methods that the communists follow”. Writing on yet another occasion in 1951, he said: “The first aspect of Gandhism that must interest the socialist is its moral and ethical basis, its insistence on values. Russian or Stalinist interpretation of socialist philosophy has reduced it to a Crass Machiavellian code of conduct utterly devoid of any sense of right or wrong, good or evil. A change in regard to the ends – means relationship both in the individual and group life is bound to produce a corresponding change in the belief system, that is, the ideology of either the individual

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or the group. The impact of Gandhism on the concept of complete revolution is clearly visible. Jayaprakash Narayan ji emphasizes the purity of means and means and also considers moral value to be necessary for change.

Jayaprakash Narayan emphasizes the universalisation of education for cultural change so that sustainable change can be brought about in a non-violent way. Here we see that education is a major tool towards achieving Marxist objectives in a non-violent way.

The most important variable in the cultural change is education. According to JP, education must be a powerful element of social change and it should be closely linked to national development. It should be biased in favour of the masses rather than in favour of the upper classes. It must create a new kind of awareness among the submerged and weaker sections of our society, so that they feel fully integrated with the society.

He had suggested the following changes in the present system:

- (i) One-third to one-half of the working time in all educational institutions at all stages should be devoted to active participation in the programmes of social service and national development.
- (ii) A large part of non-formal education should be introduced in the system. Part-time education and correspondence courses must be expanded at the secondary and university stages.
- (iii) A large part of our budget on education benefits the upper classes with the result that the masses are left out.

Such an imbalance must be corrected if social justice is to be the objective of our educational policies, with this end in view,three programmes must be given top priority,

- (i) adult education;
- (ii) a non-formal education of less than six hours a week to all out-of-school youths in the age-group of 15-26; and lastly
- (iii) universalisation of elementary education for all children.

About secondary education, First, higher institutions should not be permitted to proliferate leading to a fall in the standards. Secondly, strict criteria should be laid down regarding recognition, affiliation, and financial assistance to be given to the institutions of higher education. Thirdly,adequate fees should be charged in these institutions while making allowance for liberal grant of free studentships and scholarships to deserving candidates. Fourthly, the emphasis in higher education should

be on quality rather than quantity. Fifthly, the entire focus of education should be towards vocationalisation and diversion of students into work at various stages. And, lastly but most importantly, degrees must be delinked from employment. JP's recommendations demands to lay the foundation of a more valuable, meaningful, and purposeful system of education. Jayaprakash Narayan also believes in non-violent measures for social justice rather than violent measures of Marxism and advocates changing the old practices and symbols of the society

Social-Economical: As JP stated, 'social' in the Marxian sense also includes 'economic'.

A social revolution, In the Indian context, the term 'social' has a distinctive character. Due to caste divisions, a whole panoply of rituals, hierarchy, modes of inter-caste communication, sense of pollution, marriage norms and practices, social distance, and informal rules of behaviour have grown over thousands of years. JP did not overlook the fact that there lies a narrow boundary line between a caste and an economic class. The task of Total Revolution in this sense is anti old symbol. It has to break the caste barriers. And, in order to do so, Total Revolution must evolve new norms and practices replacing those based on caste. Inter-caste dining, abolition of dowry system, archaic marriage rules and regulations – all must enter the area of Total Revolution. It is in this sense that the social content of Total Revolution assumes quite an independent dimension. But Total Revolution must go hand in hand with economic revolution.

JP only carried Gandhi's thinking further to embrace every detail of economic life.

The industrial-technological structure of the economy has two major facets, namely

- (i) the ownership pattern,
- (ii) the size of technology.

The model of industrial-technological development that he has in mind consists of a number of elements. They are two

(a) diversified ownership pattern of the self-employed individual, groups of families, registered cooperatives, gram sabhas, block samitis, zilla parishads and only in the end, the state

(b) labour – intensive small techniques linked largely with agriculture in place of capital intensive technology with the provision that, where the latter becomes inevitable, it should be placed under State ownership.

Such large-scale industries are conceived only as feeders to small units so that they do not devour the former as has happened in the wake of technological revolution.

In the sphere of agriculture, JP's thinking was very specific. JP agitated for for "land to the tillers". The primary emphasis in regard to land reform, therefore, is on the ownership of land by those who cultivate it, adequate wages for the landless, poor, and effective implementation of existing laws relating to ceiling, eviction, share-cropping, and homestead land. If the existing laws had been implemented, a new ethos in the countryside would have been created.

Political: In the sphere of political revolution JP follows Gandhi. Gandhi visualised power rising from the grassroots and reaching the top which remained nothing more than a coordinating body. Such a view of polity was different from those in practice either in democratic systems or the communist countries. In other words, if power was shared among different echelons of the social structure starting from, say, the village upward, the danger of centralisation could very well be avoided. Centralisation, either of political or of economic power, was what Gandhi dreaded most. He, therefore, laid emphasis on decentralisation.

JP followed the same line of thinking in his approach to the reconstitution of power from the base. His thinking on polity in the present context had two distinctive features.

Firstly, he raised substantive issues in regard to the whole polity as is prevalent today; and secondly, pending the reorganisation of the polity along his substantive formulations, he advocated reform in the present political system.

His vision of a partyless democracy, reorganisation of the power structure from below, institution of an altogether different mode of election to the new representative bodies and other suggestions fall under the first. In the second category, he visualised reforms in the parliamentary system. JP rejected the western model of democracy on the ground that it did not give full scope to the people to participate in the management of their affairs. In its place he pleaded for a model of democracy, based on an integrated concept of society and providing the fullest possible scope to the individual to participate in the management of his affairs, without the intermediation of political parties. The latter, according to JP, functioned without any control over them by the people or even by

their own numbers and It was not, however, the party system that was the main culprit, but parliamentary democracy, which lay at its back and which could not work without it.

Decentralisation of power - JP's approach to the reordering of political power is significant. This led him to conceive of a polity in which the effective levels of power are controlled by people. In order that such a control is possible, he advocates the creation of formal structures at village, block and district levels. Most of the power, in his scheme, rests with these structures. The structures are governments at their respective levels in the sense that they are independent in their sphere of operation and yet interdependent in relation to other tiers.

It was this approach to decentralisation of power that led him to support the panchayati raj system. He believed that it was perfectly feasible to incorporate the different tiers below the State level into the constitutional framework by a bold stroke of amendment, thereby making it a part of the structure of the entire polity.

In such a polity, a viable structure is one in which participation of the largest number in the decision-making process is guaranteed. JP made a radical departure from the practice of the panchayati raj. He pleaded for units which would be administratively viable while guaranteeing the participation of the people. This, in essence, meant a process of regrouping from the village upward Secondly, JP has in the past made far-reaching and comprehensive recommendations with a view to reforming the present system of election. He was the first to suggest that in order to prevent defections, which became the order of the day, effective legislative steps should be taken. JP also raised the issue of the corrupting role of money in the entire electoral process. Reform of the electoral system has been one of the very persistent demands which JP went on making on the political system. There are other aspects like the use of administrative machinery, the ways and means of conducting a free and fair election, and a civil code of conduct among political parties about which JP has provided wide-ranging guidelines. JP has drawn our attention to the control of the legislators. He suggested that there should be a clause in our Constitution for the recall of the legislators, that is, the constituents must be vested .In this way, one can say that the components of the Total revolution of Jayaprakash Narayan have a profound influence on Gandhism and this effect is seen as the purity of the mean and means as well as in non-

violent ways to carry out socio-economic and political revolution. Jayaprakash Narayan talks about the concept of achieving the Marxist objectives in a Gandhian way.

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